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Identifier: s-n-000059-n30

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 5.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 2, 1891.

No. 7.

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MORTGAGE INQUIRY BY THE CENSUS.

What purports to be the statistics of farm and home mortgages has been received. It is the most disappointing document yet received from either department and bears upon its face its own condemnation. Instead of being a plain, straightforward statement of real estate mortgage indebtedness for town and country, it is a compilation of deductions and percentages more complicated and bewildering than anything yet produced by government experts or economic theorists. It is as much beyond the financial statements that come from the Treasury department in points of weird complexity as they would be when compared to a milk bill. Not one business man in a thousand can analyze the public debt statement, and it is very doubtful if one farmer in ten thousand can correctly explain the method by which these calculations are governed, and to say this is no imputation upon their intelligence. It is a lively example of how not to do it, a determination that has governed and actuated that bureau since the question of taking those mortgages was first agitated. Black and horrible as these figures are, burdened with distress and toil as they themselves prove, the real situation is far from being shown. Every form of mortgage indebtedness possible was eliminated. Every point that would tend to lessen the amount was utilized, and even then what remained was reduced by percentages and other methods more than one-half. This is a fair statement regarding the alleged statistics that have been given out in

regard to mortgage indebtedness. These bastard statements are made under the plea that correct authenticated figures would cost too much, an amount estimated at \$6,000,000. It would seem that a Congress that could appropriate \$1,000,000,000 for various purposes and congratulate itself over the fact, would not hesitate to appropriate \$6,000,000 to benefit that portion of the people who pay \$750,000,000 of this vast sum appropriated. Yet such is the fact, and a want of funds is the reason given for foisting upon the farmers this inaccurate and almost worthless statement. The farmers and laborers of the country demanded these figures for a well defined purpose. They believed, and do now, that the results of labor in production were unequally divided; that money and the non-producer were obtaining the lion's share, while the producer and tribute-bearer were forced to be content with the crumbs. In order to prove this and upon this evidence demand reforms, the true condition of the producer with regard to recorded indebtedness was sought to be obtained. This inquiry has been contested by the money power from the start, who were determined the people should remain in ignorance in regard to their real condition, being well aware that such conditions could not long endure if the true situation should be made known. The bill authorizing the collection of these statistics was contested at every point by those who owned or controlled money, and who since its passage, to all appearances, judged by the results, have dictated the course to be pursued by the census bureau. As it is, the report must be taken for what it is worth, and not accepted as what it should have been. The present report, notwithstanding its imperfections, furnishes abundant evidence as to the correctness of the position taken by the farmers and laborers, but a full and complete statement would have convinced and brought over to the aid of the producers in their struggle for reform every fair-minded person in the nation. It would have left no room for doubt or quibble and given a victory for justice and right direct and at once. As it is, the force which in all fairness should have waited upon this bulletin has been to a large extent neutralized and smothered un-

der a load of fine spun and intricate calculations, whose ultimate end is to deceive and mislead the people and make imposition and trickery more easy and sure. Application for information at the bureau has been productive of no results, as the explanations contained in the bulletin are referred to as the Alpha and Omega of the whole matter. The whole number of mortgages given in the United States is about 9,000,000, or one to every seven persons enumerated in the census. The following table is taken from the report of Iowa:

SUMMARY BY YEARS OF NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF REAL ESTATE MORTGAGES PLACED ON RECORD AND NUMBER OF ACRES AND LOTS COVERED.	Years.	Mortgages stating amount of debt.			Number of acres mortgaged.	Number of lots mortgaged.	Esti- mated.	Number of mortgages not stating amount of debt.					
		Total.	On lots.	On Number.				On lots.	On Number.	Total.	On lots.	On Number.	
The State . . . 497,710 \$431,288,542	1880	28,351	22,475	7,756	10,574	6,428,661	2,672,668	2,611,156	49	24	16	16	49
	1881	31,985	28,077	7,755	12,901	7,581,336	3,059,312	2,993,861	48	23	20	20	48
	1882	35,659,051	35,659,051	4,455	15,341	8,881,93	3,759,211	3,683,760	55,451	24	24	24	55,451
	1883	44,721,618	38,689	3,830	11,737	10,090,382	3,653,394	3,570,047	52,347	27	25	25	52,347
	1884	53,383	45,729,913	37,626	36,650	12,151	11,737	10,668,531	3,519,141	3,450,447	26,676	18	18
	1885	55,577	45,575,657	36,599	35,599	11,976	11,938	11,668,551	3,491,704	3,333,725	58,994	10	10
	1886	59,400	42,716,331	34,988	33,082	11,612	11,612	10,666,627	3,426,214	3,265,214	68,511	10	10
	1887	49,926	43,009,771	34,288	32,841	11,668	10,186,470	3,281,501	3,198,235	63,940	25	25	63,940
	1888	59,758	45,851,309	32,949	33,314	11,575	11,759	13,535,734	3,141,173	3,078,542	62,631	12	12
	1889	49,979	45,217,005	31,460	31,460	11,575	11,575	12,985,691	3,085,691	3,025,310	61,327	16	16
	1890	53,821	51,902,370	31,806	31,806	11,575	11,575	13,806	3,249,432	3,173,673	66,759	10	10
	1891	53,821	51,902,370	31,806	31,806	11,575	11,575	13,806	3,249,432	3,173,673	66,759	15	15

[These mortgages do not represent the total debt in force, as many have been paid.]

Let the reader carefully consider this table as it stands now before the percentage fiend has begun his work. During the ten years from 1880 to 1889 497,710 mortgages, amounting to \$431,288,542, were recorded. No account is taken of the mortgages given and recorded previous to that date. The panic of 1873, and the deluge of mortgages which followed, cuts no figure in this computation. But in the face of this fact, the assumption is made in this report that the farmers of Iowa have paid off all their mortgages given previous to 1880, and also reduced the \$431,288,542 given since that time down to \$199,034,956. By some process of jugglery known only to the census bureau, these astonishing figures are handed out presumably with the expectation that they will be accepted as correct by the people. The entire debt previous to 1880 wiped out, and 54 per cent of that which has been recorded since has followed it. This single proposition is of itself enough to condemn the conclusions advanced. The assumption of this report is that Iowa is rapidly getting out of debt, while every farmer in the State knows the exact opposite is true. Taking the debt at the reported amount, \$199,034,956, which can not be much more than one-half of the true amount, and it gives \$104 of mortgage indebtedness to each man, woman and child in the State. Reckoned at 10 per cent interest this would make an annual tribute of \$10,40 for each. There were in 1880 10,866,541 acres of improved land, upon every acre of which this debt would place a mortgage of \$10. The interest upon this vast sum, at harvest prices of last year, would consume, after deductions for bread and seed, the entire wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat and potato crops of the State. In a similar manner it would take the entire corn crop to pay the interest alone.

To discharge this debt in full would take every horse, head of cattle, sheep and hogs in the State. The State of Iowa was shrewdly selected for the initial report, because it exceeds all the other Northern or Western States save Illinois in production, and besides the assurance of Senators Wilson and Allison, who declared the State

to be in a prosperous condition were supposed to be authentic. Judging from the admitted condition of Iowa, the situation in less favored States must be appalling.

The figures given for Alabama are as follows:

Years.	Mortgages stating amount of debt.			Number of acres mortgaged.			Number of lots mortgaged.			Number of lots not stating amount of debt.			Number of acres not mortgaged.			Number of lots not mortgaged.			
	Total.	On acres.	On lots.	Total.	On acres.	On lots.	Total.	On acres.	On lots.	Total.	On acres.	On lots.	Total.	On acres.	On lots.	Total.			
The State,..	93,828	\$0,099,623	73,312	\$64,299,554	20,516	\$26,800,469	16,175,153	591,682	819,947	788,305	31,612	1,204	14	13	1	21	2	4	
1880.....	4,656	2,610,504	3,912	2,018,822	694	574	1,185,553	1,125,310	1,156,933	58,093	1,165	23	23	19	3	2	4		
1881.....	6,236	4,210,158	5,495	3,615,888	741	680	1,156,377	1,128,436	1,160,958	58,093	1,156	23	23	19	3	2	4		
1882.....	7,577	6,451,639	6,613	5,515,629	904	1,223	1,083,865	1,056,321	1,056,300	54,838	1,010	1,010	16	16	15	2	2	3	
1883.....	7,473	5,628,155	6,230	4,542,299	1,223	1,223	1,379,523	1,335,397	1,412,126	2,614	2,614	17	17	15	2	2	3		
1884.....	8,129	6,519,339	6,622	4,286,022	1,597	1,597	1,535,103	1,478,318	1,567,785	56,939	56,939	2,533	2,533	17	17	15	2	2	3
1885.....	8,129	5,727,666	7,801	4,286,022	1,597	1,597	1,535,103	1,478,318	1,567,785	56,939	56,939	2,533	2,533	17	17	15	2	2	3
1886.....	9,400	5,727,666	7,801	4,286,022	1,597	1,597	1,535,103	1,478,318	1,567,785	56,939	56,939	2,533	2,533	17	17	15	2	2	3
1887.....	11,881	10,290,743	9,211	6,905,542	2,470	2,470	3,785,201	3,677,450	3,785,201	1,879,434	1,879,434	2,406,450	2,406,450	17	17	15	2	2	3
1888.....	13,217	22,400,375	9,538	15,922,911	3,579	3,579	1,766,432	1,766,432	1,766,432	1,766,432	1,766,432	1,766,432	1,766,432	17	17	15	2	2	3
1889.....	11,866	13,851,348	8,436	9,176,311	3,579	3,579	1,834,603	1,834,603	1,834,603	1,834,603	1,834,603	1,834,603	1,834,603	17	17	15	2	2	3
1890.....	13,449	13,449	9,224	9,224	4,419	4,419	5,594,063	5,594,063	5,594,063	5,594,063	5,594,063	5,594,063	5,594,063	17	17	15	2	2	3

This statement includes only such mortgages as has been recorded since 1880. No account is taken of the mortgage indebtedness previous to that time, and the entire debt through the manipulation of the census figures is scaled down from \$91,089,623 to \$39,027,983. The further statement is made that \$25,093,939, or 64 per cent of the whole, is due to recent industrial enterprises, such as mining, iron and steel manufactures. In defense of these mortgages Mr. Porter says "the industrial development of Alabama is coincident with the great and sudden growth of mortgage indebtedness in that State." Or, in other words, a mortgage is necessary to prosperity. If these figures are true the State of Alabama previous to this recent boom was the favored State of the Union. It was only mortgaged for \$13,934,044, or about \$9 per capita. The people of Alabama have reason to rejoice that a

kind census bureau has placed them in such a prosperous and enviable position. These figures without any further comment show for themselves the absurdity of all claims at correctness. The real estate mortgage indebtedness of the North and West will show a much larger per capita amount than in the South, because the crop mortgage system prevails more in the South than other localities. Taken as a whole, the first efforts of the farmer to find out his true financial condition has been a failure. But enough has been shown to make the most energetic pause and the stoutest heart give way to fear. Enough is given to prove that the producers of this great country are and have been for years past nothing but serfs, but tribute bearers to those who owned or controlled the money of the land. In 1865 Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, said:

The people are now comparatively free from debt. * * * The expansion has now reached such a point as to be oppressive to a large portion of the people, while at the same time it is diminishing labor and is becoming subversive of good morals. * * * The remedy, and the only remedy within the control of Congress, is, in the opinion of the Secretary, to be found in the reduction of the currency.

Here is an acknowledgment that in 1865 the people were to a large extent out of debt and able to live without incessant toil. Such conditions always obtain when money is robbed of its "power to oppress." Such conditions should and would exist at the present time had it not been for the financial policy inaugurated by Mr. McCulloch. He feared for the morality of the people if they were to continue long in ease and plenty. Such paternal solicitude is indeed rarely met with, especially under these circumstances. In order to preserve the morals of the country the people must be compelled to labor more, and for the purpose of forcing them to do so the money of the nation must be contracted. These are the logical deductions drawn from the Secretary's arguments, and have proven true beyond any question.

Compare the conditions then, as acknowledged by government authority with the conditions now as shown by the census, and no longer wonder why the producers in this country are demanding a change of economic policy. Twenty-five years ago the people were comparatively out of debt and many burdened with money, says the Secretary of the Treasury; this included the farmers of the nation. At the present time, says the Census Bureau, farming lands are mortgaged for more than one-half their value, and the farmers cannot produce enough to pay interest and support their families. This is the condition which confronts the American farmer to-day. What has brought about this state of affairs? Why should the debt-burdened and tax-ridden farmer be denied the privilege of demanding a change?

The word "mortgage" will be used hereafter to include all securities embraced within this investigation. In many parts of the South a mortgage is rarely known by that name. One security that takes its place is a deed of trust, by which the borrower makes a conditional conveyance to a third person for the benefit of the lender, the deed to be void upon payment of the debt. In the South, and also in some parts of the West, a bond for a deed is employed. The borrower conveys his real estate to a lender by unconditional deed in fee simple, and receives in return a bond, by which the lender binds himself to reconvey when the debt is satisfied, the borrower in the meantime remaining in possession. Another form of a bond for a deed, generally called a contract, made on the Pacific slope and in the West, and by railroads and States that sell land, permits

A CENSUS BULLETIN.

At last a bulletin from the Census Bureau has given to the public an idea of both the method of inquiry and the result of the mortgage indebtedness investigation. Accompanying the tables compiled relating to Alabama and Iowa is the following explanation by the agents in charge of the special inquiry:

The results presented in this bulletin are the first that have been derived from the real estate mortgage investigation made under the authority of the census act approved March 1, 1889, directing the superintendent of census to "collect the statistics of and relating to the recorded indebtedness of private corporations and individuals." The selected tables are for the States of Alabama and Iowa. Because of the limitations of space and of the necessary delay required in making further classifications and computations, at a time, too, when there is some impatience to get the first fruits of the investigation, only a condensed statement of some of the facts obtained is attempted.

Except in several counties in which special investigations were conducted, to be mentioned more especially further on, the public real estate records have supplied the facts. While one of the objects has been to establish the amount of indebtedness in force January 1, 1890, other objects of perhaps equal importance have been entertained, with the purpose of showing the number and amount of mortgages made during each of the ten years 1880-1889, the rates of interest borne by them, and the distribution of these mortgages between village and city real estate on the one hand real estate outside of villages and cities on the other. If no attempt further than this had been made, still the results would throw much light upon the mortgage question.

How far to go in this investigation has been a perplexing matter. Although obstacles were foreseen in a hundred directions, it was impossible to anticipate all of them; they have, however, been surmounted with a approximate and substantial success. The investigation has necessarily been confined to real estate mortgages and other real estate securities that are substitutes for them: first, because the cost of including other evidences of private recorded indebtedness would create an expense too great to be borne by the appropriation for the entire census; secondly, because it would be impossible by the only available method to determine the amount of indebtedness in force secured by these other evidences of indebtedness near enough to the truth to warrant the attempt.

For these reasons crop liens, mechanics' liens, judgments by process of law, and chattel mortgages have been excluded. In the case of chattel mortgages, duplication of the record of the same instrument in more than one town or county prevails to a great extent, and this is an additional reason for not taking account of them. Rather than undertake to include all recorded real and personal securities, without any prospect of bringing the investigation of any of them to completion, it has seemed wiser to rule out all but real estate mortgages and other real estate securities that are their substitutes, which, after all, embrace the chief, and in many States nearly the whole body of private recorded indebtedness, and to present all the results in regard to them that it is within the limited resources of the Census Office to obtain.

County fair grounds, church buildings, and the land on which they stand, are devoted to uses of a public character, and the debt upon them is logically excluded; but the debt upon parochial schools, upon the charitable institutions of church corporations, and upon parsonages has been taken, and also that upon the real estate of all eleemosynary corporations. It may be that the line has not been drawn distinctly in regard to all corporations, but the endeavor has been to make these statistics representative of the affairs of the masses of the people, and the only indebtedness upon corporate real estate that has been rejected is that upon the real estate of corporations which usually exercise the right of eminent domain and upon religious corporations within the narrow limits mentioned.

Another perplexing matter has been the renewal of mortgages. A lender

the would-be purchaser to take possession, and provides that he shall have a deed in fee when all the payments have been made.

The vendor's lien is also a favorite in the South, and is a condition in a deed of fee simple upon the sale of real estate partly or entirely upon credit, giving the seller a lien on the property to secure deferred payments of purchase money. In Virginia and Pennsylvania it is more or less the practice of a borrower to confess judgment against himself upon the records of a court to secure his debts, and thus place a lien upon all his property, real and personal; and in Pennsylvania, upon the settlement of an estate, an heir who takes the share of one or more of his coheirs in real estate without full payment therefor gives to the court a recognizance, which secures the debt and is a lien upon the property.

All these instruments have been included in this investigation, and all but State and railroad contracts are included in the tables of this bulletin. In some regions where public land is for sale settlers have mortgaged their preliminary titles. These instruments have been rejected as not representing recorded indebtedness, because the settlers had not acquired a mortgageable title, and more especially because they substituted sound mortgages when a mortgageable title had subsequently been acquired.

Two forms of bond for a deed have been excluded. Under one of them the purchaser takes possession, and after some of the payments have been made he receives a deed in fee simple and returns a mortgage. In this case, to avoid duplication, only the mortgage has been included. The other excluded bond for a deed is the one more generally known to the common law, and permits the would-be purchaser, who does not take possession, to demand a deed at a future date or to abandon the contract, often by sacrificing a penalty. In some of the mining regions of the far west this bond is commonly surrendered. All of these bonds for deeds have been excluded, because they do not represent indebtedness.

A crop lien in the Southern States, which it is generally found, is not a lien upon real estate in its usual form, but in some counties it is made so by express provision in the contract, and in such case the lien has been included in the mortgage indebtedness.

The provision of the census act including private corporations in the investigation of recorded indebtedness has been another source of perplexity. Among these may be legally classed railroads, canal, telegraph, and telephone corporations, whose real estate often extends through many counties, and in a presentation of results by counties is not satisfactory apportionment of the debt of these corporations that receive a grant of the right of eminent domain, which, though legally private corporations, actually and necessarily exercise quasi-public functions, and these functions may be constitutionally exercised to a great extent, if not fully, by municipalities, which are legally public corporations. The indebtedness of these corporations, too, is something apart from the life and undertakings of the masses of the people, and would only obscure their real estate mortgage indebtedness if it were merged with that of indebtedness; and, besides, this subject is largely covered by the work of other divisions of the census office. For these reasons no account has been taken of the debts owed by these corporations.

County fair grounds, church buildings, and the land on which they stand, are devoted to uses of a public character, and the debt upon them is logically excluded; but the debt upon parochial schools, upon the charitable institutions of church corporations, and upon parsonages has been taken, and also that upon the real estate of all eleemosynary corporations. It may be that the line has not been drawn distinctly in regard to all corporations, but the endeavor has been to make these statistics representative of the affairs of the masses of the people, and the only indebtedness upon corporate real estate that has been rejected is that upon the real estate of corporations which usually exercise the right of eminent domain and upon religious corporations within the narrow limits mentioned.

The difficulty of getting actual rates of interest cannot be expressed within the limits of a bulletin. Special agents were everywhere cautioned against accepting legal rates where contracts did not correctly state the percentage really paid, yet it may be that in some counties they were misled into accepting legal rates when in fact the cost of the money to the borrower may have been materially more.

In every case of reasonable doubt as to whether a mortgage or a class of mort-

gages should be ruled out it has been the policy and uniform practice to take them, and it should be understood that these statistics embrace all real estate securities that have not been specifically excluded as herein mentioned.

Establishing the Debt in Force.

It has been suggested by various newspapers that the amount of the uncancellede mortgages should be accepted as the amount of debt in force. This would be a gross exaggeration, as was foreseen by the Superintendent of Census—so gross that the statistics would be unworthy of confidence. For some of the counties, where special investigations have been conducted for the purpose of ascertaining the actual amount of debt in force, the results have been tabulated, and the percentage of the error of taking the face of the uncancellede mortgages is known. Inquiries were made in 102 counties for the purpose of learning how much remains unpaid upon every uncancellede mortgage recorded as far back in time as an appreciable amount of debt is found to exist—generally twenty years—and if in the counties that have been tabulated the face of the records for the same period of time had been accepted as representing the amount of living debt, the apparent debt would be greater than the living debt to the extent shown by the percentages of error given.

In most States the records are adverse to an economical doing of such a work as this. It is rare that printed forms are used, and generally all sorts of instruments are recorded promiscuously in the same books. The experience of a special agent, who searched 3,200 pages to find sixty mortgages, was by no means rare. To be certain that no mortgages were omitted, special agents were often compelled to read nearly the entire records to distinguish these instruments from others nearly similar in form, and this had to be done in hundreds of counties where the handwriting was almost illegible.

LEGAL OPINION.

A recent number of the *Clodhopper*, Kosciusko, Miss., contains a letter from Hon. J. P. Allen, aent the current discussion in the State, which is so clear and logical that it is here reproduced in full:

The Rate of Interest.
The fact most difficult to obtain has been the rate of interest. Throughout the South, west beyond the Mississippi river, and to some extent elsewhere, the records commonly do not disclose the actual rates of interest borne by real estate mortgages, and soon after the field work began it was necessary to instruct special agents to return actual rates, if these were ascertainable, or, if not, to return customary rates. Everywhere mortgages are found that refer to promissory notes or other instruments for mention of rates. Chiefly in the South and West the contract often states that the debt is without interest or mentions a lower rate than the true one, the fact being that the debtor has not received the full equivalent of the apparent principal. These are called "stuffed" mortgages, and, as it is difficult to identify these mortgages if they mention some rate in the contract, it is probable that many of them have been taken to the full amount of the inflated principal. I am impressed that the time and the occasion are alike propitious for a dispassionate consideration of this great financial measure. Having been requested by friends to give my views on the sub-treasury bill, I venture to do so in this communication.

Knowing that many good and true men differ from me on this important political and financial question, it is desirable that such difference of opinion should be discussed in a generous

into force in the beginning of this year. No change was made in the constitution or administration of the bank, but the manner of dividing the profits between the shareholders and the State was materially altered in favor of the latter. At first the shareholders were entitled to receive absolutely a 4½ per cent dividend. Of the surplus, 20 per cent was devoted to the reserve until it should amount to a quarter of the capital. Thereafter the profits were divided equally between the State and shareholders until the latter had received 8 per cent, when the proportion was changed to one-fourth to them and three-fourths to the State. Since 1884 the dividends received by the shareholders varied from 5.29 per cent in 1886 to 8.81 per cent last year, the average being about 6½ per cent. The State has received since the foundation of the bank an average of about 2,000,000 marks, or \$100,000 a year of profit. The reserve fund amounted to 26,000,000 marks in February this year, and as the capital is 120,000,000 marks it has to be reinforced by 4,000,000 marks before it ceases to swallow up part of the annual profits. Under the new law the fixed dividend enjoyed by the shareholders was reduced to 3½ per cent, and the surplus was appropriated thus: 20 per cent to the reserve, half to the remainder to the State and half to the shareholders, until the latter have received 6 per cent, after which they get a quarter and the State three-quarters of the surplus. Details of the 1890 accounts are not yet available to enable us to compare the results to the shareholders under the new scale, should this year's profits equal those of last, the largest in the history of the bank. But on the basis of the profits of 1889, when the shareholders received 7 per cent, it is found that under the new law, the shareholders would not receive 6 per cent. Of course, with the profits increasing as they did last year, when the dividend rose from 7 to over 8½ per cent, the results would be actually better, but the shareholders have had to pay pretty dearly to the State for the renewal of the privileges of the bank. These privileges are worth a good deal, for the Imperial Bank is entitled to issue notes to the amount of 286,000,000 marks on general security, all notes issued above that sum being subject to a 5 per cent annual tax. The bank must keep German coin, imperial convertible notes, or bullion equal to a third of the note issue, and bills with solvent backers to the amount of the remaining two-thirds. The only other privilege of much value, apart from that of issue, is exemption from all imperial taxation.

WHICH IS RIGHT?

When the Treasury Department wants something emphatic and startling, as in the case of the recent silver contest, recourse is had to the Director of the Mint, Mr. E. O. Leech. He is always on the side of the treasury, as the following statement, taken from the press dispatches, will show.

Mr. Edward O. Leech, Director of the Mint, has this to say about the condition of the United States Treasury. "The amount of money in the treasury of the United States on the first of this month was over \$751,000,000, of which \$493,000,000 was 'trust money' held for the redemption of gold, silver, and currency certificates, and the balance of \$258,000,000 belonged to the treasury just as absolutely as any property which the government owns." How can there be any possibility of government failing to meet its obligations with this immense sum of absolutely free cash on hand is difficult to conceive. I hold that the government of the United States has in its vaults to-day, in good hard money, over \$258,000,000 available for any of the legitimate expenses of the government, and that it is ridiculous to talk about there being the slightest probability of any obligation of the government being dishonored."

About the same time ex-Secretary Fairchild was being interviewed by a Herald reporter to the following effect:

"It is true," said ex-Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild, "that the balance in the treasury has got down very low, but

I don't think there is any danger of the government becoming bankrupt," he added with a smile. "When your correspondent speaks of there being only about \$1,500,000 in the Treasury he means, of course, in excess of all liabilities, and does not include the \$20,000,000 in subsidiary silver coin and \$23,000,000 and more in the banks. That makes about \$55,000,000. Of course, the amount in the banks is available, but the fractional silver is only available if you can get the people to take it. The trouble about this silver coinage is that it is an obligation of the government. When it is presented at the treasury in sums of \$20, the government has to redeem it. The danger of trying to get this silver into circulation is that you may get too much of it out so that it will come back into the treasury and will have to be redeemed. It is entirely a matter of experiment to know how much of these small coins the country will take and how much will stay in circulation. The bank-note redemption fund of \$44,000,000 or \$45,000,000 is a demand obligation. The treasury is redeeming these notes every day at the rate of from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 a month. And yet the present resources of the treasury appear to be made up largely from that fund. Everything else has been spent except that fund. Since July 14, 1890, the treasury no longer in its debt statements is obliged to put down that fund as an obligation. All but about \$10,000,000 of the treasury's assets now consist of that fund; so if the Secretary was to make the debt statement as used to be done prior to last summer, instead of having \$55,000,000, he would show a deficiency of \$10,000,000 or \$12,000,000, because it would omit the fractional silver and the national bank-note redemption fund. But, as I said before, I think the Secretary will be able to get along some way. But the balance is down closer than it ought to be. Congress, in my opinion, ought not to have appropriated the public money with such liberality." "What do you think of the prospects for raising the \$30,000,000 due for pensions on June 4?" "I do not see just where it is to come from. The expenses of the government nearly equal the receipts from customs and other sources. If the Secretary can put out about \$10,000,000 of the subsidiary silver he can draw as much as he pleases from the banks. That would raise the \$31,000,000, but the 4 per cent bonds, of which there were almost \$53,000,000 outstanding on the first of the month and which mature in September, can not be taken up at that time, for there will be \$30,000,000 more due for pensions."

J. Edward Simmons, president of the Fourth National Bank, echoed Mr. Fairchild's sentiments.

May 17, 1890, Secretary Windom, in answer to a letter that appeared in THE ECONOMIST, among other matters made the statement printed below:

In regard to the money supposed to be hoarded by the United States Treasury, I may say that aside from the fund deposited in the Treasury by national banks for the redemption of their notes which have been retired, which the government holds as a trustee, and the balances on deposit in the treasury by disbursing officers, the only reserve which is kept by the treasury is \$100,000,000 in gold for the redemption of legal-tender notes, as provided by the acts of 1875 and 1882. There is no disposition on the part of the administration of the treasury to hoard money, and the so-called surplus, which is the excess of the receipts over the expenditures, can be used under present law only in the redemption of the bonded debt of the United States, which is being done as rapidly as the bonds can be judiciously purchased. The surplus on the first instant amounted to only \$35,930,622.90 (exclusive of fractional silver coin), of which \$31,648,897.00 was on deposit in national banks performing the duty of a circulating medium. It is the policy and purpose of the department to withdraw a large portion of this deposit and invest it in United States bonds as rapidly as it can be done without danger of decreasing the actual circulation. The total amount of money in the treasury of the United States on April 1, 1890, was \$666,643,261, composed as follows:

In treasury April 1, 1890.
Gold coin.....\$253,782,305
Standard silver dollars.....302,036,610
Subsidiary silver.....22,814,565
United States notes.....6,919,657
National bank notes.....3,927,199
Receipts by civil departments.....\$389,499,333

Gold bullion.....66,443,489
Silver bullion.....4,634,901
Trade dollars as bullion.....6,074,538
Total.....\$666,643,261

Of this amount \$134,138,078 in gold coin was deposited for the redemption of gold certificates, and \$290,605,562 in silver dollars for the redemption of silver certificates. Neither of these amounts belongs to the government, but both are held simply in trust for the redemption of gold and silver certificates outstanding. \$67,891,267 were held as a fund for the redemption of national bank notes, consisting of money paid into the treasury by national banks for that purpose, while \$38,972,181 represented the money to the credit of disbursing officers, and kept in the treasury merely as a matter of convenience and which they check against. \$6,074,538 consisted of silver bullion from melted trade dollars. \$4,634,901 silver bullion at the mints purchased for the coinage of the silver dollar in process of coinage. \$22,814,564 of fractional silver coin largely mutilated and abraded for which there is no current demand, and \$100,000,000 was held as a reserve for the redemption of legal-tender notes as required; a total of \$665,821,031. From this you will see that there is no hoarding of money by the treasury.

Comment is sometimes necessary, but in this case it would add nothing. If Mr. Leach is right, Mr. Windom as well as Mr. Fairchild must be wrong. If Mr. Leach considers the \$100,000,000 in gold that is being held for the redemption of the greenbacks as available for use, then he acknowledges what all fair-minded men have always known, that this so-called reserve was a fraud of the worst kind. It will be Mr. Leech's turn now to make an explanation that will explain.

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Sources was \$864,100 and the expenses \$396,430, thus leaving a surplus of \$467,670. The following table gives the total number of applications for patents, designs, and trademarks in each year from 1884 to 1889.

Designs.

Trade

mark.

Year.

Patents.

Single.

Sets.

Revenue.

Customs.

Inland.

Postoffice.

Telegraphs.

Packet service.

Total.

1884.

17,110.

19,515.

238.

7,194.

1885.

16,101.

20,388.

337.

8,026.

1886.

17,176.

23,717.

324.

10,677.

1887.

18,051.

25,734.

309.

10,586.

1888.

19,103.

25,923.

316.

13,315.

1889.

21,008.

24,370.

335.

11,316.

Year ended March 31.

1889.

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THE WACO MEETING.
Full proceedings of the Waco convention of Alliance representatives, which was in session April 21 to 24, are not yet received. On the 23d Dr. C. W. Macune, editor of THE ECONOMIST, made an address of considerable length, the Dallas News report of which is here given. The News said in its report of the last day:

The attempt to destroy Dr. C. W. Macune by various means, chiefly by newspaper attacks, proved a signal failure, as he has during the conference just closed in this city received the most hearty support and endorsement by the unanimous conference, both publicly and privately. It was a matter of personal observation of this reporter that in any group a disparaging remark against the doctor called out promptly a vigorous protest from one or more. Dr. Macune was never higher in the esteem of the Farmers Alliance of Texas than he is now.

THE ECONOMIST deems it permissible to quote this criticism of the leading daily of Texas in the absence of Dr. Macune, that a slanderous story may be set at rest. With the promise of fuller comment upon the meeting in a later issue, the following is reproduced from the same paper:

To-day was Macune day, sub-treasury day, as it were. Macune, at the opening, was introduced by a venerable old farmer, who said it was the proudest act of his life. It has been published in the St. Louis Republic that Dr. Macune dare not return to Texas because the Alliance men would mob him. He was sure Dr. Macune had never feared an Alliance mob.

There was immense enthusiasm on the moment Dr. Macune appeared on the stand and the cheers were of the regulation degree of deafening.

After also stating it was the proudest moment of his life to meet the Texas Alliance after two years of slander and calumny and receive such a greeting as that to-day, he proceeded to read his personal explanation as follows:

For five years I have held a position of trust and honor in the Alliance.

I was chosen president of the National Alliance when it was first organized and held that position three terms, during which time I instituted the system that was successful in organizing all the southern States and Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. Eighteen States organized under my administration and I never received for that service one cent of salary. Here in Texas I was chosen in 1886 at Cleburne chairman of your executive committee, and by the resignation of the president and vice-president I acted as president and called a meeting of the State Alliance to fill the vacancies. I was then appointed State business agent, a new office with new duties, and I am prepared to demonstrate that as State business agent during the year 1887 I was instrumental in making a clear gain to the farmers of Texas in the price they received for their cotton crop of \$1,500,000.

I was then chosen business manager of the exchange and served in that position for a year and a half. Our

enemies call the exchange a failure, but I say it was the greatest success ever started. Even granted that it has entailed a direct loss of nearly \$100,000, it has saved the farmers of the State on the average 5¢ where it ever cost them a cent. If it only reduced prices 20 per cent for one single year it has done this much, and saved \$10,000,000 to the farmers of Texas. Now I call your attention to the fact that I have never been a candidate for any political position or for the nomination to any political position. I have never been a candidate for any position in the Alliance, never held a position in the Alliance without being chosen with no opposition, except the first one, and then I was elected while I stood on the floor protesting against it. Now in spite of all this I have been shamefully persecuted ever since I commenced doing effective work for the Order. I expected a bitter fight from our enemies and I expected the jealousy, spleen and malice of the traitors within the ranks, but it is not my duty to fight back at the assailants. It is my duty to perform the work assigned me by the Order and keep my record clean and pure and always open for the inspection of the proper officers, and it is the duty of the Order to shoot back at those who shoot at their officers in the performance of their duties. If I perform the work you have assigned me you must protect me in it. The object of the past persecution in Texas is perfectly plain. I had pushed your sword of co-operation to a place where it cut a hole in the pocket of monopoly.

The object of the present persecution, not only in Texas but throughout the country, is fully as plain. They have by common consent ascribed to me the authorship of the sub-treasury plan. In this they do me too great an honor, but at the same time they focus the vengeance of organized monopoly directly on me, and there is no man on earth can alone survive it. All in the world that prevents the immediate assassination of a man who has the reputation of being author of the sub-treasury plan is the fear of the people, the same fear that prevented the rulers of the synagogue from putting Jesus Christ to death.

I am proud of every move I made in your behalf as State business agent and as manager of the exchange, every single act is a matter of record and is in the hands of your State officers, where they have now been subject to inspection by members of the Order for the last two years. Once the books have been audited and twice examined by experts and by a competent committee. A committee was formed by the delegation from congressional districts, each electing one member, and that committee of eleven reported to the State Alliance, and that body gave me a unanimous standing endorsement, and still the tongue of the slanderer never stopped, but impugned the committee of eleven and the whole State Alliance.

I am proud of my every act in the national affairs, and especially in connection with the Georgia senatorial contest. When the National Alliance met at Ocala, President Polk, President Livingston and myself had been so freely criticised by the enemies from without and the traitors from within that we thought best to ask for a committee of investigation. This was granted by the body by having

each State delegation elect one man to form a committee. This committee was composed of twenty-six members, there being twenty-six States represented, and every possible means were resorted to give them full information, being a private examination by a committee of brethren from our secret Order. Private business was fully explained and laid bare in a manner that no public examination could or should have elicited.

Twenty-five of the committee were in unit in their report and the other one, U. S. Hall, of Missouri, has been trying in the public prints of the opposition newspapers of the country ever since to excuse himself for not concurring with the committee, and for that purpose he has endeavored to persecute me by publishing garbled extracts from evidence given before that committee. I proved by members of the Georgia legislature and by the Georgia delegation that I used absolutely no influence in the Georgia senatorial contest until after the Alliance caucus had concentrated on a nominee, and then I supported him. It is my duty to perform the work assigned me by the Order and keep my record clean and pure and always open for the inspection of the proper officers, and it is the duty of the Order to shoot back at those who shoot at their officers in the performance of their duties. If I perform the work you have assigned me you must protect me in it. The object of the past

persecution.

But I will not answer enemies from without nor traitors from within. I will be amenable to the officers or committees of the Order, and the Order must fight the enemies and deal with its traitors, and this is necessary, not for my sake, but for the good of the Order, because it makes no difference what becomes of me, if I should go down in the conflict as good or perhaps a better man will at once fill my place, provided the Order has sustained me in the fight I have made for it. But if it has not, the place will not be so well filled.

Again, when the membership see a man whom they have placed in office to serve them, who holds himself ready at all times to show them or their authorized committees that he

has served them well and honestly and truly, persecuted by the enemies and traitors of the Order in the press of the opposition for the purpose of getting him to use that channel to refute their falsehoods and slanders, they should remember that he has discharged his duty when he answers every demand of the Order, and that he is under no obligations to the world, and that if they cannot carry a pure man under the displeasure of the enemies and traitors, they will

make a poor showing in the great conflict that is rapidly approaching.

Now I submit that it would be an insult to and show great contempt for the Supreme Council and its committee of twenty-six, composed of one from each State, for me to take up and explain evidence that they found sufficient, simply because one man charges that they have perjured themselves. That committee was composed of the best men in the Order, elected by the State delegations, and it is a direct insult to them to heed the false statements of one man, who is attempting to hide his own shame.

Respect, therefore, for the Supreme Council, the national committee of twenty-six, the State Alliance and its congressional committee of eleven,

the honor of all of whom stands between me and any public explanation or investigation, compels me to bear, and bear patiently, this persecution. Until I have done wrong no power on earth can put me on the defensive.

Dr. Macune then proceeded in a two-hours' speech to discuss the financial question and the ultimate result of the sub-treasury plan. He first proceeded to give a short summary of financial legislation. He believed this the most momentous period in the history of this country. This closing decade of the nineteenth century will be responsible in its statesmanship more than any other era for the eventual success or failure of American self-government. It is a time when the people demand that they be instructed upon the great political problems, and when all agree upon action, that action will be unanimous and irresistible. The financial was the great unsolved question, all others are in process of solution. He held that in like junctures in the history of other nations when the antagonism between capital and labor resulted in a revolution, it was because capital never heeded the warning and the masses of the people had not been educated to restraint and to seek relief by legitimate and peaceful methods. Such might be expected from the tendency of monopolizing wealth today, and the problem is to secure relief by peaceable means. But conditions have changed; never before has so much intelligence prevailed in the popular classes. Never before has so many representatives of the people gathered together and studied these financial questions. This new movement of the people has taught statesmen and philanthropists to nourish hope. You do not find the desperation among the people and apprehension among statesmen of only three years ago.

The steady growth and peaceful action of this great organization of farmers has borne hope to those who were most skeptical. Dr. Macune then descended upon the evils of the contraction of the currency, the evils of undue expansion and also of a rigid unvarying volume of currency. He showed the fallacy of the Alliance's first platform, proposing relief by a cash pay-as-you-go policy, and held it entirely impracticable.

One of his singular propositions was that if all the farmers were out of debt, and as they do usually, all their products were sold for cash in one month of the year, they would suddenly take the entire circulating medium out of circulation, and the consequence would be that any good farmer could buy every foot of ground on Broadway, New York, and Waco would be a howling wilderness. On account of the insufficiency of the circulating medium the taking of so much of it out of trade during fifteen or thirty days on the last three months of the year had the effect of injuring all other interests, and it placed agriculture and manufacturing in direct antagonism.

Nothing could be expected from various propositions of the politicians. The supply of money from the free coinage of silver would be only a drop in the bucket. It might in a small way help one single class, but no advantage to the farmer who is left to charity when he should be master of the situation. Getting down to the only feasible proposition, the sub-treasury plan, he said:

It was unfair to ask a discussion of details of any plan until we have agreed upon the principle involved. The National Farmers Alliance did not insist upon any given detail, neither did the legislative committee. The proper course is to take up the principle, and if we representatives of the people and the people can agree upon any great principle after deliberate interchange of ideas, then we can have no trouble in arranging the details and in the operations of the plan. The details come as of secondary consequences. The people never agree upon them in advance; they are a matter of concessions. We then hold up this sub-treasury measure for discussion as to principle and necessity by the world at large, and challenge every man in this country to step on the rostrum and discuss with us. We do not mind; we want the truth.

I have demonstrated the necessity, but it is not our desire, nor is it best, that it be a question in partisan politics. We have endeavored to avoid this. We had it introduced in one house by a Republican and in the other by a Democrat. We regard it a great economical question to be considered by the thinking people as involving the financial interests of the whole country. As to its constitutionality those who doubt give no reason and this disposes of the objection.

Did you ever think about the fix this people would be in if we had no national banks and no provision for getting money out of the hands of the government and into the hands of the people? One way would be to sell the money to the people, another way to give it to them, and another to lend them the money. It is sold to them when the government pays salaries and constructs public buildings. It is given away in some cases, but to keep from lending it to the people they turn the government over to the national banks and let them lend it to the people. They turn it over to the national banks for the cost of printing it, and the banks lend it to you for what they can force you to pay.

Mr. Macune then went into the extensive discussion of the result should, under demand, the volume of currency become excessive. He contended the result would be prompt correction and the products in the warehouse would be sold, that the system would be self-acting, operating in one condition to increase the volume under legitimate demands, and by the self-acting safety valve contracting the volume when it became excessive.

We have reached the time in the history of mankind when co-operation is a necessity. Such a conception of the Order is too high to be tied down to the work of any business like, honorable and open handed, and less liable to cheating and oppression, to lend it to the people upon the most potential security that exists. The government cannot be injured by direct contact with the people. The people cannot steal the government or the money.

We hear it said the government has had a great deal of worry putting the money out of the treasury. The great surplus worried the last Congress more than anything else. Cleveland's policy at first was to let the money pile up in the treasury until it was a menace to the prosperity of the country, so as to bring a pressure upon Congress to submit to a reduction of the tariff. It piled up high and he submitted to it awhile. Then he became anxious and he authorized Mr. Mills to send in a bill, and I can criticise Mr. Mills because I live in his district, to authorize the payment of a premium in the purchase of bonds. Mr. Mills introduced the bill, but a Republican bill on the same subject was introduced and adopted and it cost in the payment of premiums \$50,000,000 to the people. Now take your

choice of the two methods. One a conservative, sensible, honest measure, or one in which we are compelled to pay Wall street a premium of 25 per cent on our bonds. Such financial methods, by which the people are robbed of millions, are what are staring us in the face to-day, and it ought to startle the people.

But we are told that the sub-treasury plan would flood the land with money until finally we should have to issue money on pumpkins and shucks. But this plan would not inflate the currency above the normal requirement. Rest the case on a single proposition, and if every dollar ever put out on the sub-treasury plan would not pass on a par with gold we do not want it. That is a severe test. The money that would be put out would be equal to the best ever issued.

Dr. Macune closes with remarks on politics. He wanted to say something about political methods to enforce our financial projects or any measures or changes that the Farmers Alliance should deem best to adopt.

I remember, he said, five years ago we were afraid to name politics, but we have got over that. I realize that in this vast assemblage we have gathered representatives of the people firmly devoted to the Farmers Alliance, and that nothing I could say or do, or that any one else could do or say, would drive or beat you away from the Order. I shall therefore feel free to express my opinion. I have learned a great deal since I joined the Order, and expect to learn more. I thought when I first joined I could give a better description of its objects than I can to-day. Its constitution has been changed four times, its ritual often. One year it is upon one line, another year it has changed the popular conception of what it was organized for. While this has transpired the Order has steadily grown and increased. It all shows that permanency and growth of the Order does not depend on its constitution, upon its ritual or secret work, nor upon its officers who have been frequently changed, nor does it depend upon the popular conception of its purpose. It is a higher evolution of material progress and its march is irresistible.

The sub-treasury plan would not compel the farmer to put his cotton in the warehouse. If it pays him he will prefer to sell. Liverpool has the gold single standard basis, and cotton being there on that basis the prices you would get would be on a gold basis whatever the currency might be in this country.

Mr. Macune then went into the extensive discussion of the result should, under demand, the volume of currency become excessive. He contended the result would be prompt correction and the products in the warehouse would be sold, that the system would be self-acting, operating in one condition to increase the volume under legitimate demands, and by the self-acting safety valve contracting the volume when it became excessive.

We have reached the time in the history of mankind when co-operation is a necessity. Such a conception of the Order is too high to be tied down to the work of any business like, honorable and open handed, and less liable to cheating and oppression, to lend it to the people upon the most potential security that exists. The government cannot be injured by direct contact with the people. The people cannot steal the government or the money.

With these conceptions of it I am not afraid of politics. If it be necessary to set these rule or ruin policies and politicians, let us do it as a measure—we will do it as a method, but never as an object. We will rise above local issues and prejudices. Such a great power as we represent, standing upon any other platform would be dangerous, as it would go to extremes. Let us press forward in our great educational work and use any and all methods necessary to the end.

The reflex and not the direct benefit is what is demanded. It is desired to prevent the manipulations of the currency so as to discriminate against the interest of the farmers. The money would circulate and keep

a third party movement—a fight inside both the old parties, or a movement to capture the Democratic party in all the States.

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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 - \$1.00 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, that 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.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council renews THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and the author in said paper, and his associates in said paper, and will do all we can to urge them onward in the good work of education.

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N. R. P. A.

The following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

THE ECONOMIST announces with deep regret the death of Mrs. J. Brad Beverley, of The Plains, Va. Mrs. Beverley was an estimable and lovable lady, and had been married but little over one year. Her death is a sad calamity to the family, and will be keenly felt by her large circle of friends and acquaintances. Brother Beverley is vice-president of the Virginia State Alliance, and an intelligent and enthusiastic worker. He is the youngest son of Col. Robert Beverley, one of the solid pillars of the Alliance structure.

THE opposition press in Mississippi have been unfavorably and somewhat sneeringly alluding to Brother Frank Burkitt as a candidate for United States Senator. Brother Burkitt may or may not be a candidate for that office, but one thing is certain, he has displayed and is now giving evidence that he is made of that kind of material which is necessary in a good office. Let no one fear for Mississippi with the true men it has and the grand cause it is contending for.

The New York Sun is giving considerable space to Hon. Thomas E.

Watson, congressmen-elect from Georgia. With its usual presumption this paper proceeds to read Mr. Watson out of the Democratic party. The fact is Mr. Watson was elected because he stood square upon the Alliance demands and had the courage of his convictions. He is fully able to care for himself, and is not losing much sleep over the ravings of this plutocratic organ. If the Sun will make a thorough examination it will find that Mr. Watson is not alone in this position.

THE national treasury is bankrupt without a shadow of doubt. The Secretary is just at present trying to put where it will do the most good the nickles and pennies which have so long been counted as "assets unavailable." If the treasury were called upon to pay the forced loan of the money deposited to redeem national bank bills outstanding, it would be \$40,000,000 in arrears by the 1st of July. And still the only thing necessary is confidence.

This city has an organization of what is known as the Sons of the Revolution, and another of the Daughters of the Revolution. If one could be started for the hired girls of the Revolution, and the toughs and bums of the Revolution, the whole thing would be on a sure footing, as those who have gone into the first two under false pretenses could then be relegated to their proper station. It is quite easy to see the political pull these organizations have in view.

THE Democratic and Republican press of the country, aided by the monopoly-owned prohibition and agricultural papers, are just now engaged in demonstrating the unconstitutionality and impracticability of the sub-treasury plan by throwing mud on the character of its originator, Dr. Macune. They assume to think if his good name can be smirched no further effort is necessary to bring about the abandonment of the measure. Should Dr. Macune and every other prominent man that to-day stand at the head of this movement be driven from the Order, the sub-treasury plan should be adopted, and enacted into law, the balance of the Alliance demands must be contended for until obtained. Let no one be led astray upon this point, but remember that every proposition contained in the Alliance demands is founded upon justice and equity, and as such must receive the consent and support of all true members.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

State Lecturer Frank Burkitt, of Mississippi, has written a letter to the editor of the Meridian News, which is here given in full, as explaining itself.

I believe I am correct in assuming that a statement made by Congressman Beeman, which you say "supports the charges preferred against Capt. Burkitt by Col. McAlister," first appeared in the News; hence this letter is addressed to you, and

experience expressed upon other occasions, and would have endangered the success of the enumeration in this census." How this could operate in that manner is not explained.

The experts sent into one of the experimental counties contributes the following chunk of solid wisdom: "It is represented that no excessive financial distress or sudden industrial expansion has visited this county. The low prices which have ruled for farm products during the past few years have in some measure it is said retarded the prosperity of the people." When such Solomons as this are entrusted with the statistical matters of the farmer, great things may be expected.

MR. CLARKSON, chairman of the Republican League, says:

To win in 1892 we must bring up the Republican newspaper circulation to meet that of the Democratic party in its programme to circulate tens of millions of arguments directly to the houses of the voters.

To obtain the names of these parties he can call on Mr. Porter of the Census Bureau, who has been collecting them, presumably for this very purpose, from the Alliance and other organizations.

A POINTER.

Just now the sub-treasury plan is being furiously assailed by the politicians of both old parties. There seems to be a concert of action in that direction, which is an infallible indication that instructions to make this onslaught have emanated from head-quarters. To such an extent is this being carried on, especially in Mississippi, that many good brethren are being misled into the belief that the sub-treasury plan is the only point of objection that the politicians have to the Alliance demands. The ECONOMIST would warn such brethren that not one single demand of the Alliance lacks in importance; that these demands were not formulated like the political platforms of the old parties to deceive and mislead, but every one is an earnest protest against a present evil and an honest demand for relief and reform. If the sub-treasury plan should be adopted, and enacted into law, the balance of the Alliance demands must be contended for until obtained.

