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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE BOOK! THE BOOK!! THE BOOK!!!

The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance,

AND

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

By W. S. Morgan.

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DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work that I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

Yours for the right,

ISAAC McCRAKEN,
Pres. National Wheel and Vice Pres. F. L. U. A.

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