Let no one be led astray upon this point, but remember that every proposition contained in the Alliance demands is founded upon justice and equity, and as such must receive the consent and support of all true members.

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I hope you will do me the kindness to furnish a copy to the daily press outside the State, that has so disinterestedly undertaken to control the politics of Mississippi.

It is not my purpose to engage in a controversy with Col. (?) McAlister and Mr. Beeman, indeed, I decline most emphatically to do so, but I trust I may be permitted to state a few facts not inconsistent with my duties to the Alliance and the general public, which may possibly account for their ungenerous and unwarranted attack on me.

The National Alliance at its session held in St. Louis, December, 1889, adopted the sub-treasury plan as a means of relief for the plundered farmers of the country. The plan was given to the public soon afterwards, and it created a wild commotion among the plutocrats and storm of ridicule and condemnation followed. The sub-treasury idea was commented on by every political newspaper in America, was criticised by the politicians, great and small, and discussed by every knot of citizens assembled on the village street corners throughout the government. Every form of objection that could be suggested was urged by the enemies of the scheme, but none of its opponents, so far as I have been able to observe, have proposed anything in lieu thereof, as a remedy for the evil which is admitted on all hands to exist.

The Mississippi State Alliance was held in August, 1890, with, I believe, sixty-seven counties represented, and a resolution endorsing the sub-treasury was adopted without division. Messrs. Beeman and McAlister were present at the meeting, and since they seem to have no scruples about giving the public "the inside proceeding," and ascribing improper motives and conduct to private members of the body, they can explain, if they think the subject worthy of consideration, what action they took pending the question.

The Supreme Council at its annual convocation assembled at Ocala in December last, with a largely increased representation, on a call of States reaffirmed the doctrine enunciated at St. Louis one year before by a majority vote of more than 5 to 1. The two virtuous brethren who are now so much more concerned over what we owe to "principle" in contradistinction to "Harmony," may, if they choose, enlighten their friends (the enemies of the Alliance), and give the newspapers an excuse to head-line some other loyal member of the organization by exposing all that was said and done on that occasion. I shall concede them a monopoly of this business, and can congratulate them and all true Alliance men everywhere that they only have one rival in America.

The County Alliances of this State by as decided majorities as were found to exist in our State and National Councils, have given their adhesion to the sub-treasury scheme. These facts have been published to the world and may be properly spoken of as evidence of the position first assumed by the great farmer's organization, and consistently maintained thereafter, and it makes no difference whether a member had originally approved the principle involved in the sub-treasury plan or not, he is bound by the action of the majority, and should acquiesce in its decisions. If he could not conscientiously do this, then let him, and that is to withdraw from the Order. This idea once embodied in a resolution and offered it as a substitute for one pending, which assumed that only a spy and a traitor would desire to remain inside of an organization practically unanimous on a vital question, only to prevent absolute harmony inside and to report the proceedings to the enemy outside, and proposing to expel all such characters from the Alliance. While the name of no one was mentioned, it seems that the resolution was appropriated, and to avenge themselves they seize upon and revamp the old slanders against Dr. Macune and make me prominent enough to control the action of a committee composed of thirty members from as many States and Territories of this Union, all of whom save one, if what is charged against Macune and myself is true, were a set of ignoramuses or corruptionists.

If the charges of "Colonel" McAlister supported by Congressman Beeman do not convey a false impression, they are to be pitied for having fallen into a den of thieves, for I believe I am correct in saying that only three men out of about a hundred officers and delegates have ever questioned the verity and justice of the government. Again, "to incorporate questions for this purpose in the population schedule of the decennial enumeration was contrary to the report made and adopted at Ocala, and their self-respect should prompt them to

disconnect themselves with so disconnected a crowd at the earliest possible moment.

In their wrath at being unable to divide the Alliance in Mississippi and cause it to subserve the purpose of scheming politicians Messrs. Beeman and McAlister seem to have overlooked a fact well known to one of them, at least, namely: That they could not even if they withdrew from the Alliance (without a violation of their obligation) expose to outsiders matters which transpired in a committee room or on the floor of the meeting held with closed doors, and they should have reflected that an intelligent public can accept only cum grano salis any statement made by gentlemen who place themselves in such an unenviable attitude. In the digest and manual of the rules and practices of the House of Representatives will be found the following:

"It is not in order to allude on the floor to anything that has taken place in committee, unless by a written report sanctioned by a majority of the committee."

If I could so far forget my duty to myself and the Alliance as to imitate my accusers by disclosing what transpired in the committee room and on the floor of the Supreme Council, my vindication would be complete, but since in doing so I must prove as recreant to the trust reposed in me by an honorable and praiseworthy organization as my assailants, I prefer, while this campaign of calumny lasts, to stand silent in the presence of a misguided public sentiment, manufactured by a vindictive partisan press, until reason and justice may resume their sway.

The Dakota Ruralist. The Alliance never did a wiser thing than when it decided to send our official organ free to all paid-up members. There are a few who do not seem to understand this fully. The Ruralist is as much a part of our missionary work as is our lecture bureau. In paying your dues you do not subscribe for the Ruralist. You simply pay your share of the general expenses, in which by order of the State Alliance, the Ruralist is included. It should not only go into the hands of every member of the Alliance, but every farmer and laborer in the State. Next, see to it that you sustain the local paper or papers in your county that advocates our principles. Remember that their best advertising patronage is cut off when they espouse our cause. The opposition will not support a paper that does not support them. Why should you? It is not wise; it is not business; it is not even good common sense to pay for and take into your house for your family reading the subsidized plutocratic organ when for the same money you can have a healthy, intelligent, progressive, loyal reform press.

To sum up, my special warning is: Look out for the press. "In time of peace, prepare for war" by weeding out your enemies and enthroning your friends.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN LEAGUE.
President H. L. Loucke has addressed a letter to the Dakota Ruralist, of Huron, which is a good bit of advice to the Order everywhere. Calling attention to the comparative quiet of the enemy in his own State, he details the progress of battle in Georgia, and goes out:

In Texas the old device of dividing the membership succeeded for a time. But now that old war horse, Evan Jones, is once more at the helm, and reorganization is progressing at a rapid rate. In Mississippi the fight is a fierce one. A new constitution has recently been adopted by the terms of which the two United States Senators will have to be elected by the incoming legislature. The present incumbents are opposed to the sub-treasury plan. They naturally seek re-election. But their only hope was in capturing or dividing the Alliance. Their first step was to secure the official organ which has now turned literally against the Alliance and its principles. Then a couple of officers of the McAlister stripe undertook to stump the State and they had the Alliance doomed. But gallant Frank Burkitt was equal to the emergency and through his paper, the Chickasaw Messenger, and by his voice, is grandly sweeping the State to the utter consternation of the opposition. So it is all along the line. The word has gone out from Wall street that the Alliance must be destroyed by whatever means possible. We should rejoice that though we occasionally find a Judas the great mass of the membership are loyal to our principles and loyal to our leaders so long as they lead in those principles.

One lesson the plutocracy do not seem to have learned, but are fast learning now: Let the leader be ever so popular, the official organ ever so powerful, the moment they attempt to side-track or depart from the straight line of principle their influence with the Alliance ceases, as it ought to. The people are reading and thinking for themselves. In this is the secret of the wonderful revolution that is sweeping over the nation; in this its omen of sure success. It is an uprising of the people.

A word of warning to the members in our own State. We must not imagine that because all is peace and harmony within our ranks now, that therefore the opposition are idle or have given up the fight, and we can rest on our laurels.

We reaffirm our belief in, and devotion to, the supreme and sovereign right of every law-abiding citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted and certified as counted. Denial of such right should result in decrease of representation in Congress and in the electoral college.

We recognize the Republican press of the country as a great and indispensable force in the advocacy and promotion of Republican principles, and commend to every believer in Republicanism the duty of lending his influence and efforts to the extension of the benefits of this potent agency.

The above discloses the plutocratic tendency and unyielding devotion to the money power which own and control that party. These resolutions demand a high protective tariff, a single gold standard of money, no increase of currency, a recognition of the assumed vested rights of corporations, trusts and monopolies, the repeal of the immigration laws and the enactment of a force bill. These demands constitute an aggregate of abominations that should prove the destruction of any political party indorsing them.

The Dakota Ruralist. The Alliance never did a wiser thing than when it decided to send our official organ free to all paid-up members. There are a few who do not seem to understand this fully. The Ruralist is as much a part of our missionary work as is our lecture bureau. In paying your dues you do not subscribe for the Ruralist. You simply pay your share of the general expenses, in which by order of the State Alliance, the Ruralist is included. It should not only go into the hands of every member of the Alliance, but every farmer and laborer in the State. Next, see to it that you sustain the local paper or papers in your county that advocates our principles. Remember that their best advertising patronage is cut off when they espouse our cause. The opposition will not support a paper that does not support them. Why should you? It is not wise; it is not business; it is not even good common sense to pay for and take into your house for your family reading the subsidized plutocratic organ when for the same money you can have a healthy, intelligent, progressive, loyal reform press.

To sum up, my special warning is: Look out for the press. "In time of peace, prepare for war" by weeding out your enemies and enthroning your friends.

HON. E. H. BELDEN, of Michigan, widely known as Merlinda Sissons, as a delegate to the Western Commercial Congress, introduced the following resolutions, and, by the advantage of being a member of the committee on resolutions, secured their passage through said committee and their final adoption by the Convention.

We endorse the wise, statesmanlike, courageous and patriotic course of the administration of President Harrison. Its conduct of both domestic and foreign affairs has been such as to command the thorough respect and hearty admiration of every true citizen. Its attitude in dealing with alien residents and giving to them the protection accorded to American citizens and no more, is just, and should commend itself to the civilized world.

We oppose any attempt to "debate the currency and coin of the country, but insist upon such legitimate increase of our circulating medium and such maintenance of the double standard as will fairly satisfy the increasing necessities of trade and commerce.

Resolved, That the alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

Resolved, That lands held by railroad corporations, and not earned by them according to the terms of the government grant, should be restored to the public domain for homesteads to actual settlers.

Resolved, That the interstate commerce of the country should be controlled by the general government in the interest of the people.

Recent events have made more apparent than ever the necessity for exercising the spirit of fraternity manifested by the delegates now in attendance upon the First Western Commercial Congress, and that old animosities too long engendered between the sections, should be forever dispelled by the more important work of securing the complete establishment of equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

The last resolution was adopted by

APPLIED SCIENCE.
In Agricultural and Rural Economy

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEEY,
Woodstock, Md.

MARL.

In Pendleton county, West Virginia, large deposits of a rich and pure marl have been found. The substance when dug out nearly resembles air-stacked lime. It is by analysis, in the main, a pulverized carbonate of lime, resembling white marble dust, or the pulverized lime stone which has been manufactured and used extensively as a manure.

In physical character this marl is more like pulverized chalk, and lacks the sharp crystalline character of the ground lime stone, which character will doubtless render the material more assimilable and valuable than the pulverized lime stone.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN LEAGUE.
Below is given the resolutions passed by the Republican League at its recent session at Cincinnati. They should be read with care by those who desire to know the position that party will take in 1892:

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nitrogen abundantly, and also leave the ash minerals assimilated freely by clover, in the soil, as the clover decomposes in that form in which the cereals can most freely assimilate them. The total effect of the preparation described will be vastly enhanced by farm-yard manure liberally spread on the fresh-ploughed land and harrowed in, and by further top dressing on the weaker portions of the field during autumn and winter at such times as the lands may be fit to haul over.

But some one who has studied such questions from the chemical side only may object, that crude phosphate is insoluble and the presence of large quantities of basic material in the marl will tend to intensify this insolubility. We make reply that every fertile soil superabounds with basic material and that even in bulk, the so-called acid or phosphates "go back," and much more so in the soil. There are some who think, and write and teach, concerning these questions, under the influence of commercial views. If the use of acid is to be abandoned, or largely curtailed, what is to become of the owners of pyrite mines, and of the profits of manufacturers on the acid and the manipulation of it. And if I attack these great interests, what is to become of me? For, why should any man quarrel with his bread and meat? As for me, I am nothing. "Duty is the sublimest word in our language."

As to mine owners and manufacturers, what are they in comparison of the multitude of the hungry poor to whom the cheaping of their food supply is the question of questions in which is involved all other questions? The given ultimate question, how shall we get bread, we and ours? The whole subject of plant nutrition is in a crude, unsatisfactory state; the whole science of fertilization; the whole art of feeding crops are in a like crude and unsatisfactory state. They stand—these great questions—where, for thirty years, they have stood. Why be fooling with tests of yields of varieties of tomatoes and strawberries by the station gardener when his results may be and most likely will be reversed in his next neighbor's garden on the other side of the hill? Do you call his science? It is not science. Do you call it practical, useful work? It is not practical nor useful, but it is a waste of time and of the people's money. Why be analyzing tomatoes and strawberries, and attempting to deduce from the relative proportions of the proximate principles the conclusion that such and such manures are best for strawberries and tomatoes. Do you think that is science? It is not science. Do you think you are benefiting anybody? You are not benefiting anybody. If agricultural colleges and stations are capable of no better work than this, they are farcical and at the same time expensive failures.

THE VIRGINIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

The long contest over the very valuable property of the Virginia State Agricultural Society ended in a decree favorable to the society, which was followed by reorganization and successful financial arrangements; and there is to be a fair at Richmond the coming autumn. Regarding such fairs as possessing important educational influence, in very many ways, the writer feels a sense of gratification

in this result. A feeling naturally heightened by the fact that he was himself for many years a member of the executive committee of this society. Referring now to his associations with leading men in old Virginia on that committee, he recalls many delightful memories. That committee was as fine a body of gentlemen as this writer has ever come in contact with, and he regards his former association with it as the highest honor to which he has attained in life. The friendship with which he, as the youngest member of their body, was honored by those distinguished gentlemen of old Virginia, is prized, as few things are prized, and the cherished memory of them will cease only with life.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN VIRGINIA.

The statement is made public that the Virginia Agricultural College is undergoing re-organization. General L. L. Lomax has resigned the presidency, and other changes are in contemplation; among others, the radical one of moving the college away from the bad place where it is, and where it ought never to have been put, and where it was put, avowedly by some who helped to put it there, for the very purpose of killing it. It is bootless to stir up the nastiness of political rotteness. It would do no good to go into questions of competency or incompetency. Injustice has been done individuals; mistakes have been made. The question is, can anything be now done to make this school what it has never been, to wit: a school of the theory and practice of scientific agriculture. If anything can be done to that effect the farmers of Virginia and of the whole country will be wronged if it is not done, for to that end was this institution liberally endowed by the government. The president of an agricultural college ought to be a scientific man, and ought not to be one of purely literary culture. He ought to be practically acquainted with the business of agriculture and with its opportunities, its needs, its possibilities. He ought to be a man of popular talents and in full sympathy with the rank and file of the great agricultural class. He ought not to be a man who perhaps never in his life entered the domicil of, or broke bread with, a plain farmer. He ought not to be a man so crammed full of book knowledge as to be unable to take an intelligent or a leading part in the discussion of any practical farm question which may arise in any company of people. A chemist, a botanist, a comparative anatomist; a physiologist may be such a man. On the other hand a chemist, or other such person may be a chemist or scientist merely; and however great in his specialty, completely unfit for the presidency of a college or any other administrative office. Clearly the right man for such a place is not easily discovered, and is perhaps less easily secured for a place the insecurity of which is so abundantly demonstrated. The fact is, it is more than doubtful whether

Mutual Benefit Association, all agreeing, as I understand it, to a convention in February, 1892. The National Farmers Alliance, at Omaha, since our meeting have also endorsed that proposition. Now why should Polk, Macune, Powderly, et al., the ablest reform leaders of the present time, representing as they do our most powerful reform organizations, and having their implicit confidence, be denounced because they do not jump at the dictum of Power, Rice & Co., who represent no party or organization whatever. These great organizations cannot well, after the action they have already taken, take part in the Cincinnati convention. They are just as anxious for success in 1892 as are those who will assemble in Cincinnati May 19. Without their active co-operation thoughts of success would be an idle dream. I wish to warn the delegates who may assemble there that they cannot afford to ignore these organizations or denounce their leaders. Now as to the convention itself. I believe May 19th too early; time should have been given us to hold summer conventions to elect delegates. It is called right in the farmers' busy season, something we used to denounce the old political parties for. In my judgment it is a mistake to make it, as it practically is, a mass convention. There is danger of a repetition of the great reform party organized at St. Louis last year which was loaded down with twenty-four planks, a load so heavy that we never heard of it after. My plan was to call a convention of delegates from the independent political parties of the several States that had tickets in the field last year, or had, since organized on the same platform of principles. We had, and have, a sufficient nucleus of such to give us a stalwart organization of men who had the courage of their convictions. As it is, of course, our Alliance cannot take part. But a large number of earnest men have signified their intention of being there, and I would advise that our independent party be represented. I know that it will be a sacrifice to attend conventions during seed time, but the meeting will be an important one, and I hope the sacrifice will be made and a good delegation of strong men be sent. I would advise that the delegates be instructed to withdraw from the convention in case the platform of principles adopted should go beyond or include more than our St. Louis platform. We cannot afford to wreck our party in this State, now in such a flourishing, promising condition, by a load such as that taken by the national reform party last year. I earnestly hope that the convention may be a grand success. If wise counsels prevail, a prudent, conservative course be pursued, and a foundation laid, such as our labor organizations now demand, I have not the least doubt but that we can sweep the nation in 1892.

Yours fraternally, H. L. LOUCKS.

"Then, And Not Till Then."
Chickasaw Messenger, (Oklahoma, Miss.)

It has long been the dream of Southern patriots and political economists that a sufficient amount of capital might be found willing to invest in our midst to develop the wonderful resources of our beautiful and productive Southland, but the vision has never been realized, nor can it, until the financial system under which the

industrial classes of this country has groaned for the past twenty-five years, has been supplanted by another and more beneficent system which will render the wealth producers of America independent of an arrogant, selfish and usurious money power. With existing conditions, capitalists are likely to use their money in corners, trusts and combines, for they can realize a larger rate of interest than would probably accrue to them by legitimate investments in railroad or manufacturing enterprises in the Southern States, and as a consequence the money of the country is withdrawn from circulation among the people and concentrated in the great cities where it may be used by speculators and gamblers in the interest of the banks, brokers and usurious money lenders, and to the detriment of the laboring classes and the legitimate business interests of the commercial world.

Very Clearly Stated.
Hon. A. W. Skinner in Mississippi Clodhopper.

The opposition to the demand of the National Alliance enunciated at St. Louis and indorsed at the Ocala convention by prominent Alliance men of our State, is a matter to be regretted. While it is true that the Alliance not only permits, but invites, a thorough investigation and a full and free discussion of all its principles and plans by its membership and all others who care to discuss them; yet the Alliance doubtless expects that the demands of the Supreme Council will be respected by every member of the order. There is no other way to maintain that unity of purpose in the order without which success in our efforts to correct existing evils is simply impossible. The divisions in our ranks upon the sub-treasury plan is very unfortunate, and in the discussion of that plan, which has been renewed since the announced opposition of Senators George and Walthall, there should not be any manifestation of a spirit of intolerance, or any disposition to ostracise and condemn those who may differ with us in regard to that measure. Nothing can be gained by such a course, but everything can be gained by a wise, conservative policy, and the exercise of a spirit of charity. Denunciation of men and a carping, uncharitable criticism of the opinions of those who do not agree with us, never did any cause any good. Senator George opposes the sub-treasury plan, and his opinions are entitled to respectful consideration. The Senator is a man of profound learning in the law. As a constitutional lawyer he is said to be the peer of any man in the United States Senate. His position and past service entitle him to the love and respect of the people of Mississippi. He has been, by the universal consent of the people, accorded a character for honesty and integrity that is unimpeachable and entirely above suspicion. He is, without doubt, honest in his opposition to the sub-treasury plan. But while all this is true, the fact remains that even a man of Senator George's profound scholarship and brilliant statesmanship, may possibly be mistaken. And this possibility is strengthened by the fact that other men who are his equal in learning and ability, fail to agree with him in his conclusions upon this question.

As to the constitutionality of the sub-treasury plan, it seems to be a matter of conclusion alone. No argument has been made by any of the great politicians who oppose the plan to prove its unconstitutionality. If it is not unconstitutional, the Alliance does not desire its adoption. But if it is in harmony with the constitution for the government to issue national bank notes on the deposit of U. S. bonds as a basis for such currency, printing said notes free of charge and turning them over to the national banks at an interest of 1 per cent per annum, and that too, with 10 per cent of the face value of the bonds, it

would seem that no additional elastic city of that instrument would be required to permit the issuance of 80 per cent of the appraised value of agricultural products in currency to the producer, who may deposit his products as directed in the sub-treasury plan. The objections to the bill are directed more to a consideration of the details of the plan than to the plan itself. The sub-treasury plan, when once in operation, would be no expense to the government, the two per cent required to be paid by the depositor covering all expenses in the premises. One objection urged by Brother Beeman is that the poor counties—those that do not produce as much as 14,000 bales of cotton per annum—would get no benefits of the plan, hence he argued its inequality. This is a very weak argument to be used by a man of Brother Beeman's standing and position. The sole object of the sub-treasury plan is to get more money in circulation among the people, and to divest the national banks of their power to contract the volume of money by withdrawing it from circulation whenever it suits purpose to do so. The banks now have this power and use it to the detriment of the farmer, by taking the money out of circulation at the time when the products of the farm are placed upon the market. The sub-treasury plan would remedy this great evil by providing a flexible volume of currency that would accommodate itself to the requirements of trade, being contracted or inflated in exact proportion to the amount of agricultural products to be disposed of by the farmers of the country. This being true, it follows that a sub-treasury located at any point would be beneficial to the entire country, and that those sections of the country that could have no sub-treasury located near them would be equally benefited with those sections where they were established. A sub-treasury located in Florida would be beneficial to the people of Kansas, and vice versa, because the money issued there would go into general circulation. Now, I want to say the Alliance is not "stuck" on the plan under discussion, but will gladly welcome any plan that will accomplish the objects sought. The enemies of the Alliance, the most dangerous of whom are inside the order, are using their power and influence to create the impression that there is a conflict between the Ocala demands and the Democratic platform of principles, or, in other words, the Alliance demands are in opposition to the Democratic party. This is an error. There is no reason why any good Democrat cannot endorse those demands and honestly work to have them enacted into law. But the Democratic party can never of itself accomplish the reforms demanded by the Alliance, among which is the abolition of sectional animosities and bringing about an era of fraternal fellowship between all sections of our common country. No political party can ever accomplish this object. If the Democratic party, as our Senators have affirmed, can work out through political party methods, all the reforms demanded by existing conditions, and give to the farming class the relief needed, then there exists no necessity whatever for the Alliance movement. But however just the principles of the party may be, and however desirous it may be to work out these reforms,

political prejudices will forever defeat that party in its laudable undertaking on that line. Then it is obvious that a necessity did exist, and does exist, for the adoption and maintenance of a platform upon which all creeds, all parties and all religions could stand and together work for the purification of American politics, and together work out the possibly glorious destiny of our great republic. Such is the platform of principles adopted by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

This platform, embodied in the Ocala demands, knows no party, no section or no creed; but has inscribed upon its banners, in characters of living light, eternal as truth itself, "Equal rights to all, special favors to none."

Business Men and Politics.

Peninsula Farmer, Federalsburg, Md.

The opponents of the Alliance are fond of saying that our projects are "visionary" and "impracticable" because they are opposed by "business men." Well, we have at various times expressed our opinions of these business men and the sort of legislation they have afflicted us with for thirty years past, and now to add proof that the Alliance is right in its estimation of these business men, we give the following extract from an article by an Alliance opponent in the New York Sun:

"That there is a need of the inculcation in some manner of sounder business principles than those which prevail among us is evident, I think, not only from what I have just pointed out in regard to the management of the corporations whose securities are the subject of speculation in Wall street, but from many other equally notorious forms of dishonesty. Every day the newspapers chronicle some embezzlement, defalcation, breach of trust, or neglect of duty by which thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars are wrongfully taken from these victims. Accidents happen resulting in the destruction of property, personal injuries, and even loss of life, all produced by unconscious carelessness in the discharge of some duty. To my mind, also, men who undertake to do work for which they are not competent, and who thus cause disaster, are scarcely less criminal than those who do it willfully or negligently. Losses must occur, and accidents are not always to be avoided, but the number of both could be much diminished if business was more conscientiously conducted than it is. We hold surgeons and physicians responsible for malpractice, and lawyers for ignorance of law, and there is no reason why business men acting for others should not be subject to the same rule.

Moreover, with the proofs that daily meet our eyes of dishonesty, carelessness, and incompetence in private and corporate affairs, it seems to me unjust to denounce, as many do, political sins of the same kind as indicating an unusual lack of honesty in those who commit them, and, therefore, as being especially worthy of reprobation. A great many people, and, I am sorry to say, a great many newspapers, clamor continually for a management of our city, State and national government on "business principles," as if that would be an improvement upon the prevailing methods. Undoubtedly by business principles are meant principles simi-

lar to those laid down by Mr. Wharton as the basis of the education to be given in his school, but as I have pointed out, these are not the principles which are universally practiced. On the contrary, the same dishonesty, incompetence and negligence which, in our public servants, are the subject of so much complaint, equally abound in other departments of society. Government officers do not form a class apart from their fellow citizens. They are taken from among us, and their failings are those of the general mass. To expect them to be wiser and more virtuous than we are, is like expecting to dip fresh water out of the salt ocean. So long as presidents of railroad companies and officers of banks and other financial institutions are daily found guilty of dishonesty, while trustees and executors show themselves false to their trusts, and when deception and fraud are brought to light in business transactions between private citizens, it is the merest cant to talk about improving the administration of public affairs by taking it out of the hands of politicians and giving it to the business men. We undoubtedly need more honesty and more efficiency in our government, but we do not need it there alone, and we cannot improve that particular section of society without an improvement of the whole."

The Toiler Fools The Bill. Atlanta Constitution.

From 1880 to 1890 the wealth of this country increased 50 per cent. It increased from \$44,000,000,000 to \$66,000,000,000. This increase was the result of labor. It was produced by the toilers of the country. But what became of this increase? A thoughtful writer in the *The San Francisco Argonaut* proceeds to answer the question. Careful estimates show that on January 1, 1890, of the \$66,000,000,000 of wealth in the United States, 30,000 leading capitalists possessed \$36,250,000,000, leaving \$29,750,000,000 for the remaining 63,000,000 inhabitants. It will be seen from these figures that although our farmers, artisans and other toilers produced the increase of \$22,000,000,000, a few capitalists absorbed most of it. If this thing is to go on, in about twenty-five years a few thousand plutocrats will practically own the whole country. The toilers of the country produce all that we eat, drink and wear in a year, and in addition add 4 per cent annually to our wealth. But the capitalists own the factories, machinery and appliances used by laboring men. Capital should obtain a fair share of the increase of wealth. As it is, it takes the entire increase, and exacts so much that the laborers have to mortgage their little property and live on the proceeds. This is a true statement. During the past ten years the capitalists lived in luxury at the expense of the toilers. During the same period our farmers and other workers lived very plainly, although they increased the wealth of the country 50 per cent. Now, simple justice demands that the increase should be equally divided between the two classes. There is something wrong somewhere. In fact, nearly everything is wrong. McKinleyism, monopolies, plutocratic legislation, goldbug contraction of the currency and our extravagant government are building up the classes and pulling

down the masses. The *Argonaut* writer says:

Had the interest on money been at the rate of 4 per cent, and had capitalists been content with profits of 4 per cent, capital would have swallowed up the entire surplus of \$22,000,000,000, and would have left the farmers and other workers in precisely the same financial condition in which they were at the beginning of 1880. Capital, however, was not content with profits of 4 per cent, and the result was that the surplus wealth created during the decade was not sufficient to meet their unjust demands, and the workers of the country had to mortgage their property to pay them the excess. The legal rate of interest in the different States and territories ranges from 5 to 12 per cent; the average rate for the whole Union being about 7 per cent. Louisiana is the only State in which the legal rate is lower than 6 per cent. The rate allowed by contract is, in a number of States, unlimited. During the year 1890, the dividends paid by the national banks of the United States amounted to 8.19 per cent of the capital invested. If the average rate of profits on capital throughout the country be less than 7 per cent, the State legislators are guilty of intolerable tyranny in compelling unfortunate debtors to pay that amount. The average legal rate of interest for the whole country is 7 per cent, and the State legislatures have no right to force debtors to pay more for the use of money than it will produce when used. The fact that the average legal rate is 7 per cent shows that, in the estimation of our State legislators, the average profits on capital amount to 7 per cent.

This makes the whole business plain enough for even the wayfaring man to understand. If the annual increase of the wealth of the country, produced by labor is only 4 percent, and capital continues to make an average profit of 7 per cent throughout the United States, then the jig is up, and in another generation the masses will be no better off than the old serfs in Russia and the peons in Mexico. But the question is, What are the people going to do about it?

Ninety-Two.

The Vindicator, Sulphur Springs, Tex.

All over the country leading men see victory in the near future, some place the time in 1892, and all agree that the people will rule in 1896, and that the people's move knows no East, West, North or South, but one fraternal union will sweep the country in 1892. Texas is further behind than many of her sister States, and she will witness the most astounding political surprise ever known in that year. When the man with the hoe and the man with the hammer unite and march to the polls you will see a resurrection of principles and a burial of politicians. The people of Texas will find out that the Ocala platform is the only platform that offers any general and permanent relief to the working and middle classes, they are already finding it out, and all over this union they are bursting the bonds of party yokes and joining the grand army of relief, organizing and drilling for the grand march of 1892. All over the country leading men on both sides of the political house say that the next Congress must do something to appease the wrath of the people or this "farmers' movement" this "labor movement" will sweep the

LANSING, Mich., April 14.—From statistics issued from the State Department it is shown that the wheat crop in Michigan for 1889 cost to produce \$18,200,328, and that its value was \$16,728,803, or an actual loss of \$1,471,525. The total cost of the corn crop was \$12,269,032, and the total value \$7,254,245, or a loss of \$5,014,787. The cost of the oat crop was \$10,130,655, and its value \$7,390,457, or a loss of \$2,740,198, a total loss on the production of the three crops of \$9,226,510. The value of the hay crop in the State was 7.02 per cent of the value of the lands on which it was grown. The total value of all crops from the best data available for 1889 was \$34,490,231, hay being second in rank, \$14,016,164.

The Caucasian (Clinton, N. C.) says: Certain papers in this State are often very loud and solicitous, in the abstract, for the interest of the laboring man. They even admit that the Alliance (a great organization of laboring men) is doing well, but the grand march of 1892. All over the country leading men honestly striving to better their condition by bettering the condition of the country is a good thing. These are their pretensions, but what are their real sentiments? The following illustration will show: A few weeks since a very strong and, we think, unanswerable presentation of the needs of the country, the condition of finance, who controls it, and who suffers by it, was published by the heads of the Alliance. About the same time a long article attacking the principles of the Order and the leading characters in it was published.

The Alliance Herald (Montgomery, Ala.) speaks for the Order in that State: The deep solicitude of the Montgomery Advertiser about sub-Alliances dying away is altogether gratuitous, for each of the few that have died away two have been born. For each member who has withdrawn within the past year the rolls show one and a third average have been added. The rolls further show that the membership on the first of April was larger than at the beginning of any previous quarter, and that there are also a larger number of primaries than any previous quarter. The Advertiser will please not break its tender heart over the demise of the Alliance, and try to console itself over its threatened

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

Dakota Ruralist (Huron, S. D.) says:

The Fifty-first Congress made appropriations amounting to over \$1,000,000,000. This is unparalleled in the history of extravagant legislation. It is one-fifth of the total cost of the civil war. It is more than the present bonded debt of the nation. It is double the value of all the property of eighteen States. It is three times the value of ten States. It is four times the value of seven States. It is fifteen times the wealth of Nevada. It is ten times the wealth of South Dakota. It is one-sixteenth the assessed value of the United States in 1880. Every dollar of this must be raised by a tax, direct or indirect upon the people. How much of this enormous amount of money will go into the pockets of the common people? It is the plutocrats revel.

The Geneva (Ala.) Record says:

The farmers have awakened from their political lethargy, and have buckled on the full Alliance armor. The leading bosses of the Democratic party have left the old Jeffersonian landmarks and gone off on a tangent upon a way unknown to the Democratic masses, and the people are being quickened with the breath of new life breathed into their nostrils. The people are learning that the sub-treasury means more money, more liberty and final freedom from serfdom. They believe it, and all Hades cannot prevail against it. Serfdom and slavery have never met favor in the eyes of Deity.

The Newspaper (California Mo.) says:

Production and distribution are the factors of enjoyment. Labor is the only source of production, enjoyment is the great stimulus to production, enjoyment is plentious or parsimonious in the exact ratio that justice and equity or greed control distribution. There is nothing the matter with production, it is ever on the alert and ready and willing to produce that for which there is a human want, and yet we find that those enjoying the least, stunted to the bare necessities of human existence, are those who produce most if not all wealth. The bare statement of this fact, shows conclusively that something is radically wrong in the adjustment of human condition; and at once begets the inquiry, where and what is there wrong. It will not be found in production, it must then be sought for in distribution. Labor alone produces wealth, its distribution is controlled by transportation and money. Transportation hauls the various products of labor from the point of production to where they are to be exchanged, and money completes the exchange. On investigation it will be found that these two prime factors of distribution, money and transportation, are almost absolutely controlled by a very small per cent of the people, and that they do not contribute one particle to the store of wealth, their business is to take from the store of wealth, with a double action scoop shovel manufactured by Monopoly, Greed & Co., and that justice nor equity are stockholders in the boodle concern, and that their voice has no power with the company. The excess which goes to the enrichment of the manufacturer, is but a pittance of the exaction of the money and transportation lords. The manufacturer is engaged in wealth producing, whilst money and transportation's only business is robbing, both the producer of the raw material and manufactured product, hence the lords contribute largely to the tariff racket in order to keep up the unnatural warfare between the two classes of wealth producers, that they may skin them in detail. It's their plan of battle, only this and nothing more.

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downfall, which exists only in its imagination and ardent desires.

The Dublin (Tex.) Progress says:

A "smart Aleck" who thought the Farmers' Alliance down-pour was only a momentary shower is now making for higher ground with all the speed he can command.

The Alliance (Tallahassee, Fla.) says:

The Alliance is now on trial before the bar of public judgment, and every individual member is responsible for the faithful discharge of the particular task assigned him. The responsibility is a common one, and rests upon all alike. The great work that is going on may not come before your view every day—and your sub-Alliance may not be all that you would have it be, but stand to your colors. Results may not be reached as fast as you had expected, but stick to your crowd. Your leaders may not be as brilliant nor as aggressive as you would wish them, but abide your time and continue the struggle. Revolutions never go backwards; if you hold up you are left. Nothing human was ever perfect, and never will be, but stick to your Order and be steadfast to the end. It may require personal sacrifice of opinion, but that is but a daily occurrence in life. It may demand inconvenience and recognition, but stick together. Don't give up the ship.

Kentucky Farmer (Shepherdsville, Ky.) says:

When the old parties tell you you are for paternalism refer him to the law allowing the banker to take his millions of dollars in gold to the mint and have it pressed in bars at the expense of the government to make it convenient to ship to Europe. Now, why should the government press the bankers gold into bars for shipment and make the farmer compress his own cotton when he wants to ship it to Europe? We want the shoe put on the other foot for awhile now, it will fit better.

The Alliance Defender (Excelsior Springs, Mo.) says:

The people want more money, and more money is what they are going to have. The sub-treasury is being talked more than it has been talked hitherto, and is fast gaining a place as the most important issue before the people.

What we want, primarily, is the government to loan money to the farmers, in limited quantities, at a low rate of interest, until the volume has been increased to fifty dollars per capita, such money to be a new issue of legal tender paper.

After this is done, establish the sub-treasury and under its provisions we

will be enabled to have an increased or decreased volume of money to meet the increased or decreased demands of trade and business, thus furnishing the people with a "flexible currency" giving us steady and uniform prices. It will govern prices just as the governor regulates the steam engine. When the engineer wants more power he turns on steam, when he wants less power he shuts off steam, and the engine runs at the same speed, because the governor so regulates the machinery that the motion is regular and even. So it is with the sub-treasury—by its provisions more money will be added to the circulation; when it is no longer needed it will be gradually withdrawn from circulation leaving prices undisturbed. Let us have government loans on land and the sub-treasury, and we will have a period of financial prosperity such as the world never knew.

Industrial World, (Spokane Falls)

says:

The Alexandria (S. Dak.) Journal says: Many of our State exchanges are filled with mortgage foreclosures which shows up their counties in a bad light. There seems to be a concerted plan on the part of loan companies to get possession of all the land possible. Many of these foreclosures are in counties that are in a generally prosperous condition. Hanson county is comparatively exempt from such a damaging experience which speaks volumes for the general prosperity of our farmers.

The Weekly Budget (Manchester, N. H.) says:

The Stanford bill would not be amiss to such an energetic man as this. Wanted to borrow \$1000 for three months. Good security. Will pay 2½ per cent per month. Address R. P. O. box 1455, Spokane. But this rate of interest is a modest one. Some pay as high as 15 per cent per month. There are people, mostly bankers, who hold up their hands in horror at the sound of the proposition to loan money at a per cent by the bushel of wheat or corn. He gets for his grain and hay to the bank and asks for and gets gold coin. He slings it down in his jeans, goes down to George and Joe's and buys eighteen pounds of granulated sugar for a dollar. He buys muslin for five cents a yard, calico the same; he goes to the hardware stores and buys barbed wire for 3 and 3½ cents per pound, and other things in proportion, including tin cups. He goes to Wagstaff's and buys a suit of clothes, all wool, for \$10, good enough for a president of a township Alliance to wear.

He gets from ninety cents to a dollar for his wheat, sixty cents for his corn and ten dollars for his hay. He takes the checks he gets for his grain and hay to the bank and asks for and gets gold coin. He

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be made a condition in this country, provided each class gets such legislation as is necessary to make its privileges equal to those of all others classes.

The Star Spangled Banner (New Brunswick, N. J.) says of National Lecturer Willets:

Mr. Willets is the right man in the right place. Being a practical farmer, and thoroughly conversant with the needs and conditions of his toiling brethren, and the economic questions of the day, makes him eminently fitted to the requirements of his important position. The national lecturer is a walking cyclopedia of Alliance information, and his style is such as to win and hold his hearers to the end. It is to be hoped that Brother Willets will pass this way again, and help to remove from the body politic of Maryland the same incubus that he so successfully overthrown in his own State of Kansas.

Kentucky Farmer (Shepherdsville, Ky.) says:

The Alliance Leader (Bolivar, N. Y.) says: We never saw a more earnest and substantial or intelligent looking lot of men than we are meeting every night, who come in throngs and crowds to hear that wonderful man Jerry Simpson. All is enthusiasm and he stirs us all to renewed earnestness and renewed hope for the glorious of the American people. There is hope for the nation when the great masses of the farming element of the East as well as the West are moved alike to ask for knowledge upon the economic questions of such vital interest to themselves.

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Baltimorean (Baltimore, Md.) says:

The recent attempt of the politicians in Anne Arundel county to get into the Farmers Alliance, with the object of ultimately running it to suit themselves, ought to put the members of that organization on their guard. Now that the farmer has proved himself a power, he has more friends than he ever dreamed of and nobody is too great to do him reverence. All the old hack politicians of both parties have suddenly become ardent advocates of the doctrines of the Alliance, and want to be baptized in the new faith. Let the farmers beware of time-servers and flatterers, and keep them at arm's length. They are the same men who have been cheating and hounding them for the last 20 or 30 years. They do not care a straw for the farmer, and only want to use this new movement for their own purposes.

Senator Ingalls is now trying to delude the Kansas farmers into the belief that he has seen the error of his ways, and there are men like him in Maryland who want to come out of the rain. Let the farmers keep these wolves out of their sheepfolds; and while they are guarding carefully the approaches to the Alliance against the professional politicians, let them see to it that there are no traitors or weak brethren already inside. The old machine politicians will employ every art known to them to get control of the Alliance, and if they can't get into the organization themselves, they will not hesitate to try

positions set forth in the Order. Prepare yourselves for the vicious attacks that are sure to be made by the partisan press and orators during the campaign of '92. Educate yourselves to a thorough understanding of our principles and thus qualify to effectively refute all the false and malicious charges which the opposition will heap upon the Order. It is the duty of each of us to contribute our mite to the success of the organization. Without a solid and united front progress would be slow, with it the day of our emancipation is close at hand.

The Vindicator (Sulphur Springs, Tex.) asks:

Why don't Mills, Reagan, Culberson et al., tell the people of Texas that the bill, loaning \$1,000,000 to the New Orleans Exposition was paternalism unconstitutional? Now answer gentlemen, didn't every one of you and all the other members from the south vote for the bill to loan \$1,000,000 to the New Orleans Exposition. Now some people think the reason you didn't yell "unconstitutional" in that contest was because it was loaning money to a big syndicate and because the money power was in favor of that move.

The Weekly Toiler, (Nashville, Tenn.) says:

When members of our order get so weak that they can be made to falter in their duty because some waiside politician has his foul mouth heaping up denunciations against the order, then that brother needs sympathy and retirement. The ranks of the Alliance should be purged of all spies and enemies. We are to know a man by his works. If he has been tried and shirked his duty, no man with the interest of the struggling masses at heart should re-inforce him. The Toiler will insist that the brotherhood be more diligent in their investigation of the records of their public servants. Only men of unquestioned sincerity can be put forward in 1892.

Deadwood, (S. Dak.) Independent says:

An experienced teacher says that pupils who have access to newspapers at home, when compared with those who have not, are better readers, better spellers, better grammarians, better punctuators, and read more understandingly, and obtain a practical knowledge of geography in almost half the time it requires the others. The newspaper is decidedly an important factor in modern life. This will not be disputed by any one who has taken the trouble to investigate the matter for himself.

The Polk County Farmer (Bolivar, Mo.) says:

Suppose Missouri was a nation of itself and needed money; and like other nations had the right to strike a legal tender to the amount of 75,000,000, and was governed by a humane president, one that was willing and desirous of seeing his people prosperous and happy, and would loan them direct from the treasury money at 3 per cent annual interest, which interest would be paid into the treasury and be used to defray the expenses of the government in lieu of taxes, tariffs, etc., and would not allow any other money to be loaned in its territory except its own.

There is another nation. Its presidents are Harrison and Cleveland, who care but little for anything but self and the almighty dollar, and who think the powers of the government were not intended for ordinary people and that it is the best for people to have to borrow their money from the Eastern loan companies, and they borrow the \$75,000,000, paying upon an average 7 per cent annual interest, and the loan companies collect the interest and reinvest it in the same way, the two nations being equal in productive capacity, how will they stand financially at the expiration of fifty years, their running expenses being \$750,000 per annum. Now we wish our readers to figure out this problem and inform us as to the wealth of these nations at the end of fifty years, and which would be the better for the people. While borrowing money is a very doubtful business for individuals and should be discouraged, but if it has to be borrowed every one to consider well the bearings, always with an eye single to his own interest, and that in a government of, by and for the people, that it is always best to co-operate. If our government had loaned its greenbacks to farmers and others needing homes, and to all who could give ample security, at 3 per cent, our country would be prosperous to-day and our people the most patriotic of earth's children? We don't wish to

complain at the banks or individuals for controlling their own means, but we do complain that our government is run in the interest of the few instead of the many.

Middlemen's Profits Saved to the Consumer.

We sell direct to the consumer, and can save you 20 per cent on the Buggy. The "Complete Horse Book" tells how. Sent for 10 cents, silver or stamps. Pioneer Buggy Columbus, Ohio.

Money the Year Round.

Miss Smith says: "Can I make \$25 per week in the plating business?" Yes. I make \$4 to \$8 per day plating tableware and jewelry and selling platters. H. F. Delno & Co., Columbus, O., will give you full information. A plater costs \$5. Business is light and honorable and makes money the year round. A. READER.

A Present for Butter Makers.

We have received an account book especially for dairymen, with columns for amount of milk, pounds of butter churned, to whom sold, etc., for each day in the year. It also contains valuable breeders' tables, rules for making girt-edged butter, and other interesting matter. Wells, Richardson & Co., Burlington, Vt., have kindly offered to mail a copy free to any of our readers, who sends a stamp for postage.

In connection with this we would say that Wells, Richardson & Co.'s Improved Butter Color is thoroughly reliable and one that we can recommend to all dairymen. From a letter recently written by Mrs. H. P. Dunham, Lenexa, Kansas, we quote: "Several of my neighbors said they would not use anything to color their butter, but when they had to sell for several cents a pound less than I was getting they changed their minds and now are using what I do." Wells, Richardson & Co.'s Improved Butter Color."

Deadwood, (S. Dak.) Independent says:

A safe, speedy and positive cure for Curb Splint, Sweeny Capped Hock, Strained Tendons, Founder, Wind Puffs, all Skin Diseases, Parasites, Thrush, Diphtheria, Pink Eye, Jaundice, Ringbone, or other Bony Tumors. Valuable for removing Bunches or Blenches from Horses and Cattle.

CAUSTIC BALMAM

A safe, speedy and positive cure for Curb Splint, Sweeny Capped Hock, Strained Tendons, Founder, Wind Puffs, all Skin Diseases, Parasites, Thrush, Diphtheria, Pink Eye, Jaundice, Ringbone, or other Bony Tumors. Valuable for removing Bunches or Blenches from Horses and Cattle.

Wells, Richardson & Co's IMPROVED Butter Color.

EXCELS IN STRENGTH PURITY BRIGHTNESS

Always gives a bright natural color, never turns rancid. Will not color the Butter Weak, Nervous and Distilled, suffering from Arterial Disease, or Lister Indisposition, send for BOOK OF LIFE, written by the greatest specialist of the day, and sent (sealed).

DR. PARKER,
133 N. Spruce Street, Nashville, Tenn.

YOU ARE IN A BAD FIX.

But we will cure you if you will just give us your name, address, and where you are located, or later Indisposition, send for BOOK OF LIFE, written by the greatest specialist of the day, and sent (sealed).

DR. PARKER,
133 N. Spruce Street, Nashville, Tenn.

Have You Got It?

Alliance song, "Clasp Hand in Hand Like Brothers," composed by Jonathan Jones, dedicated to Mrs. Ben Terrell. Every Alliance should secure a copy. Price, 10 cents, or given as a premium to one new annual subscriber to THE ECONOMIST. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

T. A. CLAYTON,
Agent of the Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana, Limited,
228 Gravier St., New Orleans, La.

Price \$3.50, Good Agents Wanted.

OLIVER A. SMITH,
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Headquarters for purchase of Sugar, Molasses, Coffee and Rice, and for sale of Cotton, Staves, and all country produce.

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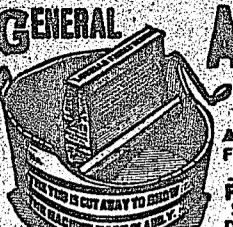
THE DISABILITY BILL IS A LAW!

Soldiers Disabled Since the War are Entitled to Pensions and are entitled to compensation when their sons die for the service. The "Alliance Nightingale" was endorsed and recommended by the National Alliance of Ocala, Fla. Price 10 cents per copy, or \$1 per year. Please don't send stamps. Address the author.

JAMES TANNER,

Late Commiss' of Pensions, U. S. WASH., D. C.

GENERAL AGENT WANTED



AGENT
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AGENTS
MAKING
FROM \$75 TO \$150
PER MONTH.

FARMERS MAKE
\$200 TO \$600
DURING THE WINTER.

I notice before the General Land Office, Washington, D. C., and procure a Patent for claimants under any of the Public Laws of the United States. Send for my circular.

JOHN S. DUFFIE, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,

82 F street N. W., Washington, D. C.

AGENTS
MAKING
FROM \$75 TO \$150
PER MONTH.

FARMERS MAKE
\$200 TO \$600
DURING THE WINTER.

LADIES have great success selling this Wash.

Retail price only 50c. Sample to show.

DEAR SIRS: Please send me two bottles of Skin Lotion and two boxes of Iron Vegetable Tonic. I wish to say that your remedies have proven very effective, especially the two named above.

Very respectfully, ORA A. BROWN,

HARBAUGH VETERINARY REMEDY CO., NORFOLK, VA.

Baltimore, April 26, 1890.

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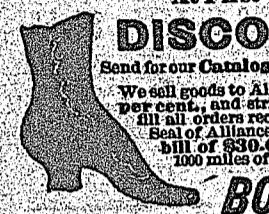
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The Ocala Council took an advanced position on "Economic Education," urging the establishment in each Sub-Alliance or Assembly, of a "Circulating Library," and named the ECONOMIC QUARTERLY as a choice series of books to use as a beginning, after which such other books and periodicals may be secured as are deemed best by the membership.

The success of the Laborer's cause depends upon education.

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Large and Complete stock of Fancy and Staple Groceries, Sugars, Syrups, Molasses, Teas, Coffees, Spices, &c.

We would be pleased to receive a trial order, and compare the quality of our Groceries with what you have been using. We guarantee to please you, and you will obtain Pure Goods and Full Weight. In dealing with our House you

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We will mail free upon request our complete Price List of Groceries, giving the Wholesale Prices on all Goods in the Grocery Line. Write under Seal.

ESTABLISHED, 1882.

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Before incurring the expense of an application for Letters Patent or Caveat, write to James L. Norris, Washington, D. C., with sketch and description of the Invention, and have an examination made in the U. S. Patent Office to ascertain if it possesses novelty and patentability, remitting Five Dollars in payment of the entire cost for the examination, cost of copies of Patents, if any be found, and opinion. This course has been suggested by my clients, and by them adopted during the past twenty-two years of my practice.

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THE DEMAND for cheaper School Books has been met by the formation of the AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY. At its organization this Company became the possessor of facilities for the production and distribution of Text-Books never before controlled by any one Publishing House, and the Company determined to give the consumer the benefit of its great resources. Evidence that this policy has been pursued the following brief list of Common-school Books, with their prices, is submitted.

IT SHOULD BE BORN IN MIND THAT THESE BOOKS ARE NEW TO THE RETAIL PURCHASER WITHOUT ANY EXPENSE FOR POSTAGE, EXPENSE OF FREIGHT, AND THAT THE BOOKS WILL BE DELIVERED AT THE PRICES NAMED AT ANY POINT IN THE UNITED STATES.

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To secure discount in sending orders direct to us, always have the Secretary or President of your Lodge certify to your membership.

We will furnish Safes in three sizes, as follows:

	HIGH	WIDE	DEEP	Aprox. Weight	Cash Price
No. 2.	Outside, 21	14	16	225	\$13.95
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	Inside, 15	10	10		
No. 4.	Outside, 32	22	22	725	32.95
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No. 2 Safe has sub-treasury with duplicate key-lock, large pigeon-hole under sub-treasury and ample book space. No. 3 Safe has sub-treasury 5x10 with cash tray and duplicate key-lock, drawer and two pigeon-holes under sub-treasury and book space, 18x9x10. No. 4 Safe has sub-treasury 5x10 with cash tray and duplicate key-lock, drawer and two pigeon-holes under sub-treasury and large book space, 19x9x12. This safe also has special inside iron door covering entire front of safe with duplicate key-lock, five flange tongue and grooved door.

Send for complete descriptive Catalogue of all sizes. Also Fire and Burglar Proof Safes. Purchaser's name lettered on space over door FREE when requested.

Prices same as for safes delivered free on board cars Cincinnati, Ohio. Freight rates on Safes are low. (3rd class.) Rates furnished to any point on application.

We will Guarantee that our Alliance Safes are as Fire Proof as any Safe of the same size made by any Safe Company in the world.

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IRON & STEEL PLATE.

IRON & STEEL BAR.

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IRON &

THE TEXAS ALLIANCE ASSOCIATION.

The recent meeting held in Waco, Texas, April 21, 22, 23 and 24, marks the introduction of a new system in the educational work of the Farmers Alliance. The regular annual sessions of the different State Alliances are business meetings. The reports of all officers and committees must be received, considered and acted upon. Amendments and changes in the organic and statutory laws must at each annual session be carefully considered, fully discussed and enacted. Officers are elected and a large amount of work pertaining to the state organization and the regulation of county and district organizations disposed of. Very little time is therefore ever found to hear a full and complete speech upon one feature of the demands of the order, and no time to discuss the subject in detail, and yet if the order is expected to intelligently contend for these things such speech and discussion is necessary. The president of the State Alliance of Texas, realizing all this, decided to call all of the state officers, the district lecturers, the county lecturers and all other true Alliancemen in good standing that were willing to pay their own expenses and put their shoulders to the wheel and work for the next six months, together for a four days conference, in which three days would be devoted to speaking and discussion upon the leading Alliance demands and the fourth day devoted to comparing notes and organizing and systematising the lecture work of the coming season.

The peculiar and new feature of this meeting is that it teaches those engaged in the national Alliance work a valuable lesson in economy. Instead of trying to reach the great national field by the slow and expensive method of employing a number of deputy national lecturers which, if they succeeded in meeting a whole county at each appointment, would require at least six months for one to cover the state of Texas; all of the National officers and any number of other competent speakers could attend the four days' association and send out at its close four hundred good men well armed and equipped to do effective work during the entire coming year. Compare the result with the labor and expense and it will be clear that states inaugurating this system can realize the benefit of having the entire order of the state instructed by the national president and other competent officers. When some thoroughly posted and competent man delivers an address upon a subject to all the lecturers and speakers of the order in any state, and they then immediately take up that subject and discuss it thoroughly and each is fully heard, the result is certain to be that the entire order will soon be better posted on that subject than any other class of people, not excepting congressmen and politicians.

This is all very desirable and has been to a great degree realized at the recent Texas Association. The programme for the first day was the opening address in the forenoon by president Evan Jones, executive session, to which only accredited delegates were admitted, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Address upon the railway question at 8 p.m. This programme with a change of speakers and subjects was carried out each day. Morning and night public speeches, and afternoons devoted to Executive sessions where all differences were discussed and settled.

Perhaps no meeting ever held in the State of Texas ever has been productive of as much good as this one will be. Each delegate was encouraged by the reports from all other sections, and all dissensions and personalities was subordinated to the discussion and consideration of economic

questions that promised relief to the depressed condition of agriculture. The delegates, nearly 400 strong, came fresh from the people and without a dissenting voice endorsed the action of the State Alliance Legislative Committee and Brother Macune. These brethren had been the special target of the enemies of the order and the body insisted on a unanimous standing endorsement without discussion. They also condemned, in the severest terms, those brethren who had published an article reflecting on Alliance officers. After this glorious endorsement by the whole State of Texas, Brother Macune made the personal statement published in the last issue of THE ECONOMIST. It was received with perfect satisfaction by the body.

The following extracts from the proceedings of this meeting as published by the local papers, are of general interest.

The convention was called to order promptly at 10 o'clock a.m., April 21, by Evan Jones, president Farmers State Alliance of Texas, who called upon Dr. J. D. Fields, ex-president, to preside. President Jones then delivered the opening address. It is much to be regretted that no correct and full report of this able speech was taken. The State papers said of it as follows:

President Evan Jones made a lengthy speech upon the text that the convention met to establish a policy for all the people throughout the length and breadth of the State. Those assembled were, he contended, representatives of that class of people who by their labor convert the prairies into beautiful fields of waving grain and cotton; that class of people who pay more largely the taxes of the country than any other; the class recognized as the bone and sinew of the land; the class that feeds and clothes the people of the earth to whom our government must turn for support and succor during the dark hours of war. It was a class he contended that did not enjoy its fair share of the wealth created by its labors. He then held that in order to secure this fair share of their labors the farmers had organized. The organization was the creature of necessity. It was for a specific purpose, and if we cling to it, he said, it is destined to remove every obstacle in the way of the enjoyment by the people of their just pro rata share of the wealth they create. He then cited the organization of 400 years upon the same principle, and contended that the same principle of right and justice was at the bottom of the revolution of 1776. After the close of the late war between the States we again hear of the organization of farmers in various sections. He mentioned these organizations down to and including the grangers and finally the Farmers Alliance, started in Parker county in 1879. The rapid spread of this order was depicted. He held that the grievances against which it contended were international, and that in due time it would leap across the ocean. We are not, he said, organized for the purpose of antagonizing any legitimate business or calling. He went into the relations of land, labor and capital to each other, the existing antagonisms, and the purpose of the Alliance movement to remove these antagonisms and produce harmony by forcing conditions under which labor would obtain its just share of the wealth produced by its efforts. This would be by a just distribution of the proceeds of labor. This is prevented by the parasite monopoly, and when monopoly is removed then labor and capital would move on hand in hand. He disputed the assumption of the monopolists that there is overproduction, and contended on the other hand that the trouble is in under consumption. He drew a picture showing the toilers who work to produce consume less than half their necessities. The suggested financial reforms were regarded as the most important, and in this the free coinage of silver was demanded. He wanted gold and silver coinage supplemented by a sufficient issue of treasury notes, and was here enthusiastically applauded. Some farmers, he said, when the issue of treasury notes was suggested, held up their hands in holy horror, apprehending a deluge of paper money. The other replies: "Yes, but does he retain his old disregard of the amenities of life? Is he unsocial? Does he join with his neighbors in their pleasures? Is he a dutiful citizen in all things?" The first replies: Oh, well, you know he never cared for such things, but you should see how he prosters. He is the brainiest man in his ward." Ah, my friend, there is the general criterion. It is true, the American standard of intellectual measurement between the man of modest means, but deep knowledge and generous heart, and the Knickerbocker is builded of dollars heaped upon dollars. It is gold that makes the blood blue. "The gold is the man for all of that," inverting Bobby Burns. The Roman government was established by homeless outlaws who, having joined in a community and builded a city, made an immutable homestead law; no man could be deprived of his home by private suit or any sort of plea. It was inalienable except upon government edict for crime. With a well guarded homestead law, the nation thrived and mastered the world, in the midst of luxury the tables were revoked by laws written in small characters and posted too high for vision. The undiscerning people allowed their liberties to be stolen and their decline and downfall dated its beginning from the breach of the homestead laws. These rude savages who stole wives from the Sabines in their rugged

this body to do something for the relief of the people so loudly as we hear it to-day. I look upon this meeting as the grandest that has ever gathered before in this work and to which the hearts of the people turn with greater anxiety than they have ever before since the Alliance organization started. If we are true to its principles we will go forward and plant our banners in every valley upon every mountain top. The speaker then closed with an allusion to San Jacinto day as a fitting time to fight the great fight over again for liberty and a fair show for the toilers.

At the close of Mr. Jones' speech the convention adjourned until executive or secret session at 3 p.m.

The following account of the Executive session held on the afternoon of the 21st is also taken from local papers:

The afternoon was devoted to executive session and to driving over the city viewing its sights. The afternoon's north and south-bound Missouri, Kansas and Texas trains, one being off time, arrived simultaneously. These trains brought in sixty or seventy delegates, which swelled the attendance to considerably over two hundred. Grand preparations were being made for a banquet. In these preparations President Parrott and the reception committee of the Waco board of trade will spare no pains or expense to make it worthy the occasion. Dr. Malcolm of Henderson county, introduced the following resolutions which went through with a rousing whoop and without a dissenting voice at the afternoon executive session:

Whereas, certain gentlemen who claim to be members of the Farmers Alliance, and said gentlemen have been elected to high and honorable positions as legislators by the vote of the Alliance brethren; and whereas, said gentlemen having forgotten their sacred obligations by circulating in a public manner through newspapers a malignant, false and malicious libel against our worthy president, Hon. Evan Jones, and our ex-president, Dr. J. D. Fields, and against Dr. C. W. Macune, Brothers Harry Tracy and R. J. Sledge, who were placed in Austin by the authorities of the Farmers State Alliance as a legislative committee, and also against the editors of the Southern Mercury, which is the official organ of our order in the State of Texas, in all of which they have violated their obligations, voluntarily taken upon themselves as Alliance men; therefore,

Resolved, By the delegates from nearly every county in the State now assembled in Waco in conference for the good of the order, that we denounce in no measured manner the acts of all these signers of said circular as being false to the order, false to their families and false to their God, and unworthy of a place in this great order, the Farmers Alliance.

Resolved, That we reiterate our individual confidence in Brothers Jones, Macune, Fields, Tracy and Sledge. Also our hearty support of our editor of the Mercury and we invoke God's richest blessings on each and every one of them and promise them our earnest support in carrying on the great work of reform to liberate their co-workers from the bonds of servitude that monopoly is fastening on us.

After supper the conference reassembled. Dr. J. D. Fields presided. He explained that Mr. L. F. Livingston, who had been billed to speak on transportation, had not arrived, therefore it had been determined to have Mr. Coleman of the Southern Mercury deliver an address which should be introductory to the address of Mr. Macune:

"The necessity of financial reform and the sub-treasury the remedy."

Mr. Coleman, being introduced, gave a vivid picture of the masses compared with the favored class, and at present most of the evils as having root in money. The American idea of money was that it measured all that was good. No quality one might possess could compare with that of acquisitiveness. If he was an observer he possessed all that was attractive. If he possessed not the sublime virtue of turning all he touched into cash, although he might be a patriot and endowed with every Christian grace, his friends deplored his dullness and looked upon him as a failure. When one college mate met another, when years have elapsed since they departed with their diplomas signed, they exchanged

"Did you know that Billy had made half a million?"

One says one. "After he got out in the world he proved brighter than any of us. He went at it and heaped up wealth, and now he has the finest house in Dallas."

The other replies: "Yes, but does he retain his old disregard of the amenities of life? Is he unsocial? Does he join with his neighbors in their pleasures? Is he a dutiful citizen in all things?"

The first replies: Oh, well, you know he never cared for such things, but you should see how he prospered. He is the brainiest man in his ward."

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small characters and posted too high for vision.

The undiscerning people allowed their liberties to be stolen and their decline and downfall dated its beginning from the breach of the homestead laws.

These rude savages who stole wives from the Sabines in their rugged

THE FARMER IN POLITICS.

Address of Hon. E. T. Stockhouse to the Waco Convention, April 23, 1891.

I was glad to be invited to come to Texas—the Empire State of the Union—the birth place and the cradle of the Alliance, to discuss with you, the representatives of its progressive people, the relation of our noble Order to politics, or the best methods to be employed to secure the Alliance demands.

I shall not trespass on your time by any attempt to discuss either the necessity or righteousness of these demands. The demands of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union were formulated at St. Louis and were reasserted at Ocala. They have been passed upon by sub, county and State Alliances, and they are to-day the rooted and fixed demands of the Order.

In olden times, when national legislators, the servants of the people, legislated for the greatest good of the greatest number, petition was the method employed to secure needful legislation. These petitions presented the necessity and importance of the legislation prayed for, and this method was supposed to be sufficient to procure all needful and proper legislation.

The electors then, as they have continued to do, elected their best and most competent men—men who were not supposed to be biased by sectional, class or partisan influences. Our motto, "to labor for the education of the agricultural classes in a strictly non-partisan spirit; to constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves," and "to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry and selfish ambition," they laid a sure foundation—the only sure foundation—the eternal and immutable laws of justice and right, on which to build anew the prosperity of the laboring classes of the people of the country. And we must never forget that our safety and hope of success in this movement is dependent upon our fidelity to these declarations of purpose, and men who do not heartily endorse and support these declarations should have no place in our Order.

Without further preliminary thoughts we will proceed to the consideration of the subject assigned us, "Political Action, or the Farmer in Politics," or, as it is generally expressed, the relation of the Alliance to party politics. The first declaration of purpose in our constitution, "to labor for the education of the agricultural classes in a strictly non-partisan spirit," assumes that partisan tearing of political economy is not the correct or safe method for these classes. The agricultural classes have not taken that intelligent interest in the legislation for the country and the administration of government that they should have done. They have been more confiding and less ambitious than other classes; indeed, until alarmed by the conditions that confronted them, they gave little attention to the study of economic questions. In the discussion of this subject it must be kept in mind that the Alliance relies solely upon educational methods for the correction of legislative abuses. Partisan politics excites the passion and blinds the understanding.

Looking back at the changed condition, we wonder that the farmers and the wealth producers were so slow to realize their danger and organize for their defense and protection. The unequal distribution of the burthens and benefits of government and the unequal distribution of the profits of labor and capital has at last, after many minor attempts at organization for defense and protection, called into existence the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union and a number of similar organizations, that have united to secure legislative reforms, and these organizations have united on certain demands.

The old-time petitions for equal and just legislation for the farming and producing classes were neither so numerous nor so urgent as they should have been. Farm-isolation prevented any combination, even in the right of petition, and then the petitioners thought it was only necessary to direct the attention of the law-makers to the needed legislation to secure its consideration; and the law-makers felt that they had done their whole duty when they had presented the petitions and saw that they were referred to the proper committees, where they were pigeon-holed and forgotten by the law-makers.

The farmers, finding that the petition method brought no relief, when they discovered that the money power and monopoly kept special representatives—hired, not elected—the ablest that money could secure, men skilled in presenting the beauties of centralization at the seat of legislation, began to organize and consult, hoping to find a method by which to combat successfully the subtle influences that had so long shaped national legislation. And the demand system has been adopted—a system that is to be operated and controlled at the people's end of the line, a system that cannot be pigeon-holed, a living, continuing system that keeps the demands constantly under consideration, both by the people and the law-makers, a system that pledges the law-makers to the support of the people's demands.

If the people of both parties who so hold could be brought to the support of Alliance demands, and should succeed in securing control of the government, it would be Alliance success, whether called Democratic or Republican success, holding

The farmers and wealth producers are learning the value of organization, and they are learning how to make that organization effective, they formulate demands and elect men pledged to their support. That is government by the people.

The founders of our noble order were surely divinely directed in their declaration of purposes. Their scheme for the education of the toiling masses of the people of this great country affords the only reasonable hope for their redemption from the worst possible system of serfdom, and it affords, too, the only reasonable hope for the perpetuity of free representative government by the people of the United States. It cannot be successfully denied that the deception and fraud used to hasten the centralization of the wealth of the country in the hands of a favored few was surely undermining the civilization and manhood of the people of this country, but when the farming and producing classes banded themselves together "to labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government in a strictly non-partisan spirit; to constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves," and "to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry and selfish ambition," they laid a sure foundation—the only sure foundation—the eternal and immutable laws of justice and right, on which to build anew the prosperity of the laboring classes of the people of the country. And we must never forget that our safety and hope of success in this movement is dependent upon our fidelity to these declarations of purpose, and men who do not heartily endorse and support these declarations should have no place in our Order.

The electors then, as they have continued to do, elected their best and most competent men—men who were not supposed to be biased by sectional, class or partisan influences. Our motto, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," was supposed to be the governing principle in all legislation. Under the benign influence of the application of this cardinal principle of representative government, the people were contented and prosperous, the administration of the government was strong in the confidence and love of the whole people, because all felt assured of as nearly equal protection and equal opportunities as could be given by the best system of government fairly administered. That period was not productive of colossal fortunes, nor was it productive of a system of mortgaged indebtedness that was surely reducing the great middle class—the foundation and support of free representative government—to a condition of dependence and want.

Mr. R. M. Rumpf, of Erath county, followed Mr. Coleman. This speaker felt that he was standing before the highest tribunal of the people; he congratulated his hearers upon their happy surroundings. Great issues had gathered this assembly together. The destiny of the people place them within the Farmers Alliance. It was their true hope. No free institution could exist while the farmer was degraded. The truth had been spoken by a former speaker, who had admitted a falling off from the days of the forefathers. Principle had been violated; hence the fall that had been made. The fall would be deeper and darker unless stayed by the hand of reform. The speaker referred eloquently to Patrick Henry and quoted his words in the house of burgesses. He denounced the disposition in some quarters to stifle free discussion. The common people are not to be feared. It was the powerful moneyed sort that might undermine. Quoting Thomas Jefferson, who advocated a new constitution securing the individual rights of man, he repeated that the Commonwealth alone could be trusted. Referring to the homestead law, which the speaker favored, he nevertheless knew that there were lenders of money accepting homestead security, showing that homes are not protected by that homestead law. The Alliance is organized for self-protection. No one could gainsay that. No one was needed now who says the Farmers Alliance had no place. The Alliance has come to stay. It intends that the wrongs that afflict the American farmer shall be lifted up. God smiles upon the Alliance. The speaker quoted from Marco Bozzaris, "Strike till the last armed foe expires." He was loudly and frequently applauded. The great issue after all, he said, was the money issue. It was the gold bug that must be squelched. The man in debt belongs to the creditor. The hydra-headed devilish, the banks, the tentacles of which were dug into the flesh of all the States, that was the common enemy. The speaker grew somewhat fierce here in denouncing the money monopoly. The remedy is here. The Farmers Alliance is going to give the remedy. The aggregated wealth of the country would lose its power before the hammering at hand. It was a day of bright rewards of the few by the government with the masses left out to struggle for existence. The object is not to meddle with existing and legitimate institutions. It was only mutual protection that it sought. It was the red dragon interest that was to be crushed, and the thing to crush it with is the sub-treasury. That is what we are here for. The sub-treasury and nothing else. The banks want something. They wanted something and they got it. When the farmers ask for the sub-treasury, it is called "a wild-cat scheme." The Alliance would have the substance anyhow. The end and the principle should meet. The big city hall we stand in, he said, was built by municipal co-operation. He wished the Farmers Alliance had some of this same power. The speaker had no hope outside of the Farmers Alliance and organized labor. How dark, he said, would be the history of the country without the Farmers Alliance and labor unions. It will move gradually on. It will not be divided. It is here because it is needed. The order is increasing and it will go on increasing.

Mr. Rumpf was followed by Rev. Stump Ashby and Mr. Ralph Beaumont in short speeches, after which the conference adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock a.m.

[Continued in next Economist.]

ciple above party, and contending for principle independent of party. Alliance success is not dependent on party success.

The failure to secure our demands through the result of the elections in 1892, working on the Alliance non-partisan principle, would only postpone—it could neither defeat nor endanger the final triumph of principle. Nor would the failure in 1896, or even in 1900, constitute sufficient cause for abandonment, or even for despondency. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." Our just demands for financial reform may for a time lie prostrate on the cold, clean marble plane of truth and justice, where it can neither be soiled, concealed nor buried; but let none despair. The honest yeomanry of this country will be brought to see the truth. Let the work of non-partisan education be hopefully and patriotically pushed, and we will stand together united and free at the grave where we have buried sectional hate, race antagonism and party oppression. The toiling masses will see to it that the prostrate figure representing financial reform, on the cold marble plane of truth, shall yet stand erect and proclaim the triumph of the effort now being made for honest and equal government. We are advised by the party press to go slow, not to raise too many issues, to settle one question at a time, and as tariff reform is the great party question, to settle that first. Without attempting to belittle the tariff question, we submit that our party friends have chosen wisely to sidetrack and destroy our efforts to secure financial reform legislation. Tariff adjustment has been regulated to the detriment of the farmer, but the farmers of this country hold financial reform as superior to tariff adjustment. The party press and party leaders well know that tariff adjustment is a question that never will be settled as long as the government is supported by the collection of tariff duties. The amount of the levy and the classes of the things to be affected by it never will be permanently fixed. Really, it seems to be little better understood or nearer settled now than it was sixty years ago, when it was debated by Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun. Old Aunt Dinah, who used to tell us Mother Goose stories, told us that the devil had escaped from the Masons and might come upon us at any time, and advised us if he did to give him an impossible job—such as the washing of a black sheepskin white—to force him to leave us. Our party friends ask us to await the completion of an impossible job—the securing of a fixed tariff adjustment—before pressing our demands for financial and monopolistic reforms, but there is perhaps little danger that our people will heed the advice of our party friends and stay our demands for other reforms until the tariff question is permanently adjusted. Our greater danger arises from our impatience in awaiting results by the educational methods. The danger is that we may be tempted to gather together all the material possible, without regard to its fitness, into a party, and without drill or discipline go forth to battle and risk everything on the chances of a single engagement, in which failure would destroy all hope of future success, and in which our humiliation would be complete and final. But if we should be successful in such a chance engagement, when the chances were against us, our condition would be little if any better. We would sacrifice our pride of organization, depart from our high and noble purpose, and awake to the realization of the fact that our noble organization had sunk to the level of a political party, to be held together by the dispensation of the political loaves and fishes, and as useless for reform as the old parties now are, furnishing a third feast for political vultures from which patriots and honest reformers would turn in shame and disgust.

The Alliance method promises better results, and it is a method that is equally applicable to Democratic Texas or Republican Kansas—method that recognizes the fact that political parties are composed of the people, equally honest on either side, and that political parties should be controlled in the interest of the people, and a method which effectually excludes that appeal to passion which blinds the understanding to the importance and acceptance of truth.

But let us see if it is practicable to secure Alliance demands through the use of existing party machinery.

Both of the old parties have party machinery,

and at the bottom of this party machinery is the primary, club or township meeting, where the people (Democratic and Republican) can make a declaration of principles and elect delegates to advocate and support their declaration of principles in the county convention, which, too, makes a declaration of principles and elects delegates to advocate its declaration of principles in the State convention, which in turn makes a declaration of principles and elects delegates to advocate and support its declaration of principles in the national convention, which proclaims through its platform the principles which are to guide the party administration of the national government. Now, is there anything impracticable in all who favor Alliance demands—and Alliance demands by their fairness and liberality make a direct appeal for the support of all good men whether they are eligible to membership in the order or not—is there anything impracticable in all who favor these demands taking possession of this party machinery and running it in the interest of Alliance demands? It only requires that a majority shall have been educated to support these demands, and until we can get the support of such educated majority there can be no reforms of permanence or value.

We are now laboring in a non-partisan spirit to bring existing political parties to the support of Alliance demands, and the fact that many of both the old parties have come to the support of these demands affords both encouragement and warning—encourages us to hope that enough of both the old parties can be brought to the support of these demands to insure their success; the rank and file of both the old parties are honest; they have been misled by the party leaders and party press; they can and will be brought to see that their best interests will be subserved by the success of the Alliance reforms. There is warning in the success already gained; party loyalty should receive gentle consideration; it has been zealously inculcated for more than a generation, and it is not reasonable to suppose that they would be easily severed, and especially if it were proposed to organize a new political party, even though the new party should advocate reforms the benefits of which should be easily apparent. But the Alliance method requires the severance of no political ties; the rank and file of the party simply demand that their party shall come to the support of these demands.

The eloquent Ingalls was not defeated in Republican Kansas because he was not in accord with Republican doctrine and usage; he was that State's exponent of both; but it was because he could not be brought squarely to the support of Alliance demands.

The gallant and beloved Hampton—the most popular man in South Carolina—was not defeated in that State because he was not in full accord with the Democracy of that State; he was "a Democrat of the Democrats;" but it was because he could not be brought to the support of Alliance demands, which in that State is superior to personal favoritism. Neither Republican Kansas nor Democratic South Carolina made any sacrifice of party loyalty (Peffer is a Republican and Irby is a Democrat), but the Republicans of Kansas and the Democrats of South Carolina have come alike to the support of Alliance demands. This method only requires the abandonment of some of the old party leaders. If Republican Kansas and Democratic South Carolina, the political antipodes of each other, can be brought together in support of Alliance demands, another convention to consider the question of independent political action and authorized to select standard-bearers to lead such independent political movement, if such independent movement should be determined upon at that time by such convention.

In an independent invasion of the political field the independents would not be charged with the care of party machinery or the responsibility for party management, both of which are repugnant to our declaration of purposes, and, as we believe, to true Alliance policy if we had no such declaration. The feeling among the rank and file of the people of this country is that we have had too much party politics; the average taxpayer—producer and consumer—feels little interest in the distribution of the political loaves and fishes, but since he turned his attention to the study of economic questions he has determined to demand equal protection and equal opportunities with the privileged classes.

The trouble now is that the privileged classes—the rich corporations—dictate the financial policy of the government, whether Republican or Democratic. As an illustration of how it is done may be cited the committee of six appointed by the New York Chamber of Commerce to present the coinage committee of the Fifty-second Congress, to convene next December, "a protest in behalf of the business interests of the country against the passage of the bill providing for the free coinage of silver." There is nothing partisan about that committee of six, or the body that sends them! They are as non-partisan in financial matters as the Alliance; they may as a matter of sentiment or policy divide on the tariff question; they may contribute "booty" to debauch the electors of either political party in the interest of the continuance of the reign of plutocratic supremacy, but they may be relied upon to stand together in support of moneyed monopoly—they never divide on the contest between the classes and the masses.

It would be interesting to talk of the progress made in the work of Alliance education, which is already bearing fruit, and which promises an abundant harvest in the not very distant future. In some States the harvest is already ripening. In others the work of planting is but begun, but everywhere the work promises the most satisfactory results. The work is little dependent on or affected by a campaign boom. Born of necessity and inspired by an energy that wants no relaxation, it holds "the even tenor of its way" so silently that the old line politicians refuse to recognize its importance or even to believe in its existence.

A distinguished ex-United States Senator who had encountered the Alliance revolution in his own State, is reported to have said, he speaking of the effect of the Alliance on the Presidential election in 1892, "that national elections are only affected by national issues. The issues raised by the Alliance are local and class rather than national." He had not yet learned that Alliance issues were everywhere local and were becoming by majority overwhelming class. Oh! so different from all previous class legislation. The majority contending for "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." How could an old line statesman be supposed to understand it? When for so long a time legislation had favored the classes at the expense of the masses.

It may not be improper to remark at this point that should the few United States Senators and members of Congress who have been elected in the interest of reform, be placed at the tail end of unimportant committees so as to discount reform influences and warn the people not to send more of the same kind, it will likely not retard the honest reform work, and the advance guard may hopefully await the arrival of reinforcements.

In view of what has been accomplished by the non-partisan method of teaching the necessity and importance of financial reforms, with the very limited means at command for the work of propaganda; and in the face of so powerful an opposition—the fixed financial policy of both the old parties, backed by their party leaders and party press—will we now attempt to organize a third or any other political party, with its inevitable boddle and dirty political methods? Perish forever the thought of such monumental folly. The rank and file of both the old parties, freed from the blinding effects of sectional hate, race antagonisms and slavish partisanship, will bring their parties to the support of just financial reforms, with or without the old party press. Yes! Bring them back to a just recognition of the rights of the toiling millions of the wealth producers of this great country. With financial legislation that would be just and fair to the farmers and wealth producers, and safely officered, the old parties could return with better hopes of success to the work of tariff adjustment.

And the people, admonished by the experience of the past, would remain on guard to see that crooked political methods and unequal financial legislation shall never again be permitted to exert a controlling influence in the government of this reunited and regenerated country.

"Reform is in the air." It is in order for political parties "to call for the recruit and drum out the mercenary."

But our old party leaders and old party press have one argument that they say decides the case against us. Our demands are "unconstitutional," therefore they decline to argue their importance or necessity. Our honest efforts to obtain necessary reforms through the ballot box some of them class with socialism, communism or nihilism; therefore our demands are only worthy of ridicule and denunciation. In their judgment monopoly has so hedged itself in by constitutional enactment that

it is safe, entirely beyond the reach of legislative reform, and that therefore it must be left undisturbed to complete its work of destruction.

The learned and consecrated Dr. Talmage said in one of his sermons, as published in "The Battle for Bread," "Great monopolies in any land imply great privation. The time will come when our government will have to limit the amount of accumulation of property. Unconstitutional, do you say? Then constitutions will have to be changed until they allow such limitation. Otherwise the work of absorption will go on, and the large fishes will eat up the small fishes, and the shad will swallow the minnows, and the porpoise swallow the shad, and the whales swallow the porpoises, and a thousand greedy men will own the whole world."

"But would a law of limitation of wealth be unrighteous? If I dig so near my neighbor's foundation, to build my house, that I undermine his, the law grabs me. If I have a tannery or chemical factory the malodors of which injure residents in the neighborhood, the law says 'stop that.' If I drain off a river from its bed and divert it to turn my mill wheel, leaving the bed of the river a breeding place for malaria, the law says 'quit that outrage.' And has not a good government a right to say that a few men shall not gorge themselves on the comfort and health and life of generations. Your rights end when my rights begin."

A LIBEL VERDICT.

At Austin, Texas, April 22, a decision of court gave the lie to a favorite charge of the enemies of the Alliance. One McArthur, a school teacher, published a pamphlet lampooning the officials and committees of the Order, and making vile charges against the honesty and intelligence of its prominent members. In the publication fictitious names were substituted, but the masking purposely so thin that every reader knowing the parties was at no loss to discover the person intended by the writer. President J. D. Fields, of the Texas State Alliance, brought suit for libel in Austin, and it was discovered that there was a strong political backing to the obnoxious publication, and McArthur found lawyers in plenty to undertake the labor of love (and profit) involved in the defense. After several annoying postponements the case came to trial, and many witnesses from different parts of the State were examined. The Associated Press sent out reports of the testimony of several witnesses for the defense, distorted in every possible way to give color to the insinuations of late so prolific in the monopoly press, that there had been dishonesty or incompetence in the conduct of the Alliance Exchange in Texas, but there was no publication of any testimony sustaining the prosecution, or in any way rebutting the attacks on the characters of the men libeled. The court decided that McArthur was guilty of libel, and a fine of \$100 and cost was entered. It had been the policy of the defense to interpose obstacles and run up the costs, which scheme served in this instance as a boomerang, as it made the small fine of \$100 foot up something like \$3,500. Perhaps the libels born in this pamphlet will continue to stalk, ghost-like, through the papers opposed to the Alliance, but when they are pronounced criminal by a competent court they cease to annoy their victims. Thus ended what has been headlined by the press as the "Alliance Libel Suit."

THE Argentine Republic has decided to issue notes against silver held in reserve, to be legal tender for all future obligations. It is expected that a law will be passed declaring invalid all contracts stipulating otherwise than the legal tender, so that if gold be at a premium it will not be to the injury of the industry of the country. This course was decided on after a complete failure to secure enough gold for a basis on which to issue a currency.

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 - \$1.00 PER YEAR.

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The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$50,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all 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 trust that every member of the Order should subscribe and read the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

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

Address all remittances or communications to

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

N. R. P. A.

N. R. P. A.
The following circular has been issued by President C. W. Macune and Secretary W. S. Morgan, convening the National Reform Press Association:

The requisite number, as provided for by the constitution, having made a formal request for a meeting of the N. R. P. A., to be held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, some time in May, I am instructed by the Executive Board to issue a call for said meeting, to take place on the 18th day of May, 1891. Our headquarters will be at the Palace Hotel. Reduced rates have been secured on the different lines of railroad. Much important business will be brought before the Association at that time, and it is hoped every member will be in attendance.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

IN INDIANA.
Auburn, DeKalb County, May 12.
Kokomo, Howard County, May 13.
Noblesville, Hamilton County, May 14.
Spiceland, Henry County, May 16.
Shoals, Martin County, May 18.

IN ILLINOIS.
Mt. Vernon, Jefferson County, May 25.
Virginia, Cass County, May 26.
Pittsfield, Pike County, May 27.
Clayton, Adams County, May 28.
Carthage, Hancock County, May 29.
Cambridge, Henry County, May 30.

IN IOWA.
Washington, June 1.
Fairfield, June 2.
Keosauqua, June 3.

These dates are designated by the Presidents of the State Alliances, and unless otherwise arranged hereafter are for T. M. Additions will be made as THE ECONOMIST secures the dates.

THE following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

IS IT A CHANGE OF POLICY?

It has been frequently charged that the operations of the Treasury Department were not governed by statute law, but by the rulings of the Secretary. That no matter how plain the provisions of law, if the Secretary desired he would nullify them by his construction and rulings. For more than a quarter of a century such assumption of power has dominated the national financial system. Whenever an advantage was asked by the owners of money a ruling or construction was sure to be found that would exactly cover the point. This condition has continued uninterrupted until absolute bankruptcy is threatened. In order to avoid such a calamity recourse is had to the same financial juggling that was the prime cause in bringing about such a state of affairs. According to the rulings of the Treasury Department for the past fifteen years the national treasury is bankrupt. No other conclusion is possible. A vast amount of money has been locked up in the vaults of the Department under various rulings in order to keep it from the people, and thereby make money dear and labor and its products cheap, until, by the logic of events, some measures must be taken to secure its release. In this dilemma the director of the mint comes forward with the statement that the rulings of previous secretaries concerning reserve and trust funds were either erroneous or evasive; that there is \$258,000,000 of available cash in the treasury. In his effort to sustain this position Mr. Leech discloses the rottenness of former treasury officials, and absolutely accepts the doctrine of fiat money. He says:

That if the statement of cash in the treasury, as shown by the public debt statement, was prepared to-day in the same manner that it was exhibited by every Secretary of the Treasury, from Mr. Sherman to Mr. McCulloch, on March 1, 1885, it would show an available cash balance of considerably over \$200,000,000. There is nothing very startling or original about this proposition. Whether it is accurate or inaccurate, is susceptible of ready determination. It is a well-known fact that the "available cash balance," as shown by the debt statement of March 1, 1885, \$152,225,052 was parceled out into a lot of "reserves," "funds," and "liabilities" on April 1, 1885, for the purpose of making the "available cash" appear as small as possible. A reference to the debt statement for the two months named is conclusive on this point. There was no authority of law then, and there is none now, for parcelling out the available cash in the treasury in this manner, and a return to the old form of stating the cash would not only be in strict conformity to law, but in accordance with good common sense. It must be borne in mind that a statement of the "cash in the treasury" is not a statement of the resources and liabilities of the government. If it was, all the liabilities of the government, all of its debt, whether interest-bearing or non-interest-bearing, would necessarily be classed as a liability, and there would necessarily be a large deficit in the resources of the government. The statement referred to is essentially a statement of the cash in the treasury, intended to show (in connection with the treasurer's statement of assets and current liabilities) the amount of money in the treasury, what kind of money it consists of, and what portion of it is available for the current expenses of the government. Nothing should appear on it as a liability, which is not a "demand liability," to meet which

it is actually necessary to set aside a portion of the cash. By reference to the statement of the cash in the treasury, signed by Hugh McCulloch, on March 1, 1885, it will be seen that the only current liabilities deducted from the cash in the treasury were the trust moneys, that is, gold, silver, and currency certificates, together with about \$7,000,000 of matured debt and interest.

All the rest of the cash in the Treasury appeared as an "available balance." The same is the case with all the debt statements issued by Mr. Sherman, Mr. Windom (when he was the secretary under Garfield), Mr. Folger, Mr. Gresham, and Mr. McCulloch (in 1885). Surely it cannot be presumptuous or novel to advocate a return to the form of cash statement presented to the public over the signatures of these distinguished men. In regard to the items themselves—the so-called "reserves," "funds," and "liabilities," which are now deducted from the "available balance," I hold that many of them have no place on the statement. Take, for instance, the \$100,000,000 deducted from the available balance as a "reserve for redemption of legal-tender notes." As is well known, this money was accumulated in the Treasury by the sale of 95,000,000 bonds, and that an additional amount of about \$10,000,000 was retained from the surplus revenues for the purposes of specie resumption. The resumption act of 1875 contemplated the redemption of legal-tender note that is, their destruction as redeemed, as it contained no provision for their reissue—and in express language repeated all provisions of law inconsistent with it. But Congress explicitly directed by the act of May 31, 1878: "It shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury or other officer under him to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender notes; and when any of said notes may be redeemed, or be received into the Treasury under any law from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, canceled or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation."

There was nothing in the law which provided that \$100,000,000 or any specific amount should be accumulated, much less that the sum named should be held as a reserve. The only possible ground for treating it as a specific reserve is contained in the provision in the banking act of 1882, that the issue of gold certificates shall be suspended whenever the gold in the Treasury falls below \$100,000,000. A sum equal to the total amount of the new legal-tender notes is issued under the act of July 14, 1890, amounting at present to some \$40,000,000, is deducted from the "available cash" on the theory that these notes are a demand liability. These notes are full legal-tender money, practically an additional issue of the old greenback. The law distinctly provides that when they come back in the Treasury they may be reissued, and they are reissued for any purpose of the Government. They are a part of the non-interest-bearing debt of the Government and will doubtless remain so for many years. The fact that these notes are issued, in the first place, in the purchase of silver bullion, and that the law provides that the amount issued shall always equal the cost of the bullion purchased and the dollars coined from it, gives people the impression that these notes are silver notes, and setting them aside as a demand liability in Treasury statements strengthens the impression that they are to be redeemed in the bullion and coined dollars purchased with them. But the act under which these notes were issued expressly provides, in connection with their redemption, that it is the established policy of the Government to maintain gold and silver at a parity at the present legal ratio, the intention and implication being that these notes will always be redeemed in a dollar equal in value to a gold dollar. It is difficult to conceive of any reason why 100 per cent of cash should be set aside to meet these notes which would not apply with equal force to the old legal-tender

notes of the Treasury under Republican regimes; the manipulation of the Treasury statements by Mr. Leech and other officials is not a surprise. The statement used to contain what was known as the Pacific railroad debt, which was dropped out in 1865. In 1871 and previous years balances were forced on the books of the treasury aggregating over \$300,000,000, and fictitious warrants were issued to cover these amounts, which, as the chief of the warrant division testified, were not even filed. The Register of the Treasury, who is the official bookkeeper, was required by an order of the Secretary of the Treasury, on one occasion, to alter the statements of the public debt from the years 1791 to July, 1870, inclusive, because these statements "were frequently referred to in England, and the discrepancies between them constantly and unfavorably commented on." But this was not all. Sworn testimony taken by a committee of the Senate shows that in three ledgers from the register's office and six from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, there were found 2,527 erasures and alterations, the changes involving items as large as \$20,000,000. The erasures found by the committee in the Treasury day-books and journals were so common and frequent that the number was not counted! And this while the chief clerk testifies that not a scratch should appear upon the ledgers. Besides the erasures it was discovered on examination that entire leaves had been cut out of the account books, and no explanation could be given of why this had been done. Under such a system of spoliation the mere alteration of a public debt statement is not regarded as a very grave affair.

Mr. Leech is a subordinate official in the Treasury Department, and as such makes these statements by and with the full knowledge of Secretary Foster, and is therefore voicing the sentiments and giving publicity to the methods that will govern the Treasury Department for a time at least. Such methods are in direct opposition to the practice of the past twenty years and antagonize the expressed opinions of the leaders of both the old parties.

Senator Sherman said in a speech a year ago, in reply to Senator Plumb:

When the Senator talks about the government of the United States having on hand \$248,168,151 subject to its command and disposal and wonders why the Secretary of the Treasury does not pay \$200,000,000 of debt out of this, of course it has its effect upon a plain man in the country. It has often been put to me, "Here is your statement showing so much money on hand in the Treasury, and why is not that paid out in the redemption of the public debt and the current indebtedness?" It is very easy to answer that. A very distinguished gentleman who was a candidate for Vice-President, and who is now dead, used this popular argument at one time in the State of Ohio and made it so plausible that a great many men were disturbed. He said, "There are \$400,000,000 in the treasury, and it ought to be paid out on the public debt, and why is it not done?" Mr. President, the Secretary of the Treasury has only control over a very small portion of that fund. I have before me the last debt statement of May 1, 1890, the figures of which show that the total amount in the treasury subject to draft, which is available for the payment of current obligations, is \$35,930,622.91. I find in the statement of assets and liabilities of the Treasury of the United States, of the same date from which the Senator read a moment ago, the same amount is stated. The general balance in the treasury is \$35,930,622.91, and the Secretary of the Treasury and the Treasurer agree upon the balance of that day. What, then, has become of the rest of the \$248,000,000? Let me take first the debt statement. Here is the amount of coin in the treasury, gold held for certificates actually outstanding, \$134,000,000 in round numbers.

Mr. Plumb. Is not that part of the \$248,000,000?

Mr. Sherman. I will show you in a moment how it comes in. That \$134,000,000 is held by law for the redemption of outstanding gold certificates. The silver held for silver certificates outstanding is \$292,000,000. That is in the same condition. The United States certificates of deposit are the same way. Then there is

the reserve fund of \$100,000,000 created by two acts of Congress and set apart and dedicated for a particular purpose, and the Secretary has no more power to use that money for current purposes, according to the plain construction of the law, than he has to use the money of the Bank of England.

The next item is "Reserve for redemption of United States notes, acts of 1875 and 1882, \$100,000,000." That is kept there for that purpose. When resumption was accomplished I, being Secretary of the Treasury, recommended that, for a working balance and for the redemption of United States notes at that time, as we did not know how many notes would be brought in, there should be from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty-one millions maintained as a reserve, and I called the attention of Congress to the necessity of designating how much of this fund ought to be kept as a reserve for United States notes. I find that in my last report to Congress I stated:

It is suggested that Congress might define and set apart the coin reserve as a special fund for redemption purposes. The general available balance is now treated as such a fund, but, as this balance may, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury be used for the purchase or payment of bonds. It would appear advisable that Congress prescribe the maximum and minimum of the fund.

Thereupon Congress by the banking act of 1882, which is here before me, declared—

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates—

He was authorized to issue gold certificates in lieu of gold deposited—

whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the Treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000.

There is my application and there is the answer. Congress did by this act declare that a fund of \$100,000,000 of coin should be maintained.

Mr. Plumb. Will the Senator please read that again?

Mr. Sherman. This is the proviso:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000 and the provisions of section 207 of the Revised Statutes shall be applicable to the certificates herein authorized and directed to be issued.

Mr. Plumb. That only had relation to one thing, and that was the issuance of certificates upon that gold. That was all. It had nothing whatever to do, in my judgment, directly or indirectly, with the amount that should be ultimately retained for the redemption of notes.

Mr. Sherman. It is certain that from that day to this every officer charged with the responsibility has treated that as a fund set apart for this purpose, and the man who in violation of this statute as Secretary of the Treasury should reduce the gold balance for the redemption of United States notes below \$100,000,000 would be impeachable for a high crime and misdemeanor. If Congress has not made the law as clear and as strong as it ought to have done, it was the fault of Congress. But there it is, and every officer should act upon it who is sworn to execute the law.

I submit to the intelligence of the Senator from Kansas whether that \$100,000,000 limitation should be changed as a matter of grave discretion. I think it ought not to be, but whether it ought to be or not, it ought to be done by a separate measure, and not as a mere adjunct to this bill intended for a totally different purpose. The amendment I offer is an aid to the bill, because it will relieve from the operations of existing law a fund of \$60,000,000. The amendment of the Senator from Kansas proposes to change the law in regard to the resumption of specie payment, to change the amount of the fund which has been set apart. It is not wise to do it, and I hope the proposition of the Senator from Kansas or any other proposition that looks too diminishing or weakening in the slightest degree this great fund, which is not only the protection of our United States notes, but is the protection of the whole currency of our country, will not be listened to by the Senate. It is said, "Very well, none of these United States notes are presented for redemption." Why? It is because they redeem their circulation in United States notes, that redemption is based on gold. So with our gold certificates and our silver certificates; the fact that the United States maintains that typical measure of holding dollar for dollar in actual wealth, bullion, for which the world is striving, for every dollar of these certificates outstanding, gives confidence in them. This is the rock upon which

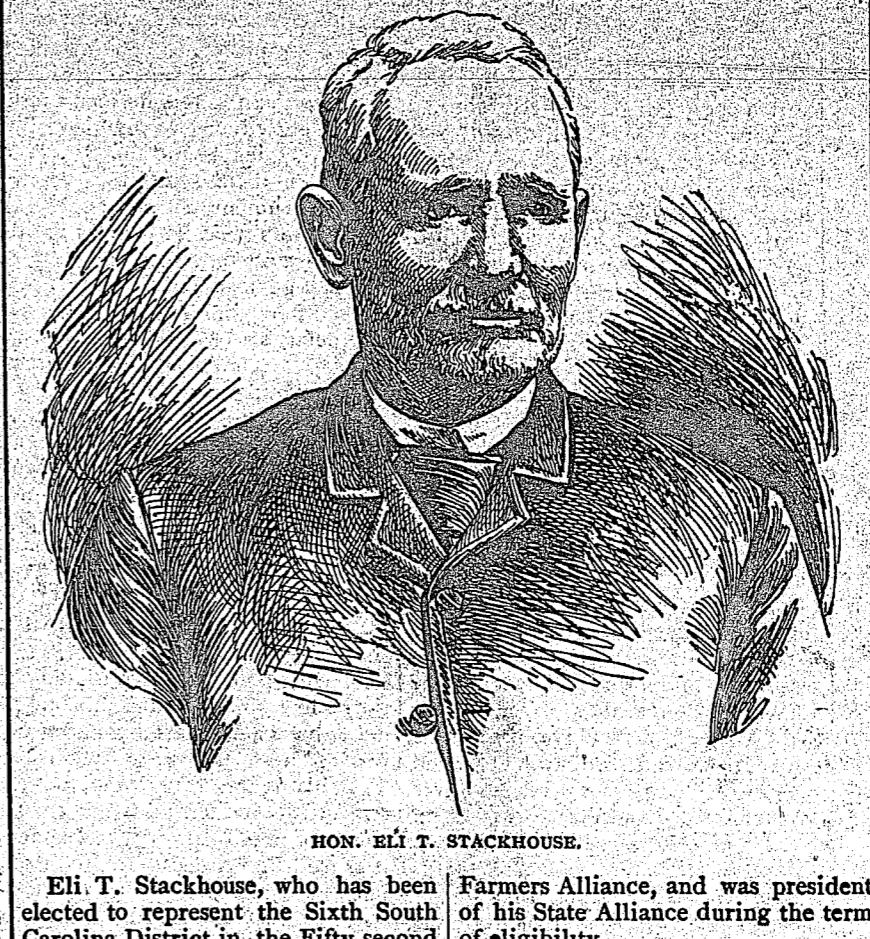
these certificates stand. Suppose somebody should say at some future time "We have \$200,000,000 silver dollars lying idle in the treasury, and we have \$292,000,000 of certificates outstanding; these certificates are not presented for silver; we will pay out the silver coin, in violation of the pledge made to the men to whom these certificates were issued." How long would these certificates maintain their power? What a shock to the public credit that would be, that a great nation, boasting to be the richest and most powerful nation of the world, should make a promise to a public creditor that it would hold that bullion in its vaults as a security for its debts. We gain by it. It is true we do not get any interest on the \$100,000,000 of gold in the treasury, but we save interest on the \$246,000,000 of United States notes, and it is a bulwark to our national bank circulation, because while they redeem their circulation in United States notes, that redemption is based on gold. So with our gold certificates and our silver certificates; the fact that the United States maintains that typical measure of holding dollar for dollar in actual wealth, bullion, for which the world is striving, for every dollar of these certificates outstanding, gives confidence in them. This is the rock upon which

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

From the above it appears that a difference of opinion exists between Secretary Foster and ex-Secretary Sherman. Which knows best, and which shall be believed by the people. The opportunity for a selection is now given.

But there are other live questions that present themselves. If the statements of Mr. Leech are true, why has the Secretary of the Treasury been making such extraordinary efforts to induce the banks to use the subsidiary coin that has heretofore been reckoned as "unavailable assets"? Again, why is the Secretary contemplating an extension of the 4% per cent bonds, which, altogether amount to less than \$50,000,000, if there is this large available surplus on hand? Is this immense sum to be continued in the treasury while the people are clamoring for its use, and there is no law found on the statute books which contemplate its retention? Will it be paid out now upon the obligations of the government, and save a large amount of interest to the people, or will it be hoarded as in times past? The taxpayers of the country are interested in result of this discussion. If this vast sum of money has been heretofore held in the treasury without authority of law, to the great detriment and loss to the people, who are responsible? Last December Mr. Windom declared he had done all he could to relieve the monetary crisis. Is it possible that he told a deliberate falsehood, or was in possession of over \$200,000,000 in available funds that he knew not of? During his last speech, and not ten minutes before his death, he said: "If it had not been for the silver bill, which released about \$75,000,000 heretofore held in the treasury, there would have been a destructive panic last fall." The people have taken those public statements in regard to national finances as true, and have considered as a rule all assertions to the contrary as misleading and mischievous. The Secretary has repeatedly said that all available funds have been paid out. By what form of statement has the real truth been kept from the people? That the people have a right to know all the details of the Treasury Department no one should dispute; that they know now and have known in the past comparatively nothing the above disclosures amply prove. Who, then, can the people trust? Those who have so wickedly and persistently deceived them? That ought not to be expected.

THE United States builds warehouses to accommodate those who deal in the product of foreign labor; why can it not build warehouses to aid in the exchanges of the product of American labor? Has the laborer of Europe any more rights or privileges than the laborer of America? If so, what are they?



HON. ELI T. STACKHOUSE.

Eli T. Stackhouse, who has been elected to represent the Sixth South Carolina District in the Fifty-second Congress, was born March 27, 1824, on a farm near where he now lives, in Marion county. He had very limited educational advantages, going to the country schools only a few months each year, when he could best be spared from farm work. He taught school continuously for four years, between the ages of 19 and 23, and while teaching he commenced the study of medicine, but on his marriage in 1847 he settled on the farm where he now lives, and nearly his whole life since has been devoted to farm work and agricultural improvement.

Mr. Plumb. Will the Senator please read that again?

Mr. Sherman. This is the proviso:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000 and the provisions of section 207 of the Revised Statutes shall be applicable to the certificates herein authorized and directed to be issued.</

APPLIED SCIENCE.

In Agricultural and Rural Economy
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEV.
Woodstock, Md.

DAMPNESS AND DISEASE.

That dampness is unfavorable to health and destructive to life is a fact, not merely of professional knowledge, but it is universally known to be true. In winter the weather is cold and damp, and at that season there is a great increase of mortality and sickness from some well known and very fatal diseases. In late summer and early autumn it is hot and damp, and then there is a general prevalence of diarrhoeal, dysenteric, bilious, typhoid and malarial disease. The dry seasons are healthy. Localities which are damp are unhealthy; those which are dry are healthy. We shrink instinctively from the chilliness of a dungeon or damp cellar. A water-logged soil is known to be unsafe as a dwelling place. Localities where the lead of the ground water is near the surface are never healthy places of abode; but where the ground water lead is at a considerable depth is the best place to put a house. In places where this level is subject to great and rapid fluctuations, sudden and considerable rise in the level of ground water is very sure to be accompanied by a sudden and often alarming increase of sickness and death. The prevalence of cold damp winds in winter or of warm damp winds in summer are occasions of increased prevalence of disease. With us east winds are damp, west winds dry. Everybody knows the ill-repute of east winds as harbingers of disease. The fisher's folk-lore rhyme hath it:

"When the wind is at the West,
The then stream is at its best;
When the wind is in the East,
'Tis good for neither man nor beast."

The facts all point to the conclusion that dampness is unfavorable to health. Precisely how this effect is produced is not clear in the present state of knowledge. Precisely what is meant by the very common word, dampness, does not even clearly appear. What is the difference between a damp spot and a wet spot, a damp suit of clothes and a wet suit? In common use the word damp seems to signify moderately wet. The amount of moisture in the air which makes it damp depends on the temperature, and is usually expressed in terms of what is called the relative humidity. Hot air absorbs and renders inappreciable by the senses more aqueous vapor than cold air. When the air at a given temperature has as much aqueous vapor as it will hold without precipitation it is said to be saturated. If the temperature declines when the air is saturated precipitation takes place, but if the temperature rises the air will take on more vapor, and the amount of vapor remaining the same the relative humidity declines. When the air is saturated the relative humidity is placed by consent at 100. If at the same temperature the amount of vapor declines one-fourth the relative humidity will be 75. It is not the actual amount of vapor in the air that makes it damp, but the relative amount. Every household should be provided with a wet and dry bulb thermometer, and it should be understood that when the two are nearly at the same height, the air is nearly saturated, and when there is a considerable difference between the wet and

the dry bulbs the relative humidity is low. A glance at this instrument will suggest sensible precautions to observant persons which may prevent sickness and prolong life. Where a thermometer can not be had a few leaves of tobacco hung up in a convenient place will be a good substitute. It is worth while to remember that cold, damp weather is peculiarly fatal to old age, hot, damp weather to infancy. It is remarkable that accurate scientific generalizations are lacking in this matter, whereas data awaiting analysis are somewhat abundant and easy of access. The general fact here intended to be presented is that dampness is an element of danger to human life, and to animal life in a lesser degree. If to dampness be added darkness, and filth, or putrefying accumulations of refuse, we have the worst of all possible hygienic conditions. At this season it is important to clear away all such accumulations; to let in light and air freely; to use plentifully air-slacked lime and whitewash; to clean out gutters and drains, and to make all surroundings as clean and sweet as can be. Not forgetting to give attention to all stables, pens and yards where animals are kept and to get them as clean as possible, using lime everywhere with a free hand. Who is able to say what sickness and sorrow and expense may be so avoided?

USURY.

It has been shown in previous issues of this paper that the pressure of debt and the low prices of farm products have disabled farmers to such an extent that they cannot profit by modern improvements and inventions, by the application of science in their farm practice. The results apparent from the census investigations of mortgage indebtedness show clearly that the farmers of the United States are carrying as a class a cruel, alarming and enormous burden of usury. Large amounts of mortgage indebtedness are carried by them at usury as high as 20 per cent. The inexorable demand of these usurers must be semi-annually met or the home goes under the hammer, and eviction swiftly follows. No legitimate business can pay such a rate on one-fifth the investment and leave anything for taxes, running expenses and support of family. Such encumbrances are mere desperate expedients to postpone the evil hour, until some avenue of escape may perchance be discovered. Usury laws are as a rule provided with one of the many modern thief-escapes which cunning attorneys know so well how to provide. And there is moreover this additional ugly fact; that these usurious investments escape taxation, and a double burden is so thrown upon the farm. Of what use is it to point out to a man thus ground between the upper and the nether millstones of usury and double taxation, that his lands lack organic matter, and that he ought to buy clover seed and plaster, and buy stock to feed, and make, and haul out manure. He cannot wait for a crop of clover to grow, for he must meet the demands of the tax gatherer and the usurer or be turned into the highways. He cannot buy seed on time; he has no credit in bank; he cannot buy stock without money; it takes every possible dollar which can be had by skill in plundering the soil to keep the usurer and the tax gatherer at bay. We have said, and it is here repeated with all the earnestness of profound conviction, that in the face of present conditions, a great majority of American farmers are debarred from the benefits of modern science and modern skill. These conditions are the result of misgovernment, as no honest man who knows what he is talking about will dare attempt to deny. It is the duty of government to destroy with an uplifted arm and a mighty hand, the nefarious business of the usurer. To say it cannot be done is mere foolishness; it can be done, and it must be done or trouble will come of it. It is not here intended to impugn the accuracy of the work of the census, nor the honesty of the results of the returns as given out by the superintendent. But everybody knows that Mr. Porter has not exaggerated the facts, if he has not minimized them as published and attempted to explain them away. His figures show, and he does not attempt to deny that they show, an enormous mortgage indebtedness and a vast amount of usury resting upon American agriculture. That his figures reveal the exact extent of this burden is not within the limits of possibility. The vastness of it is well known without his figures, but the figures stop the mouths of such as have the hardihood to deny the truth or minimize the importance of the facts. The Alliance did wisely in pressing its demand for this investigation in spite of those who clamored about the expense of it and the "inquisitorial" nature of the inquiries. It is to be hoped that the Alliance will make everywhere a relentless war on the usurer, and the smuggling thief who imposes double taxation on his neighbor by making false returns of his own property. Let the practical farmer be well assured that all pretense of benefiting his calling by schools and colleges and experimental stations, all attempts by such means to advance it, even in its higher branches, to the position of a scientific pursuit and a learned profession, are illusive and vain, until productive industry plants its foot upon the neck of monopoly, and plants its dagger in the heart of compact government, and fully enforces its righteous demands establishing the principle of exact justice to all and special privileges to none. It is not a question at all whether the tariff reform or free coinage shall be the leading issue in a campaign. The Alliance has officially endorsed and reiterated its demand for both, and will not accept either as a substitute for the other. And the members of the Alliance will not vote for the candidate of any party who in any manner attempts to play one against the other. Neither will both of these measures satisfy the Alliance demands. Nothing will satisfy them until monopoly has received its death wound and is forced to relax its clutch upon the throat of productive industry. That is the final consummation, and nothing short of it will satisfy the Alliance demands.

THE BEST GRASSES.

We were told that last year crimson clover bloomed in Delaware the first week in May. The writer has a lot of it growing here in Central Maryland, which is not now, the last week in April, above 4 inches high. That it can now get into blossom within ten days is under no circumstances possible. It is a rank, healthy growth, and will be some days in advance of common red clover, but by no means

as much in advance of it as we might be led to infer from published statements. It will evidently make a very heavy growth to plough under as fallow after being pastured or mown in the earlier part of the season. The writer also has a lot of it sown in the early days of this April, which has made a vigorous catch and start. As an annual plant capable of making early pasture, and a heavy fallow to turn under for wheat in autumn, no doubt this clover may prove useful. But in a systematic rotation the old sort of red clover is worth a great deal more than the German. In case of a failure of common clover to catch, its place in the rotation may be supplied by a subsequent seeding of crimson clover. It seems doubtful whether better clovers and grasses exist than the old well known and well tested sorts. It is very likely that skilled culture and selection may do much to improve the old reliable sorts. It is certain that many of this family of plants show strong tendency to develop varieties, and thus afford encouragement in this effort to improve them by selection. There are two varieties of timothy, one of which has fibrous and the other bulbous roots. There are several varieties of red top, one of our best grasses. Here is a good line of work for the stations and colleges of agriculture, and many of those institutions seem to want to try to do something if they only knew what to get at. It is remarkable how much has been written on the subject of grasses, and how little has been told about them. It has been stated, and often repeated, that timothy does not grow at elevations more than 2,000 feet high. Yet this writer has seen it growing and producing heavy crops at 4,000 feet elevations. Instead of searching learnedly after new wild grasses with Latin names, it would be better that it be tried what can be accomplished toward improvement of the best known sorts, and their acclimation to new localities. Who knows by actual test or observation how far south timothy or red top or orchard grass will do well?

HYDRO-NAPHTHOL.

In the use of germicides and disinfectants the medical man is bound by every consideration to use a substance harmless in itself in preference to all deadly and irritant poisons. That the use of corrosive sublimate has been followed by dangerous and fatal poisoning, and has time and time again produced the very results it was used to prevent, is by no means doubtful. In this matter the writer speaks as an experienced toxicologist and chemist, and not flippantly and ill-advisedly. He declares without hesitation that corrosive sublimate as habitually used by many practitioners is in his opinion highly dangerous. It has, he believes, in the hands of distinguished practitioners, caused, by free absorption from extensive surfaces, fatal poisoning. It has yet more frequently, by its extremely violent irritant action, set fatal inflammation. The writer well remembers a case of very severe urethral inflammation set up by a small syringefull of corrosive sublimate solution of the strength of 1 to 500. In hydro-naphthol the profession have at their disposal a germicide and antisepctic which is, according to the testimony of the ablest scientists, in no respects inferior to corrosive sublimate, and at the same time non-poisonous, non-irritant and non-corrosive to instruments. Hydro-

naphthol has a limited solubility in cold water. If dissolved in hot water a solution of the strength of 1 to 300 can be had, and this, on cooling, precipitates until a strength of 1 to 1,000 is reached. This is a powerful and efficient germicide and disinfectant, and the writer believes ought to be used in practice to the exclusion of corrosive sublimate and all other irritant poisons. A grave responsibility is involved in this matter. After all aseptic precautions are far, very far, better than antisepctic activity, which means that it is better to avoid infection than to attempt, at best blindly and bunglingly, to destroy the infection after inoculation. Why not banish corrosive sublimate from practice, or absolutely limit it to external application to sound skin? Hydro-naphthol is inexpensive, harmless, efficient. Why not use it to the exclusion of irritant poisons?

Farewell.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Fare thee well, and if forever,
Still forever, fare thee well.

Words of emotion swell my bursting bosom and a cold leaden weight settles around my pericardium as these doleful words come feverish from my lips. Things have not turned up as I expected, Mr. ECONOMIST, and we must part. In parting let us part in peace. Fond memories still cluster around the things of beauty emanating from reason, justice and liberty proclaimed from the reform press for the sake of God's poor, but I see no ladder in it to fame and wealth and renown. Ambition seizes me and swallows me down. To be rich, to be great and glorious, to be somebody among big men—that is the question.

Governor Swansdown met me the other day on the streets selling a few potatoes, and says: "You be Harry Hinton?" Says I, "Yes, what little is left." "Now, Mr. Hinton, I want to speak to you. Let us sit down on this box and have a long talk. I know of no man who has a brighter political future ahead than you, if you just turn your thoughts and labor into the right channel. I've always had the greatest confidence in you and the people all admire you. Simply name the object of your highest delight and aspirations in all the political offices. You may not reach it with one leap, but we and the people will see to it that your just deserts and merit meet with unheard of success. I know it; I speak from the book. I've sounded the sea and know its depths. You're wasting your time and labor, Mr. Hinton; you're feeding swine and filling your belly with the husks! Too bad, too bad! When with your abilities and genius you could serve your country in the most exalted capacity. The wise man seizes the opportunity as it passes. Once gone it may never return. Suppose you go on as you are going, you'll leave this ball of dirt unhonored and unsung. Full many a gem of purest ray serene, The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear

But brought to the light they glitter in the coronets of the great and good. Brighten up, my good man, and choose you well before Chill penury repress your noble mind And freeze the genial current of the soul, for I tell you the way is open. Reach forth and pluck glories from the pale-faced moon and drag up drowned honor by the locks."

Well, governor, you say the way is open. How and why?

Just this, Mr. Hinton. There is a powerful faction rising up in this country headed by Polk and Powell, closely organized, composed mostly of country farmers and village laborers, which threatens to throw our two grand old parties into the jinn-jams and completely disarrange the financial prosperity of our glorious country and destroy our liberties. I've heard that you in a quiet way belong to this faction. Knowing your ability as I do, and your conservatism (for the prudent must direct the current; you stand in the very position to do it) we want you to write two leading demands down, the sub-treasury and the land loan. A man of your judgment and perspicacity must see they are ruinous. Take up your pen against them and your name will be famous. Honors will be showered thick upon you. If we can cut them down on these they may rant and rave on the balance. Let me assure you by doing this you will be doing your country a great service and future generations will rise up and call you blessed. This is your opportunity.

Well, Governor, I don't see how I can consistently do this and remain in the order.

Mr. Hinton, that is the beauty of it all. Being widely known, what you say will be new light from within. There is the place of power. No outsider can reach them. Preach from the temple. Proclaim from the synagogue. If you have hitherto advocated these silly measures, you have a right to make an honest change in your views. All men will accord you the right. This change will show you have thought more deeply and grown wiser. The very thing. This will give your words weight. This will change the opinions of thousands while they expect nothing but false reasoning and fraud on the part of the open enemy. Your words coming from within will be weighed for all they are worth. Don't you see where you can be of great service to our present order and prosperity? I don't wish to persuade you. I simply wish to place the matter in a clear light. Who now, are our senators, our cabinet officers, our noble representatives and ministers to foreign lands? Men who know their opportunity. I speak as a special friend. I know several who would gladly accept your chance. So I will give you a short time to consider and I will see you again. What say you?

All right, Governor; I'll reflect on the subject.

Mr. ECONOMIST, I've reflected. Mr. John Ingalls, a very great man, said that the decalogue has no place in politics. Political reform is an iridescent dream. All's fair in love, and war, and politics. And the man who would lose his sweetheart, or a battle, or a fat office, on account of a tender conscience would meet with derision and scorn. The proof of the sayings is evident. Are not Charles Foster Secretary of the Treasury and James Blaine Secretary of State? Can't we see evidence of the fact piled up in the Senate? See it everywhere? But Ingalls spoke this lamentable truth without shedding a few crocodile tears over the rottenness of the age. Ha! that's what let him down. If he had but said, "O, mores! O tempora! all would have been well. Since I've seen where Ingalls missed it, Harry

If I was certain of that, it would not matter which.

"Tis painful to part, but you have a non-partisan organization, and this stops my wind. I can't bellow for my party as of old. Where we can't bring the ruling party to the Alliance

we must bring the Alliance to the party, or how are we to get off? You're too hard on the boys, Mr. ECONOMIST. You must give the boys a chance. The Alliance has a heap of votes, and the smart fellow who can carry over a good swig to the party will be promoted, will be landed, will be raised to the skies and his name will ring from shore to shore. Don't you want to see your boys swim in political glory? Now they have the chance, let them loose. See what offices and fortunes have been made out of the tariff question. Why, they have been running it for nearly a hundred years and still it is a good paying scheme. Old John Robertson's show was not half such a success. We hear they're fixing for a bigger show than ever for '92, called the tariff circus, with one part left out—that the poor pay as much tariff tax as the rich nearly. They'll leave this out to prevent hard feelings, you know; because on that joyful occasion we want every man to feel on a perfect equality.

Take away from me this cup of bitterness. Don't compel me to say farewell. With one hand on the Alliance altar, allow me to reach forth with the other and pluck the crown so freely offered by my party. There's the climax of glory in it, and when I'm in Foster's place I'll collect five millions from the banks who have so much premium on the bonds and who have handled so many millions free of interest. The trusts and the favored, all told, shall make up a boodle sum of many millions, a great part of which I will turn over to your educational fund. You need it. You can't disseminate the truth without it. If you don't fix a way so we can get it those other fellows will get it and satiate the country with political broth and bosh. They have commenced their game already. Ajax and Hector have put their armor on. Pamphlets and party doctrine are scattered as thick as the leaves of autumn—all to teach the people that the ways of plutocracy are the ways of political salvation—all at the expense of the poor taxpayer. Thus by putting me in as Secretary of the Treasury our cause would receive a great lift. The wooden horse would be brought into the city. Your friend would be in the citadel throwing the armor out. Then, with ten millions to educate, promote, buy and vote, plutocracy would sink never to rise any more. Thus we would achieve a noble victory.

Say you that you don't wish to put on the livery of heaven to serve the devil in. The man who would lose a victory on account of his moral sentiments would be the scorn and derision of history, John Ingalls being judge. Besides, if you do not allow me to seize this advantage your enemies will seize it and wield it against you. They will not stand on moral sentiment. They have as little of that as the black angels guarding the gates of hell—the Senate being examples.

Success being the end of human action, we should not shoulder more truth than we can succeed with. Therefore, let us drop off the sub-treasury, the land loan—in fact, anything which stands in the way of our

party success, and bring the party around to our way of thinking by degrees and not jeopardize our party's interests. Let me hear from you, Mr. ECONOMIST right away, for I'm red hot to shoulder arms under our noble statesmen and work the wires with wily wisdom. My last wish is to compromise so as not to hurt the Alliance nor the party. If I can do this I will be everlastingly and most effectually yours.

Invidious Taxation.

J. V. POWELL, OF CHILlicothe, Mo.

Much has been written on the subject of taxation, but as yet I have failed to see anything on the subject touching the taxation of money. Now it is a well known fact that our lands are taxed from year to year, and our fathers before us were taxed upon the same land, and likewise our children to come after us. Again, all the improvements upon said lands are likewise taxed; and more, all the grain produced upon said lands, together with the stock that consumes the same, is taxed. Not even our dogs and poultry are exempt. More than this, here in Missouri we even pay on what we owe (and that is no small amount). Our indebtedness is not deducted from the assessment list. To illustrate: A man sells his property for \$1,000, and takes a note for the same; the note is assessed to the seller and the property to the buyer. Again, if A owes B \$100, and B owes C \$100, and C owes D \$100, and D owes A \$100, all of whom have given notes for the amount, \$100 would liquidate the entire debt, and that is all that of just right should be assessed, but the law of this State compels all to be assessed; hence there is taxes paid on \$400 instead of \$100. This holds good in all cases, no matter how many notes have been given, from one to one thousand, all must be assessed. Now this obnoxious system we could stand, for it is a means of encouraging the payment of debts. But there is another feature of taxation that to my mind is most abominable. It is this: While we are compelled by law to give in for assessment all notes on private individuals, but if we hold notes (gold and silver certificates) on the United States government, which on presentation the gold and silver is paid over the counter, such notes or certificates are not given to the assessor, but are wholly exempt from taxation. Neither is national bank currency taxable. Now if this is just and equal taxation as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States I am no judge, and would be pleased for some of those wise men to rise and explain. I think I understand what I am writing about, as I have served eight years on the board of equalization in this (Livingston) county, and we have erased from the assessor's books in many cases from \$1,000 to \$2,000 of certificates, both gold and silver, and also national bank currency, that had been taken by the assessors, and we as a board of equalization did it under the following law, and which has been the law since June 3, 1864 (section 3701, U. S. Statutes):

All stocks, bonds, treasury notes and other obligations of the United States shall be exempt from taxation by or under State or municipal or local authority.

And section 5413 reads thus:

The words "obligation or other security of the United States" shall be held to mean all bonds, certificates of indebtedness, national bank currency, coupons, United States notes, treasury notes, frac-

tional notes, certificates of deposit, bills, checks or drafts for money drawn by or upon authorized officers of the United States, stamps and other representatives of value of whatever denomination which have been or may (be) issued under any act of Congress.

The above is one of the laws of the national banking act, and I denounce it as nefarious, obnoxious and the essence of class legislation in the interest of the money power. The idea of our laws exempting all the paper money in the United States from taxation and compelling the agricultural and laboring classes to have all their effects assessed and pay heavy taxes on the same, is in my judgment most damnable, and one of the principal causes of so many millionaires and paupers in this country. I consider the farmers and laborers the most tax-ridden people in the civilized world. If the principles of the Farmers and Laborers Union are not carried into effect I predict overwhelming calamity to this country, and she will go the way of all nations who have pre-ceded her.

Real Depositors in Savings Banks.

Labor Leader.

For twenty-one years George E. McNeill has attempted to secure such legislation as will secure such reports from the savings banks as will show the amount of money deposited by wage workers each year by occupations. As the originator of the system of investigation now so generally favored under the name of Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and as the first deputy of the Massachusetts bureau under Gen. H. K. Oliver, he commenced the agitation and conducted the first investigation. The results were so startling as to call down upon his head the enmity of the savings banks officials, and his persistence in that work led to the combination of the tenement-house owners, cotton lords and savings banks officials that led to the decapitation of Gen. Oliver and himself.

At a recent hearing before the committee on banks and banking Mr. McNeill made a powerful argument, backed up by statistical data, showing the need of the legislation asked for. He commenced his argument in the words he had used eighteen years before in the first reports of the

"The masses of mankind have never been and can not be made to hoard. The gradual operation of civilizing influence has induced them to consume more, but it is not possible to cause them to accumulate and hoard wealth. In the grander civilization of the future men and women will consume—that is, use many times their present products, but they will not accumulate or hoard."

Money is made on money in the form of interest by the few who save, because the masses will not and can not save or hoard. For if all were to save none would be left to borrow.

It is a terrible waste of manhood, of physical and moral power, to save or hoard materials out of which the grandest and most fully developed man is made. Men must not be wasted that these things may be saved. The stomach must not be starved to save food. It is unwise and wicked to teach that men should save money at the expense of health of body, mind and soul. Society, travel, books and opportunities are the food upon which civilization lives. It is an economic fallacy that the accumulation in savings banks is an evidence of progress.

Those who deny themselves any of the food of person or society tend to close rather than open the opportunities for plenty of work.

The assets of the savings banks October 31, 1889, amounted to \$372,473,568.41, of which \$353,592,937.24 were in deposits.

The total number of open accounts (not number of depositors; for one depositor may and often does hold many accounts) was 1,083,817. The number of deposits made was 1,060,877, or 22,940 less depositors than open accounts, as the average number of deposits per 100 is about 2½. This would make about 422,350 open accounts upon which deposits were made.

The average amounts to each open account in the savings banks were \$326.24, the grand total of the deposits and dividends remaining of all the deposits made in the savings banks for about seventy-five years aggregating \$353,592,637.24, including all the money held by religious, charitable, benefit and fraternal societies, trade unions, trusts, etc.

The number of withdrawals for the year was 725,751, amounting to \$75,065,718.43; the amount deposited \$72,023,703.64, leaving as the net result of the savings to each open account of \$6.42 or \$3.70 as the average net savings to the population. Small as is the average net savings, it is a gross exaggeration of the truth when applied to wage-labourers.

The savings banks commissioners in their report January 1, 1887, give a classification of open accounts which they wrongfully call depositors' accounts, as follows:

Account.	Amount Held.	Average.
344,640	\$5,023,460.25	\$14
91,072	6,525,392.05	71
113,671	15,789,821.00	138
155,547	57,109,495.00	326
129,111	92,474,535.00	716
110,737	131,779,238.00	1,190
944,788	\$308,701,941.30	

About one-third of the number own but one-sixtieth of the amount, and one-ninth of the number more than one-third or twenty-sixtieths. Taking those who hold deposits under \$500 and we have about five-ninths of the number holding less than one-tenth of the amount and about four-ninths more than nine-tenths. This proves that the largest number of depositors have but a very small holding in the savings banks, and that to give an average of the amount in the banks to the population of the State as an evidence of common prosperity, is as fallacious as it would be to take all the wealth of New York—or the Vanderbilts, Gould, Rockefeller and the other many times millionaires—and divide the sum total by the number of persons in the tenement-house districts and give the average as the average wealth of those miserable victims of competitive civilization.

As a rule the skilled mechanic is not a depositor. The foreign element predominates to a large extent.

Ben-Terrell in South Carolina.

President J. Wm. Stokes, of South Carolina, publishes the following list of appointments for Hon. Ben-Terrell to meet District Alliances:

1. Orangeburg, May 18 and 19.
2. Aiken, May 15 and 16.
3. Anderson, May 13 and 14.
4. Greenville, May 11 and 12.
5. Chester, May 26 and 27.
6. Florence, May 22 and 23.
7. Sumter, May 20 and 21.

Besides at Darlington May 23, and Bennettsville May 25.

Kentucky Farm (Shepherdsville, Ky.) says:

In 1850 the agriculturists of America owned over 70 per cent of the wealth; today they own 24½ per cent and pay 80 per cent of every dollar that is collected in taxes. No wonder they are organizing and bonding together for the purpose of securing the life of the republic and the liberties of the people. The closing years of this century will witness the mightiest economic and industrial revolution that history will probably ever be called to record, a revolution that will attest virtue, manhood, patriotism and low liberty of every laborer of this country.

Let us examine further: 240,848 accounts held 224,283,834.63, of which 110,707 held \$121,719,294.73. The commissioners say that this represents the original depositors and their accounts, and in some instances

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

Alliance Eagle (Ellisville, Miss.) says: A writer in the McComb City Enterprise hits the nail square upon the head when he penned the following: "No man who took upon himself the obligation in the Alliance ritual can afford to set up an outside opposition to that platform. Alliance differences should be settled inside the Order amongst Alliance men."

The Perkins (Oklahoma) Plaindealer says:

The condition of public opinion in this country is not the most encouraging when we consider the difficulty realized in making popular any reform. It often occurs that the reform has the passive assent of the people, yet by reason of the lethargy of those whose interests are at stake it is practically impossible to create a movement of any momentum. The contaminating flood of ill bred men and women into our country is one reason for this sluggishness. Not but that there are good ones who come to our shores. We are glad to welcome them. We do regret to be compelled to acknowledge that a large majority of our immigrants are averse to our civilization. They are wholly unconscious of our greatest needs, and can not be expected to respond to the call of the leaders of the various reform movements. The condition of public thought is in many respects alarming. The pandering of the daily press is an evidence that every man and woman, who has an interest in America, should make their lives count in the public interest.

Industrial Union (Kokomo, Ind.) says:

There is a wonderful undercurrent of thought in this country. People are thinking, silently thinking, and it is not patent lever business either. Partisanship is rapidly disappearing and men are learning that party was made for them and not they for the party. Common sense is taking two sub-treasury Senators from this State

for the place of blind zeal, whoops and hurrahs. Democrats and Republicans are locking hands to battle in one common cause. A reform must come.

Turner's Emancipator (Phinney, Wash.) says:

There is—abolish money slavery and bring about the conditions which this country enjoyed during and at the close of the war, when for the first time the government issued sufficient money to turn every wheel within the limits of the United States. Ingerson describes the condition of affairs then, as follows:

"A wave of wealth swept of the United States, huts became houses, tatters became garments, walls were covered with pictures, floors with carpets, and for the first time in the history of the world the poor tasted all the luxuries of wealth."

The object of the Farmers and Laborers Union is to bring about a change again that the poor may once more taste of all the luxuries now enjoyed by the rich. The object of the Union Labor party is the same—to abolish money slavery.

Colorado (Pueblo) Workman says:

It is said by the New York World that there are 150,000 people in this city who go to sleep in their wretched quarters at night without knowing where their next day's food is to come from. There are also hundreds of wealthy men in that same city who are unable under oath to say how many millions they possess! The end is not far away when such things can't be.

Emporia (Kan.) Standard says:

The State auditor of Kansas reports that the railroad mileage of the State, 8,755 miles, is capitalized at \$456,719,000, of which \$229,548,000 is in bonds and \$127,171,000 in stock, but as the people are expected to pay dividends on stock as well as interest on bonds the whole burden of this capitalization rests on their shoulders the same as a bonded debt. An ex-member of the board of railroad commissioners of Kansas has informed us that in his judgment nine-tenths of the entire \$456,000,000 of railroad securities is wholly "watered" and need never have existed—it is "flat" wealth created through plutocratic legislation for the benefit of eastern and European capitalists. But it is upon our shoulders, nevertheless. To this is to be added the municipal bonded indebtedness, estimated by the State auditor at \$38,000,000. And then comes the farm, city, and chattel mortgage indebtedness of the people. The auditor estimates this at only \$600,000,000 but it is entirely reasonable to say that it is fully \$200,000,000, and this does not include bank loans not secured by mortgages on records. Total of railroad, municipal and personal mortgage indebtedness in round figures, \$695,000,000. The valuation of taxable property in Kansas is given at

Lands.....	\$168,285,199
City lots.....	72,814,874
Railroads.....	57,866,332
Personal.....	49,750,913

Total..... \$347,717,218

which is \$347,000,000 less than the mortgaged indebtedness. But it is known that the assessed valuation does not average over one-half what the property could be sold for even in this time of depressed valuation, so that we may reasonably say that mortgagees of Kansas property now own the State. Most of the mortgagees, including substantially all the owners of railroad

stocks and bonds, live in the eastern States or in Europe, and are practically absent landlords. It ought to be evident that the people of Kansas are not going to be able to pay their enormous indebtedness and own their property, railroads included, free of a debt, without a very radical change in the monetary system of the country, a change that cannot be had without cutting loose from the specie redemption limit of paper currency.

Free Speech (Hamburg, Iowa) says:

With the farmers of the country united to purify government, from president down to county, we may rely upon it being done. They will make some mistakes, but that is to be expected; everybody that does anything makes mistakes, but they are the ones that get there. They are already making the cold chills run up the backs of the booblers, and the work is only begun.

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Cooke County Signal (Gainesville, Tex.) says:

The Alliance is sweeping the whole state of Texas, not only in the country, but in the cities, towns and villages.

Central Californian (Fresno, Cal.) says:

In 1860 the per capita expense for government expenditures was \$2.16, and the per capita circulation \$15.33. The records of Fifty-first Congress show that the per capita expenditure now is \$8, and that there is in circulation but \$4.97 per capita. The war is over, but there must be something wrong. The agricultural interests, without which the country could not survive, received less than one-hundredth part of the money appropriated by the last Congress. The few, not the many, the labor organs, those who know no other duty than to battle for and advance the cause of organized labor, should receive the full and continuous support of those whose interests occupy their columns.

The Alliance-Union (Eureka, Kans.) says:

Nine of every ten of farms are mortgaged. When were they mortgaged? Not till the people's indebtedness became almost unmeasurable, and bills, notes, grocery bills and other personal indebtedness, when coming due, could not be paid by a very large proportion of the people. The few do it yourself, should be borne in mind. The labor organs, those who know no other duty than to battle for and advance the cause of organized labor, should receive the full and continuous support of those whose interests occupy their columns.

The Enterprise (Wickliffe, Ky.) says:

Labor all over the country is in an unsettled condition. There is an uneasy feeling, a sense of positive distress, and it does seem that some of our statesmen might bring about a change for the better. It would seem that with the demands that labor is making all over this country that their cry would be heard, but not so. There is nothing proposed for their relief, nothing is seemingly thought of their condition. The same old arguments are used by all the leaders of both parties, while it is an admitted fact that the tariff needs a radical change (in fact free trade is our idea). Can labor wait for a thing of this sort? Can it live until this can be brought about? Give the labor of the country a chance; do not destroy its power to pay by vicious laws; people are as honest now as they ever were. Its only the law that has made things as they are; it is the destroying of the ability, the means to pay, that is hurting the country so very bad.

The Chickasaw Messenger (Ok

wily and clever politicians, however came before the people prior to every election, appealed to their prejudices, fired their animosity, stirred up the smouldering slumbers of hatred and piled up promise upon promise, jeered at any one who had the manhood to question their methods of campaigning, but if he still adhered to truth and right he was ostracised in that way politicians so thoroughly understand. Many of us believed or forced ourselves to believe that what the politicians said would be verified. So we lived, toiled and hoped until our living was reduced to eking out a mere existence, our toil a torturing drudgery and our hope turned into despair. We managed to pay the interest, but found it more difficult each succeeding year. This is the story that comes to us from all the homesteads in the country. The trap a deadfall—was set. You were caught. You mortgaged your farm; down went the price of the products of your toil; up went the price of money. It became scarcer and scarcer and still scarcer until your indebtedness was truly doubled. That was and is robbery. If a debt be contracted when the per capita circulation is at a certain standard, and by any means that standard is lowered and the per capita circulation is decreased, the debt thus contracted is in an equal ratio increased. Thus, if the per capita circulation is decreased one-half the debt is doubled. That, my mortgaged friend, is just the wrong you have been contending with. You have thus been robbed in a way that but few understood. Now, if your mortgage is coming due and you are in a fair way to lose your farm, justice and equity both say that you should have the time extended in which to redeem the old homestead because by contraction your debt has been increased.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

We want to hear from the Purchasing Agent of every Lodge in the United States within the next thirty days—for appointment as Agent. Write for particulars "under seal," sending certificate of authority signed by Ex. Com.; also "forward list of all property owners in your Lodge with post-office addresses"—will write them, requesting they order through you. Presidents' Secretaries and Members, let us hear from you. Remember, we sell you "DIRECT" at full wholesale prices—saving you the entire middleman's profit, and furnishing a Paint which forty-eight years' use has proved to be the most durable and color-lasting known.

Sample cards painted with the Paint, confidential wholesale discounts, and particulars free. Write at once.

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society. The people are awake. The slumber of half a century has broken, and the wary politician will be able to fleece the laborer while he sleeps no more. All we want is co-operation. In union is strength, in strength victory, in victory is a relief from the wrongs that are abroad to-day. The people hold the key to the sepulcher and will let the cat out. The brotherhood of man and the common aim of all Americans is the tie that links the land together. It has come to a point in the course of human events when the rights of common people shall be known and their virtue tried. In the mighty sisterhood of States there is a silent, secret hand pointing to a day-star in the distant horizon of our national progress. Mr. Boutwell shows that for a quarter of a century in this country the silver dollar was worth more than the gold dollar. In 1860, a silver dollar could buy one dollar in gold and four cents over. The gold idolaters, however, will continue to treat facts with contempt, and the organs of Wall street, both North and South, will continue to insist that the Democratic party ought to deserve defeat by deserting the principle of free coinage.

The people are awakening to a proper sense of affairs. The zeal of men for a political party is giving away. The fire of fanaticism is dying from the breast of the Democrat and the Republican. They see now, at least, the majority see, how they have been duped and fooled by false teaching. They see how their idols have been leading them through devious ways and over rocky roads. They see how, through corrupt principles, the legislators of the land have shifted a burden of many taxes, rents and interests, and high prices for necessities of life, and low prices for the product of their labor, on their shoulders. They see how many millions of church property has been exempt from taxation, for lo! these many years, and how the small property owner has been robbed by such exemptions; how an additional tax has been placed on them for the expense of the government by the property of the church, being free from its just and honest share share of taxation. They see how the banking system, by its close connection with the government, is petted and fatted on the free use of coin, and on vicious rates of interest collected from laboring people. They see the railroads of the land putting fetters on their prosperity by high rates and monopolization of transportation facilities. They see there are four classes of agents, all reaping a harvest from the income of the field, by handling farm machinery, which is tripled in price by the time it is ready for service by them. And numerous other evils they perceive at this day and hour of the nineteenth century. It is the sunrise of a day that is to come. It is the first pulse of a new life that is springing into existence in America. The first quiver of a mighty upheaval that is to cast out the evils of

In the Grand Ronde (Oreg.) Chronicle B. W. Huffman says:

With the organization of the Farmers Alliance in Oregon dawns a brighter era for the laborer of the State. With the introduction of a third party comes the faint prospect of relief from this aggravating depression that is gnawing at the substance of the tiller of the soil. The operation of our government has become so reduced to the wishes of a select few, that it is bordering on oppression. The money king is growing richer day by day, and the Lazarus of the plow and reaper is growing more hungry. The wish and need of the farmer is not regarded by the average legislator to-day, but the capitalist and corporation, the magnate and monopolist, all these receive attention and protection from the government in many ways.

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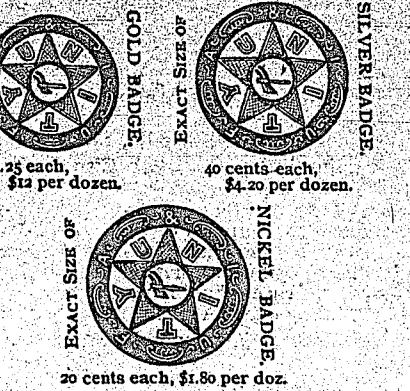
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Appleton's Second Reader..... each .30
Appleton's Fourth Reader..... each .50
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Eclectic New Copy Books..... each .55
Swinton's Introductory Geography..... each 1.25
Swinton's Higher Geography..... each .30
Ficklin's Elementary Arithmetic..... each .75
Ficklin's National Arithmetic..... each .85
Harvey's Revised Elementary Grammar..... each .65
Harvey's Revised Practical English Grammar..... each .65
Conkin's English Grammar and Composition..... each .65
Barnes's Primary History of the United States..... each .60
Barnes's Brief History of the United States..... each 1.00

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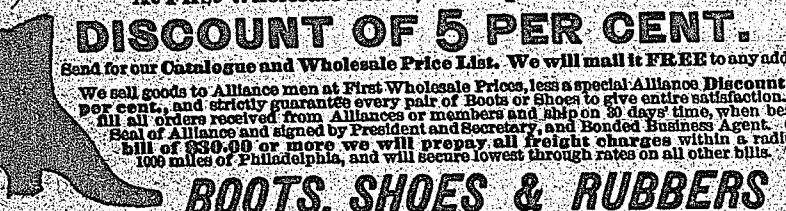
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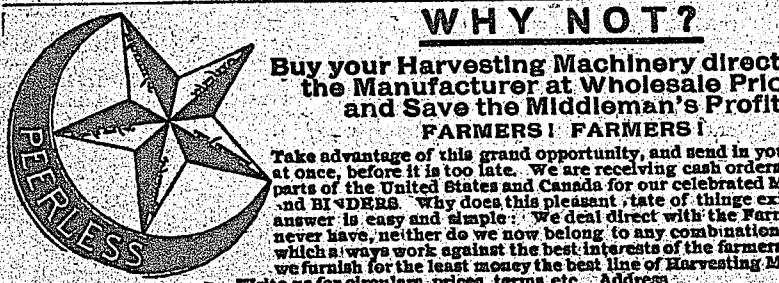
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This popular book is used by tens of thousands in the United States. No Alliance or original publication comparable with it. Florence Olmstead's Song Book. The success of the Alliance movement in Kansas is largely due to these inspiring songs. One song, "The New Jubilee" is worth more than the price of the book. They are set to familiar tunes so that all can sing. I take great pleasure in offering my book to the Alliance people of the United States, because it suits its sentiment to the times and to the people's movements. The "Alliance Nightingale" has been adopted and recommended by the National Alliance of Ocalia, Fla. Price 10 cents per copy, or 50 per dozen. Please don't send stamps. Address the author.

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its old time Republican majority unless the South shall abandon the Democratic party. The present political complexion of Kansas is the result of education. The changes have been wrought by a study of economic questions, such as has no precedent in the previous history of our country. Realizing the unfavorable conditions of the industrial classes the people have succeeded in tracing the causes of these conditions to their source, and the political revision witnessed in the past year is based upon intelligence and mature judgment. It is as much impossible for the people of Kansas to return to the ranks of the party that is so largely responsible for their deplorable condition as it would be for Niagara to turn backward in its course. They are impelled in this forward movement by the irresistible forces which underlie all progress. The intelligence of the world does not retrograde; and a revolutionary step once taken is not retraced. The Republican party in Kansas is both dead and damned. The people's party has come to stay. McGrath is not authorized to speak for the voters for Kansas.

But what of the South? It may be observed that a few of the officials of the Southern Alliance do not represent the sentiment of the people. We know this to be true in the State of Missouri, and we have good reason to believe it to be true of Southern States. We receive at this office quite a number of southern papers that are outspoken in favor of a new party, and anxiously watching the attitude of the people, we have observed a rapidly-growing sentiment in that direction. But aside from any and all declarations upon the subject, he who desires to know the truth respecting the future of the Southern Alliance will look deeper than these surface indications to discover it. Those who seem to be most certain of the continued allegiance of the membership of the South to the Democratic party will not deny the loyalty of those people to the principles of the Alliance. In both the St. Louis and Ocala Supreme Councils the southern representatives largely predominated, and, while there was no sectional strife and no opposition from the North, to the South must be credited very largely the origin of the remedial measures which are now insisted upon by the entire organization. Pre-eminent among these measures is the sub-treasury bill. This measure has never received more bitter opposition from any source than from the Democratic party. It will never receive the support of either the Democratic or the Republican party. Wall street, which absolutely dominates both, will attend to this. It must readily be seen, therefore, that the alternative will be presented to Alliance members of both parties of abandoning, either former party affiliations or the principles of the Alliance; and when it comes to a choice of this character who can doubt what that choice will be? It has already been sufficiently indicated, even by those who now oppose the new party. We repeat, then, that he would correctly forecast the future of the Southern Alliance, must look below the surface indications, and study the undercurrent of public events. The members of the Order in the South are being swept along by an undercurrent that is as resistless as the tides of old ocean, and it will be absolutely impossible for them to avoid the support of a new party. They, as well as the people of the north, realize that the policy of the past must be revised or disaster and ruin and sedition will be the heritage of the next generation. They, as well as the north, understand that sectionalism must be destroyed, and the South and the West must join hands in order to avert these calamities. The Northwest is ready for the union. Its conditions can not be mistaken. These conditions are not submitted by the dictation of any section; they are the natural outgrowth of influences that have been in operation for many years. The Northwest is more rapidly progressive than the South, and has conformed to these conditions in advance. It remains for the South to effect like adaptation, and the result of the industrial contest will not be in doubt. While there are influences at work which are even now rapidly revolutionizing political sentiment, the people of the Southern States can not be intimidated or their course be changed by threats. Like the people of the North, their future must be influenced by educational means. When they become satisfied that the Democratic party is not the friend of the Alliance, they will have no more use for that party. They are rapidly learning, and they will understand it fully before

the contest of 1892 is fairly begun. Even the Capital, which is so persistent in its declarations that the Alliance is the Democratic party, says that the Democratic party will never endorse the sub-treasury scheme. Then it is as certain as that the Alliance will never endorse the Democratic party.

While the people of the South must thus work out their own salvation from the power of monopoly, they must be held responsible for any further delay of the results of the conflict in which we are engaged in common. United the West and the South are invincible. The West is ready for such union. The South will swing into line in good time. The refusal of the old parties to support Alliance measures will force them to make a stand, and there is absolutely no shadow of doubt as to what that stand will be. An unequivocal declaration of the Cincinnati conference, if made in the proper spirit, will hasten the revolution in the South. There should be no ambiguity about that declaration. It is full time that we understand each other, and the action of the Cincinnati conference should not be susceptible of misinterpretation. While there may be reasonable ground for doubt concerning the propriety of perfecting an organization on the 19th of May, there is no doubt of the propriety of rendering the determination certain that such organization shall be perfected in proper time.

FRENCH MONEY.

H. P. Walker, Sugar, Ala., asks THE ECONOMIST to answer the following questions:

- Has France a legal-tender money, and if so its value compared with gold?
- How was this money put in circulation?

3. When did France have her last financial crash or money panic?

4. What is the full voting strength of the laboring organizations of the United States?

1. Issues of the Bank of France have been legal-tender since 1848, and as other bank of issue do not exist, there is in France no currency, as distinguished from money proper.

During the time that France was paying an indemnity to Germany, a period of four years, gold commanded a slight premium, at one time being $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Since that debt has been paid, Bank of France notes circulate indiscriminately all over the republic with gold and silver, and gold hasn't left the country either.

2. The money of France goes into circulation much as it does elsewhere—by discount over the counters of the banks. There are a number of private banks in all the cities, and more than seventy branches of the Bank of France are compelled to open account with any one so demanding. The Bank of France discounts on the same line of securities to which the national banks of this country are restricted, and the rate of interest is much lower than is current here. But the great relief to the French business men comes from the plentiness of the money. About \$900,000,000 in gold, \$700,000,000 in silver, and \$600,000,000 of these bank notes are in circulation, with a population of 38,250,000, practically permitting traffic in cash. Under this cash system every small dealer is not forced to have a bank account.

3. In 1864 there was a collapse in Paris, brought on by overspeculation among the brokers and financiers of the country, and the Bank of France suffered considerable losses by depreciation of collaterals held. This is the last financial strait in which the bank has been placed. Of course the payment of the indemnity to Germany was a burden, but did not produce a crash, and the people seem no poorer for their great financial feat, unexampled in history. The Bank of France acted as intermediary and actually made the payments for the government, though the shares in that institution are held by private citizens, operating under a charter from the government. There was quite a flurry, but no permanent bad effects from the failure of the Panama canal scheme and other speculations about two years ago, but though the losses in money were great, it had little effect on legitimate commerce. Because of her great volume of money, France was able last year to lift England, and indeed all Christendom, to a firmer footing when the Barings failed.

4. No data exist for an answer to this question. It must be remembered that many members of all the organizations named are not voters, and also that no inconsiderable number of voters are members of more than one industrial body. The full vote, however, is sufficient to secure control of the government, if the voters are united, and it would seem that the great task set to reformers is to secure that unity.

STATE LECTURER A. D. FOSTER, of the newly organized State Alliance in Ohio, issues the following letter to sub-Alliances in the Industrial Union. This has the true ring, and shows judgment and experience, and that Ohio is having the same fight that prevails throughout North and South:

We find in many localities cunning politicians, who are trying to get persons initiated in the Alliance to work for them by proxy. Finding things thus, we desire to say to every sub-Alliance in the State of Ohio that it stands you in hand to guard your threshold. It is true we want every eligible person, who is Alliance first, last and all the time in the Order; but he who comes in for special favors or to represent anything other than true Alliance principles we have no use for, knowing that one enemy inside is harder to manage than a hundred outside. So if you have any person who is not true to our principles say to him at the first opportunity, by ballot, "Out of the position which you are not worthy to occupy." And say to all persons who want in for a special purpose or favor, "Gentlemen, stand back." We have a great battle to fight in the State of Ohio and must have unity all along the line. With this we will march to untold success and leave behind us in the debris, carcasses of once happy, though corrupt, politicians. Happy are we to know that that patriotic spirit, handed down by our forefathers, though sleeping the sleep of Rip Van Winkle, is not dead, but rising once more to free the people from a greater and more oppressive monarch than George III—the money power to oppress. So be of good cheer, be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the true principles of the Alliance and our country will once more be free.

BROTHER WALTER MUIR, president of the North Dakota State Alliance, has met with a sad bereavement in his family, in which he will have the sympathy of the entire Order. The Hunter Eye says:

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Muir have been

suddenly called upon to mourn the loss of their daughter Gracie, who died yesterday. Only last Tuesday she was as well as ever, the perfect picture of health and strength, and last Saturday Mr. and Mrs. Muir gave her and her brother Walter a birthday party, it being her tenth and Walter's thirteenth birthday. Tuesday she ate a quantity of raw turnip, and Wednesday morning complained of not feeling well, but no one supposed that she was very sick until yesterday morning about 4 o'clock, when she called to her mother to "help her over the river." This frightened Mrs. Muir, who called Mr. Muir, and Dr. Critchfield was summoned, but upon his arrival he found her past help, and she died about 11 o'clock passing away in much the same manner as did her sister Lois, without the apparent movement of a muscle. The cause assigned is internal obstruction. It is a sad and sudden blow to Mr. and Mrs. Muir and the family, who have the sympathy of their many friends in this their hour of affliction.

JUDGE CASSIDY ON THE SUB-TREASURY.
Brookhaven (Miss.) Leader.

By request, the Leader has been furnished the following letter written by Judge H. Cassidy, of Brookhaven, to a prominent Alliance man of Franklin county touching an important question now agitating the public mind. The letter explains itself:

Dr. A. M. Mewman, Meadville, Miss.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th inst., inviting me to be present at Meadville on the 17th inst. at a meeting of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union of Franklin county, and to address the meeting on the Ocala demands, and especially the sub-treasury bill, was by reason of my absence from home only received on the day of the meeting, and hence it was impossible for me to comply with your request. You say, however, that in the event of my inability to attend, the membership would be pleased to hear my views on the subject mentioned, which I will give readily. I have no doubt of the constitutional power of Congress to enact the sub-treasury bill; for the Constitution is not only what its framers intended it should be, but also what by long course of action under it by the different departments of the government, executive, legislative and judiciary, have construed it to be, and if analogous precedents set in the past, and acquiesced in for years by all departments of the government, and by all political parties, are to be observed when applied to a measure intended for the benefit of the agricultural classes, this would seem to be an end to the constitutional question. The only serious question involved in the measure, in my judgment, is one of expediency. Will it remedy the evils it is intended to cure? If it will I am unhesitatingly in favor of it, but about this there seems to be even amongst the members of the Alliance organization wide and divergent views. This measure like all other reform measures, may be in its details, and doubtless is, defective, but discussion and agitation will discover these and the underlying principle of the measure may be preserved and put in practical operation. The fact that it is brought forward by so large and intelligent an organization of citizens upon whom the burdens of government chiefly rest, is sufficient to commend it to the thoughtful and serious consideration of American statesmen.

So far as I am individually concerned, I am willing to see the experiment fairly tested and tried, when it can be demonstrated whether it is a failure or a success.

New York Mutual Life—
Assets January 1, 1890.....\$147,154,961
Income 1890.....34,978,000
Losses 1890.....16,974,000
Assets January 1, 1890.....136,401,000
Income 1890.....31,119,000

Losses paid 1889.....15,200,000
Assets to January 1, 1888.....127,829,000
Income 1887.....23,119,000
Losses paid 1887.....14,128,000
Paid salaries expenses 1887.....3,649,000
The items of salaries alone footing up in 1887 to \$31,000, of which R. A. McCurdy is credited with \$50,000 as president and R. A. Gromins \$30,000 as vice-president.

The New York Life reports for 1890:

Assets.....\$115,093,000
Income, 1890.....39,434,000
Losses paid.....10,620,000
Expenses (of which \$50,000 was salaries).....13,256,000
Of which President Beers is said to receive \$60,000 and Henry Turk, vice-president, \$30,000.

The Equitable reports for 1890:

Assets.....\$119,243,000
Income.....35,009,000
Losses paid.....13,256,000
Expenses.....7,337,000
Of which H. B. Hide, president, is said to absorb \$50,000, J. W. Alexander, vice-president, \$40,000, and John A. McCall, comptroller, \$25,000.

The Union Central Life of Cincinnati in the twenty-fourth annual statement, closing the year 1890, reports:

Assets.....\$6,195,000
Income 1890.....2,410,000
Paid losses 1890.....732,000
Expenses 1890.....719,000

The Provident of Newark, N. J.:

Assets.....\$4,473,000
Income 1887.....3,013,000
Losses 1887.....857,000
Expenses 1887.....1,678,000

The Travelers' of Hartford:

Assets 1888.....\$8,831,000
Income 1887.....1,509,000
Paid policy holders.....448,000

Total fire premiums collected in California for the year 1890.....\$6,303,322
Losses for the year 1890.....2,753,392
Leaving for the companies.....3,549,934
After losses were paid, a ratio of losses to premiums of 43 7-10 per cent.

TEXAS.

Total fire premiums 1890.....\$3,128,190
Total life premiums 1890.....2,557,790

Total premiums for year 1890.....\$6,764,965
Losses paid for year, life.....666,655
Losses paid for year, fire.....1,334,159

Total losses.....\$2,026,824
Balance premiums, after paying losses.....4,718,141

The Coast Review for March, 1875, gives the following figures:

Oregon—1890, premiums, \$734,000; 1890, losses, \$161,000, 22 per cent.
Washington—1890, premiums, \$1,441,000; 1890, losses, \$720,000, 50 per cent.

Taking one year with another, it is a conservative statement to make that but one-half the vast premiums paid for fire insurance is needed to pay the losses on the insured property.

LIFE INSURANCE.

In the field of life insurance we find a similar condition of affairs obtain too often, \$3 being annually collected for each dollar returned for losses. To illustrate: Thirty-one of the leading American companies report for 1887—

Income.....\$134,000,000
Losses.....69,000,000

Amount not used for losses.....\$65,000,000

And 1889 forty companies report—

Income.....\$176,643,000
Dividends, endowment, losses, etc.....82,566,900

Leaving balance.....\$94,077,100

It is safe to say that in the United States and Canada there is annually paid in premiums on life and fire a round \$400,000,000, of which but \$200,000,000 finds its way back to the policy holders again. Surely the American people must be flushed with a desire to have a large sum of \$200,000,000 annually for having a work imperfectly and partially done, that might be thoroughly and satisfactorily performed for one-eighth of the expense and leave the capital and energy now employed in the hundreds of insurance companies free to develop our material resources.

The inquiry may be made, what became of the \$200,000,000 premiums collected and not applied on losses? A few extracts from official reports of the larger companies may throw some light upon the subject:

New York Mutual Life—
Assets January 1, 1890.....\$147,154,961
Income 1890.....34,978,000
Losses 1890.....16,974,000
Assets January 1, 1890.....136,401,000
Income 1890.....31,119,000

It would doubtless result ultimately in erecting State departments under control of the State Alliance that would practically carry on the State work with but nominal oversight and support from the

national company. The object of putting aside one-fourth of the annual premiums would be simply to provide for an emergency like a great cyclone or flood, and could be discontinued whenever the amount on hand would warrant it, or better still, it could be capitalized and used as a basis for the company and the original capital could be returned to the stockholders. The true plan would be for the government to do the insuring of the property the same as it looks after the roads and bridges, the school system or the postal system. Imagine a thousand companies carrying our mails or taking charge of our roads and bridges; we could neither afford to send a letter nor even travel over the roads to post it. Bills have already been introduced into the legislature of California and Oregon looking to such action, but of course while a billion of invested capital is arrayed against it, it is almost impossible to secure legislation in the interests of the people. The plan for the government insurance is to have the assessor list all property for taxation at its true value as near as practicable and carry an insurance fund the same as a bridge fund, say one mill on the dollar of assessed property to be set aside as an insurance fund for the county, one-tenth of that to go to a State fund to assist any point where an emergency existed and one-tenth of the State fund to the national fund to accumulate against a Chicago or Boston fire, that might be too heavy for any one State to conveniently carry, with a provision that if the fund became too large or small, the rate could be raised or lowered. There would not be a dollar extra expense for the assessor to examine the risk, the treasurer to collect the premium, with the other taxes, and the only expense would be actual losses, and the small expense of adjustment by county supervisors, as is now so satisfactorily done by our little farmers' county mutuals. The plan would necessarily be a safe one and would save us nearly \$100,000,000 per year. Until that can be brought about, we think the plan outlined in THE ECONOMIST will, if carried out, give general satisfaction and prove a great saving. We trust you will discuss it thoroughly and carefully, and if approved of help to put it in operation, and one of the important things to do is to make such changes in your laws as may be necessary to successfully carry it out. The laws in most of the States having been dictated by the people's making them very expensive to comply with, all of which of course comes out of the pockets of the dear people.

In closing this paper so far as fire insurance is concerned, I will quote from the thirty-sixth annual statement of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of the District of Columbia, for the year 1890, to show the relative cost of mutual such as proposed vs. the old line insurance. This company reaches very nearly to the economy of government insurance. It has the unique distinction of being chartered by Congress (the only fire company so far as I know ever so formed), is confined to the district, insures no one except actual freeholders, i. e., the building and land must belong to applicant, but all classes of farm, city and business property, including stock of goods and furniture, are insured. Policies are, like life policies, perpetual subject only to cancellation for non-compliance with by-laws or at option of policy holder or company for cause or at sale. The applicant gives an assessable demand note for 10 per cent of insurance he wishes. For instance, if he wishes \$1,000 insurance the note will be for \$100, and remains in the company's hands until paid or surrendered by virtue of cancellation of policy. The company levies each year a sufficient rate of interest on the notes to pay losses and expenses starting in 1855 when the company was incorporated at 6 per cent, payable January 1, and finding that more was needed, they dropped to 5, then to 4, 3, 2, and finally for many years they have only charged 1 per cent, or \$1 per year on each \$1,000 of insurance, and yet so successful and economical have they been, that now, at the end of thirty-six years, with never an assessment on the notes, they find themselves square with the world, and with \$281,000 in cash and bonds on hand, which belong to the policy-holders, who are entitled to withdraw their pro-rata share of the surplus when they retire from the company. And it is a peculiar fact that, despite the low rate charged, a man who insured \$1,000 in 1855, and has kept insured ever since, could now withdraw

C. W. MACUNE,
A. WARDALL,
J. F. TILLMAN,
Executive Committee N. F. A. and I. U.

almost or quite as much money as he ever paid in. By act of Congress the insurance assessment is a first lien on the building, and it can be collected precisely as taxes are, so that every policy-holder has the security of the entire 6,310 properties represented in its \$12,809,000 of insurance. I visited the office and found two secretaries (the only salaried officers except surveyor) doing all the work, employ no solicitors, run their business like a store, said, "We have a good thing for sale and if anyone wants it we are here to wait on them." Make them county officers and you have government insurance.

Here is their statement; compare it with the stock companies, any of them: Whole amount of insurance in force, \$12,809,459; amount of premium notes on hand, \$2,126,334; number policies in force, 6,312; receipts interest on premium notes net, \$2,242,105; other sources, rents, interest, etc., \$17,368.62—\$39,789.67; losses for the year, \$10,754.63 (a full average the secretary informs me); withdrawals and settlements, \$12,102.26; taxes, insurance and repairs, \$1,554.35; expenses of annual meeting, \$79.92; total salaries, printing and adjusting, collecting, fuel, lights, etc., \$8,066.39; bonds and real estate on hand, \$281,002.27.

I would like to ask your attention a few moments to the subject of life insurance. Shall try not to worry you, although it surely is of sufficient importance to merit your most careful examination. The necessity and advisability of life insurance has passed the speculative stage and is now recognized as one of the provident and thoughtful man's duties. The only question before us to-day is how shall we insure where it will be safe and economical? I will not occupy your time with any further examination of the old line insurance companies. Enough has been given to show that they are unnecessarily and extravagantly expensive, which would be reason enough for letting them alone without the further fact that they are rapidly and surely growing into dangerous and unwieldy corporations, a menace to legislation and our free institutions. What can be said for a system which permits three corporations less than fifty years of age, and with but \$100,000 capital, to accumulate in forty years \$254,000,000, an average of \$6,000,000 a year, or \$2,000,000 a year per company. But if that is alarming what can you say of the next four years having the impetus, capital and experience, they climb the golden stairs with steps \$34,500,000 long each year, \$138,000,000 increase in four years in the assets of the three corporations, \$11,500,000 a year for each of them, the next four years they will almost necessarily increase to \$20,000,000 each per annum, and in ten years their revenue will rival the government. Think of it, a corporation that has no soul perpetuates itself, never dies, has no conscience, growing under our very noses and with our aid and assistance into an overshadowing power.

But laying aside all controversy as to the propriety and wisdom of patronizing them, their excessive cost precludes a possibility of such a thing so far as the bulk of our order and kindred organizations are concerned. We must either find something less expensive or do without life insurance. The average cost of insurance in old line companies for a man forty years of age, about the average that people insure, is \$35 per \$1,000, in a well-conducted mutual about \$12. I refer now to what are known as society mutuals, viz: The Ancient Order of United Workmen, Knights of Honor, Masonic, Odd Fellows, etc., where the object is purely fraternal and benevolent. There are a large number of successful society associations, religious, social and industrial, and where carefully and honestly conducted prove a blessing to their patrons.

The Ancient Order of United Workmen report a membership February 1, 1891, of 251,475 in good standing and growing steadily, they have paid since their organization \$33,516,000 at an annual cost of not to exceed \$12 per thousand. The Knights of Honor have grown into a strong association and gives its members the maximum of security at the minimum cost, and what Mason or Odd Fellow is there whose life is insurable who does not carry a policy of two to five thousand with some one of their society companies? It not only gives them their own insurance at cost, but it

makes them more thoughtful and considerate of the needs of their brethren, their widows and orphans.

It has seemed to me that the farmers needed a provision of this kind, particularly where they are in debt and have a family dependent upon them, and with our immense membership there is no reason why we could not speedily build up the largest and strongest society in the world. Two years ago the Dakota Alliance instructed a committee to prepare a plan for the use of the order, and, if possible, one that could be approved by the Alliance in other States. This was done, and the Alliance Aid Association was incorporated, and has been doing business for nearly two years, and has met with flattering encouragement from officers and members of the order in every State, and has been officially indorsed by several of them, and we hope to see it universally adopted within the next twelve months. A great deal of care and study was placed on the plan, and we think it combines the most desirable features of the various society associations. It is purely mutual, is confined to members of the Alliance, is good standing, either men or women between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five who can stand a careful medical examination. It is intended to have each State carry on its work as a separate department, collecting and disbursing its own assessments, with a small annual emergency fund to the National to assist any State that has any special calamity befall it. It is intended to use it as a means to collect the dues where desired, and for building up and keeping awake interest in the order. There will be no salaries, only ordinary pay for actual work done and all collections turned directly into the death fund, except only so much as is absolutely necessary for current expenses. It is not claimed that the insurance can be carried for nothing; on the contrary, every dollar of benefit paid must first be collected from the members, and a little more with it, but the work can be done for a tithe of what is now charged for doing it. I have the bylaws and plan here and would be pleased to have you examine them, and if approved of to take action looking to their adoption and the election of a manager for your State. The plan has the hearty support and indorsement of all the national officers, and we believe it could be made a power of good to our members. The policies are for \$1,000 each, and we are paying in full in division A, and will in division B another \$1,000 in a few weeks.

PRESS COMMENTS.

All of them say the next twelve months' campaign in Texas is going to be the warmest ever known. Even the more conservative of those who are trying to keep in their party think their fight is going to be in the democratic party, for the sub-treasury and against Mills. Among the interesting things acted upon by the Alliance in secret session to day was resolution indorsing the national Alliance and amalgamated associations' platform, adopted at St Louis and approved by the Ocala national conclave. The endorsement as adopted to-day also declared Alliancemen will not support any candidate for office who does not indorse the St. Louis platform. That platform commits them to the sub-treasury scheme, and also to government ownership of railroads. There were no votes against it, but one-third of those present refused to vote at all.

"Our machine is still in need of improvement," said Hon. E. T. Stackhouse, the South Carolina congressman, "but," he continued, "we will improve it until it will work perfectly for the deliverance of the people."

"Did you remark that the Alliance movement is the solution of the race problem?"

"Yes, sir," the venerable South Carolinian replied. "The negro is an agriculturist by nature. He is the prince of cotton, rice and sugar laborers. They see in the sub-treasury bill relief from the banks. It is a thing they understand, and they are with their white brethren in this endeavor to wrest from the government recognition of farmers' rights. It is ground at last upon which the white and black man can stand in unity. They wanted to find such ground, and they have."

"The Alliance vote in the national election coming

means the negro vote nearly solid."—Dallas News.

Col. R. J. Sledge, of Kyle, Texas, the president of the National Economist Publishing Company, and also the President of the Mercury Publishing Company, said:

"The ultra political element seems to have entirely subsided. It was a little rampant on Thursday, but by to-day the loudest was still as a mouse. There was unanimous support of the conservative majority in its successful effort of carrying out the programme on the last day by a free discussion of the demands in the executive sessions and thorough organization of the lecture work, so as to secure the best educational results."

"Several facts have been forcibly demonstrated at this conference of the Farmers Alliance. The delegates may discuss with great heat, but they will not split on the question of politics. The radicals used every means to urge the conservatives to action, but failing they fell into line. The Alliance as an order is reorganizing, and is growing rapidly in many sections of the State, its membership having nearly doubled in the last three months.

It has implicit confidence in its leaders, and those who have attacked the leaders have won the resentment of the Order.

"The Alliance, if treated right, will not favor a third party. It is strongly disposed toward the Democratic party, and is looking to that party for its just demands."—Dallas News.

Mr. Harry Tracy, of the Southern Mercury, was seated,

evidently in a comfortable frame of mind, in the Hotel Royal, when a reporter of the News accosted him with the question:

"Does the result of the Alliance conference suit you?"

"It suits me exactly," replied the Milam county statesman.

"Yes, it could not have been better. It was a

start out from the city hall yesterday afternoon they moved slowly. "What is the procession?" asked an observer. "My friend," said a member of the order, "that is the funeral of the national banks."—Waco Day.

At a late hour last night the following resolutions were adopted in caucus:

Whereas, One of the fundamental principles of a free republican government is the rule of the people; and Whereas, we have Texas as state officials the small number of ten elected by the people, under whom are appointed some 500 or 600, comprehending a patronage in the hands of the officials of over \$4,000,000, while that expended by the direct vote of the people is less than \$30,000; and Whereas, the last session of the Texas legislature added to the appointive army nearly 200 recruits, and under the autocratic and dictatorial lobbying of our chief executive, added not one to the officials to be elected by the people; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the people demand the right to elect all officers possible.

Resolved second, That they especially and emphatically demand that the railroad commission and the commissioner of insurance, statistics and history and commissioner of appeals be elected by a direct vote of the people.—Waco Day.

FOURTH DAY.

The whole day was devoted to executive sessions and not much given to the press. The following is gleaned from the papers:

The following was unanimously adopted in the executive session of the Farmers Alliance to-day.

Resolved, That there have been no cheers in this body in connection with the mention of the name of R. Q. Mills, as has been reported by the press of the State.

Resolved, That we view with unreserved contempt the meagreness of both the cause and effect of the seeming attempt upon the part of the press and the reporters to create a political boost up the ladder of political fortune on the credit of this conference for that gentleman.

The following was adopted to-day in executive session and the secretary was ordered to send a copy to the governor:

To his excellency, Gov. James S. Hogg: We, the Farmers' Alliance of the State of Texas in conference assembled, demand of you the appointment of a true and tried Alliance man as one of the railroad commissioners, and we do hereby recommend S. D. A. Duncan as a competent and reliable person for said position.

The State Reform Press Association was organized to-day, with the following officers: W. R. Lamb, president; J. W. Erwin, vice-president; R. Ward Coleman, secretary and treasurer, and Harry Tracy, Ed. S. Moore and Thomas Gaines were elected a board of directors. The object, as stated, is to promote the purity of purpose, harmony of action and the reform of the State press. A State branch of the National Citizens Alliance was organized to-night, with W. E. Farmer, of San Antonio, president; W. R. Lamb, of Bowie, secretary and treasurer. Messrs. G. B. Harris, of Bruceville, H. S. P. (Stump) Ashby, of Fort Worth, and J. B. Barry, of Walnut, were elected an executive board. Forty members were enrolled.—Dallas News.

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grand success and surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its promoters in its far-reaching work."

"Was there much third party talk in your executive sittings?"

"There was plenty of talk about that and everything else. This was a fight between the honest Democrats of the country and the party bosses, and that fight is on to stay until bossism perishes."

"Do you mean that this was a Democratic gathering?"

"I mean that we are true democrats. There is not a principle put down in our declaration of purposes that is not purely democratic."

"This you say was not a political gathering?"

"No; it was a conference of Alliance men seeking to make clear the road to a safe and secure place beyond the reach of the manifest persecutions which our brethren had suffered and are suffering from monopoly's hand."

"Do you feel encouraged?"

"Very much so. I have seen a meeting last three days and part of another, made up of farmers and laboring people drawn from all parts, working in perfect harmony together. There was not a jar, not a discordant note; there was no third party, there was nothing except devotion to duty and to the purpose in hand."

"Does the Alliance gain in strength?"

"Since last December it has gained 10,000 members, and it has gained 100 per cent in intelligence."

"Were you not pretty hard on the members of the coterie who found themselves sat down upon in this conference?"

"Oh, you refer to the high kickers. Well, yes; but no more so than they deserved. These fellows are tools of the bosses. We unmasked them and loaded them with the execrations of the noble Order they had sought to disgrace."

"When and where will the conference meet again?"

"It will meet next time, next August, in Dallas."—Dallas News.

The attempt to destroy Dr. C. W. Macune by various means, chiefly by newspaper attacks, proved a signal failure, as he has during the conference just closed in this city received the most hearty support and indorsement by the unanimous conference, both publicly and privately. It was a matter of personal observation of this reporter that in any group a disparaging remark against the doctor called out promptly a vigorous protest from one or more. Dr. Macune was never any higher in the esteem of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas than he is now.—Galveston News.

The following indorsement of the Ocala platform was adopted: "We the undersigned do hereby pledge ourselves on our sacred honor as men to work for the promotion of the above principles, with the view that they be incorporated into the law of the land; and further agree to support no man for office who will not pledge himself, if elected to carry out these principles."

The paper money known as greenbacks was made a legal-tender, but not to all; here was the first flagrant act of class legislation, and it paved the way for all that followed.

We will imagine the people divided into three separate classes or divisions. One was that class who by constant labor and care provided from their farms or their workshops the supplies and munitions of war, the food for the toiling masses and the implements of toil and of strife, who supplied the government with their wealth in the

shape of horses, and of cattle, and of grain. For this class, large and important as it was, the greenback was a legal-tender not only for what they had to sell, but in payment of any debt to them from the government or from one to the other, both of

principle and or interest.

The second class was composed of those who, leaving the peaceful vocations of life, offered themselves as soldiers to bear arms in prosecuting the war.

Colonel Sledge, who seems to be the "High Muck-a-Muck" of the present Alliance meeting, after Macune, said to a GAZETTE scribe to-day that the sub-treasury plan would be a leading issue in 1892. He thinks Texas congressmen will be compelled to declare plainly on that question before the next election.

The first annual conference of the Farmers' Alliance closed to-day, and the result, as nearly as could be learned, has been given to the world by the press. The exact object of the meeting may never be agreed upon; but it is pretty well settled that the chief object sought was a discussion and indorsement of the sub-treasury scheme.—Fort Worth Gazette.

Hon. Aloho Wardall of Huron, S. D., the president of the National Alliance insurance department, the plan of which is to have the government or state issue policies, had something to say about the Texas public school fund. "I understand," he said, "that you had the most princely school appropriation in the world. This I learned before I came. It is \$100,000,000 and will be \$300,000,000 in ten years. This is an enormous sum of money. No wonder it puzzles the people. I agree with those who denounced Gov. Hogg's proposal to lend this money to railway companies. That would be risky. There must be no risk in such a trust. The children's money is too sacred to place at the mercy of railway wreckers."

"Have you a suggestion, Mr. Wardall?" the reporter remarked.

"Well, yes, I think I have," the Dakota man replied, drawing his superb frame to a port, erect and stroking his black whiskers.

"Please disclose it, sir," the reporter added.

"My plan is to build a railroad with the school money from British America to Galveston, across the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Indian Territory and Texas. The state of Texas should own, control and operate this line. It would carry the great wheat and corn crop of the northwest to deep water at Galveston and the cars would return loaded with the products of the Lone Star

state.

It would be the best paying railway in the

United

States."

"You think it would declare good quarterly dividends?"

"Yes, I do."</

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
By THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST PUBLISHING COMPANY.
Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE - \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are thirty cents per page 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 to the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council reinforce THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and the action of Brother C. V. Macune and his associates in said paper, and in all their efforts to urge them onward in the good work of education.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

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

N. R. P. A.

WANTED.

A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean business and expect to work for the good of the Farmers Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

IN ILLINOIS.

Mt. Vernon, Jefferson County, May 25.
Virginia, Cass County, May 26.
Pittsfield, Pike County, May 27.
Clayton, Adams County, May 28.
Carthage, Hancock County, May 29.
Cambridge, Henry County, May 30.

IN IOWA.

Washington, June 1.
Fairfield, June 2.
Keosauqua, June 3.

IN MISSOURI.

Kirkville, Marion County, June 4.
Moberly, a man in every county, June 5.
Independent people in St. Louis, June 6.
Conducted mutually, June 10.

What are the following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address or receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History of United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

The following clipping appeared as an editorial in the Progressive

Farmer, of Raleigh, N. C., on the 28th ult.:

We are sorry to see that bad feeling is being engendered in Alliance circles over the discussion of Alliance men and measures. Some of our brethren who differ from the majority or their associates upon some questions of policy and principles are being denounced as confederates of Wall street and traitors to the Alliance. We protest most earnestly against these methods of attack. To say that a man is in league with Wall street because he does not agree with you about a matter of public concern is simply outrageous. Certain charges, which affect the character and standing of certain of our brethren in the Alliance, have been going the rounds of the papers. These charges are vouched for by reputable brethren in our Order. They can not be successfully met by raising counter cries of persecution. These charges should be examined into with the greatest care and with the strictest impartiality. If the parties are found to be guilty, after a thorough investigation, they should be made to take the consequences of their wrong. If, on the other hand, the charges turn out, upon investigation, to be without foundation in fact, those who have aspersed the characters of their brethren should be held to a strict and severe accountability. We write this not because we know anything of these matters that can justify us in taking either side in this controversy. But we write in the interests of simple justice to all parties. We respectfully ask, nay, we respectfully demand, that these matters we have alluded to shall be investigated, and all the facts brought out.

The above is not very clear, but coming from a State Alliance organ, it is believed to be presented for the good of the Order. Subscribers of THE ECONOMIST have written asking what was meant by that editorial, and inquiring if President Polk was responsible for the editorial expression of the Progressive Farmer. The reply of THE ECONOMIST to these questions is that the Progressive Farmer gives notice at the head of its editorial column that L. L. Polk is proprietor, Baylus Cade editor, and J. W. Denmark business manager. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that Brother Polk does not see the editorial matter of the Progressive Farmer, except such as he may contribute himself, until it is published; the expression of that paper must be regarded as the expression of its editor, unless otherwise stated. In regard to the substance and meaning of the above quotation, a minority, be it ever so small, even a minority composed of one single individual in this great Order, has a right to be respected as sincere and patiently heard and courteously and candidly answered in his opposition to any or all the conclusions of the majority within the Order, and it is against the organic law of the order for any to impugn his motives for any such opposition to the demands or laws of the order, no matter how often repeated or forcibly expressed within the ranks. But outside the order and before the world it is very different. Gradually for the last two years the line of demarcation has become more and more distinct until at the present day the people of the United States can almost without a single exception be reduced to two camps on the finance question, and to oppose one is to assist the other. Therefore it is right for members of

the order to recognize men who take the Wall street side of the money question as "confederates of Wall street," and if such men happen to belong to the Alliance no one can deny the membership the right to denounce them as "traitors to the Alliance" and treat them as such. As to "charges which affect the character and standing of certain of our brethren in the Alliance," the path of duty is just as plain as in the above stated matter. Any member of the Farmers Alliance who knows any act of any brother or officer, or knows anything of the character of any brother or officer, that is "unbecoming an Allianceman," or that is in any way a violation of faith or confidence, or knows any person not a member that knows of such facts, is guilty of a violation of his solemn obligation if he does not prefer charges and make specifications against such brother or officer, and if he goes into the public prints and tries to blacken the character of a brother, he is guilty of a double violation, because he thereby brings contempt upon the order he has sworn to sustain and support. If a man is so devoid of honor and principle that in order to curry favor with or receive money from influential men and papers that oppose the Alliance, he will stoop to ingenious and false insinuations, accusation and distorted slanders for the purpose of making confusion and discord, and to produce division in the interest of the enemy, the Progressive Farmer will no doubt agree that he is a traitor to the cause deserving expulsion from the order. This position is not taken in issue with the Progressive Farmer, as probably the same sentiments are entertained by it; they are presented in answer to the letters of those who wanted further explanation of the admirable position taken by the Progressive Farmer.

The pending change in the financial policy of the Republican party gives an opportunity for the Democrats to assume a more complete assortment of cast-off clothes. In addition to sustaining the absurd internal revenue system the leaders of the democracy now advocate specific value money, and will probably contend that all paper issues are unconstitutional.

Is it a conspiracy? If not, why should none of the old party papers comment on the report of the Census Bureau regarding the mortgage indebtedness? What power is it that opens and closes the columns of these journals at will! Why is it, or what is it, that dictates to both Democratic and Republican papers alike upon all matters touching finance? There must be some directing agent, or this concert of action could not exist. Had this report shown a different condition of affairs, no doubt this

same power would have filled their columns to overflowing. Such a force is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

A MISSISSIPPI

paper devotes a whole

page to

insultation and

inuendo

against Macune.

It does not make

direct charges,

but asks questions that

are intended to

disgrace him, and

impugn his power,

and then says:

If Macune is unworthy and is guilty as charged, he should be expelled, driven in disgrace from your Order. If he is innocent, pure hearted and clean handed, then he is greatly slandered, and those who are responsible should in terror be made to feel the weight of your righteous anger.

Macune is perfectly satisfied to stand or fall by that test.

A KANSAS

farmer portrays the

change in sentiment in that State

terribly:

Those who once delighted in reading

the speeches of John J. Ingalls to me will

not now listen to his speeches read to

them by me.

THE plutocrats seem, in the par-

lance of the fox hunter, to have dou-

bled on the track.

The Boston Her-

ald, the ablest and most influen-

tial paper of the East, says:

The abominable silver law passed last

July is now inflating the currency with

legal tender notes at a rate ranging from

\$53,000,000 to \$64,000,000 per annum, accord-

ing to the price of silver since the

passage of the law. These notes are

issued against silver bullion purchased by

the treasury, but that bullion does not

afford any guarantee whatever of their

maintenance at par. People are living in

a fool's paradise on this matter. The

notes are really greenbacks. They are

held at par by their legal tender power,

and by nothing else. As long as the vol-

ume of this enormous inflation of paper

remains within the amount that the

country can use in transacting its domestic

business at gold values, so long a de-

preciation will be postponed. And no

longer. Once that limit is passed the

bright of a gold premium will fall upon

American business. This country, in all

its financial history, has never yet abso-

bed currency for any great length of

time at the rate now forced upon it by the

silver law of 1890. At present it is

making room for the inflow by sending

gold to Europe. That is a good thing for

Europe, but surely to inflate in silver and

contract in gold is a very foolish work for

the United States.

It's funny, but when the admission

is made from such a source that legal

tender power is sufficient basis for the

issue of money, the shades of Jeffer-

son, Calhoun, and Peter Cooper

should be appealed. The volume of

money that can be sustained becomes

subject to investigation, and the issue

is a live one. Mr. Leech has a strong

paper in his wake in his possible con-

test. The administration evidently

shares his views also.

STATE LECTURER J. M. PERDUE, of

Texas, has argued the sub-treasury

proposition, from which the follow-

ing manner of putting the question is

reproduced:

You say "the sub-treasury will injure the

party it seeks to benefit." I understand it

to be a measure directly in the interest of

productive labor, and hence in the interest

of the whole country. But have you any

argument to sustain your objections?

If so, we have a free press; let us hear you.

These objections, based upon mere as-

sumption, are becoming stale. You say it is

"foreign to a republican form of govern-

ment." We have a republican constitution

concerning upon the general govern-

ment specified powers to be exercised for

the good of the whole people. The power

to coin money and regulate its value is one

of these. Let me ask you if the whole peo-

ple are to be equal beneficiaries in the ex-

ercise of this power? Is that the spirit of

the constitution? Now, let me ask you if the

cotton raiser, who must pay 10 per cent

for all the money he uses, is equally benet-

fited with the owners of gold and silver

mines who have their product coined and

its value declared by the mints of the

United States free? Is the cotton raiser

equally benefited with the owners of gov-

ernment bonds, who may deposit the same

and draw 90 per cent of their face value in

cash at 1 per cent. The owner of bullion

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

In Agricultural and Rural Economy
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY.
Woodstock, Md.

DOUBLE TAXATION.

It is evident that if agriculture is to take rank as a learned profession the agriculturists must learn to apply an immense variety of learning and a vast scope of study to its practice. It has come to be a matter of self-defense that he shall know something of political science. He must comprehend how questions of public policy involve his interests; and it is necessary for him to understand how his rights are ignored, outraged, or taken from him by public law, and by mal-administration of public authority. Especially is it necessary to his self-defense that he shall comprehend the effect and purpose of the systems of taxation, to which his property is subject. For lack of knowledge on this subject, lack of attention to public affairs on his part, have brought it to pass that his property is everywhere subjected to an amount of taxation vastly greater than is imposed upon other species of property, and other classes of citizens. The power of his suffrage has been devoted to partisan ends. As to his taxes, he has grumbled and paid, and paid and grumbled, and voted a straight party ticket; and his business and his family have suffered accordingly. The Alliance proposes to change all that. Its methods are educational, its purposes are pure and patriotic; its motto "Exact justice and equal rights for all; special privileges for none." Its leading demands ultimate in the general proposition; more money-and-less taxes for the people. The speculative classes have not only amassed vast wealth at the expense of producers, which they have been enabled to do by bad laws and corrupt maladministration, procured in their behalf by purchase, by bribery, by corruption, and by and through the influence of a corrupt and venal press, which methods and practices are open, notorious and flagrant. But in addition, and by the same methods, they have secured for their ill gotten millions an almost complete and universal exemption from taxation, and have thereby thrown upon producers among whom are included the entire mass of laboring poor, the whole vast burden of excessive taxation. It is a self-evident thing that the vast accumulations of capital which have under this system been amassed in the hands of individuals of families and of corporations or combines, constitute the chief peril which threatens the existence of the present organization of society. These vast masses of capital carry with them a power which when lodged in the hands of private individuals and families is utterly incompatible with the safety of popular rights and free institutions. These accumulations must be put a stop to, and rendered impossible by radical, searching, far reaching legislative reforms; or we shall have popular commotion, tumult, disorder, and civil convulsion, in the midst of which we shall have the fabric of society utterly subverted. No person capable of looking beneath the surface of events believes that things can much longer progress as they have progressed for the last quarter of a century without producing a general catastrophe.

Fully impressed with such convictions it is in no idle frame of mind that the Alliance proposes to grapple with the stupendous problems of so grave a situation. Let it not be overlooked nor forgotten that the Alliance represents in large measure the great conservative reserve power of the people which is before all forms of government, which is above all potentates, and superior to all constitutions. And let it not be supposed that the ridicule of their purposes nor denunciations of their plans by self-asserted leaders, rabid partisans nor vainglorious boasters have any terrors for men of sense, conscious of pure and patriotic purposes. It is in no vain and boastful spirit, puffed up with arrogance, that we seek audience of the public, but speaking as to men of sense we ask them to judge in candor what we say. Who, then, will contradict us when we lay down the proposition that every attempt of the legislature to exempt any species of property from taxation imposes a double tax on all other sorts of property which bear taxation? Does not the exemption from the levy of any species of property necessarily increase the tax on all property, included in the taxable basis upon which the levy is made? Every exemption of property from the levy amounts to collecting the tax which ought to have been paid by the exempted property from property not exempt. Is this equal taxation? But is not equal taxation a fundamental principle of free popular government? And is it not a proud boast of our American system that all men here stand equal before the law? An exemption of any species of property from taxation is a palpable denial of justice to the owners of all property which is taxed. It is a thing beyond the just powers of any government. It is a thing subversive of the fundamental principles of constitutional government and of the natural rights of man.

Is this species of double taxation by statutory exemptions actually practiced to any important extent in this country? Take one example to our purpose quite. At one time the late W. H. Vanderbilt of New York, (the same who said: "the people be damned,") brought to the national treasury at Washington, for safe keeping at public expense, fifty million United States 4½ per cent non-taxable bonds. The treasury paid him out of the people's money who pay taxes, something over two millions a year in gold on this hoard. Remember, reader! A part of that two million of gold was deducted from the value of your year's toil in productive industry, according to your calling. You suffered double taxation for the benefit of the man who said "the people be damned!" Did you know it? This at the hands of your own free government which you have shouted yourself hoarse declaring to be "the best government the world ever saw."

One more example. A debt secured by mortgage on real estate bearing full legal interest in semi annual payments is the best and most productive kind of property. Yet here in the State of Maryland are millions of such property exempt from taxation by statute, and the tax it ought to pay levied and collected upon the very property in great part which secures the debt. This is double taxation in its most odious form, and is a direct and palpable

use of the taxing power of the government to flinch the poor for the benefit of the rich. And yet when at the last session of the legislature a legal remedy in part was provided the governor of the State urged thereto by leading newspapers and by those who are known as the chief spokesmen of a faction of a party calling themselves "the reformers," vetoed the law, on the ground, mainly, that it was "inquisitorial." The tricks that are daily done in the name of reform are such as well may make high heaven weep. It is but a vulgar sham. Every species of spurious and pretended reform is vehemently cried up in the ears of the people for the very purpose of confusing and dividing them and distracting their attention from genuine reforms, urgently demanded by their condition. The whole system of taxation in Maryland is based on false assessments and wholesale exemptions, and is thoroughly bad and thoroughly infamous in all respects. One more example: there are thousands of examples ready to hand.

A tax commissioner recently testified before a commission of inquiry in New York, that of the personality of that great city 99 per cent of the whole escapes taxation; and he added "we can't catch them." A glance at the tax statistics of New York for the year 1889, as reported by A. R. Spofford, will show that the general charge implied in the words "we can't catch them" is sustained, though the estimate of 99 per cent is too large. The assessments in that year for the whole State were: Real property \$3,213,171,201; personality, \$354,258,556. An amount of personality so absurdly small shows that vast frauds perpetrated upon the revenue by smuggling thieves who forswear themselves to hide property from taxation. It demonstrates furthermore beyond cavil that real estate in New York pays double what it ought to pay in consequence of this escape of personality from taxation. But the plea is there is no remedy for this double taxation of reality, because "all experience demonstrates" that no law can be framed to compel owners of personality to give it in for assessment. "All experience demonstrates" is one of those loose lies potent for mischief, and which when asserted with authoritative decision silences too many men. It is being constantly asserted that the law of Massachusetts, besides being "inquisitorial" and unjust, is wholly imperative, and that the effect of all such laws is to "drive property out of the State." Let us pause to remark "that property which evades taxation had best be 'driven out' of the State, and the smuggling thieves who own it had best be 'driven out' after it." The same statistics we have quoted show that Massachusetts is the third State in the Union in assessed wealth, as follows: Realty, \$1,460,520,022; personality, \$532,284,079. Now a law which discloses over five hundred millions of personality cannot be said to be wholly inoperative. Pennsylvania is, in assessed values, the second State in the Union, and her laws are of the "inquisitorial sort," which "all experience" shows to be not only harsh and unjust, but wholly "inoperative;" yet Pennsylvania in 1879 assessed property as follows: Realty, \$1,697,202,153; personality, \$1,463,814,762. This "inoperative" law, harsh and unjust, which "all experi-

ence shows" to be "inoperative except for driving property out of the State," in this case leaves behind and discloses for taxation nearly \$3,161,016,915.

In the past decade the population of Massachusetts increased 450,322 under the operation of laws which "all experience shows 'drive out' wealth and population." In the same time Pennsylvania with like "inquisitorial" tax law increased in population 965,783, whereas New York where "we can't catch them," only increased 889,063. In Pennsylvania with nearly three quarters of a million less aggregate population than New York the increase exceeds that of New York by some seventy-five thousand people. Hence when "common experience" says that the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts systems always "drive out" wealth and population, "Common experience," as we have said is a reckless falsifier. But in New York, where so great a part of the burden of taxation is thrown upon real estate, something has been "driving out" the people so that the aggregate increase has fallen below that of Pennsylvania, and the rate of increase still further below that of the smaller and less wealthy state. Now, what has "common experience" to say? Is it the injus double taxation of real estate, which has thus "driven out" people and property from New York? No doubt of it. Rank injustice cannot be covered up by shams, and deceipts, and frauds.

GRASSES IN ARKANSAS.

Please excuse the liberty I take in writing you, as I have no personal acquaintance with you. I take THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and am fond of reading your editorials on "Applied Science." I see in No. 5, in your reply to a correspondent on grasses, that you give the preference to orchard grass as being the best grass. I have had many different kinds of grass, and have sowed more orchard grass and clover than any other kind. I sow mammoth clover in preference to other kinds; have had alsike, alfalfa, and the common red clover. I have a grass that I prefer to orchard or any other hay grass, and although I don't know the name, but guess it to be meadow oats or evergreen grass—a grass that is green through the winter, perennial, grows 5 or 6 feet high in stools like orchard grass, and ripens seed early in May, is now nearly ready for the mower, yields two or three crops of hay in one season; is hardy, makes a good pasture in winter; all stock is fond of it; grows well with clover; straw not so hard as orchard grass; should be sown in September, though if sown any time in April will perfect seed the same season. I send you a few seed and a stalk of last year's hay. Try it. I procured the seed in the southern part of this State and supplied many persons with seed. All are well pleased with it.

I noticed some time back in THE ECONOMIST you had a new variety of clover. I think you said scarlet clover is earlier than red, which, I think, would be very suitable to grow with this grass.

I am a member of the Alliance and have been advocating reform for the last 20 years. As a Democrat voted for Cleveland in his first race; was sorry for it before his inauguration; voted for Streeter next time, and expect to go with the reformers. I am from Fairfax county, Virginia; moved from Bull Run in 1862, and am 71 years old. JAMES S. WAUGH.

GRAHAM, Ark., April 25.

We thank our friend for the above letter. The grass sent is tall meadow oat grass, and the description of its good qualities are not, we believe, exaggerated. It probably does better southward than north of Virginia. It

is to be strongly recommended for trial in Virginia and Maryland and as far south as it will grow.

In matters of reform we also admire the good sense of our venerable brother. This writer did not vote for Cleveland, as he lived in Washington and had no vote, but would have voted for him if he had a vote, being a Democrat; but being now an Alliance man he thinks that Mr. Cleveland is for everything the Alliance is against and against everything the Alliance is for, and that he would stultify himself by supporting his third candidacy.

THE HOLLY TREE.

Among American evergreens the holly has always been a prime favorite with the writer. Its beautiful dark leaves contrast strikingly with the smooth silver-gray back and the bright red berries which it bears in great profusion. When planted in open ground and left largely to nature the tree assumes the shape of a tall cone, the lower branches resting on the grass. No tree is more beautiful. It is moreover a tree capable of self-defense, for the sharp spines with which every leaf is furnished effectively repel every kind of stock. In the locality of Maryland the buds begin to push about the 1st of May, and if the weather is suitable the young wild trees which grow everywhere abundantly may be easily and successfully moved to pleasure grounds, after the 20th of April until about the 10th of May. Select a handsome, shapely specimen, from 3 to 5 feet high, which has grown in as open a situation as possible, and dig it up carefully; shake all the earth off the roots and wash them clean; cut off all bruised parts; pack the roots and lower part of stem carefully in wet moss, straw or leaves and wrap them up in burlap or an old sack, so as to keep them from drying out. The hole for planting being previously dug out 2½ feet square, and a plenty of rich loam placed in the bottom, set the tree in the center and spread the roots evenly over the surface; pour in water until it stands several inches deep in the bottom and fill in with loam until the hole is full and firmly trod down all around. Mulch the whole space with old sod turned grass side under. By this plan nearly every plant will live.

Drive three stout stakes on which slats may be nailed and bushes hung to provide shade in time of drought and parching heat during the first season. Many persons find difficulty in transplanting this fine tree. The writer having been very successful by the plan above outlined, offers his experience for what it may be worth. "A thing of beauty is a joy forever." Embellish your homes. Holly grows very readily from the seed, and no plant makes a more beautiful and efficient hedge. It bears any amount of pruning and is easily kept in any desired shape. It is wonderful that so fine a plant has been so long comparatively neglected. The holly, the ivy, the mistletoe, are a time honored evergreen trio, which call many sacred memories "in silent address up."

The Clergy and the Alliance.

BY REV. H. G. COWAN, ALLENWOOD, N. J.

Bro. T. J. Stone, Ula, Va., asks: "Which side will the clergy take, in THE ECONOMIST of April 25, and proceeds to theorize on the subject with great zeal for the cause. But his con-

clusions are, to me, at least, far from satisfactory. Here it is: "Many who are trying to follow Christ will be found on the Lord's side, and some who are vainly trying to serve God and gold will sooner or later be found on the other side. The Lord's side is the side of the oppressed; the other side is the side of the oppressor." As a theory that is excellent, but in practice it doesn't always work out that way. The fact is that many clergymen accept the advice of the old preacher who had made shipwreck of faith and advised his younger brethren to "steer clear of the muddy pool of politics, for that is the rock on which I split."

And so we find not a few good and able clergymen who take no interest in politics, believing it foreign to their calling, or beneath their dignity, or that moral questions, as an old school minister once said to me, "can't be settled by votin'." Among those of the clergy who are interested in the political movements of the day there are diversities of opinion politically almost as numerous as there are theologically; all political parties have adherents among the preachers, and in many instances very able defenders. Of late years many ministers have accepted the principle that they "should vote as they pray," which is a sound principle, for "he who prays and means nothing and he who wears and means nothing are about the same." But many zealous advocates of this principle have committed the mistake of reading all out of the pale of salvation who do not vote and pray exactly as they do. In an age when sectarian differences are melting away like hoar frost before the sunlight of Christian love, it occurs to me that a man who conscientiously votes any ticket should not be considered guilty of an unpardonable sin.

It will not do to denounce the clergy for the position they honestly hold, any more than the farmer who, through ignorance, opposes the Alliance. But let us show them a more excellent way. Let the work of education not pass the preachers by. Where they can not be persuaded to join the Alliance at once, let some friend subscribe for THE ECONOMIST in their pastor's name. Get some spicy writers to contribute unobjectionable articles on economic subjects to the religious press, and follow the example of other secret orders by inviting clergymen to preach special sermons to the Alliance. Perhaps a course like this would attract the preachers to the Order, where an Alliance dance would repel them, or the use of strong language by Alliance speakers and writers would disgust them.

But the main point is to put our principles fairly and squarely before the clergy, and trust to their good sense and fair mindedness to "hold fast that which is good." They will align themselves for or against us just as they have been educated.

Alliance Growth.

People's Advocate, Anderson, S. C.

The Boston Advertiser, which has been full of hostility and ridicule, now comes down from its lofty perch and thus speaks of it. The Advertiser's own words:

No one will deny that the gentlemen who have seen fit to inaugurate the Farmers Alliance movement in New England are men of considerable mental power and men who are thoroughly in earnest. They are at least entitled to a respectful hearing, and can speak for themselves. They represent an important factor in American politics of to-day, and their influence in the next Congress will be evident in the legislation which that Congress enacts. Their visit to New England therefore is certainly an event worthy of notice, whatever may be its results. However much the East may condemn the objectionable propaganda of the Farmers Alliance it will not do to depend upon ignoring or ridiculing those doctrines. They must be met fairly as living issues,

and must be defeated as argument and common effort. It is indisputable that the coming Congress is much more friendly toward the Alliance programme than was its predecessor, and it is still an open question whether the Fifty-third Congress will not adopt that programme. It is very evident, therefore, that the gentlemen who spoke yesterday at Concord, N. H., as representatives of the Farmers Alliance movement represent no contemptible nor insignificant party. They are neither fools nor madmen, but are shrewd, capable and prominent in their party.

All this is mighty pleasant reading: "Neither fools nor madmen, but shrewd, capable and prominent in their party." Verily "sookless" Jerry and his able lieutenants are bringing these gentry to their senses, and are sowing seed among the New England farmers that will most likely produce a bounteous harvest, and there will in all likelihood be such a wakening up and shaking up there as will astonish the Bourbons of plutocracy. They had not taken the correct measure, not only of the movement but of the men leading it, for when they confronted Congressman Simpson with the prohibition question in Boston he replied that "the Alliance was not so much concerned as to whether a man goes home drunk or not, but as to whether he has a home to go to." And that is the Alliance gospel in a nutshell. It is concerned about the homes of the people. It is interested to see that the homes of the people are preserved to the people. It believes that the best safeguard and security of free institutions is found in a rural population, contented, thrifty and prosperous, owning their homes and thoroughly anchored to the soil, constituting a strong and sturdy yeomanry, the sure reliance of the country in every emergency.

Paper Money in France.

Atlanta Constitution.

The recent experience in France with paper money shows that, when a proper degree of caution is exercised, and when the people have faith in the government, it is possible for a country to conduct an enormous business for years without a specie currency. When the Franco-German war ended France had to pay Germany an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. In paying this large amount the country was speedily drained of its gold, and the bank of France issued 768,000,000 francs in notes. The payment of the war debt to Germany occupied four years, and during all that time the French had to carry on their business with paper money. Under such circumstances many outsiders expected a heavy depreciation of the currency. But they were disappointed. Although the bank was not able to resume specie payments for eight years, there was only a slight disturbance of exchange values, and while the paper was non-convertible it was never allowed to exceed a certain amount, and the premium on gold never exceeded 1.5 per cent, and most of the time was even lower. For some years past the French paper circulation has been supposed to be on a specie basis. This, however, is only nominal. The bank issues notes largely in excess of its coin reserve, but the people are so well satisfied with the paper, and so confident that there will never be a big run on the bank, that the currency is practically just as good as gold and silver. All this makes it plain that, when a paper currency is prudently issued and managed by the government of a wealthy country, it is adequate to all the de-

Catch a Presbyterian saving a soul side by side with a Methodist, or a Baptist in communion with an Episcopalian rector. Shoemakers and carpenters lie down together and the blacksmith and weaver enter the same club but the exclusive clergy hold separate unions, all, however, down on the scab.

In New England the manufacturers established a savings bank as an annex to the factory and in this little mill they gathered the earnings of their operatives, paying them 4 per cent. per annum and lending to western farmers at 10 per cent. On western farms there is a mortgaged indebtedness of \$9,000,000,000. This is the actual figure of the eleventh census. Farmers raised corn at 14 cents per bushel to pay the interest on their mortgages. Corn, good crop years was the cheapest fuel, compared with anthracite coal at \$14 per ton.

The whisky ring actually owed the government \$62,000,000 of revenue on account of exported liquors removed from the bonded warehouses under legislative favor, removed without paying the tax. But when a farmer talks of a bonded warehouse for his grain, "it is unconstitutional," is the cry. The constitution is dictated to liquor, was the inference. He wanted the judiciary, not the legislative, branch to pass upon the constitutionality of matters concerning government. Here the speaker remarked that Roger Q. Mills knew nothing about the constitution. He, the speaker, was certain that Mr. Mills was altogether ignorant of the text and meaning of the venerable and honored document, so often quoted, so variously construed. He lost no opportunity of hitting Mr. Mills a whack.

The Democratic platform could be written in two words, he ejaculated—those two words, "Get there!"

After touching the Lehigh and Schuylkill coal and iron industries and showing how shutting down one boomed the other, so that by a unified ownership the owners profited under all phases, while the operatives were only preserved from starvation by death by disasters, he turned to government ownership of railways and telegraph, which he strongly advocated. The state ownership of public roads to the abolition of toll on turnpikes and bridges, the postoffice with its hosts of letter-carriers, route agents, postmasters and assistants, the public free school had all in turn been evolved in the face of the howl of unconstitutionality and no one would whisper that they were evil and not good. In the same way a few years hence people would remember with a shudder the present system of railways and telegraphs and feel happy that they owned and controlled the lines over which they traveled; over which their tonnage was hauled, over which their messages were sped. He would hail with delight the advent of this mighty improvement, which will come as the other blessings have come, in spite of all opposition.

The speaker kept on an hour longer, but for want of space it was necessary to restrict him here in these columns.

Hear, hear, or *hurrah* applauded throughout.

NOTES OF SECOND DAY.

It is found that sub-treasury advocates out of about 300 delegates present, number all but about ten or a dozen. Those who oppose it are in such a fearful minority that they do not even vote.—*Dalas News*.

At every mention of political action the cheers were deafening, showing that their delegates to this convention were unanimous in their sympathy to reach the sub-treasury goal, political or otherwise. The speaker closed his two hours' speech amid the most vociferous applause ever heard in the city hall. It was 12:10, and the meeting adjourned until 2 o'clock, when, as was announced from the platform, Mr. W. M. Wilkins would speak. After adjournment the entire audience seemed to rush to the rostrum to shake the hand of their chief. One delegate said enthusiastically that he would rather vote for Macune for president than any man living. All delegates were highly pleased with his speech.—*Fort Worth Gazette*.

Alliance men listened with reverence and rapt attention to Dr. Macune yesterday, and it was plain to see he made a marked and favorable impression. The adoption of the resolutions Tuesday settled the question of Dr. Macune's strength with the Texas Alliance, for the delegates here are no doubt fairly representative of Alliance sentiment in this State.

The Alliance plan of operations is developing, so far as the work of the organization in Texas is concerned. It is to avoid a third party movement; to utilize the Democratic party and organization and uphold and urge the sub-treasury project. In States where the Republican party is strongest the Alliance will work inside the Republican organization. In doubtful and hopeful States third party candidates may be looked for. The Alliance is shrewd in its day and generation. It has learned that there are more ways of killing a dog than choking him with butter. Coming back to Texas and the fight of next year it may be remarked that the outlook is interesting for those Democratic Congressmen who have pronounced against the sub-treasury idea, and who may aspire to continuance in public life. The trend of events, so far as they can be shaped by the Alliance, is warning to those Congressmen that they may get ready fight for their places, and that the war on them will be waged within the Democratic lines.—*Waco Day*.

THIRD DAY.

Morning session convened at 10 o'clock with about 400 delegates in attendance. Hon. E. T. Stackhouse, M. C., from South Carolina, delivered the morning address. [Published in full in last week's ECONOMIST.]

Brother Rumph introduced the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas U. S. Hall, of the legislative committee of the N. F. A. and I. U., is not in harmony with the principles of our Order, and antagonizes the sub-treasury plan as indorsed by the Supreme Council by practice, a unanimous vote, both at St. Louis and Ocala, therefore be it

Resolved by the State Alliance conference, in session at Waco, that we demand of the president of the N. F. A. and I. U. to remove the said U. S. Hall from the national legislative committee.

Passed by a unanimous vote.

Brother Malcolm introduced the following resolution:

Whereas it is the duty of all Alliance members to conform to the principles and laws of the Alliance, therefore be it

Resolved, first, That we, the State Alliance conference, indorse the Ocala demands.

Resolved, second, That we pledge ourselves not to support for office any man who opposes said demands.

Unanimously adopted.

Brother Fields made a full and satisfactory statement of the libel suit just decided in Austin.

Brother L. B. Upham introduced the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, Brother J. D. Fields did secure the conviction of one Neal J. McArthur of libel in the county court of Travis county, therefore be it

Resolved, That the thanks of this Alliance conference be hereby tendered Brother Fields for his manly and upright course in said suit.

Adopted unanimously.

The afternoon was spent in a drive around the city, followed by a banquet, all of which was tendered by the enterprising citizens of Waco.

The city was found to be beautifully situated and elegantly built up and improved. It has several very strong artesian wells, supplying the purest of water. Factories, schools and churches adorn the city. Baylor University, with over 700 matriculates, under the charge of that great and grand instructor, Dr. Burleson, has a national reputation.

At the night session Dr. Malcolm, of Henderson county, was the first speaker. He dwelt upon the financial situation exclusively. He had been in extensive correspondence, and had ascertained that Hon. John H. Reagan and many other leading Democrats believed that the circulation per capita instead of \$9 should be \$50 per capita.

For convenience we will separate the subject and treat first of fire insurance. This is carried on, as is the life work, by two classes of companies, stock and mutual. The first has a capital stock as a basis of credit and guarantee of stability to their policy holders, ranging from a few thousand dollars up to one, two, three, and as high as four million. This stock is intended more as a pledge of good faith than actual working capital; for if their business is not conducted in such a manner as to pay losses and expenses from the premiums received, it is only a matter of limited time when they must wind up business, while if the premiums are sufficiently large to cover the losses and necessary expenses, they have no use for the capital stock, except as a pledge of honesty and business stability.

A merchant might open a store with \$20,000 worth of goods, all paid for, and if his business methods were careless, no attention paid to guard against bad debts, or the selling margin placed at a point below cost and expenses, failure would only be a matter of time. Stock companies are organized as business enterprises purely, and for the purpose of making money, and when well managed they usually succeed in doing so, and we have no fault to find with them; but as one of the prime objects of the Alliance is to learn wherein we can better ourselves financially, let us see how much it costs us annually for our fire insurance and what is done with the money. There are reported in the insurance year book for 1890, 610 fire insurance companies doing business in the United States and Canada, 384 stock and 226 mutual, besides a host of county and township mutuals that are not taken into the calculation. The stock companies have an aggregate capital of \$92,000,000, and the cash income for 1889 was \$140,000,000, of which \$84,345,000 was paid for losses, leaving \$64,655,000 collected from the people in a single year in this one line of business more than was needed for the purpose, it was collected for, viz., the payment of losses by fire to its patrons. What is done with it? And why collected? Twelve million, six hundred and twelve thousand dollars went as dividends on the capital of \$92,000,000, nearly 14 per cent, and of the balance, \$46,333,334, in expenses were charged up, and \$33,000,000 was added to the reserve, or in other words, become the property

of the city of Barcelona issued an ordinance relating to maritime insurance. Lord Kooper Bacon, on opening Queen Elizabeth's first parliament, alludes to insurance in this fashion: "Doth not the wise merchant in every adventure give part to have the rest assured?"

The first mathematical calculation on life insurance is credited to John De Witt, of Holland, and the first insurance company founded in England was in 1696, then known as "the Amicable," and still in existence under the name of "Hand in Hand."

Since that date, with constantly increasing rapidity, and particularly during the past century, new companies have been formed, until now there are three or four hundred powerful companies with billions of assets and thousands of small companies, both stock and mutual, transacting a business annually but little inferior in extent and profit to any single industry in the world. Perhaps industry is not the proper word to use in this connection, but if any of you have ever had experience with a life insurance agent, you will agree with me as to the industry manifested.

Insurance may properly be classed under four heads, fire, marine, accident and life, carried on by companies formed for profit or for mutual protection.

Marine and accident, being foreign to our present purpose, will be passed by, although they occupy a very important position in the insurance world and vast sums of money are employed in transacting their business.

The aggregation of large values where they are exposed to destruction by fire, flood, storm or accident has rendered property insurance necessary, and the formation of families dependent in a large measure for subsistence upon the breadwinner or head of the family, has fixed a financial value upon his or her services that prudent people have learned to insure as a business investment and a wise precaution against unforeseen financial difficulties arising from sudden death of the business head of the family. The first requisite of insurance is safety, the second economy.

FIRE INSURANCE.

For convenience we will separate the subject and treat first of fire insurance. This is carried on, as is the life work, by two classes of companies, stock and mutual.

The first has a capital stock as a basis of credit and guarantee of stability to their policy holders, ranging from a few thousand dollars up to one, two, three, and as high as four million.

This stock is intended more as a pledge of good faith than actual working capital; for if their business is not conducted in such a manner as to pay losses and expenses from the premiums received, it is only a matter of limited time when they must wind up business, while if the premiums are sufficiently large to cover the losses and necessary expenses, they have no use for the capital stock, except as a pledge of honesty and business stability.

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THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

Labor Review (Gladbrook, Iowa) says:

The farmers of our entire country are beginning to realize the dangers which threaten the future well-being of our free institutions, brought about by the centralizing of wealth and the corruption of the ballot, as they never have before. This interest is being manifested in the rapid organization of the toilers which is going on in every State. They demand justice, equal rights and the abolition of banks of issue, and gambling in farm products, the reclaiming of unearned railroad lands and the control of the roads by government.

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money makes cheap horses, cattle, lands and merchandise. This is good for the man that buys, but tough on the poor fellow that has to sell. Give the poor man a chance.

The Liberty Bell (Sioux City, Iowa) contains a strong leader on the "Power of the Alliance," in which it shows that the recent attempt to produce discord by dubbing the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union "the Southern Alliance" has not only proven a failure, but will tend to strengthen the movement:

The good, solid common sense of the American people, when they have fully determined upon doing what their consciences and their judgment tell them is right, that they will not long allow them to be kept from uniting to carry out that purpose. They are now firmly convinced their demands are right, and hence every effort to prevent it only unites the more firmly, and in spite of all that politicians may do or attempt to do, the sound, common sense of the "great plain people" will prevail. We repeat, that in our opinion, the Alliance has been strengthened by thus showing its ability to foil the attempts of its enemies to divide and set to warring each other its two principal divisions.

The Arkansas Expositor (Eureka Springs) is fully alive to the situation:

The St. Louis Republic is weeping over the bankrupt condition of the United States treasury. While the billion dollar appropriations of the Fifty-first Congress can not be excused, still there is no call for this passionate weeping. With over seven hundred millions of idle money in the treasury and the present power of coinage in the hands of the treasurer, with the annual receipts through the custom houses, at the lowest estimate within a few millions of previous years, there can be no bankruptcy unless purposely brought about by the administration. And as for issuing new interest-bearing bonds, the people will not consent to it in a time of peace, and when no valid reason can be given for doing so, and it is death, sure and certain, to the party controlling the administration that does it.

The Tribune (El Dorado Springs, Mo.) speaks to an important question:

Missouri has just finished counting her cash, and finds that she has nearly \$2,500,000 in her treasury. Yet there are some States which, though they have shamefully failed to appropriate money for the World's Fair, persist in saying, "Poor old Missouri."—Kansas City Times.

Will some of the subsidized monopoly press just tell us what benefit the men who work in the fields, shops and mines of Missouri, and who will have to pay the greatest portion of the \$130,000 appropriated for the World's Fair, will get out of it? These big "blowouts" are all designed for the purpose of putting money into the pockets of a few individuals and to boom some town. The men who will pay Missouri's appropriation will never get a penny in return; the men who voted it should be "eternally damned," politically at least. The whole thing is a humbug and an outrage.

The Southern Progress (Garden City, Miss.) is very conservative, and presents the contest in Mississippi as follows:

George and Barksdale are representing the two parties. George has made a magnificent Senator, and the people have honored and will continue to honor him for it. He opposes the sub-treasury plan as unconstitutional, and thinks that even if it was constitutional its adoption would lead to the most disastrous consequences to the farming class as well as to the whole country. Senator George has influence and he makes it felt. We, too, would be influenced by him, but we remember how we were once badly fooled by the opinion of a man as great as him. We refer to Lamar. His monetizing silver predictions were about on a par with George's sub-treasury predictions. Silver was monetized and Lamar's predictions dropped harmlessly through, and since then we have accustomed ourselves to receive great men's opinions with a great deal of misgiving. Barksdale represents the Alliance of farming class, and although astute and clear-sighted, can not see the dangers which arise before George in such alarming proportions. Anyhow, he is willing to venture a change in the present condition of affairs. George is willing to try old principles longer which never have won nor ever will, while Barksdale is will-

Buffalo Lithia Water, A POWERFUL AND THE ONLY KNOWN SOLVENT OF RENAL CALCULI. Its Value in Rheumatic Gout.

Case of Governor Thomas M. Holt of the State of North Carolina. He discharges one and a half ounces of Calculi under the action of the Water. His case stated by his family physician, Dr. E. C. Laird.



GOVERNOR THOMAS M. HOLT OF NORTH CAROLINA.

STATEMENT OF DR. LAIRD.

From the Maryland Medical Journal of November 17, 1888.

"The relief afforded by BUFFALO LITHIA WATER to a patient of mine, Col. Thomas M. Holt, of this place, a sufferer from RENAL CALCULI, is, I think, worthy of some record. The 1st of May last he came under my care subject to frequent attacks of NEPHRITIC COLIC. Except as to the usual treatment for the relief of present suffering, I put him EXCLUSIVELY UPON BUFFALO LITHIA WATER, SPRING NO. 2, under the influence of which he in a few weeks passed four CALCULI, weighing from two to three grains each, which was followed by a disappearance of symptoms. Notwithstanding, however, the continued use of the water, after a short interval there was a return of these attacks, with increase both of frequency and severity, when he made a visit to the Buffalo Lithia Springs, where he used the water six weeks, with the following results: Ten days after arrival he began to discharge at intervals large quantities of CALCULI and SAND, which continued for several weeks, and afterward gradually diminished, until at the expiration of the six weeks there was only occasionally, and barely perceptible upon minute examination, a slight sandy deposit in the urine. At the same time improvement in the general condition of the patient was very marked.

"The amount of CALCULUS matter discharged may safely be estimated at from one to one and a half ounces. Under microscopic examination it was evident, I think, that the CALCULI WERE ORIGINALLY PARTS OF LARGER FORMATIONS DISSOLVED BY THE ACTION OF THE WATER. Analysis made by Dr. F. S. Whaley, Resident Physician at the Springs AND CONSULTING PHYSICIAN IN THE CASE, showed it to be URIC ACID.

"Six weeks have elapsed since he left the Springs. Use of the water continued. THE URINE IS FREE FROM SEDIMENT AND NORMAL.

"RHEUMATIC GOUT in a severe form, associated with, and which indeed preceded the CALCULOUS affection, and which had resisted the usual remedies, was also to a great extent relieved by the use of the water. It is proper for me to add that I was in constant attendance upon Col. Holt during his stay at the Springs."

Water, in cases of One Dozen One-half Gallon Bottles, \$5.00 per case at the Springs. Full Springs Pamphlet sent on Application.

THOS. F. GOODE, Prop., Buffalo Lithia Springs, Va.

to start off on an imperfect measure which can be perfected in the future as experience may teach.

The Home Advocate (Mapleton, Iowa) condenses the issues of the day into the following:

Land, labor, transportation and finance are the living questions of the day. Land is a common heritage. It is essential to patriotism, to home. Labor is the producer of wealth, of honest manhood. It is the motive power behind the mighty wheel of progress. Transportation is the outgrowth of civilization. Upon it depends the welfare of the producer and consumer. It is not a private concern, but a public necessity. Finance is the measure of values. It is the artery of trade. It places a premium upon labor when un-

would be among the leading spirits of the Farmers Alliance, and an able advocate of the Alliance sub-treasury system. His every utterance is exactly in line with the Ocala platform. * * * Suppose each sub-Alliance in Texas subscribes for two copies of the Mercury and NATIONAL ECONOMIST. One for the lecturer to enable him to keep up with the times and deliver entertaining lectures at each meeting; the other for the president, that he may be up with the Alliance procession and attend every meeting. No lecturer or president who received such recognition from their brethren would fail to do their whole duty. They would resign first. Try it, brethren, and watch how fast your Alliance will grow and prosper.

WHAT MR. GRAY SAYS.

DEAR Sirs—Having read Mr. Sergeant's experience in plating with Gold, Silver and Nickel, I am tempted to write of my success. I sent to H. F. Delco & Co., of Columbus, O., for a \$5 plater. I have had more tableware and jewelry than I could plate ever since. I cleared \$37 the first week and in three weeks \$17. Any one can do plating and make money in any locality the year round. You can get circulars by addressing the above firm.

WM. GRAY.

HORSE OWNERS TRY COMBAULT'S CAUSTIC BALSAM

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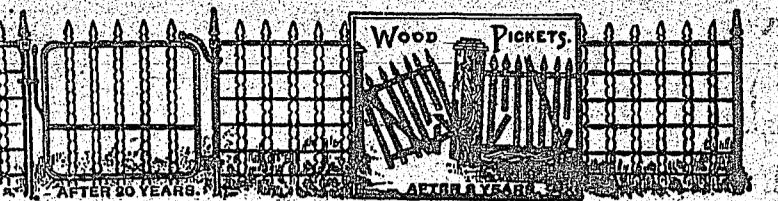
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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

sinking fund was established under the following law:

That all duties on imported goods shall be paid in coin, or in notes payable on demand heretofore authorized to be issued and by law receivable in payment of public dues, and the coin so paid shall be set apart as a special fund, and shall be applied as follows:

First. To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States.

Second. To the purchase or payment of one per centum of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall in like manner be applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct.

Third. The residue thereof to be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

Later on a ruling of the treasury was made that no matter how many bonds were bought or called in excess of this amount it could not be counted for the succeeding years. That this arbitrary per cent must be purchased or called in during each year. The object of this ruling will be seen further on. When the debt was refunded in 1870, the wording was so changed as to show on the face of the bonds that there was no option given the government in regard to payment. That they were due at certain dates and could not be paid before. Now comes the sequel and the main reason why these bonds bear such a high premium. The government is obliged to go into the market and purchase, at whatever rate of premium these bondholders may ask, a certain amount of these bonds each year to cover the demand of the sinking fund. These bond owners are quick to take advantage of this fact, and have forced up the premium to where it is. Another reason in conjunction with this is the fact, that by purchase of these bonds is the only method by which the government has sought to put out among the people the surplus money in the treasury. The necessity to comply with the demands of the sinking fund, and also to furnish the people with currency to transact business and prevent panics, are the prime factors by which a commercial fictitious value of \$117,508,534 has been added to the face value of the bonds. During the recent panic, and present stringency in money matters, the rent for currency has been very high, but the premium on these bonds remained about the same. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that the necessities of government are the basis for their enhanced commercial value.

The lesson to be drawn from this condition is that any reform in the financial system of government that will eliminate this premium will be contested by the united power of the banks and bond owners. It is safe to assume that the Alliance in its efforts to bring about better conditions, must first release the government from the power of the bond owner. An increase of money among the people

through government loans as proposed in the Ocala demands would obviate the necessity of purchasing bonds for that purpose, and thereby eliminate this premium on the bonds. It is to preserve this premium, and force the people to contribute \$117,508,534 to the greed of the money owners, that the sub-treasury plan is being contested. Any and all propositions that tend to make money more plenty, and consequently cheaper, will be denounced as undemocratic, un-republican, unconstitutional and impracticable until this vast amount of tribute is paid by the people to the holders of these bonds. In all the controversy that is to come, in all the abuse, ridicule and alleged arguments against the demands of the Alliance, let every one bear in mind that the incentive and remuneration to a large extent lies in the premium that now attaches to the ownership of these bonds. This vast sum of money, which can only be reached through the operation of existing laws and present interpretations, is sufficient to purchase or subsidise the press, buy and control Congress or defeat the will of the people in everything as conditions now exist.

EVIDENCE is accumulating daily to prove that the two old parties have entered into an agreement, offensive and defensive, against the Alliance and its demands. As a result it will take a bold man, actuated by honest intentions and loyal to principle, to remain an office-holder in either party and continue even friendly to the Alliance and its efforts at reform. The party lash is being used at the present time without mercy, and the effect is being witnessed on every hand. Senators, congressmen and governors who hold their offices by reason of the supposed and implied friendly relations which they hold to the Alliance and its purposes have been forced to renounce all interest in or affiliation with the Order. The thumbscrews of partisanship is being applied, and the result has been so far, with but here and there an exception, an abject surrender. Nothing can be expected now only from such as were nominated and elected upon the express pledge of supporting the Alliance demands. There will be no middle ground permitted by either party, and the people will be sorely disappointed in those whom they trusted without written pledges to aid them in their contest for better conditions. Party lines are being drawn closer than ever, and this, too, by mutual understanding between the leaders of the old parties. In this effort they are aiding each other, for on its results their life or death depends. An effort is being made to drive every man out of either party that will not wear the party collar. In this effort they are succeeding beyond their expectations among the politicians and

\$53,10; the Netherlands, \$95,56, while that of the United States was but \$14,63, and of its indebtedness nearly one-half was made up of non-interest bearing notes.

Aggregating the national, State and county indebtedness the per capita shows a decrease from \$46.59 in 1880 to \$20.46 in 1890, or more than one-half, and this decrease has been brought about mainly by voluntary taxation. The aggregate surplus receipts of another decade like the one just passed would relieve the country from nearly every national, State and county indebtedness could they be distributed for the purpose.

THE PROPAGANDA FUND.

The following contributions to the propaganda fund, authorized by the executive committee at its March meeting, are reported:

W. W. McElvee, Morven, N. C....	\$1 00
B. T. Turner, Broad Run Station, Va....	1 00
J. L. Williams, Kirbyton, Ky....	1 00
E. Dean, Hoeyoe Falls, N. Y....	1 00
William Boaz, Erie, Kan....	1 00
H. Robinson, Diamond, Mo....	1 00
H. N. Cochran, Fairburn, Ga....	2 50
Geo. T. Davis, San Antonio, Fla....	5 00
W. L. Glenn, Bright, Miss....	2 00
Harvey Riggs, Ladoga, Ind....	1 00
Reesville Alliance, Reesville, Ala....	3 00
S. T. Jones, Swift, Texas....	5 00

Total to date.....\$24 50

A RAILROAD REFORMER.

Mr. A. B. Stickney, chairman of the board of directors of the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City Railroad, has published a book, entitled "The Railroad Problem." From a press review the following extracts and comments are reproduced:

In his chapter devoted to "Method of Railway Management," the author scores the monopolies that have been created for the purchase of farm products. "The monopoly for the sale of fuel has been," he says, "fed by most of the citizens of the larger towns and cities; at times it has had the effect to increase the cost of this article of universal consumption. The discrimination as between location has borne heavily upon all classes in the towns and villages discriminated against." The grantees of these monopolies become rich, and gradually so powerful that instead of acting, as at first, as the quasi employees of the companies receiving rebates as a favor, they are now the masters of the railways, and by playing one against the other are enabled to practically dictate the rates they pay.

"The most conspicuous illustration is the present position of the four great Chicago firms engaged in slaughtering and marketing beef. Their present business was built up by rebates paid by the trunk lines, and each began as a sort of protege of one of the railways. Now, with their immense business, by combining and throwing the bulk of it to one line, they have become dictators of rates to all the great railway corporations. These firms care but little what rates they pay, provided they are less than are granted to other shippers, so that they may continue to maintain their present practical monopoly.

"The uprising of the people of the Western States, which is now being considered, was not against the aggregate amount of rates which were being collected by the railways, but against the discriminations they were practicing in collecting their revenues. This fact should be thoroughly mastered by every mind which desires to comprehend the meaning of the so-called granger legislation."

Mr. Stickney thinks that had the

managers of the Western roads shown even a slight disposition to conciliate and to correct some of the more glaring discriminations it is probable that much of the hostile legislation of recent years would have been delayed. But they manifested no such disposition. The discontent of the people increased, and finally it broke forth with all the fury of a cyclone. Nothing could stand before it. Those politicians who, on account of passes and other considerations had always stood by the companies, blanched before the storm, and so great was the excitement that the governor of a State, as a bid for votes, in a public speech felt compelled to declare that his party, if successful, would "shake the railways over hell." When the chief official of a State felt justified by using such extreme language, it is not easy to imagine the intense feeling of the populace.

Railway transportation under present conditions, is to the industrial world what the atmosphere is to the physical world. It pervades and is essential to all industry. As in the physical world no man or beast, no plant or shrub can refuse to breathe the air without death ensuing, so in the industrial world no industry and no human being can refuse railway transportation except under similar penalties. It pervades every article of commerce. When one buys food, clothing or fuel, he buys railway transportation. When he buys horses and carriages, jewels or statuary, paintings or books, theater tickets or lecture tickets, or indulges in the luxury of doctors and lawyers, he pays for railway transportation.

As regards cities and competitive points, there can be no doubt that discrimination has been the chief factor in causing the rapid increase of business, population and wealth in western cities during the two last decades. At an early day this agency was beginning its work and the future was clearly foreseen. But notwithstanding their personal interest were being conserved, the discriminations were so manifestly unjust that the people of the cities condemned them. Besides, the urban population had a grievance of their own in reference to the fuel monopoly, which had been created by the discriminations in rates upon this necessity. The people believed, and apparently not without reason, that they were unduly taxed by reason of short weights and exorbitant prices. So, in one way and another, every class of people—the farmer, the mechanic, the villager and the city resident, including the common laborer, who consumed fuel—was up in arms against discrimination and its consequent monopoly.

Now, when danger approaches the professionals, who have avenues of advance information, sell early while the price is high, and not only sell, but usually sell while short. But it is notorious that small investors are always "bulls" when they should be "bears," and vice versa. As the price goes down they hold on till they can hold no longer, and generally, at the lowest price, they sell. Who buys? The only men who can; the wise ones who sniffed the danger from afar, sold early, and now have money to buy at bottom prices. In a general collapse, what an opportunity! In the wreck of prices, a comparatively small sum of money will buy the control of half a dozen of the largest systems. A few men can do it, and on the ruins of the

fortunes of hundreds of thousands of small investors lay the sure foundation for the enormous wealth of the future American billionaires. Fifty years ago the American millionaires were as yet unknown and only dreamed of. It was then the pride of America that her citizens were possessed of independent livelihoods; that it was a band of homes and of substantial

out the inconsistency of charging one man five cents in order to carry another man free.

Government control of rates, says Mr. Stickney in his concluding reflections, ought to be regarded by owners with favor. The more extended their knowledge concerning the present system of making rates by traffic managers, based on the sole idea of meeting one another's ever varying rates, the greater will be the desire of owners to change the present for a system of rates made by law, founded upon recognized principles constructed by rule and supported by the strong arm of the government. This opinion, the author thinks, is so opposed to the prevailing notions, that he deems it necessary to support it at the expense of repeating or paraphrasing a great deal that he has said on the subject in the earlier part of the book.

Competition, he says, may, for a short time, legitimately reduce rates, but its great province is to produce unjust discrimination. It does not permit men in the ordinary walks of life fairly to compete with one another. It forces population, along with manufactures to the large cities, instead of allowing the artisan to live in the smaller towns where it might be possible for him to own his home and with moderate expenses rear his family in quiet amid the virtues of the country. It compels him to live in vicious tenement houses of the crowded city. His children have creaking pavements instead of green fields for a play ground, and their ears are greeted with coarse profanity and vulgar language instead of the songs of birds. The air is laden with the disgusting odors of the gin shop instead of the perfume of clover blossoms, and instead of the peaceful scenes of nature they are made familiar with vulgarity, brutality and crime. By congesting population it indirectly causes disease, ignorance and crime; it destroys independent occupation and forces the whole population into classes, employers and employees, masters and servants, autocrats and menials akin to slaves. Why should the people longer worship the monstrosity of discrimination because, perchance, it has been called competition, or mourn over its destruction?

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organization. In proof of the crying need of organization at this juncture little or no testimony is needed, beyond the willingness with which eligible parties become members of the Alliance. They see that every interest under the sun is banded, under some name or in some form, and they feel, at the close of every week of hard and earnest work, that for some reason, labor as he may, stint as he may, no profit repays his arduous toil, and that something must be done to relieve the pressure of those forces that are pressing so remorsefully upon him. With no slow or doubting step does he enter the Alliance, but, on the other hand, with high hope of wonderful works shortly to be done; forgetful or unconscious of the fact that the system that is ruining him is a growth of a generation or more in point of age, and that remedial measures are of slower efficacy than the growth of the malady they seek to cure. That discouragement from this source may not enter our fold nor damp the ardor of any member, but, on the other hand, that the bright star of a certain hope may be ever shedding his steady light upon our pathway, it is necessary that we all be taught the causes of our agricultural depression, and also taught a remedy for them. To this end a system of instruction and education has been devised in the Alliance lecture system, which, in my judgment, is as perfect in its adaption to the object in view as it well can be. That the evils that dwarf and shrivel our manhood's hope and energy, and appropriate to themselves the rewards of intelligent and well-directed industry, are chief, the result of a vicious and ~~evil~~ national government for twenty-five years carried on, all well-informed minds at once frankly avow. A sectional party, whose policy has been dictated by financial greed, and whose hold upon power has been maintained conjointly by the power of money and an appeal to the prejudices of the great West, can deceive their dupes no longer. We, of the South, were never misled by the hypocrisy of the party, which, while yelling "protection for the product of honest American labor against the competition with foreign pauper labor," took good pains to have Congress maintain upon its statute book a law by which hordes of pauper labor itself might be imported with safety, and with profit to the importer free of duty, giving the importer a lien upon the pauper for all charges and expenses advanced. But the farmers of the South, while not deceived, were helpless, and with the heroism of a heroic people, in patience, learned to "labor and wait," until, in the fullness of this Alliance age, the cup of the iniquity of these human vampires is full, and the great West with eyes fully opened spews the apostle of hate and ally of its enemy out of its mouth, and relegates John J. Ingalls to private life. This unfortunate antitype in some respects of Balaam's memorable brute has for the first time lately

The Lecture System.

[Lecture delivered at Amelia Court-house, Va., April 3, 1891, by W. F. Jackson, county lecturer, to the lecturers of sub-Aliances.]

You have been called hither by myself acting under directions sent down by those who are higher in the Order than we are, and who have been placed on the watch-tower the better to see what is ahead of us, either for our injury or our good. Occupying, thus, a better position for observation than we do, it becomes our duty, with unflattering faith in their wisdom and judgment, to heed their admonitions and move in such directions as their superior vision may point out as best. Let it first and foremost be well understood that this congregation of lecturers has not been convened by caprice or whim. Let it be fully understood that the most imperative needs of the Order have convoked it; and that, from it, though by small beginnings, are to flow the means and the instrumentalities to that unity and coherence of all its parts, without which this great movement must prove a failure, and by this, add one more occasion for the sneer of our opponents, who, characterizing us ever as a parcel of "ignorant hayseeds," predicted for us a short life and an early burial by the side of the lamented and departed granger. It is idle for us to believe that any organization of men can be affected and held together without sufficient motives thereto. In order to the making of the initial step of union and combination the need of the same must exist; and in order to its perpetuity promise must be made and reasonable guarantees given of the accomplishment of the ends and purposes of the

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distiller. The only interest the government has in the liquor is its revenue. Prior to the passage of the law creating the bonded warehouse system the revenue was due when the liquor was made, and the government enforced its collection. But to enable the distiller to carry his product over for a season and thus give it greater value, a law was passed relieving him of the duty of paying the revenue until a period of three years had elapsed after distillation. It is true the distiller could have warehoused his liquor and carried it as long as he pleased without the aid of the law, but he would have to pay the revenue in advance the storing. And when we consider the fact that the revenue amounts to between forty and fifty dollars per barrel, we readily see the advantage to the distiller to have the government carry this expense for him. About two-thirds of the capital employed in carrying over the liquor in bond belongs to the government, and it receives no interest on its money. Another important advantage derived by the distiller from the operation of the law, is that the government is not only his broker, but the holder of his "stake." With the receipt of the government warehouseman acknowledging custody of his goods, he can go into the markets and borrow more than the original cost of production and thus continue to produce a fresh supply of raw liquor while his previous crops are ripening under the guardianship of the law. It is not necessary that the government should build warehouses and hold the liquor in bond until a customer is found in order to collect its revenue. The law is against the government since it involves the loss of rightful dues during the space of three years. In other words it loans its revenues amounting to forty odd dollars per barrel to the distiller for three years without interest. The "bonded warehouse" was intended as a measure of protection to the distilling interests. And it has operated to build up some of the handsomest fortunes that have been accumulated in this country.

Cleveland and Harrison Emphasize their Support of the Doctrine.

Mr. Cleveland saw proper during his administration to go on the market and buy up national securities at a ruinous loss to the government in order to relieve the distress of speculators in Wall street. Mr. Harrison liked the policy so well he adopted it, with elaborations peculiarly Republican. Upon another occasion Mr. Cleveland in order to prevent a ruinous shrinkage in the value of stocks loaned the banks about sixty millions of dollars without exacting a farthing of interest. Mr. Harrison followed suit with about twenty-one millions.

The National Banks Receive Their Share.

The act creating the "National Banking system" is not only of substantial aid to the holders of United States bonds in loaning them money at a very low rate of interest, but confers upon them most extraordinary power over the public currency; the power to issue money and increase or reduce it at pleasure, thus rendering it possible for great combinations of capital to bring about periods of panic and depression whenever it suits their selfish ends to do so. In the light of such well-known prece-

dents where the power of the government to protect and aid special classes of property under conditions of peculiar disability has been repeatedly exercised, how can any earnest, candid judge of the law and the facts deny the right of agriculture, fulfilling like conditions, to receive similar aid. Particularly so since it has already enjoyed a partial recognition of its right in this respect; some of its products, notably sugar—having been on the duty list for years, and to-day a bounty of 2 cents a pound is paid on all sugar raised in the United States.

Senators and Congressmen Give Their Support to Class Legislation.

The "sub treasury" and "land loan" bills are denounced as "class legislation" and as cultivative of a spirit of paternalism in government and therefore unconstitutional. Just how sincerely this charge is made may be inferred from the fact that many of those who make the charge have supported either in whole or in part the policies pursued by the administrative and legislative branches of the government during the last thirty years, within which time the greatest evils of "class legislation" and strong government have sprung up. Where is the Senator or Congressman who has not at some stage of the contest given his support to a class measure, if not as legislator then as an active partisan of men or measures favorable to their enactment or execution. It is a sad thought, and I hesitate to give it expression, but it does seem to me that we have approached that period in our history when it is almost impossible to say just how far a mere class measure can not be pressed into the vitals of the law and yet be justified by some precedents or policies either in legislation or in the administration of government. And it is equally lamentable that so few of our public men have kept their skirts entirely clear. Many of the most vehement opponents of the sub-treasury bill are men whose names are suggestive of the very worst features of paternalism. Others there are who have not gone so far, yet have not hesitated to trim when it was in aid of their locality or some friendly interest.

The Kind of Protection Advocated by the Farmers.

Too Late to Cry Unconstitutional.

The cry "unconstitutional" ought to have been raised earlier in the history of the government if the demands of the farmers are to be thrown out of court on that plea. They have been taxed with the support of too many needy enterprises; have done too much toward enriching the manufacturer; to extend and diversify trade and commerce under the delusion, if it be such, that the legislative and executive departments were proceeding in a constitutional way, to be silenced now with such a one-sided decree.

Washington and the Fathers Advocate Government Aid to the Farmer.

But the constitutionality of legislative interference to relieve agriculture of its present distress and advance and protect it against adverse policies, and so far as practicable place it upon enduring foundations of prosperity, is not dependent alone for its verification upon precedents above recited. Policies and practices running through the entire history of the government attest the legal right of agriculture to the protection demanded in the measures advanced by them.

The first president of the United States commanded to the national legislature the interest of agriculture, commerce and manufactures as deserving special care and protection at its hands. In 1790 the House of Representatives replying to a message of the President's, stated: "We concur with you in the sentiment that agriculture, commerce and manufactures are entitled to "legislative protection." President Washington and both branches of Congress held to the view that "agriculture, commerce and manufactures form the basis of the wealth and strength of the republic, and should be advanced by all proper means in their power." Such was the sentiment of the fathers of the government, based upon a conscientious view of the constitutional questions involved. There was the intelligence that helped to give it life and being, and therefore eminently capable of understanding its meaning and application. They were fresh from the scenes of its deliberations, and saw at close range the field of its intended operation. And it is only fair to conclude that they gave it, in the outset, the range of its true motives, and trained it in the direction of its lawful aims and purposes. If those aims have been misconstrued by the courts, or perverted by legislative enactments and administrative policies, it was not for the want of an exemplary performance on the part of those who gave them their first application. The interpretation given the constitution by Washington and his compatriots in the first Congress, as evidenced by their official acts, is a reasonably safe guide in shaping our conclusions as to the true meaning and scope of that instrument. It is with this construction in view, and in the light of their recommendations and acknowledgments touching the right of agriculture to "legislative protection," and not on account so much of any of the questionable acts that might be cited as precedents justifying their demands, that the Alliance proposes something on the order of the sub-treasury.

The Alliance Adopts the Views of the Fathers as to the Practical need of Protection.

In proposing its "land-loan" and "sub-treasury" bills the Alliance has simply adopted this view of the fathers as to the practical need of protection. This it can do with all propriety and consistency, since the policy is sound and healthful, and the Alliance, as such, has never opposed the idea that the powers of government could and should be used to protect its leading industrial interests against any adverse influence tending to weaken or cripple their growth and progress. It is the abuse of the policy of protection, and not the policy itself, that the Alliance objects to; the distortion of protection proper into a selfish use of the government by certain interests in the advancement of their particular aims without regard to the rights of others. It is the policy of taxing agriculture and other interests beyond their ability to pay, with the upbuilding of manufactures beyond a fair and reasonable condition of profit yielding. The Alliance is in favor of a readjustment of the protection laws with the view of returning to first principles as soon as practicable, and to reinvest the constitution with some of its old time meaning.

The Kind of Protection the Alliance Asks for the Farmer.

The kind of protection the fathers advocated and attempted to put into practice meant a conservative use of the powers of the general government in aid of those fundamental industries whose prosperity would add to the general good, and to the power and wealth of the nation; and without which no people could be really independent or thrifty, and no government stable and prosperous. They early recognized the necessity of a great and diversified system of manufactures; of certain and reliable agencies for extending commerce and facilitating trade and traffic; of an agriculture that was varied in its products and prosperous in its economy. They realized too that neither of these great interests could attain perfect success without the presence and support of the others, and therefore no ugly rivalries or business antagonisms should divide them, but rather to be actuated by the friendliest motives of mutual aid and sympathy. Nothing was further from the minds of the framers than that one should be made the stepping stone of the other, or that one should be taxed with the support of the other. And this view of protection was for a season adhered to and enforced by succeeding administrations.

Manufactures and Commerce too Previous for the Terrapin Breed of the Farmer.

But manufactures and commerce, being controlled and directed by organized business bodies, soon made their superior influence felt in securing legislative grants of special privileges whereby their individual interests were greatly advanced over that of agriculture. And those privilege have been multiplied and extended until they have absorbed the greater part of the wealth of the country. They were not satisfied with the reasonable protection accorded them by the framers of government, but have encroached upon the rights of others to such an extent as to bring into disrepute the policy of protection, and endanger its future usefulness.

The Credit of the Government and not the Product Stored the Basis of Currency Issues.

It is not denied that the direct benefits of these bills are intended to insure to the farmer; that the right to borrow under their provisions is limited to the producers of certain staple crops, or the owners of landed property. But that fact affords no sufficient reason for opposing the principles of the bills. The farmer requires help and asks for it. He is not supposed to know what other classes want. They have been taking care of themselves so long without consulting him the presumption is they will continue to do so. These bills set forth the needs of the farmer. They emanate from him and express his desires in reference to his own affairs. If others desire help and feel that they are entitled to it, they should speak out and for themselves. If their cause is just they will find no more sympathetic hearers than the farming class. But who else needs help? The manufacturing and commercial interest are already nursing at the public teat. Mining and banking are equally well provided for. The transportation agent has the making of his own rates, and the first "take-out" in collections. The government can either put it into circulation by the payment of its debts, or by loaning it to the people. This is a matter for Congress to determine. It is true that too free an exercise of its powers in this respect would be ruinous to the business interests of the country? But the mere possibility of its abuse would not render the power unconstitutional, for the same objection might with equal propriety be urged against the use of any of its powers. Congress should be prudent in their exercise, but it can not resign any of its powers or avoid responsibility for their neglect any more than for their misuse. Unfortunately for the country, Congress has delegated too much of its power over the public currency to the national banks, and their policy has been to create a scant currency. Flying from the evils of a too plethoric money supply, they have heedlessly narrowed to a beggarly limit, putting the business interests of the country on half rations as it were. Congress and not the banks must regulate the volume of the currency. And it would be wholesome to remember that it is equally incumbent to maintain a proper standard by inflating a meager currency as it is to restrict a redundant one.

The Power of Congress to Lend the Money and Credit of the Government Exercised Without Restraint from the Courts.

That it is the popular opinion among the leading minds of the nation that the Constitution does vest in the discretion of Congress and the executive the power to loan the money or credit of the government is clearly demonstrated by the fact that time and again such powers have been exercised without judicial restraint. In this connection I will recall to the attention of the reader several incidents previously referred to, as they apply with equal force to the present text:

That of the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad with funds realized from the sale of bonds indorsed by the government, and the policy of lending the public funds to the banks as practiced by both Mr. Cleveland

and Mr. Harrison. In the former case it was a loan of the government credit to a corporation for the purpose of creating a thing of value to be owned and used by the corporation. The latter was a loan direct, without interest, of the public moneys. It is true that it was in the nature of a deposit, and was held subject to the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, but it is equally true that it was intended and treated as a loan. Millions of dollars have been loaned interstate and international exposition associations. The national banking system is conducted upon the credit of the government and pays only 1 per cent for the use of it. In 1796 the Bank of the United States was chartered with the power to issue money and to charge 6 per cent interest on its loans. The government gave credit to these notes by making them "receivable in all payments to the United States," thus practically indorsing them. Later on, the bank and its branches were made the depositories of the public moneys. Every banker understands the value of such deposits. They know it is in effect a loan without interest.

The next point seemingly at issue in the consideration of the powers provided for in the sub-treasury and loan-loan bills, is as to the constitutional power of Congress to create money and loan it upon land or leading agricultural products. The Supreme Court having practically settled the question that the government can create a currency, I am unable to appreciate the sincerity of any criticism of the merits of the bills based upon a denial of that power. And certainly I have not been a very intelligent student of governmental principles if the power to circulate is not implied in the power to create a currency. Assuredly the putting into circulation does not mean to give it away, or to throw it away, but after methods most conducive to the exercise of its legitimate functions, and in carrying out the objects of its creation. The government can either put it into circulation by the payment of its debts, or by loaning it to the people. This is a matter for Congress to determine. It is true that too free an exercise of its powers in this respect would be ruinous to the business interests of the country? But the mere possibility of its abuse would not render the power unconstitutional, for the same objection might with equal propriety be urged against the use of any of its powers. Congress should be prudent in their exercise, but it can not resign any of its powers or avoid responsibility for their neglect any more than for their misuse. Unfortunately for the country, Congress has delegated too much of its power over the public currency to the national banks, and their policy has been to create a scant currency. Flying from the evils of a too plethoric money supply, they have heedlessly narrowed to a beggarly limit, putting the business interests of the country on half rations as it were. Congress and not the banks must regulate the volume of the currency. And it would be wholesome to remember that it is equally incumbent to maintain a proper standard by inflating a meager currency as it is to restrict a redundant one.

Of the remedy by repeal, Gen. West says:

West:

Some of our distinguished leaders tell us the remedy lies in "repeal" and "revocation." But these developments have so fastened themselves upon our institutions, and so blended their existence with the business life and energy of the nation as to be almost if not quite ineradicable. This history of their growth and permanence is the history of legislation and administrative policy for thirty years; they are therefore part and parcel of the fixed law of the land. Abolish them if you will; blot them from the statutes, compel these great interests, that have been endowed by the government with what ever of monstrosity in the power to rob and plunder they may possess, to stand alone, as justice demands, and where would the wreckage not fall? What business life would not taste of their ashes? To suggest "repeal" and "reform" is easy enough, but how to put into operation such active measure as will lead to a healthy reform is one of the stern questions confronting us.

In the state of Mississippi the discussion grows warmer, and it is fair to assume that when the time comes the people will act intelligently. Brethren in the Order owe it to themselves to see that such discussions are given as wide publicity as possible.

THE exports of cotton for the past eight months aggregate 5,274,368 bales, amounting to \$263,438,432. The entire product is estimated at 8,000,000 bales.

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 - \$1.00 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 \$500 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers 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:

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 of the Association, and every member of the Order should subscribe to the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

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

Address all remittances or communications to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

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A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean business and expect to work for the good of the Farmers' Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

IN ILLINOIS.

Mt. Vernon, Jefferson County, May 25.
Virginia, Cass County, May 26.
Pittsfield, Pike County, May 27.
Clayton, Adams County, May 28.
Carthage, Hancock County, May 29.
Cambridge, Henry County, May 30.

IN IOWA.

Washington, June 1.
Fairfield, June 2.
Keosauqua, June 3.

MISSOURI.

Kirkville, Adair County, June 4.
Moberly, Randolph County, June 5.
Independence, Jackson County, June 6.
Clinton, Henry County, June 10.
Springfield, June 11.

ALABAMA.

Jasper, Walker County, June 25.
East Lake, Jefferson County, June 26.
Montgomery, June 27.
Calera, Shelby County, June 29.
Athens, Livingston County, June 30.

This following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

The old parties are just now undertaking to perform two quite diffi-

cult jobs. In order to pave the way for Cleveland in 1892 the Democratic party is making an attempt to prove that the legislation of the Republican party in 1873, when it demonetized silver, was correct; that the people never did and never will really want free coinage. On the other hand the Republican party is doing its level best to prove that the country is prosperous; that all this distress and hard times is mere fancy, and if the farmers will only remain quiet and let the politicians alone all will turn out well.

A MISSISSIPPI paper that arrogates to itself such a monopoly of Democratic power that it unhesitatingly reads out of the Democratic party every farmer who says that he is for the Alliance first and party second, clips an article from one of the most radical Republican papers of Iowa, slandering and denouncing the sub-treasury plan, and rolls it in its Democratic mouth as a sweet morsel that should convince Democrats of the South that the sub-treasury is undemocratic. What could be stronger evidence of the fact that the abominable sub-treasury plan is undemocratic than the fact that the Republican papers of the North oppose it bitterly? It follows, therefore, according to this Demo-republi-cratic paper in Meridian, Miss., that Democrats who are farmers must not advocate anything that does not meet the approval of the partisan Republican papers of Iowa. Truly, necessity makes strange bedfellows, and five years ago the farmers thought those fellows were enemies and would fight always. But they are professionals, that explains it.

Two lawyers, when a knotty case was over, shook hands and were as friendly as before. Zounds! says the client, I can not see how. You two can be friends who were such foes just now! Thou fool! says one, we lawyers though so keen, Like sleers, cut not each other, but what's between.

THE Farmers Alliance of Texas not only represents the original formation of the present national organization, but is also the most numerous State association in it. A portion of the members openly endorse the sub-treasury scheme, while a majority repudiate it. The latter are now earnestly at work to secure the condemnation of the former at the next State convention. Even on the most radical point of faith of the Alliance there is a wide divergence of opinion all through the South, and this divergence is likely to lead ere long to an open rupture in the oldest and strongest State Alliance.

The above erroneous and unfair paragraph is taken from the Rural New Yorker, a plutocratic agricultural paper of New York. It contains the same misleading statements regarding the Alliance that are found in the most bitter partisan papers.

Such expressions are made with a view to retard the growth of the Alliance in New York State by deceiving the farmers as to the true condition of the Alliance in other States. The Order

was never more prosperous in Texas than at the present time, and all but the small faction, from which this paper doubtless obtained its information, are firm believers in the sub-treasury plan. This paper, which has grown rich from the patronage of the farmers, should now be generous enough to tell the truth concerning its patrons who are earnestly trying to bring about better conditions.

THE Alliance in Ohio is young, but getting to be very vigorous. It will no doubt make trouble for such men as John Sherman.

RESPONSES to the appeal for a propaganda fund are coming in. While they are neither numerous nor large, yet they are sufficient to indicate a lively interest among the brethren in the success of the effort. The demand for Alliance literature is simply immense. If it could be supplied, and only the want of funds prevents it, an era of educational work would be inaugurated that in its results would astonish the world.

THE Mississippian fights the demand of the farmers for an increase in the volume of money, and in its false argument has the assurance to ask:

What has the farmer who is deep in debt to give for money when abundant and cheap? Only his fixed capital consisting of land, and stock and products.

He will have exactly the same amount of produce to give for money that he has now, and he will get more dollars for it, and therefore could pay more of his debts with the same amount of produce than he can now. Suppose a farmer owes \$1,000, and the gross value of his annual product under present conditions is \$500, and from this amount he can live and pay his expenses on \$400 per year. He will then have \$100 per year to pay on his debt, which if bearing 6 per cent interest would be reduced \$40 the first year and \$42.40 the second year, \$44.94 the third year and so on, requiring sixteen years to pay off the debt.

Now suppose the volume of money to be increased so that the purchasing power of money is reduced to one-half its present purchasing power, and the result would be that the gross value of his annual product would be \$1,000 instead of \$500; his gross expenses \$800 instead of \$400, and he would have \$200 per year to pay on his debt, which at same rate of interest which must prevail because the debt and interest is already a contract—would be reduced \$140 the first year and \$148.40 the second year, and \$157.30 the third year, and so on, requiring but six and one-fourth years to pay off the whole debt. The difference to such a farmer is the difference between six years' labor and sixteen years' labor.

On the sub-treasury plan, J. M. Joseph, a correspondent of the Union, says:

Economists have for 500 years been trying to adjust the volume of money to the available amount of precious metals. This is, and must always remain as impossible as "squaring the circle," because the metals always run away and hide in time of trouble, war or civil commotion. The real problem is to-day the same as it has always been, and it is a very simple one—to adjust the volume of money to the volume of commerce. All that is necessary is to permit the commodity to furnish its own flux, be its own security, float itself into market. This is the essence of the sub-treasury plan.

BRADSTREET reports that the business failures in the United States for this week number 166, against 190 last week and 152 this week last year. The total Jan. 1 to date is 4429, against 4290 last year. Canada reports 31 failures, against 41 last week, and 26 this week last year. Total Jan. 1 to date 777, against 724 last year.

Discussions may be indulged in, plans may be brought forward, promises may be made and better times

anticipated, but the work of destruction as shown by the above goes steadily on. Day after day, week after week, and month after month, this record of financial wrecks is kept up. If times are better, or there is no need of a change of policy, why does not this barometer of business tell a different tale?

THE Union Bee, of Humansville, Mo., hits the nail on the head when it says:

The office-seeker opposes the paper he cannot control; therefore, they oppose the ECONOMIST, whose only crime is its devotion to the Ocalas demands and opposition to demagogues who desire to use the Alliance for special political purposes—their own advancement to office. Alliance men, go on guard!

There is a general cry all along the line "Put none but true men on guard to-night."

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APPLIED SCIENCE
In Agricultural and Rural Economy
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY.
Woodstock, Md.

DOUBLE TAXATION.

A few thoughts and suggestions were offered in a former issue as to the general applications of political science in agriculture. Political science, as distinguished from partisan politics, is the bane of popular government, and especially as to the relations of double taxation to the business of farming. On this great question discussion might be almost indefinitely extended, but the present design contemplates only brief and suggestive treatment. In the Baltimore Sun of April 7, is a New York despatch headed in flaming style,

"How Capital is Frightened Away by Heavy Taxes—A Lower Rate and Bigger Returns—Business Firms Seeking Safety in New Jersey." A. M. Coleman, President of the Tax Commission of New York, is reported as saying: "The city had on record a year ago \$1,327,318,188 of personality and only succeeded in collecting taxes on \$298,000,000." As a remedy he suggested that the tax laws be made inviting for capitalists to come here." By various subterfuge wealthy men avoid the payment of these taxes; 95 per cent escape and we can't catch them." Why can't we catch them? It is officially stated that 95 per cent of the personality of the rich men of the city of New York is "by various subterfuges" hidden from the collector of taxes.

This statement, if it means anything, means that nearly all the rich men of New York are a lot of smuggling thieves, who by "various subterfuges" defraud the revenue, and the last man of them ought to be in the State's prison along with smugglers and forgers and other thieves. If, from another point of view, 95 per cent of such property escapes taxation by "various subterfuges," and its owners are officially informed, "we can't catch them," how in the name of wonder are "conditions" to be made more inviting to capitalists? so as to draw them to New York? What is meant by "various subterfuges"? Does it mean wholesale perjury? It would seem that it can have no other meaning. But why "can't we catch them?" The fact is that law makers and tax collectors are in sympathy with these gross frauds upon that revenue, or they would catch the perpetrators. That they can not be caught and brought to justice is a silly pretence unworthy of belief.

But if an honest man gets into the legislature and draws up a law to detect and punish these smugglers it is denounced as "driving capital out of the State," and as "inquisitorial," "unfair," "extremely unjust," "the work of a man of no experience." It is "crude," "inoperative," "unconstitutional," and finally, if it passes, the governor adopts these views of the friends of thieves, and vetoes the law. Doubtless it is very impolite to call a gentleman who, by a simple "subterfuge," defrauds the revenue, a smuggler and a thief, but he is a smuggler and a thief.

It is not the tax on personality which, if levied, is not collected to the extent of 95 per cent, which is emptying New York into New Jersey, but it is largely the great cost of real estate which is doubly assessed and doubly taxed, while the personality of

millionaires, smuggled under flimsy "subterfuges," is allowed to go free with the lackadaisical regret, "we can't catch them." If a poor, hungry tramp breaks into a springhouse and drinks a crock of milk we can catch him, and he goes to the penitentiary; but the millionaire smuggler and thief who steals and hides the public money, we can't catch him; and the remedy is, tax the poor to replace what the millionaire steals.

Again, the Sun has an article in its issue of April 28, headed: "The Folly of Double Taxation," which is, in effect, a wholly unsound plea for exemption of large amounts of valuable personal property from taxation. Of course the Sun well knows that the loss to the revenue by such exemptions must be made up by over-assessments of real estate. If the Sun is unable to understand that this is double taxation of real estate, and of all assessed property, the Sun lacks the capacity with which it has been credited by the public. "It is," remarks the Sun, "the common cry of the taxgatherers and of all who are interested in swelling the fund which is raised by taxation, that a great deal of property, escapes taxation altogether." The Sun's authority, President Coleman, says 95 per cent of personally escapes. "It is also true," says the Sun, "that a great deal of property and great many property owners are unjustly taxed because doubly taxed in excess of their actual worth." The article 15, Maryland bill of rights, which says every man should be taxed in proportion to his "actual worth," is one of those crudities which are commonly charged to the Alliance man and farmer legislator. It ought to be sufficient to remind the learned lawyers who refer to this clause in their pleadings, that the State does not tax men, but property. Many men holding immense estates, owing vast debts, and having large debts due them, could not by any possibility ascertain at any given day in any year of their lives their "actual worth." The idea that a man's debts should be deducted from the value of his property, and he should be assessed for taxation for the remainder, is so crude, so absurd, so entirely impracticable it is astonishing it should be put forward by any person in possession of his faculties. Suppose it be found that his debts exceed his property; will the tax gatherer assume his debt or pay him a bonus? Or will the State release the vast property he holds, and uses and enjoys, from taxation until such time as he finds it convenient to pay his debts? Such confusion of thought is unaccountable. "It is not," says the Sun, "so many years since mortgages were taken in Maryland." It was not mortgages, but the bonds secured by mortgages which were taxed. And now why should not bonds secured by mortgages be taxed, seeing they pay interest semi-annually at from 6 to 20 per cent, and the principal is amply secured by mortgage of real estate worth usually three times the amount of the bond? Why, says the Sun, "taxation of mortgages is double taxation in its worst form, falling upon the class in the community least able to bear it, viz., those whose necessities compel them to borrow money." Let us pause to remark that it is to be wished that our language could be more exact than it is. The man who gives a mortgage does not borrow

money; he hires it and pays for its use. The user does not loan money; he hires it out and has his pay for the use of it. Let us follow the Sun a little further. The Sun says: "Take the case of a man who is actually worth \$5,000 and no more. Being industrious and enterprising he buys a farm assessed at \$10,000 and borrows \$5,000 more, which he secures by a mortgage upon the farm. It is rather rough upon the pretext of taxing him according to his actual worth to tax him upon the whole \$10,000, \$5,000 that he is worth and \$5,000 that he is not worth, but simply owes. But if the law taxes the mortgages also he is worse off. No man is compelled to loan money upon a mortgage, and whenever a tax upon mortgages exists the man who lends upon a mortgage and who wishes to receive his lawful interest without deduction or abatement, is careful to stipulate that the borrower shall pay that tax." Here is doctrine at which we are simply astonished. A man, the story goes, not driven by his necessities, but being industrious and enterprising, desires to speculate, and being worth only \$5,000, buys a \$10,000 farm, borrows \$5,000 and pays for the farm, giving a mortgage on the farm to secure the loan. Now, says the Sun, under pretext of taxing him on what he is actually worth, it is rather rough to tax him on \$10,000 when he is only worth \$5,000. If we will simply remember that the State does not, whatever the Bill of Rights may say, tax men, but property, we shall get a clearer view. If the man who buys and pays for a farm ought not to pay tax on it; who ought? Will the Sun enlighten us?—"it shines for all." If a man sells his farm and gets his money and conveys the farm to the purchaser, ought he to pay the tax on it or any part of the tax? What has he further to do with the matter at all? But does the Sun propose that the man who loaned the money to pay one-half the purchase money and took his mortgage to secure his principal and interest without abatement is to pay half the tax on the farm? The State has nothing at all to do with a man's debts, nor with the security his creditor has for their payment. The State sends its assessor not to assess the man who sold nor the man who bought, nor the man who held a mortgage, but to assess the farm, and the tax due takes precedence of all claims against the land, whether by original title or mortgage. The assessor is not to inquire what anybody is worth, but what the farm is worth. It is evident that the man whose home the farm is, who occupies and uses and has the exclusive benefit of it, ought, in equity and fairness, to pay the tax on it. Now the assessor when he comes to deal with the mortgage assesses the bond; he has nothing whatever to do with the security whether mortgage or personal. If in addition to the lawful interest, there is an agreement that the borrower of the \$500 shall pay the tax on the bond he gave for its payment, it is usury, and neither less nor more; and as the Maryland law forfeits excess of interest over six per cent, the tax paid in excess of six per cent interest on principal, can be recovered. The stipulation that besides lawful interest, the mortgagor shall pay a part of the tax on the property of the mortgagee is an usurious stipulation beyond any question. Does the Sun defend usury

and plead the cause of the usurer against the poor, whose necessities, according to the Sun, compel him to borrow money? If the law would be just, it must compel every man to pay tax on the property he owns. The state, we repeat and insist, can have nothing to do with any man's debts. Any law which collects the tax on any man's property from any other man, is unjust and oppressive. Any tax law which fails to include within the taxable basis every species of the property, or excludes from the basis any species of property upon any pretext or pretence whatever, is an unjust law.

It is a law imposing double taxation on one portion of the community for the benefit of another portion. Men may argue and contend until the end of the world, but no man is able to refute these truths. Says the Sun: "If a Marylander owned real estate in Missouri worth \$50,000, he would be taxed in Missouri, not Maryland, but if he sold it and took a mortgage for \$50,000 to secure the payment of the money, the land would be taxed in Missouri and he would be taxed on the mortgage in Maryland, and yet there would be no more land in Missouri, and the earth would be no larger, and the Maryland man no richer than before." Would he be any poorer, or ought he to pay any less tax? Well the earth being of the same size and the same quantity of land being in Missouri, and one more well secured bond worth \$50,000 being in Maryland, what does the Sun in its wisdom propose? Ought the state of Missouri to exclude a \$50,000 farm from its basis of taxation because it is mortgaged to secure a debt due a Maryland man? Or ought the state of Maryland to exempt from taxation a good bond worth \$50,000 because that bond is secured upon land in Missouri? Which does the Sun say is right, and why?

How can it be made to appear that for Missouri to tax a \$50,000 farm in Missouri, and for Maryland to tax a \$50,000 bond in Maryland, is double taxation? How can it be made to appear that a \$50,000 farm in one State and a \$50,000 bond in another State are one and the same property? And if the farm and bond are both in the same State, how is the case altered? If a farm is mortgaged to secure a bond there is the same amount of land in it and the earth is no bigger, neither is the value of the farm less nor more. It ought to be assessed for taxation precisely as if there was no mortgage upon it. If the land is sold to pay the debt, is any value destroyed? Is there any less land or is the earth any lighter than before? Or is the bondholder any poorer after he has been paid than before? Or, on the other hand, is he any richer? If the owner of a farm owes debts he uses or ought to use the products of the farm to pay his debts and support his family, and he ought to pay the tax on the farm. If a bondholder has his bond secured by mortgage on a farm, he gets his interest semi-annually and can have his principal at the time agreed on. The bond is his property; better property than the farm. Let him pay the tax on it; there is no double taxation about it.

A PHYSICAL TRAINING.

That physical training may be made a potent means for the welfare of mankind is not in the least degree open to question. But if the vast

benefits of which it is capable are to be realized, it must be scientifically studied and controlled. If left to be carried out as a fashionable fad, it will, like all other mere fashions and fads, do harm and excite disgust and contempt, even on the part of the more sensible of those who slavishly and weakly follow the fashion. No dull, painful, monotonous task is going to do an invalid much good. Neither is it possible to have a general code of hard and fast rules for every individual to follow. It was a remark of the great trainer of horses the late Hiram Woodruff, that experience taught him that too much slow, monotonous work would invariably knock off the speed of even the stoutest and fastest flyers of the turf. The word "overmarked" is the turf expression for a horse used up by too much training. To get an animal into condition for a great race, the plan is, strong feeding and abundant exercise to create the appetite for the large amount of food and to insure its digestion and assimilation. The speed is developed and kept on edge by frequent short brushes, always keeping short of such efforts as will tucker out and disgust the animal. The swash movement, or massage, is merely a form of physical training which is especially adapted to a more or less crippled condition in which voluntary effort sufficient for needed exercise is impossible or dangerous, and when carried out with experienced skill is very useful. But nothing affords freer scope to charlatany and quackery; and when ignorantly and blunderingly carried on by a rude, unsympathetic pretender it easily becomes both a torture and a farce.

BY B. B. TURNER, BROAD RUN, VA.

- Because he is a debtor, and when he contracted his debt he had the privilege of paying it either in gold or silver at a fixed ratio, or in the equivalent of either. Now to take from him the privilege of paying it in silver renders the gold in which he must pay it more costly, or to increase the ratio of the silver to the gold makes it more costly.
- Because he is a component part of a nation which is a debtor and is taxed to pay that nation's debts, consequently if the nation's debt be paid in appreciated gold or in a dollar containing more silver it must take more of the products of his labor to pay taxes enough to keep down interest and liquidate the debt.
- Because as a farmer his products have to come in competition with the products of other parts of the world where silver is high, and if it is lower here it can be used to the disadvantage of his products by bringing them into an unfair competition with said others' products. I will illustrate: A few months ago I wanted to buy a sack of coffee. Mr. H priced it to me at 19 cents, and so did Mr. B, but neither of them could take cabbage in pay. Mr. C priced it at 20 cents and would take cabbages at 5 cents per head. Now I had no cabbages, but I knew where I could buy them at 4 cents per head. So by means of the cabbages I got my coffee from Mr. C at a cost to myself of 16 cents, whereas if there had been no cheap cabbage I would have had to give Mr. A or Mr. B 19 cents for my coffee and not have been able to get it for 16 cents, while at the same time I paid Mr. C 20 cents. Now I represented in this merchant of the world, Messrs. A and B the American wheat sellers who could not utilize the cheap silver, and

Mr. C the Russian or Indian wheat seller who could. Hence just as long as silver can be bought cheap in America (which it can not be with free coinage) will it give the foreign wheat raiser an advantage over the American wheat raiser. Were I a creditor instead of a debtor, one who received the national taxes instead of one who had to pay them, a wheat buyer instead of a wheat seller, then would I oppose the free coinage of silver, but not otherwise.

The Views of an Outsider.

PROF. THOS. N. CONRAD,
Late President of Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College.

In common with many others, I have been observing the Farmers Alliance movement with a great deal of interest. While I have been identified with State agricultural societies and other agricultural institutions for the last twenty years, and have been an earnest worker for the advancement of scientific as well as practical agriculture, I am not yet a member of the Alliance. As an outsider, therefore, and somewhat in the line of a political philosopher and farmer, I am prompted to say a word to the great mass of agriculturists through the columns of your paper.

What Sam Jones said to a Chicago audience upon beginning his crusade on the sins of great cities is true of all reform movements, whether in the religious or political world, to wit: "Brethren, it requires grit, grace and greenbacks to secure success." You will find, Mr. Editor, these three requisites necessary in the great movement you are conducting in the interest of the farmers. Grit to make the movement aggressive and decided, grace to bear the burdens of earnest friends and co-laborers, and prevent divisions, perversions and estrangements, and greenbacks to supply literature, lecturers, necessary equipment and proper outfit. Judging from the rapid formation of your sub-Alliances, the quick organization of newspapers, the able corps of efficient lecturers and organizers, and the formidable blows so suddenly and effectively given in certain States, I am convinced that you are well equipped and ready for the fray. As a reader of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, I perceive that the strong points in your case—the currency question, the sub-treasury question, the tariff and other vital questions—are held to the front and ably maintained. As a reader of the political papers and leading organs of the political parties of this country, I am convinced that as yet no line of determined action has been agreed upon by these parties regarding your movement. That the farmer is to be a factor, and a potential one, in the future politics of this country is accepted by all. Now, my dear sir, see to it that no internal dissensions distract or personal ambitions divert this great and healthful movement from its purpose; that no one question be made the test of loyalty; that your platform be broad and comprehensive, far-reaching and decisive, and my word for it, your success will be astonishing. Leave the third party question an open one, wide open; force an issue on the silver question, and demand a frank and satisfactory answer; discuss freely and fully the sub-treasury measure, leaving it, however, subject to future modification, but always and everywhere urge without compromise an unceasing war upon monopolies, corners, combines

and corporations, which are massed against the interests of agriculture. I am convinced of the righteousness of your cause and of its ultimate success. But the hundreds of thousands of farmers in this rapidly developing country must stand abreast, touch elbows, in this forward movement, lock shields and be willing to die in the last ditch, if victory is to be won. Party machinery in this country is overwhelming and crushing; organized efforts only can be successful. Concentrated capital is almost irresistible. As farmers, you can not secede from the two great parties and make a successful fight. "Fight in the Union," lead the people, mobilize the masses, and ere long you can dictate terms to Wall street, control the national policy and make this country what it was intended to be—for the people."

A Government Note.

BY FRANK P. COOK, MODESTO, CAL.

I believe that, in the main, greenbackism was right, but that the greenbacker did more than any one else to ruin his own cause. He didn't stick to the main question. He talked about too many outside and irrelevant issues, and thereby obscured the simple doctrine of a note and of the powers of government which was and is the essence of his cause.

No matter about "money" or "value," we know what a note is; that is sufficient. We know that the general government may issue its notes, redeemable in anything of value between citizens, and receivable for all financial obligations on the part of citizens to the government, and from the government to the citizen. We know that such notes are articles of value by the general government will to much main at par so long as they are not only payable by the government but receivable by the government, and between citizens for all debts, and interchangeable at the pleasure of either party with the metal coins of the same denomination issued by the same government. We know that when a private note is offered us in the interest of the farmers. Grit to make the movement aggressive and decided, grace to bear the burdens of earnest friends and co-laborers, and prevent divisions, perversions and estrangements, and greenbacks to supply literature, lecturers, necessary equipment and proper outfit. Judging from the rapid formation of your sub-Alliances, the quick organization of newspapers, the able corps of efficient lecturers and organizers, and the formidable blows so suddenly and effectively given in certain States, I am convinced that you are well equipped and ready for the fray. As a reader of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, I perceive that the strong points in your case—the currency question, the sub-treasury question, the tariff and other vital questions—are held to the front and ably maintained. As a reader of the political papers and leading organs of the political parties of this country, I am convinced that as yet no line of determined action has been agreed upon by these parties regarding your movement. That the farmer is to be a factor, and a potential one, in the future politics of this country is accepted by all. Now, my dear sir, see to it that no internal dissensions distract or personal ambitions divert this great and healthful movement from its purpose; that no one question be made the test of loyalty; that your platform be broad and comprehensive, far-reaching and decisive, and my word for it, your success will be astonishing. Leave the third party question an open one, wide open; force an issue on the silver question, and demand a frank and satisfactory answer; discuss freely and fully the sub-treasury measure, leaving it, however, subject to future modification, but always and everywhere urge without compromise an unceasing war upon monopolies, corners, combines

and corporations, which are massed against the interests of agriculture. I am convinced of the righteousness of your cause and of its ultimate success. But the hundreds of thousands of farmers in this rapidly developing country must stand abreast, touch elbows, in this forward movement, lock shields and be willing to die in the last ditch, if victory is to be won. Party machinery in this country is overwhelming and crushing; organized efforts only can be successful. Concentrated capital is almost irresistible. As farmers, you can not secede from the two great parties and make a successful fight. "Fight in the Union," lead the people, mobilize the masses, and ere long you can dictate terms to Wall street, control the national policy and make this country what it was intended to be—for the people."

The currency we need is one largely of government notes, payable and receivable for all debts, public and private, interconvertible with coins at face valuation, limited in volume by Congress. Congress would be at least indirectly controlled by the people, who would never permit the Congress to issue the government's notes to an extent which would cause depreciation of them. The people would never deliberately swindle themselves. There are, it seems to me, two ways in which such gen-

tion, you may call it Democratic, mug-wumpish, or by any other title you please. We at present designate it as the sub-treasury plan, not bill. All that is in it is the loan of the people's money to the people (its owners) by the government (the people's creature) at the lowest possible rate of interest, on the very best security; on the very security by which the bonds are made safe; on a safer security even than bonds, for the very assets upon which the bonds are pledged indirectly are particularized and becomes directly pledged.

The Plow and Hammer (Tiffin, Ohio) disposes of partisan claims, the same as Alliance papers do in the South:

Some of our Republican friends are disposed to lay the blame of the vicious legislation of this winter upon the Democrats and are informing their farmer friends that all that is necessary to have pure legislation is to place them in power. This is not true. Not a measure of importance that has been demanded by the farmers but could have been passed by the Republicans joining the honestly-disposed Democrats in either body. Pure men who have no professed party affiliations are the only men who can and will do the people justice.

The Gibbon (Neb.) Reporter strikes a popular demand as follows:

"Gentlemen go to work and make your farms productive and profitable. If then you need ready money your restored credit will enable you to borrow as cheaply as anybody. But let us hear no more about laws to enforce the highwayman's plea with the government."

The above extract is from the Philadelphia North American of April 11. This is a leading Republican paper and a fair exponent of the plutocracy who are trying with might and main to destroy this nation. The reasonable demands of the suffering, toiling, sweating millions of American citizens is met with a sneer, or with advice given in a lordly, dictatorial manner, as of superiors to inferiors. These men little realize how near the deluge is, and their ignorance and vanity is in all human probability destined to reap not only bloody recompense for themselves, but a harvest of woe for the whole country.

The Plow and Hammer (Tiffin, Ohio) says:

"An Honest Dollar" is the title of a sheet published by a company of designing millionaires for free distribution to poison the minds of the masses. In its last issue it quotes Cleveland and his secretary as opposed to the free coinage of silver, and in the same column quotes Harrison and his secretary as opposed to free coinage. As the free coinage of silver will hold a prominent place in the discussions before the people of Ohio this summer, it would be interesting to have these prominent party men speak to the masses from the same platform regarding this vital question. Possibly some of our Alliance men who are sticking to the old party might discover that there was no difference between the leaders who should drill in the same crowd.

The Clod-Hopper (Kosciusko, Miss.) says:

You men of little faith that have joined the Alliance, and fought so hard to procure a platform that it has cost you four long years to establish, and in the time of war to avow the wickedness of your whole action by turning against your own sincerity and that of your brethren, should consider well your platform before you make a leap. And to the doubting minds of the membership we have this to say, that you may feel that you have erred, but the Clod-Hopper shall ever be found pushing boldly to the front of the battle, defending its cause and holding in contempt all allurements that would seem to thwart our noble purpose. Remember, the greatest virtue man possesses is to be true.

The Chillicothe (Mo.) Crisis says:

The census shows \$104 per capita mortgage indebtedness in Iowa. This is equivalent to \$520 for each head of a family. The total of these mortgages is \$100,034,956.73. Three-fourths of this is on farm lands. Debts secured by chattels and by personal security and debts unsecured are not included in these figures. The grand total of interest-bearing indebtedness of the people of that State would probably reach \$250,000,000, about \$700 for each head of a family. On over half of the mortgage debt the interest is 8 percent or

more upon the face of the mortgages. In reality it will probably average, counting commissions and usury, very close to 10 percent on the whole debt. The burden of this debt could be reduced one-half by doubling the money volume. For example take a 100 acre farm, worth \$2,400, mortgaged for \$1,600. It will take 80 acres to pay the debt. Double the volume of money, which would double prices, and 40 acres would pay the debt. Another example: A owes a mortgage of \$1,500, pays \$150 a year interest. In 1890 it took 800 bushels of corn to pay the interest. In 1890 he paid it with 400 bushels, by reason of the higher price caused by partial failure of crops. He saved 400 bushels by reason of the better price. He would save the same if the better price were produced by an increase in the volume of money.

Bevier (Mo.) Appeal says:

While labor is pleading for justice and asking for measures of relief whereby it can reap the just reward of its toil, the money power is engaged in scheming and devising plans by which it can absorb the greatest portion of the earnings of labor.

Excursion to Hagerstown, Md.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, the Baltimore and Southwestern Railroad Company, and the Ohio and Mississippi Railway Company will sell excursion tickets to Hagerstown, Md., and return, at the rate of ONE FIRST CLASS LIMTED FAIR FOR THE ROUND TRIP, on account of the annual meeting of the Eastern Baptists, to be held at Hagerstown, Md., May 28th to June 1st, 1891.

From points west of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Parkersburg, these tickets will be on sale from May 20th to June 1st, inclusive, and will be good for return passage until June 30th, inclusive, with privilege of one stop off west of the above-named cities, and one stop off east of the above-named cities, on the return trip. From Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Parkersburg and points east of those cities, excursion tickets will be on sale from May 25th to June 6th, inclusive, and will be good for return passage until June 15th, inclusive, with one stop off on the trip to Hagerstown, and the same privilege on the return trip. This offers a rare opportunity to visit points in Western Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.

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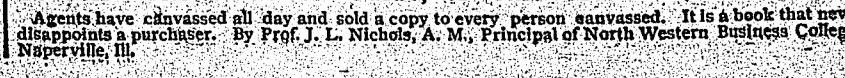
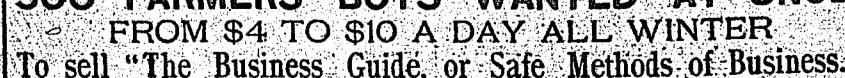
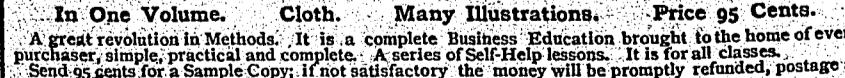
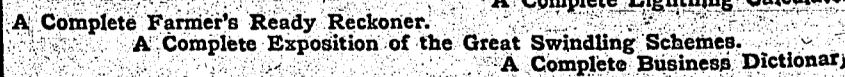
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nized as time shall unfold the political history of the future. Its immediate effect must be to strengthen and invigorate the reform movement and to greatly benefit the Alliance educational work. It is notice to the political bosses that the methods of the past will not longer be tolerated, and that the party securing the support of the great common people must take sides upon the questions of land, transportation and finance, as pointed out by THE ECONOMIST two years ago. If the bosses are wise they will heed the warning and recognize the fact that they cannot by agitation and the flourish of the party whip, longer perpetuate the reign of sectional hate to keep the people in hostile camps on issues of the dead past, while they are robbed by land monopoly, railway abuses, and financial manipulation. A perusal of the platform, in view of the unanimity and readiness with which it was adopted, should convince even the politicians that the people have a proper conception of the evils of the present system of government, and propose to correct them. There are, however, those prominent in bossing both parties who are interested in perpetuating these evils, who would lose their occupation if they were corrected, and as a consequence they in their selfishness would rather see the party destroyed than to see it reformed. If such succeed in dominating both parties, they will drive from their ranks all true American citizens, leaving only the boodlers to bemoan their folly in the fall of 1892. The issue is now fairly presented to every candid friend of free institutions, to either reform his party or quit it and accept one embodying the reforms calculated to carry out the principles contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. The people will not longer submit to be dominated by corrupt party bosses. They are thinking for themselves.

The partisan press of the country has advertised with big, black headlines and numerous sub-heads, the action of the meeting as the birth of the new party, but it is not. It simply provided for education on the Ocala platform, for co-operation with the conference to be held in February, 1892, and, if necessary, to call a convention to institute the party in June, 1892. It is necessary that this fact be recognized and emphasized, because the partisan press of the conflict is now very *alacheads about* *re* *by a lot of* *'ll say*

belong to a new political party instituted in opposition to the Democratic party, by disgruntled Republicans of the North for the purpose of securing negro supremacy in the South. Page after page of such false and vile rot as this will be dinned into the unwilling ears of Alliance men of the South in order to drive them from the support of the sub-treasury plan and kindred reform measures. The people care not that a few professional reformers participated in the call for the Cincinnati meeting, since the meeting was attended by the rank and file and its action wise. The very candor of reformers is what makes them subject to be so often called cranky. They advocate what they believe, whether popular or not. They are often called fools and cranks, but never insincere; and the sub-treasury is the only measure ever presented that could harmonize and convert all the cranks in the country at the first pass.

PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

The following is the full text of the platform adopted by the convention at Cincinnati, May 19-20:

1. That in view of the great social, industrial, and economical revolution now dawning on the civilized world and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country, and the formation of what should be known as the People's party of the United States of America.

2. That we most heartily indorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889; Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

a. The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. Hence we demand the abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank notes we demand that legal tender Treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis without damage or especial advantage to any class or calling; such notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than 2½ per cent per annum upon shippable products, as indicated in the treasury plan, and also upon real property limitation upon the amount of money.

b. The free and unlimited passage of laws prop of land, and that action to devise lands now owned states, and that

all land held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the government, and held for actual settlers only.

d. Believing the doctrine of equal rights for all and special privileges to none, we demand that taxation, national, state, or municipal, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

e. We demand that all revenue—national, state, or county—shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

f. We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on income.

g. We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

h. We demand the election of President, vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

i. That we urge united action of all progressive organizations in attending the conference called for February 22, 1892, by six of the leading reform organizations.

j. That a national central committee be appointed by this conference to be composed of a chairman, to be elected by this body, and of three members from each state represented, to be named by each state delegation.

5. That this central committee shall represent this body, attend the national conference on February 22, 1892, and, if possible, unite with that and all other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected, this committee shall call a national convention not later than June 1, 1892, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and vice-President.

6. That the members of the central committee for each state where there is no independent political organization, conduct an active system of political agitation in their respective states.

Resolved,

That the question of universal suffrage be recommended to the favorable consideration of the various states and territories.

Resolved,

That while the party in power in 1879 pledged the faith of the nation to pay a debt in coin that had been contracted on a depreciated currency, thus adding nearly \$1,000,000,000 to the burdens of the people, which meant gold for the bondholders and depreciated currency for the soldier, and holding that the men who imperiled their lives to save the life of a nation should have been paid in money as good as that paid to the bondholders—we demand the issue of legal tender treasury notes in sufficient amount to make the pay of the soldiers equal to par with coin, or such other legislation as shall do equal and exact justice to the Union soldiers of this country.

Resolved,

That as eight hours constitute a legal day's work for government employees in mechanical departments, we believe this principle should be further extended so as to apply to all corporations employing labor in the different states of the Union.

Resolved,

That this conference condemns in unmeasured terms the action of the directors of the World's Columbian Exposition on May 19, in refusing the minimum rate of wages asked for by the labor organizations of Chicago.

Resolved,

That the Attorney General of the United States should make immediate provision to submit the act of March 2, 1889, providing for the opening of Oklahoma to homestead settlement, to the United States Supreme Court, so that the expensive and dilatory litigation now pending there be ended.

THE "UNCONSTITUTIONAL" PLEA.

The habit of the constantly imposing constitutional objections to every measure of reform is no new trick of the politician. It is as old as constitutional government itself. Upon that subject Lord Macaulay makes the following comments:

The most elevated station that the "greatest happiness principle" is ever likely to attain is this, that it may be a fashionable phrase among newspaper

writers and members of Parliament, that may succeed to the dignity which has been enjoyed by the "original contract," by the "constitution of 1688," and other expressions of the same kind. We do not apprehend that it is a less flexible count than those which have preceded it, or that it will less easily furnish a pretext for any design for which a pretext may be required. The original contract meant in the convention parliament the co-ordinate authority of the three estates. If there were to be a radical insurrection tomorrow, the original contract would stand just as well for annual parliaments or universal suffrage. The "glorious constitution" again has meant every thing in turn; the habeas corpus act, the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the test act, the repeal of the test act. There has not been for many years single important measure which has not been unconstitutional with its opponents, and which its supporters have not maintained to be agreeable to the true spirit of the constitution. Is it easier to ascertain what is for the greatest happiness of the human race than what is the constitution of England? If not the "greatest happiness principle" will be what the "principles of the constitution" are, a thing to be appealed to by every body, and understood by every body in the sense which suits him best. It will mean cheap bread, dear bread, free trade, protection, annual parliaments, septennial parliaments, anything and everything, good bad or indifferent, of which any person from rapacity or benevolence chooses to undertake the defense.

At this very time things are going on the same way here in America as they went in Lord Macaulay's time in England. The constant appeal to the constitution as an obstacle to first measures of relief to the people does not help to make that instrument sacred in the minds and hearts of the people, but the constant bringing forward of all sorts of trivial objections on the ground of unconstitutionality does tend to bring the constitution itself into contempt. One of Senator George's "great constitutional arguments" may well serve to vex the souls of the reckless and aggressive majority bent upon overriding a resolute minority in their haste to secure a partisan victory. The vast oral amplitude of such a performance may suffice to impose a delay upon the majority fatal to their programme. An astonishing succession of these prodigiously verbose harangues in the Senate has given Mr. George the name of a "great constitutional lawyer." Now, therefore when the great antagonist of time in the Senate says the sub-treasury bill is unconstitutional without a doubt, some people think that ought to settle it. It takes the opinion of the great body of the people expressed by their ballot to settle great constitutional questions in this country. Such questions can not be settled here by the greatest parliamentary gymnast in the land. If the people want the sub-treasury plan they are going to have it. They are not asking for any great constitutional lawyers. The argument will have to be upon the question of expediency before the people, for the decision will turn upon that point. The constitutional lawyers can get in their work later by bringing the constitution into harmony with the will of the people, as in the case of the legal tender quality of greenbacks. Here will be a wide

field for the display of the immeasurable verbal powers of the great constitutional antagonist of time. It is in vain to oppose to the progress of great movements in harmony with the spirit of the age, the impediments of a petty reactionary policy out of harmony with modern development.

Smith, W. S. McAllister, J. H. Beeman, D. A. Outlaw, and T. C. Dockery are canvassing against the sub-treasury bill.

THE FINANCIAL NEED.
A Volume of Money Sufficient for Business on a Cash Basis.

Col. Ellison S. Keitt in Newberry (S. C.) Herald.

silver are received as commodities according to weight and finish. Let there be coined fractional currency, from one cent to fifty cents, in ample volume for the demands of the people. Let the government print notes, beginning at \$1, and going as high as \$1,000 notes if desirable, and make them a legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private. The question is, how to get this money into the hands of the people after it is printed and in the treasury. Let the government establish a sub-treasury at the capital of each State and loan this money on real estate at 2 per cent per annum for fifteen years, the interest and one-fifteenth of the principal to be paid annually to the government. Let the loan be 60 per cent of the assessed value for taxation of unencumbered real estate, and the maximum loaned to any one individual \$5,000, and the minimum \$100. We will then have a currency based on real property, something everybody wants—we can't eat, drink, or wear gold and silver. They are worth nothing without the stamp of the government except as commodities in the arts. Capitalists have juggled with these metals for ages and deceived mankind to satisfy their greed.

Let America have her distinctive money legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private. Let her lands and buildings be printed to a limited extent into money, and be a blessing to the people. Let the government be made safe by a mortgage, and where there are buildings an insurance of the property. The sub-treasuries can be run as cheap as the banks. It will take less than \$1,000,000 to operate them, one in each State; \$60 per capita will put out in taxes \$4,000,000, which at 2 per cent per annum will yield the government \$80,000,000 net profit, \$79,000,000. This the people will be paying to their government; hence to themselves. The cost of printing the notes will be very little. The saving in interest to the people very great. Sixty dollars in circulation per capita is not one dollar more than the people need. France, the most prosperous of the great nations, has \$67 per capita in circulation. The loss to the nation by the people being idle for lack of money to pay them wages can not be estimated. It is an uphill business to work for next to nothing. It is a sure sign of distress when gold circulates among the people. Money is tight. There is no mortgage on any of the holdings of the writer, and there has been none since the war. What he says he feels is for the common good and general welfare. Ours is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is the only government on the earth where all power resides in the people. In all the other great governments the people are held down with bayonets, and the last Congress tried to put us in that fix. The people should remember those who did it. It is for the people to say whether they will continue to toil and fret out their existence in the old ruts, or assert their manhood and reform the government and make the country prosperous and happy. The government needs reformation from the President to the coroner. Fifty thousand dollars a year is too much to pay the President. Large salaries beget luxury and corruption. Let the country return to republican simplicity, virtue and morality.

At the close of the late war between the States, Hugh McCullough, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, in his report to Congress in December, 1865, said: "The people are now comparatively free from debt." He was in a position to know the truth of what he asserted. His allusion was particularly to those States that remained in the Union during the war. What is their condition now, brought about in twenty-five years by the operations of the present financial system instituted during the war?

What is their condition now, brought about in twenty-five years by the operations of the present financial system instituted during the war? The farm mortgages in the northwestern States alone, exclusive of city, county, and town property, aggregate the stupendous sum of \$3,450,000,000. And it is likely the census when published will put it far in excess of that sum if it has been faithfully taken. The same condition to a greater or less extent exists in every community in this vast country. The interest of this stupendous debt, much less the principal, can never be paid under the present financial system. Instead of the condition of the people improving it will grow worse with each year, as it has been doing for twenty-five years. If the bonded and mortgaged debt of the people was aggregated it is doubtful if the wealth of the entire nation could liquidate it. With these facts before us, is it at all surprising that the people should be loud and clear from one end of the land to the other in their demands for financial reforms? Is there anything surprising in the late uprising of the people and the beginning of the end, sending to the bottom out?"

Here follows the proper post-office addresses of twenty-one persons, the first named receiving four parcels, thus distributing the whole. The order is signed by J. M. Shivers, W. J. Campbell and A. J. Baker, committee of Davidson county Farmers and Laborers Union, State of Tennessee.

The order concludes:

You will please print the following and put a copy in each bundle: "Brother, you will please distribute this literature and request that it be read and distributed till worn out."

If this excellent plan be made general, the craving for literature supporting the Alliance will be gratified. Sub-alliances will thus find a use for the small sums of money which accumulate from dues and initiations, not enough for investment and too much to be wasted.

A CORRESPONDENT in the Evening Star, of Washington, D. C., writing of the Cincinnati convention, says:

It is well understood within the radius of the inner circle that the thing contemplated was either to nominate or take action as would lead to the nomination of Senator Stanford as the people's candidate for the presidency, with Stanford's farm mortgage scheme as a part of the platform. This thing was not accomplished, and the recognition of the delegates of the discontented, and so has been every other gathering of men which has instituted any of the great reforms of history. It is not a reproach to a man to be discontented. The Hampdens, the Patrick Henrys, the Jeffersons, the Adamses, the Franklins and all the rest of liberty's lovers have been the discontented and the delegates of the discontented, and it was their discontent that made them the benefactors of mankind and the scourges of wrong. Every man of honest mind is discontented with wrong, injustice and oppression and is at war with those things, whether on his own account or in behalf of his fellow-men. Discontent is the motive power of human progress. It has accomplished the overthrow of despotic power and the emancipation of the people so far as those ends are accomplished. It alone can complete that work. It sometimes errs in its objects and methods, but it would be the saddest of all days for humankind on which discontent should be eliminated from the list of active forces or the "delegates of the discontented" should be made to hold their peace.

THE NEW YORK SUN is just now rendering Secretary Foster valuable service by assuring the people that the

imperial demand is, and the remedy for the malady is, money in circulation in sufficient volume for the easy transaction of business on a cash basis. How is this money to be had, and how are the people to get it into their hands? In our adjustment of balances with foreign nations gold and

silver money? No. Is paper money? No. Is copper money? No. Is oil money? No. All of these are commodities until they receive the stamp of the government. Money is a creation of law. Whatever the government declares a legal tender in payment of debts is money. The government has out among the people \$246,881,015 of United States legal tender notes, less the loss in twenty-eight years, based on her credit, which pass current equal with gold coin. The imperial demand is, and the remedy for the malady is, money in circulation in sufficient volume for the easy transaction of business on a cash basis.

AGAINST THE SUB-TREASURY.

The chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee announces that Senator Walhall will next month make some speeches against the sub-treasury bill. Hons. C. E. Hooker, John Allen, R. H. Taylor, J. C. Kyle, G. D. Shand, H. S. Van Eaton, J. H. Jones, and Thomas S. Ford have also proffered their services. And the chairman adds that Col. John

BEN TERRELL.

His Opinion of the Order in North Carolina—The Lecture System.

Mr. Editor: Yesterday I finished the work of organizing the district Alliances in North Carolina, instructing the county lecturers and explaining the lecture system recommended by me in my official report at Ocala. This State having adopted the same, every one seems pleased with it and its good effects are already being seen and felt in that part of the State first organized, and the district lecturer had time to change the time of meeting for the county Alliances; so that they would come in rotation and he could meet each Alliance in his district. Brothers Blair, Hunter, Thorne, Seawell, have met the counties of their districts with results beyond their expectations. The districts of Brothers Smith, Massey, Leazer, Durham and Bell were not organized in time to make the changes necessary for them to meet with their county Alliances at their April meetings, but all will do so in July. Brother Bell has called the sub-lecturers to meet him at their respective county seats, and has made a series of appointments for that purpose. He will be assisted by Brother Boggs, of Haywood county, one of the most able men the Alliance in North Carolina has in her ranks. I think it would be a wise course for the other district lecturers to follow Brother Bell of the ninth district and meet all the sub-lecturers as soon as possible. I congratulate the executive committee on their selection of gentlemen to take charge of the education of the Alliance in this State, and I am satisfied their labors will be abundantly successful.

BEN TERRELL.
SALISBURY, N. C., May 9, 1891.

The Battle of Brain.
BY HARRY HINTON.

I claim to be an honest man; for if you remember I gave you openly my reasons for leaving you and your gang, and joining the plutocracy. Harry Hinton never goes back on a friend in a sly way, but sets forth his reasons and shakes hands. How many men who consort with the common people are raised to place and power? Even Jesus Christ was condemned to an ignominious death after eating with publicans and sinners. This is the way of the world. Money makes the man, the want of it the fellow, 'Tis not graceful nor dignified to belong to such a herd.

You are raising a hellish howl about oppression through the law. Ain't this natural? Has not this always been so? Why, certainly. Ever since Adam's first born took up a stick and knocked his brother dead, the stronger man has been trampling on the weaker. First they used sticks, next knives, spears and swords, and lastly powder and dynamite. But the final act of a Christian civilization is not to be so barbarous; but to so frame the laws of government that the elite may live and luxuriate on the labor of the million. Old things have passed away. Now come the new. This new civilization. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, they are mental. The fight is on all the same, an unceasing, relentless and ferocious fight.

Now I reckon you see why I've joined the elite and the plutocracy, Mr. ECONOMIST. Since we are old friends from away back, I'll tell you our plans and tricks, and then win your money. We are simply too smart for you. We can show you our hand and then beat you the best two out of three. There came a circus around here once, and the thimble riggers wiped the boys up right before their eyes. That is the way we are going to work the wires on you. Politics is a great thimble rig, a three card monte. You think you're wise, but we'll get your money. Then we are liberal. We are for freedom. Let every man risk his own judgment. So far we've lost nothing by this. Has there not been a master scamp Italian hand; we've laid all labor

act with each other in an effort to destroy all class laws that are the fruitful source from which all of our trusts combine and have their existence. God speed the day when prejudice shall die and reason resume her sway in the minds and actions of all our people, to the end that we may have a government of, by and for the people, with equal rights to all and special privileges to none. At Hickory your humble servant was presented by the ladies of the little city with the most beautiful bouquet of flowers it has ever been his good fortune to receive. May the angels guard them and theirs, and may life's pathway be pleasant to the end. I may never have the pleasure of a visit to these people again, but will long remember them for their many kindnesses. For the unselfish courtesy shown me by the press of North Carolina (with a very few exceptions) I wish to return thanks, and I have noticed with pleasure an almost entire abstinence from those contemptible attacks upon character so freely indulged in in other States I have had the honor to visit. May good come to this grand people is the prayer of yours, etc.,

BEN TERRELL.
SALISBURY, N. C., May 9, 1891.

The Battle of Brain.
BY HARRY HINTON.

under tribute by our financial scheme. In short, we've played smart and you've played the fool, that's all.

We don't mind telling you now,

Mr. ECONOMIST,

how all these tricks

were played. Simply remember we did it justifiably by the last act of Christian civilization. We have the nation and the people fastened down under a multitude of interest-bearing debts, covering every stiver they are worth, and the industries covered by trusts and corporation in such a manner we are complete masters of the ranch. Too late now to kick and howl. We own the nation; we own the people; we have a quasi mortgage on the whole concern. This we have earned by our wit, by our brain. The ignorant is always the prey of the shrewd. Once the strong was master, now it is the most cunning.

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The present national banking system was organized to float the national debt and to furnish a medium of exchange to the people to enable them to carry on their business. The first object was possibly a wise one in its day, but with the extinguishment of the national debt, soon to occur, it will cease, and the second it has never carried out, and for the last few years, owing to the premium on bonds deposited as security for the funds loaned them by the government, these banks have been withdrawing their circulation, and thereby contracting the currency of the country at the rate of \$30,000,000 or more annually. These banks are not allowed to loan money upon real estate security. Are located in the large centers of trade and inaccessible to the masses, the great common people, and only lend money to merchants and large capitalists, and oftentimes loan their funds to gamblers in railroads and other stocks and "corners" of agricultural products.

The power to issue the currency of a country is a high prerogative power and duty which should never be farmed out by the government to any individual or corporation, and only the duty of distributing it to and among the people whose currency it is for use, should be confided to individuals or corporations, under the most stringent rules and regulations and frequent supervision by officers of the government so as to prevent abuse of the power and to make it subserve the best interests of all the people. Therefore, to meet the objections to the Farmers Alliance scheme, I propose the organization of another system of national banks distributed all over the country according to population and business, one at least in every county in the State and organized territory of the Union, and of each of which the federal government should contribute a certain proportion, say one-half, one-third or one-fourth, to be returned to it upon the dissolution of the corporation, and for the return of which the stockholders should be individually and collectively liable; and the interest on loans to the people should be fixed at a rate not to exceed 6 per cent per annum, or which would possibly be better still, not to exceed 3 per cent per annum. Every applicant for a loan should make a written statement, under oath, for what purpose he wishes to effect the loan, and the means he possesses for meeting it when it should fall due, and under no circumstances should any loan be made to any financial gambler in stocks, etc., or for any other illegitimate or immoral purpose, with severe penalties fixed for the violation by any officer of any of said banks of any of the rules and regulations prescribed for its government. And to prevent the government from abusing its power I would have an amendment to the United States constitution fixing the minimum and maximum volume of the currency to be issued, both for a condition of peace and war, say from \$40 to \$50 per capita of population in time of peace, and not to exceed \$100 in time of war; or such other proportions as statistics might show to be reasonable and proper. I would make these banks also savings banks for the people, with proper safeguards to protect their interests; and this national currency should be a full legal tender, receivable in payment of all debts, public or private, and the three or

four other kinds of paper currency that we have should be retired as speedily as possible. It will be easily seen that, where the government furnishes one half the capital stock, and the rate of interest was fixed at 3 per cent per annum, that the stock-holders would realize 6 per cent per annum upon their half of the capital stock; and if fixed at 4 per cent they would realize 8 per cent upon their share; either of which amounts would be ample compensation for their management of the affairs of the banks and for their responsibility in the premises.

Class Legislation—No. 2.

By B. B. TURNER, BROAD RUN, VA.

In 1866, the war between the states being over, and all probabilities of the United States government not being able to make good her obligations having vanished, the small class in whose behalf a special discrimination against the "greenback" as a legal-tender had been made, again came to the front with demands upon Congress for more of the same sort of legislation in its favor. There was then in circulation, doing service as money, a large quantity of paper money, which was the evidence of the debt the government owed the people, and although the war was over Congress saw fit to authorize the secretary of the treasury to further increase this circulating medium until the paper currency aggregated \$1,863,000,000, a portion of which was non-interest bearing, a debt which the government owed to the people, but upon which it payed no interest, and the people demanded none. There were also other evidences of national debt, held among the people, which were used as a circulating medium, and of which the government did pay interest. These bonds had been given by way of bounties or inducements to the soldiers to re-enlist, and they shared the same fate as the greenbacks.

This brought prosperity to all business, and the value of property was enhanced by its presence. It was a talisman which drove away idleness and want, and brought in its train contentment and happiness. The necessities of life could be obtained without that incessant toil which wears out the heart of the poor and brings desolation and despair to the home of the widow and orphan; but it did not enrich the few at the expense of the many, and that was the trouble. Hugh McCullough, then secretary of the treasury, and an ally of the few who designed to be enriched, in his report to Congress represented that the people were prosperous and free of debt; that a living could be obtained by too little labor; that they would grow voluptuous and idle; that the amount of money in circulation was becoming oppressive, and as a prevention of these evils he recommended a contraction of the currency. Congress heeded the advice of the secretary and a contraction was determined upon. Now let us consider the plan of contraction adopted.

By the adroitness of the banks early in the war, all the gold and silver had been locked up in their vaults. By class legislation since the value of that coin had been enhanced. By an increase in a currency which was not a full legal tender, the relative value of that coin had been yet further increased, until now one dollar in coin was worth near three in

cans and 32. Democrats. The nays were 55, 54 Republicans and one Democrat. Upon such measures of class legislation there has never been an issue between the parties or before the people.

Revenue and Civil-Service Reform.

By S. H. GOODFELLOW, WHITE, S. D.

Money is simply a device for the exchange of commodities, and its authority is derived from law; that is, the mutual agreement of all in the government to accept as a token of value some device upon which value is expressed in the unit or units of value, in exchange for a value in some commodity or service rendered. * * * So valuable is this device that it has become a necessity of civilization, and is monopolized for the purposes of gain. Since this comes by the authority of the people, it belongs to them, and their right to all its benefits is as clear as that to exchange values.—E. J. Shellman, M. D. in New Republic.

Government, like the Spartan law-giver, may put its stamp upon feather and make that currency. * * * It can give to its stamp upon leather the same money power as if put upon gold or silver, or any other material. Thus, government may put its royal or sovereign stamp upon paper, affixing its money value, and if it limit the quantity, and fully provide against counterfeiting of it, it will have the same currency value as gold or silver or any other substance. * * * It (money) is the recognized presence of sovereignty in the market and in the court.—Judge Joel Tiffany of New York.

The great interests of this country, the producing cause of its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor! The government was made to encourage and protect this industry and give it security. To this very end, with this precise object in view, power was given to Congress over the currency, and over the money system of the country—Daniel Webster, Vol. 3, page 35.

The above quotations are from recognized authority, and show clearly what money is and the power Congress or government has over its issue and circulation. The following plan, if enacted into law, would provide both a financial and civil service reform that would redound to the benefit of the whole people. Government now has a postoffice in every locality where there is or may be a demand for the business of banking. Let laws be made for the election of a postmaster by the patrons of each postoffice. Let a system of government banking be instituted and the banker to be elected by the patrons of each postoffice the same as the postmaster, the person so elected to be put under good and sufficient bonds for the proper handling of the funds furnished him by government. The money thus furnished or issued by government to be sold, and that it should have been called upon, as it was, to confirm the sale of about \$300,000,000 more.

Nor will those who have become acquainted with its actions in the matter thus far, be surprised that it did as it was called upon to do, and that the sale was confirmed.

Thus in the space of two years was over \$1,200,000,000 of the people's money converted into interest bearing bonds, in which only the very wealthiest had an opportunity to invest, and then those bonds had been made non-taxable, and bonds, also non-liable, for yet more, had been issued in payment of interest in advance on money never owed, and for all this vast bonded debt, for principal and interest of which Congress made the people through the government-bound, no man can show where either the government or the people received one solitary dime's worth of value, for the money for which these bonds were sold was not used, but was burned. Bear in mind that on much of the \$1,200,000,000 destroyed, the government paid no interest, and that it added to the taxable property of the country, while on the \$1,800,000,000 substituted therefor, it paid 6 per cent interest and was non-taxable. The whole scheme was to enrich a class. It might be well to note just here that this was passed by no partisan vote. In the House the years were 85, 53 Republi-

cans and 32. Democrats. The nays were 55, 54 Republicans and one Democrat. Upon such measures of class legislation there has never been an issue between the parties or before the people.

the same as the postal system is now regulated. Under the present system the bankers deposit their bonds (evidence of indebtedness) and government issues money to them which we have always called good. Under the proposed system the people could deposit (give as security) their land (evidence of wealth) and receive money from government that would be real money by being clothed with full legal tender qualities. Taken in connection with the postal system, government banking could be much more cheaply and easily instituted than in any other way, and at once inaugurate a reform in finance and civil service that would be of lasting benefit to this people. The present banking institutions, under the proposed system, would be unable to continue business at a profit. They would, therefore, invest their money in some other enterprise, in some line of business, in manufacturing, in land, in anything that would bring them a return for their investment. Thus all business would be stimulated; there would be a demand for labor, and the wage-earner would receive a fair compensation for his work. Labor being thus employed would be able to provide the necessities of life, and thus consumption would increase and the products of the farm and factory would find a market at home, and the poor of this country find means of furnishing themselves with food and raiment.

This system of banking, taken in connection with the sub-treasury plan, would give all a chance to borrow and transmit money "at cost." Volumes could be written in favor of the proposed system, but I forbear, feeling that I have already trespassed upon your time and patience.

Congress and the Farmers.

Atlanta Constitution.

A correspondent writes to the Constitution and asks this question:

Is it constitutional for Congress to aid and protect the farmers, either through a sub-treasury plan or by loaning money on land?

Foreign and Domestic Indebtedness.

Broadstreet.

Our correspondent's question is likely to be discussed for a long time, and men will have very strong convictions on both sides of it. If it is not constitutional to protect and aid the farmers, the founders of the republic were ignorant of the fact. As Gen. A. M. West, of Mississippi, has pointed out in a recent article on the subject, our first president, Washington, in a message to Congress in 1790, commanded the interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures as deserving special care and protection. The House of Representatives endorsed the message in a reply, saying:

We concur with you in the sentiment that agriculture, commerce and manufactures are entitled to legislative protection. The debts of the principal foreign nations in detail were as follows:

DEBTS BY COUNTRIES.

	1880.	1890.
Foreign nations.....	\$2,244,529,572	\$2,805,339,539
The United States.....	2,214,075,612	2,222,577,560
States & Territories.....	221,167,883	290,320,643
Counties.....	141,959,845	124,105,027

These figures deal with totals merely, and are not very informing until we go behind them to compare the relative burdens of indebtedness in the principal countries of the world. A comparison on the basis of indebted-

ness per capita shows that the burden of debt falls less heavily upon the inhabitants of the United States than upon those of the principal foreign countries. For example, France in 1889 had a debt per capita of \$116.35, which it appears does not include certain annuities of an unstated but large amount. Great Britain, whose debt is increasing, had an indebtedness of \$87.79 per capita. The debt of Russia was \$30.79 per capita, that of Austria-Hungary was \$70.84, that of Italy was \$76.06, that of Belgium \$63.10, and that of the Netherlands \$95.56. The indebtedness of the United States, on the other hand, was only \$14.63 per capita, and nearly one-half of it was made up of non-interest bearing notes. Within ten years the debt has shown a remarkable decrease per capita, falling from \$38.33 in 1880 to \$14.63 in 1890.

What is said here refers of course to the national debt and not to that of the States and other local divisions. As will be seen by reference to the first table given above, the indebtedness of the States and Territories in the United States has been reduced from \$290,326,643 in 1880 to \$223,107,883, a decrease of \$67,218,760 for the decade. The reduction per capita has been from \$6.79 in 1880 to \$5.56 in 1890. Part of the reduction, however, is due to refunding in some of the Southern States, the amount involved being estimated at about \$28,500,000. The debts of the countries show an absolute increase of over \$17,800,000 for the decade, growing from \$124,105,027 in 1880 to \$141,959,845 in 1890. This increase has not, however, kept pace with that of population, and as a result there has been a decrease in the debt per capita from \$2.47 in 1880 to \$2.27 in 1890. If now the indebtedness of the United States and of the States and Territories and the counties be added together, we get an aggregate of \$1,281,020,840 in 1890, as compared with a total of \$2,336,949,034 in 1880, a decrease of over \$1,000,000,000 for the decade. This is a reduction of somewhat less than one-half in amount, while, owing to the change in population in the interior, there has been a per capita reduction from \$46.59 in 1880 to 20.46 in 1890, or more than one-half. This decrease, it is pointed out, has been brought about mainly by voluntary taxation. It would not take long to wipe out the indebtedness of the country of every kind if anything like the same rate of reduction were kept up. As it stands the record is a remarkable one for the United States.

Among the reports which the Census Office has in the course of preparation is one upon the subject of foreign, national, State and county indebtedness. Some of the data already gathered in the course of the investigation have just been given to the press. From the figures given it appears that the debts of the several divisions above enumerated, less sinking funds, were as follows in the years 1890 and 1880:

	DEBTS LESS SINKING FUND.	1880.	1890.
Foreign nations.....	\$2,135,075,640	\$2,134,572,185	
The United States.....	2,122,577,560	2,122,577,560	
States & Territories.....	221,167,883	290,320,643	
Counties.....	141,959,845	124,105,027	

Nothing like it is seen in the case of any foreign country except Spain, which shows a reduction from \$2,583,209,252 in 1880 to \$1,251,453,666 in 1890, a decrease of \$1,331,745,586. The majority of the foreign nations show an increased indebtedness for the decade. Leaving out the German Empire and Nicaragua, for which comparisons cannot be made owing to the absence of figures for 1890, the only foreign nations showing decreased debts for the ten years are Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, Spain and Norway. The debt of Greece has more than doubled in the course of the decade, that of Switzerland has nearly doubled, while that of Egypt is about two and two-thirds times as great as it was ten years ago.

Why, to combat the Ocala platform and the Alliance movement, to check if possible this swelling wave of intelligence that is fast rising and threatens destruction to every form of corruption and in destroying that cuts off the supplies from whence political quacks of both parties draw their daily rations, this being stopped, as a natural consequence the parties must die.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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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 - \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are reasonable for circulation. Discounts for time and space furnished on application stating character of advertisement required.

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 fully 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.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

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

Address all remittances or communications to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
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N. R. P. A.

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A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean business and expect to work for the good of the Farmers' Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

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Kirkville, Adair County, June 4.
Moberly, Randolph County, June 5.
Independence, Jackson County, June 6.
Clinton, Henry County, June 10.
Springfield, June 11.

MISSISSIPPI.

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Granada, June 18.
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The following bundle of ALABAMA information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
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1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
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3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.

1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington D. C.

The contest is now on between the debtor's deed and the creditor's mort-

gage. One the one side is gathered the money owners of this and other countries, while on the other is mar-shaled the wealth producers of Amer-ica. This is the bare proposition stripped of all deception. It has now reached the point where "bricks are being made without straw." Does any one doubt that a Moses will come? Will not the Alliance prove the Moses of the people? Mark its onward progress in spite of all opposition; consider its increasing power among the most conservative element of society; carefully analyze its true significance, and the result will be surprising.

THE following is taken from a recent interview with Mr. Foster, Secretary of the Treasury. It discloses an entire want of humanity, fellow-feeling or sympathy for the toiling, struggling people of this country. It shows that the milk of human kindness has long since dried up within his breast, and that he is the fit companion and true prototype of his predecessor, the heartless and cold-blooded John Sherman :

The broad and generous public policy of the Republican party is such that there is no room for a third party; a new political organization could not do anything necessary to our national comfort or prosperity without stealing Republican thunder. The wild schemes of these third-party advocates, such as the loaning of government funds on real estate or personal property, can not have lodgment in the minds of sensible people, and movements based on these eccentricities are necessarily short-lived and ephemeral. Do not write unless you mean business and expect to work for the good of the Farmers' Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

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The above, from the New York World, is an apt illustration. Barnacle is the word. There are many barnacles grown by financial success, and it is about time they were removed from the government structure.

BROTHER FRANK BURKITT, in his paper, the Chickasaw Messenger, gives Senator George a stinging blow between the eyes in the following editorial. Statesmen must be consistent now with their previous votes and utterances:

SENATOR GEORGE, in his West Point speech, is quoted as saying: "If there is any sub-treasury man who is hungering after borrowed money from the government at 1 or 2 per cent, unless he begins and prays fervently to the Father of us all to let him live to be older than Methuselah, he stands a poor chance of ever realizing his dream." Right you are, Senator, if the people will continue to elect gentlemen to make laws for them who think it is legitimate to vote a loan to aid a show in a great city; to increase the tax-payers' burdens by pensioning a horde of depending army bummars, their uncles, cousins and aunts upon the industries of the country; to levy tribute on his own people to reimburse the Northern States for the direct taxes they paid to hire Hessians to overrun and devastate our beloved Southland; to sit quietly by, silent and consenting, when it is asserted by good Democratic authority that we all agree it is constitutional to lend the credit of the government, without credit and without security, for \$100,000,000 to a corporation headed by a carpet-bagger to engage in an enterprise outside of the United States, but who proclaims with stentorian voice that it is "the illusion of a chimerical and disordered brain, wild for office," to propose that the government shall lend money at 1 or 2 per cent on real estate or non-perishable farm products as security, in order that 30,000,000 of its wealth-producers may be relieved from the systematic robbery of the speculator and the outrageous exactions of the usurer. The people understand the situation perfectly, Senator, and that's the reason why, with all their love for you as an individual, and without questioning your honesty of convictions, they are determined forthwith to fill your place with a statesman who believes it would be constitutional to do anything necessary to promote the general welfare of the millions of wealth-producers of this country, who contribute to the government three-fourths of all its exports and pay 80 per cent of all its taxes, and allow the 2,500 families now in possession of more than one-half the property of America to take care of themselves without further assistance. It may still be a thousand years, Senator, as you say, before the farmer can borrow money from a government now lending it to the national banker and other favored classes at less than 1 per cent per annum, but Mississippi will at least have the consolation of having

medium help all the people? If not, why?

4. Will the proposition embodied in the above demand increase the circulating medium? If not, why?

5. Is it class legislation? If so, why?

6. Is it right to insure the farmers protection from money sharks who speculate in farm products? If not, why?

7. Will the sub-treasury plan insure stable prices for farm products? If not,

done her duty to her people without waiting for any of her citizens to become as "old as Methuselah." A thousand years is as a day and a day as a thousand years, saith the Scriptures, but we predict Old Sol will witness a thousand real cycles before any man who can see merit in a scheme to furnish money to a city, corporation or syndicate from the public treasury, but can not find constitutional authority to authorize him to comply with the reasonable demands of the great industrial classes of this country.

8. Will the sub-treasury plan insure

stable prices for farm products? If not,

why?

These questions are not propounded in any "bluff" sense, but are given as the fundamental aims of the sub-treasury plan. If you wish to shake the people's confidence in this Alliance idea, just trot out your arguments and facts. By your ridicule you only waste your breath on the desert air.

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APPLIED SCIENCE.
In Agricultural and Rural Economy.
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY.
Woodstock, Md.

EQUAL TAXATION.

It is a self-evident proposition that so long as the State imposes a tax on one species of property and no tax on any other species, all citizens are not placed on an equal footing before the law. The rate of taxation on every species of property must be the same, and no property of any sort exempt; before the State can maintain the claim that all citizens receive equal and exact justice at its hands. Among those lately attempting to maintain the cause of unjust discriminations in favor of personal property and against real estate is Mr. Henry C. Lea, of Philadelphia. It is put forward that Mr. Lea is himself a large owner of land, implying that his argument in favor of the exemption of personality is against his own interests. The personal affairs of Mr. Lea have nothing to do with the force of his reasonings, but since they are put forward with a view of adding weight to his conclusions, we take the liberty of believing that he owns vastly more of the class of property his argument seeks to show should not be taxed, than he owns of real estate, which he argues should bear all taxation, and that his own taxes would be greatly lessened should his views prevail. The substance of Mr. Lea's arguments and his conclusion are given in the Baltimore Sun of April 3, ult. Mr. Lea says: "My conviction is settled that real property is the surest and fairest basis on which to levy the public revenue." The reason advanced why one part of the people, the bulk of whose property is real, should pay the taxes of the other part, the bulk of whose property is personal, is the fact that real property can not elude taxation as personal property can. That this should be put forward as the main pillar of the argument for exemption of personal property exhibits in a strong light the weakness of Mr. Lea's case. It is a stretch of courtesy to call this an argument at all. Mr. Lea's next plea is one stranger still. It is in effect the plea that the holders of personal property are as a rule dishonest, and should therefore pay no taxes. He says the "owners of these securities considering such taxes unjust have, as a rule, failed to remember that they owned them, or gone to reside in other communities less hostile to these forms of property." President Coleman, of the New York tax commission, also takes the same position. He says "few pay these taxes except honest and ignorant persons." The argument then is, that because men commit frauds upon the revenue, because they are smugglers and thieves, the State should exempt them from taxation and impose the burdens they ought to bear upon those who are too honest or too ignorant to smuggle and steal. "A consideration of the very greatest importance," says Mr. Lea, "which the advocates of drastic tax schemes generally overlook altogether is the effect of personal property in enhancing the value of land and houses. What is the reason land is so much more valuable in one place than in another? The coupon clippers and holders of other securities reside at the one place and not at the other, and make it the base of their operations in building, banking, buy-

ing and selling. Why is land \$25 an acre at one place, and \$25 a square foot at another place? Because business and capital are at one place and remote from the other. The holder of real estate gets sooner or later a share in these profits." The conclusion is that therefore personality should pay no taxes, and real property should bear the burden of all public revenues. That such a conclusion is deducible from such premises it is absurd and impossible to maintain. Have land and houses nothing to do with the value of securities. Picture a thriving town with banks, and factories, and stock boards, and no land nor houses. No one advocates unjust taxation of personality in the interests of the owners of realty. Equal taxation is just taxation, and whenever the State departs from this principle it begins to trample upon the rights of one part of the community and lays upon their shoulders the burden which belongs to another part of the community, which is misgovernment. The Baltimore Sun adopts and approves these arguments of Mr. Lea, and is using all its influence against a just and equal assessment of all forms of property in Maryland. It harps and harps a dreary monotone, harping on one eternal, everlasting string upon the theme that just and equal taxation of all forms of property is hostile to personality and will drive it out of the State. But from this very same issue of the Sun from which we clipped Mr. Lea's argument, with the Sun's approval of it, we made another clipping. The object of the Sun now, is to give protection a black eye. "New England Industries Decaying" is the heading. "The abandoned farms of Worcester county, Mass., right in among the home markets created by manufacturing establishments, are the despair of protectionists. The argument that manufacturers near by enrich the farmers to such an extent as to make up to him what he loses by the high tariff, is, by these farms, knocked right in the head." So the Sun approves this idea in the mouth of Mr. Lea advocating, as the Sun advocates, unjust discrimination in its use of the taxing power by the State, but laughs the same argument to scorn in the mouth of Major McKinley championing protection. And we have the entertaining spectacle of the Sun knocking Mr. Lea down with one hand and helping him up with the other. Whosoever advocates a tax law which discriminates against the property of one class of citizens, and in favor of the property of another class, argues in a bad cause; the case is against him. In a former article we have shown that the plea that taxation of personality drives such property out of the State is not tenable, and the other and contradictory plea that by far the greatest part of such property eludes taxation under any law that can be framed is equally false, as shown by the tax statistics of Mr. Lea's own State, where nearly fifteen million of such property actually pay taxes. In England, moreover, the property and income tax is exceeded in volume by only the excise, which heads the list, and by customs duties. Property and incomes yield \$65,000,000—land tax only \$50,000,000. Englishmen don't forget that they own these securities nor go elsewhere to reside. The plea, therefore, that all attempts to subject this sort of property to taxation, as often as made and wherever tried, have

invariably failed, is not in any manner sustained by the facts, but is a false and erroneous presumption. Nor is it true that 95 per cent of "coupon clippers" will forswear themselves in order to defraud the revenue and escape their just share of public expenses. It is not true that only 5 per cent of the holders of such property who are honest or ignorant pay these taxes, while 95 per cent of them who are dishonest and shrewd escape taxation entirely in spite of law. And if it was true the first and right conclusion would be, not that they should be exempt from taxation by law, but that the law should be so effectually amended as to compel them to be honest at their peril. Just taxation is obliged to be equal taxation. Oh! cries the coupon clipper, you favor "inquisitorial" tax laws, and you will "drive property out of the State." Such a stale, false, puerile and silly objection can avail nothing. Doubtless the smuggling thief who tries to defraud the revenue by importing secreted valuables considers it "inquisitorial" for the officers of the revenue to rip up the false bottom of the trunk where his valuables are hid. He considers it harsh and oppressive; and calculated to drive citizens of his class "elsewhere to reside." Now, this man is treated like any other thief; he is fined and jailed as a felon. What is the difference between this man and the coupon clipper who hides his property from the assessor? His crime is the same, viz., a fraud upon the revenue; he is likewise a felon, and he ought likewise to be fined and jailed, and until he is justly tried, he is fined and jailed as a felon. The discussions and experiments about tuberculin, have served to accentuate three prime points in the practical management of tuberculosis, viz., its communicability; the immense importance of early recognition and prompt treatment; the great value and importance of hygienic both as to preventive and curative measures. They have emphasized the fact that the ravages of the disorder are always increased by crowding, by destitution, by unsanitary surroundings, and generally adverse hygienic conditions. We have had it strongly impressed that whenever the vigor of the constitutional powers is lowered an attack is invited, and exposure to contagion rendered much more dangerous. All those well known measures which tend to invigorate all the bodily powers and functions fortify the tissues against a successful reception of the bacilli whose presence is essential to the development of the disease. At the head of all such measures must be placed a full diet, digestible and nutritious, with that abundant exercise in the open air which is of all tonics the most powerful and greatly the best. This very habit of life takes one out of the atmosphere of contagion. It is not abroad in the free air of heaven that the tubercular bacilli lurk, but in the sick chamber and the ill ventilated tenement. "Al fresco," to the open, is the motto of hope for the incipient consumptives. Out of doors is the place of safety for the delicate young person recognizable as one visibly threatened with consumption. In the saddle not undergoing the severe punishment of a hard trotting horse, but mounted on a real saddle horse, properly trained to easy and delightful gaits; in the saddle, so mounted, will be found the best of all preventives, and the best of all remedies against this terrible malady. Let no person, especially no young person, with a delicate throat and a worrying catarrhal cough, go into the sick chamber of any consumptive. Let all sputa of the sick be received into a vessel containing a strong solution of some reliable disinfectant, and let no one sleep habitually in the same room with the consumptive. Let the robust and the strong minister at their bedside; and let the family physician direct the sanitary arrangements for the chamber.

GAPES IN FOWLS.

We have from a friend in North

Carolina a request for a remedy for gapes in fowls. The cause of the disease is the accumulation of thread-like worms in the chick's wind pipe. Coal oil will kill these worms, and they will then be thrown out by coughing. The opening into the wind pipe is a round hole at the base of the tongue. Fill a medicine dropper or a sewing machine oil can with coal oil, seize the tongue between the thumb nail and fore finger and pull it forward, insert the nozzle into the hole and discharge a few drops of coal oil into the wind pipe; let the chick go immediately. A fit of coughing ensues. The dead worms are expelled, and the case is cured, although the cough continues for some days. In bad cases repeat the operation several times if need be. Operate on all the chicks that have gapes badly every morning; some of them will get several treatments in this way. If well performed this operation will cure 99 out of 100. As a preventive, keep chicks away from fresh ploughed land, make the yards and houses clean and use whitewash and air slacked lime as profusely as possible.

CLEAN UP.

Having cleaned out the cellar and whitewashed the walls and limed the floor, and greased the hinges of the ventilators, and having cleaned out and swept and limed every stall and stable floor, and having done the same for every fowl house, coop and shed, and having hauled out every fork full of refuse and manure and carted away all trash, and having burnt up everything which ought to be burnt, and cleaned up everything he could find to clean up, and put lime everywhere and cleaned out the spring and the outlet from it. Having thus cast out the beam out of his own eye, the writer now feels himself to be in a position to see clearly to pull out the mote which is in his brother's eye. Clean up friends, it will pay you to do it. Among the notable papers recently read before the American Medical Association at Washington, D. C., was one by Dr. C. W. Chancellor on the disposition of town sewerage. Dr. Chancellor showed, as the present writer has more than once shown in this place, that present methods in use in American cities are a menace to public health and to agricultural prosperity. Some of our modern conveniences are plainly indecent and no less dangerous than disgusting.

A DOUBLE ERROR.

It is given out that Mr. McBride of South Carolina has accepted the dual position of president of the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and director of the Experiment station. We say this is a double error, for neither Mr. McBride nor any other living man is able to fill properly these two offices. There are mighty few men able to fill either of them; there is no man whatever able to fill them both. The funds of the two concerned have no business being mixed up. They are separate funds and should be separately administered. When objection was made to putting the station at the colleges on the ground that the colleges would be sure to get their fingers into the funds of the station to pay their salaries, there was indignation denied of such a probability. We do not intend any unfriendly criticism of Mr. McBride when we tell him, and tell the board of visitors, that

neither he nor any other man can fill parallel causes underlie the smouldering ferment of American producers to-day. For twenty years previous to the outbreak the royal court had become abandoned to the utmost extravagance and prodigality, to support which the masses suffered the most burdensome taxation, the favored classes being exempt from taxation; also an army of 200,000 men in war, together with a great marine establishment and immense royal extravagance, all fell upon the common people; 150,000 serfs were bought and sold with the land on which they were born; while the terrors of the revolution were beyond description, it resulted in giving liberties to the common people. Feudal customs, there to be stunted and worn out while yet in the tender stages of growth, when all these crimes and iniquities are sanctioned by the farce of executive, legislative, and judicial manifestoes; enactments and decrees cited as precedents to bind the clanking chains of white slavery, not only upon the living but upon our children to follow, the demand for a higher law is heard in the echoing and re-echoing protest of American freemen. Listen! The hills and rocks tremble with the voice of thunder as the people demand the higher law of "good will to men!"

The Warren Papers—No. 2.
BY CHAS. BOONE.

John Warren is of the opinion that our Alliance movement is for the exclusive benefit of farmers, and being a class movement is opposed to the genius of Republican institutions. He says this is the view taken by all the big city dailies and shared by almost their entire constituency of readers.

I acknowledge the misrepresentation and opposition to be formidable but insist it is no bigger than expected, and is already melting away in the light of the logic and equities of the situation. I deny that ours is a class movement. I say the advantage of "government loans at low interest," which is the central plank of our platform and the chief point for newspaper attack, is of too wide application to be restricted to a class. This term is not an appropriate one by which to denominate the working men and women of the nation. For the issue covers a much broader field than a comparative handful of money lenders contending for high interest on the one side and a lot of mortgaged farmers on the other. The fight really involves whether forty billions of debt, more or less shall tax the products of labor at 6, 8, 10 or 12 per cent interest with the proceeds going to the private coffers of money lenders, or whether these extortionate rates shall be greatly reduced through establishing a low standard rate by means of government loans, thus not only securing revenue to meet public expenditure, but enabling debtors to gradually liquidate as well as protecting creditors against otherwise inevitable re-pudiation in the not distant future.

Is it not a misuse of language, I ask, to speak to the aggregate worker upon whom, directly and indirectly, the payment of this vast debt devolves as being a class, when they comprise the bulk of the population? City readers should not be deceived by so shallow an attempt to belittle the greatest industrial and social reform of modern times.

products to pay the \$1,183,334,688 left of the national debt than it would to have paid the original debt in 1866 of \$2,783,000,000, although we have already paid \$4,198,931,301; producing, also, 13,277 business failures in 1889 to 632 in 1866; and finally, when the alarming extent of business and agricultural depression from the above causes, is depopulating the country of the rising generation of both sexes, and sending them to the cities to lose their manhood and womanhood in cesspools of iniquity; when millions of emaciated needle women are chained to the tailor's bench at starvation wages, and when the children, the wards of the nation, are fastened to the tread-wheels of American factories, there to be stunted and worn out while yet in

the

Then John Warren would want to know if the Alliance plan contemplated that government should loan all the money it could, getting interest revenue to obviate the collection of taxes?

I reply that the Alliance proposition embodies great and novel possibilities, the development of which would proceed through careful but fair experiment. Our experience would present an object lesson to the civilized world, and every nation failing to appreciate the example would drop to the rear. Loans would be made to all who pledged the required security. The pledges would largely consist of imperishable labor products possessing permanent market value, also the farms and dwelling houses of the people. The widest possible range of safe security would be the rule.

I say that to limit government loans or any banking accommodation attached to the system, to farmers exclusively, would be decidedly wrong and absurd. This was one of the silly notions promulgated by the big city opposition press. It had never been entertained for a moment by those whose allegiance to the system had been inspired by its logic and equities.

Government loans and banking must be as broad as our country, embracing within its beneficence all the people. Practically the new system would abolish medieval banking. Society, at last, had evolved to the comprehension of a scientific and just monetary system. That the new system should originate with the victims instead of the beneficiaries of the old system it supplanted, testified we were proceeding on the accustomed lines by which human progress and liberty were achieved. Ours being a rebellion against presumptive robbery and usurpation, we demand the issue shall now be brought to trial. The enactment of the system had been delayed to the very latest hour. Opposing individual interests must stand aside. Never mind the abuse and ridicule of the daily press, it but promoted the education that will bring our triumph. A cause so defended is a foredoomed one.

Upon this my friend Warren comes to me with "what right has the government to lend money and take interest for public revenue?" The city dailies pooh-pooh that it has such right. As the moment seems opportune I now ask a question myself, by way of rejoinder: "what right has the citizen to lend money and take interest for private revenue?" Notwithstanding the mighty city dailies I venture some counter remarks. I say money lending for interest revenue is a privilege with the citizen but a prerogative with the government. The government creates money, the citizen does not. The creation, ownership and rights of issue and loan logically follow each other, and are prerogatives inhering in government and never relinquished. The absolute rights of the citizen are limited to the use of money as an instrument of exchange, a tender for debt, and a convenient form of savings investment with or without increasing by interest, according as the laws may permit.

How many shall be issued is a question of expediency. The Alliance is of the opinion that it would be wise and proper to issue it to the

people as loans at a rate of interest average industry could afford to pay, the interest revenue returning to the people in reduced taxation and possibly obviating taxation at all. It is a matter of course that this proposition is objected to by a class of citizens who make themselves rich by appropriating the interest revenue which justly should accrue for the common benefit. The method of issue at the present time, as every reader knows, enables a handful of "natural persons" and those few exclusively, to obtain loans from the government at 1 per cent interest, while such is the demand for money that they readily reloan it at 6, 8, 10, 12 or 20 per cent advance, which net profit they put in their pockets. It is a species of government favoritism utterly discreditable to American institutions, but one would hunt the files of city dailies a long time before finding it thus described.

Now, to a person who could think clearly, it would appear that all this private revenue might far better go into the public exchequer. The claim of the government to such revenue is undeniable because of its prerogative to create and issue money—issuing it upon such terms as the laws direct. It certainly has the prior claim as against the citizen. Indeed, has not the government the supreme right to all interest revenue earned by the money it issued? Is not the warrant of the citizen to interest revenue for private gain a permissible privilege only because existing statutes happen to be such as they are?

John Warren said he would think the matter over.

What Might Have Been.

Junction City (Kan.) Tribune.

Perry Hutchinson, of Marshall county, has 150,000 bushels of corn cribbed at Marysville, for which he paid 17 cents a bushel. Within the last few days he has been offered 50 cents a bushel for the entire lot, but he is holding it on for a higher price, and will doubtless get it. Mr. Hutchinson will clear at least twice as much as he invested, and will wad his jeans with a clear profit of \$49,500. How raw that will make the chumps feel who let Kansas corn go begging at 15 cents a bushel when they had plenty of money to take it in.—Kansas City Star.

With the sub-treasury plan in operation the "chumps" who had to sell this corn for 15 cents per bushel (less than the cost of production) might have made the greater part of this profit themselves. But this Kansas "Hutch" could not then live so easy a life as under the present plan.

So Say They All.

National Citizens Alliance.

Congressman Breckinridge, of Arkansas thinks Mills of Texas will be Speaker of the next House, and McMillan of Tennessee chairman of the Ways and Means committee, and that Cleveland and Mills, and George and Stone, and Chilton are helping the people to decide. Go on, gentlemen, the way you are going.

Mr. Cleveland himself the bold and able party leader he is made out to be by this clique, or he is really a mass of wax in the hands of this syndicate which owns his candidacy? The combine appears to be Cleveland for President, Campbell for Vice-President, Mills for Speaker, McMillan for Ways and Means, Carlisle for the Treasury. Cleveland has been loaded by the syndicate bag and baggage into the same financial boat with Harrison. The difference between the two men in that respect does not amount to the shadow of a shade; therefore the vehemence of the cry for making tariff reform the issue. Some issue has to be made for the benefit of the candidate who has put himself, or suffered himself to be put in, antagonism to the best men of his party, to the majority of the representatives of his party, and to the party itself on the great financial questions of the hour. A pretended tariff reform will do as well as any other deception for such a purpose. What do these men mean by tariff reform? Do they mean the Mills bill? The pretense that the Democratic party in that measure rogue to create and issue money—issuing it upon such terms as the laws direct. It certainly has the prior claim as against the citizen. Indeed, has not the government the supreme right to all interest revenue earned by the money it issued? Is not the warrant of the citizen to interest revenue for private gain a permissible privilege only because existing statutes happen to be such as they are?

John Warren said he would think the matter over.

It requires just as much patriotism to be loyal to the principles of the Farmers' Alliance and fight its enemies as it did for our forefathers to wrest their freedom from the British crown. They faced the English army that was organized and manipulated to rob them and enslave their posterity. We are organized to face the money-hunting, blood-sucking cormorants who are organized and maneuver for the purpose of robbing us and enslaving our posterity by laws. Our would-be tyrants are just as autocratic, just as exacting, and their proposed system of slavery just as brutal as that attempted by England. Our weapons of defense are not those used by our forefathers, because the weapons of oppression adopted by our tormentors are not those used by their prototypes, the Hessians. Our plutocrats are enslaving us by laws they have dictated to our lawmakers. We are armed with the ballot and purpose to repeal those laws at the ballot box, and thus wrest plutocracy of its power to enslave. It takes just as much patriotism and self-sacrifice to repeal bad laws by the ballot in the face of millions of slush money now as it took for our forefathers to face the red-coated bayonets. The same principles are involved, and every member of the Farmers' Alliance who now deserts his organization is as much a traitor to his country and the freedom of his children as was Benedict Arnold. The struggle the Farmers' Alliance is now making concerns all men, and every lover of justice will, if true to his principles, align himself on the side of this organization, because we are contending for pure democratic principles. The lines are being tightly drawn, and those who are not for us are against us. The Alliance is composed of that class of people who have built every democratic government that has existed. No democratic government has been subverted while controlled by agriculturists. None have survived when they lost control of it. Hence no good men fears to trust them. The Farmers' Alliance is a child of necessity, born to redeem the liberties of all the people and to substitute a government purely democratic in fact as well as in name, for the bastard plutocracy that now rules the United States.

The Mercury realizes that this is very plain language, but that every word of it is the truth, and the time has come when the truth should be told though the plutocrats should take the rabies. The farmers of America are a law-

Political Garden Seeds.
Vick's Magazine for April.

The seeds sent out by the department are mostly given to members of Congress. According to the tabular statement, Senators, Representatives and delegates in Congress were given 3,732,112 packages, leaving only a little over a million to be sent to individuals, experiment stations and agricultural societies. And this ex-

plains why the seed division has grown as it has, and Congress is willing to make appropriations for it. Politicians own it and use it for their own purposes, while the original purpose for which it was established has vanished from sight. The Agricultural Department, on the whole, we regard as admirable, and it is doing excellent work for the country; but the seed division has been degraded to low political uses at the expense of the people, and the better informed portion of the community demand its improvement or its abolition. One-tenth part of the money now appropriated for the seed division would be entirely sufficient for all good uses. The rest of it is worse than wasted, and the officers of the Agricultural Department know it, and the people know it!

Patriotism.

Southern Mercury, Dallas, Tex.

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THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

The People's Journal (Anderson, Ind.) says:

There never was a time when this government could redeem its paper. All this talk that the government is able to redeem its obligations in gold is simply nonsense. There is not half enough gold in the United States to-day to redeem its paper circulation, and it will not be redeemed. Dozens have been built before. Some of them in the larger cities each cost enough to build fifty warehouses. Yet the Landmark applauds one and condemns the other. It makes no real difference whether a warehouse is built in every county or not. The object is to make the surplus of a few of the staple crops a basis on which to circulate money and at the same time take the farmer out of the clutches of the crop speculators. If one warehouse will serve the purpose, let only one be built.

The Arkansan Economist (Searcy, Ark.) says:

The Appeal-Avalanche says: At Houston, Miss., yesterday Senator George spoke nearly four hours, and was followed by Captain Burkitt, State lecturer for the Alliance, who spoke an hour and a half. At the conclusion of the addresses the crowd present, with only one dissenting voice, adopted resolutions favoring the sub-treasury and the Ocala demands. It seems to be something of a ground swell.

The Industrial Union (Lamar, Mo.) says:

We hear a great amount of talk these days about the principles of the Alliance and the policy of the Democratic party being one and the same. The man who makes such a claim is either very ignorant or is a base falsifier. The national platform of the Alliance is the exponent of its principles. The Ocala platform demands the abolition of the national banks; the Democratic party does not nor never did. The Ocala platform in a while hits the bull's eye square in the center. In his speech at the banquet of the Cleveland Democracy, at Buffalo, N. Y., he jumped on the reckless and criminal extravagance of the government with the people's money, and he jumped on the idea with both feet. That there is too much extravagance in the government of nation, State and county, both in needless appropriations and exorbitant salaries, and that is unjust. Look at the appropriation by the national government for public buildings in this State alone. It is something enormous. It is to be regretted that Mr. Cleveland did not see his way clear to jump on this thing sooner, as he might have checkmated the extravagance of his own administration, which wasn't behind the Harrison regime. We have noticed one peculiar thing about the present school of public men—they are not able to discover injustice, chicanery, deceit and devilment generally until "the other fellow is at the bottom of it."

The Watchman (Marshall, Mo.) says:

Ex-President Cleveland once in a while hits the bull's eye square in the center. In his speech at the banquet of the Cleveland Democracy, at Buffalo, N. Y., he jumped on the reckless and criminal extravagance of the government with the people's money, and he jumped on the idea with both feet. That there is too much extravagance in the government of nation, State and county, both in needless appropriations and exorbitant salaries, and that is unjust. Look at the appropriation by the national government for public buildings in this State alone. It is something enormous. It is to be regretted that Mr. Cleveland did not see his way clear to jump on this thing sooner, as he might have checkmated the extravagance of his own administration, which wasn't behind the Harrison regime. We have noticed one peculiar thing about the present school of public men—they are not able to discover injustice, chicanery, deceit and devilment generally until "the other fellow is at the bottom of it."

The Carolina Watchman (Salisbury, N. C.) in answering a suggestion of an opponent as to the cost of warehouses and the number of federal officers necessary to care for them as required in the sub-treasury plan, says:

The Landmark only responds to our invitation when it briefly advert to the vast expense of building and maintaining the warehouses. As to the multiplication of federal offices there need be no uneasiness, for the amended bill directs that the manager of each warehouse be elected by the people of the county in which the warehouse is located. But if our constitution will not allow government officials to be thus elected there is no reason why they could not be appointed otherwise, provided the measure is right. No doubt the federal treasury is hard pressed, but corrupt legislators only are to blame. They have made appropriations, and needless pension bills have gone through. The Alliance is after the men in both parties who are responsible for this work. Now about the cost. If it were anything else, a government postoffice building, for instance, the Landmark would be ready to throw up its hat. What advantage will the new government buildings at Statesville, Charlotte or Asheville be to the farmers of Iredell, people will remember how the Landmark ranted when Statesville got the news. The judge had to adjourn court a few minutes when the news came in the courthouse, so the members

of the bar could take a smile. The Landmark hoisted an eagle and some of the citizens took more than was good for them. The farmers of Iredell did not kick. They knew then and they know now that this was not "equal justice to all," but they said nothing. More than 600 of these public buildings are being built throughout the United States, and each one will cost enough to build five or six warehouses sufficiently large for the purpose. Dozens have been built before. Some of them in the larger cities each cost enough to build fifty warehouses. Yet the Landmark applauds one and condemns the other. It makes no real difference whether a warehouse is built in every county or not. The object is to make the surplus of a few of the staple crops a basis on which to circulate money and at the same time take the farmer out of the clutches of the crop speculators. If one warehouse will serve the purpose, let only one be built.

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out if they were to live as long as Methuselah. And as their wings are not even sprouted yet, we do not see but what they will have to give up the chase and let the old bird go on its way, and attend to its own business.

The Modern Light (Columbus, Kans.) says:

All over over the country the Democratic and Republican politicians are saying that they must send to the homes of the voters millions of tariff documents to divert the minds of the laborers from the financial question, and to divide them again, if possible, on party lines, or this "farmer movement," this labor movement, will sweep the country in '92. They have kept the people fighting over this tariff question for nearly one hundred years, and are no nearer a solution of it now than then, and the people are not going to be fooled by it any longer. They have been investigating why it is that those who produce all the wealth are growing poorer every year, and those who do not produce a dollar of wealth are growing richer every year. They have concluded that our financial system is at fault, and are willing to confess that they can't see how the toilers who produce this wealth can expect to add anything to their possessions when the entire increase of wealth in the government above what we eat, drink and wear in a year is but 4 per cent, and yet the 30,000 favorites of this government, who own three-fourths of all our wealth, must have over 8 per cent of an increase, as the dividends paid by the national banks during the year 1890 amounted to 8.16 per cent. Now, until they can explain to the satisfaction of the great producing and laboring classes how they can pay over 8 per cent dividend to those favorites who own three-fourths of our wealth and have anything left to add to their one-fourth, when they can only produce an increase of 4 per cent annually to our wealth, or explain to them why they won't have to increase their mortgages a little every year to even pay the favorites what they demand. Until this is explained to their satisfaction they will continue to throw off the party yoke and join the grand army of relief and continue to organize and drill their forces for the grand march-in in 1892, and when you see "the man with the hoe and the man with the hammer" with "equal rights to all and special privileges to none" engraved upon their banners, unite with this army of reform, and march to the polls, you will see a resurrection of principles and a burial of politicians, and the grandest army of voters ever organized by man in the interest of right and justice continue their march till they reach the White House in 1892.

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The farmers of Missouri are so disgusted with the work of the last legislature that the politicians of both the old twins are quaking in their boots. Every day brings fresh proof that they cannot be divided any longer by the schemes of the old party bosses; besides, the "reform-within-the-old-party" racket is played out; they have tried it and it has proved a miserable failure. The farmers are ripe for independent political action. They know that they will never get justice through either of the old parties who are both owned and controlled by the money power; they cannot be fooled any longer. Those who have been boasting that they will be able to control the Alliance vote in 1892, and stand in the way of progress as they did last fall, will find out that they have "reckoned without their host."

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The government control of all railroads,

as contemplated by a large number of the anti-monopoly organizations throughout the country, seems impracticable. All that is necessary is to command the rates of traffic, and this can be better and more economically accomplished by getting the bankers to be loaned to the people. The government receives 1 per cent for the use of the money and the bankers get all the way from 5 to 15 per cent as commission for loaning it. The commission paid the bankers is too high. Abolish the banks and secure money at actual cost. The people see no reason why they should pay such exorbitant commissions, for the privilege of borrowing their own money. There must be and will be a cheaper way.

The Salina (Kans.) Union says:

We understand that already arrangements have been made in many of the counties of this State to effect a union of the Republican and Democratic forces at

to control the freight rates on every trunk line and every railroad in the United States. All other roads would have to accept the terms or lose the business. It would knock the present schedules out of existence, and forever put a stop to "watered stock" and doctored books to evade the payment of taxes and honest dividends. "Improvement companies" acting as wheels within wheels, would be unknown. There would then be some respects paid to the wants of the producers, and freights the extent of "all the traffic would bear" would cease. A legitimate bid for business on a "live and let live" principle would result, and all without a paternal government on a centralized basis.

The control of telegraphic lines on the same economic principle would follow, and rates reduced by a government ownership of a few main lines. The government owns one line from New York to San Francisco, but it is leased by the railroad company, and does not serve the people as it should. The Mackay-Bennett system was intended for the government originally, but was gobbled up by a combination backed by \$300,000,000. Next to the Standard oil company the Western Union telegraph company is the strongest, financially, of any company of the world. Brookhaven (Miss.) Leader says:

Some little time ago Senator George spoke at West Point, Clay county, against the sub-treasury bill; resolutions were unanimously adopted by the vast crowd of farmers and others who heard him, as the special dispatches reported, indorsing his speech and candidacy, and the trumpet were flourished muchly. Now comes the melancholy news (to the George shouters) that the Clay county Alliance held a meeting last Saturday, with every sub-Alliance in the county represented, and indorsed the sub-treasury plan and Barksdale for the Senate by a vote of 68 to 5. The George people are described as being utterly unable to understand it. They will find there are a good many things they don't understand before they get through monkeying with this farmers' reform movement.

Rice Eagle (Lyons, Kan.) says:

National bank currency is based on United States bonds, and to make currency safe is the only excuse that can be given for their existence. In '89-'90 there were \$180,374,950 of these notes in circulation, and the government paid in premiums on those bonds, from June 30, 1889, to September 1, 1890, \$30,742,000, and in order to furnish the people \$180,374,950, or \$1 for every six furnished, in premiums, to say nothing of interest.

The bill which added this huge steal to the others—a government pension for the bondholders—was introduced by that staunch Democrat, R. Q. Mills, and championed by him. Politics seems to make little difference when the interests of the plutocrats demand attention. The bosses of both sides vie with each other in executing their commands and the robbery of the people continues.

Free Press (Winfred, Kan.) says:

The most dreaded class of people at this day are the very rich and the very poor. One is made pompous and overbearing by the possession of wealth, while the other is made vicious by hungry, cold and the pleadings of famishing famine. Although both are to be dreaded, they cannot be amalgamated, as liberty and slavery are too foreign to each other to allow blending together. Thus we have the very rich to fear by their superior financial advantage, and the extremely poor to fear by inferior financial conditions. More of an equality is what will save the nation.

The People's Journal (Anderson, Ind.) says:

National bankers are the middlemen who stand between the people and the national treasury. The money is issued to the bankers to be loaned to the people. The government receives 1 per cent for the use of the money and the bankers get all the way from 5 to 15 per cent as commission for loaning it. The commission paid the bankers is too high. Abolish the banks and secure money at actual cost.

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AN INVALID.

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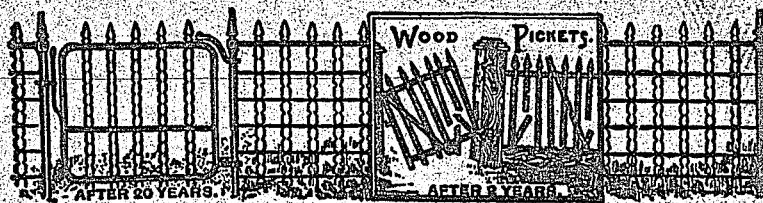
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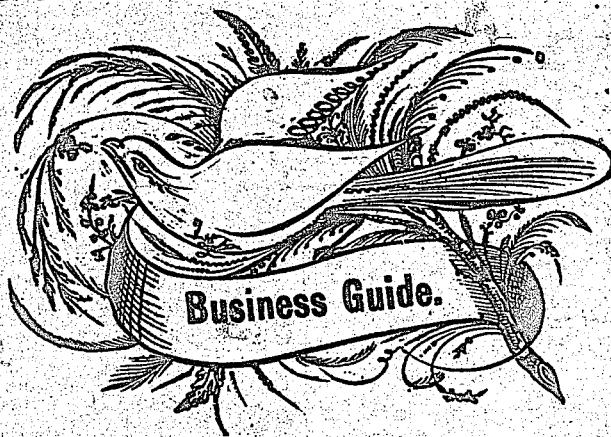
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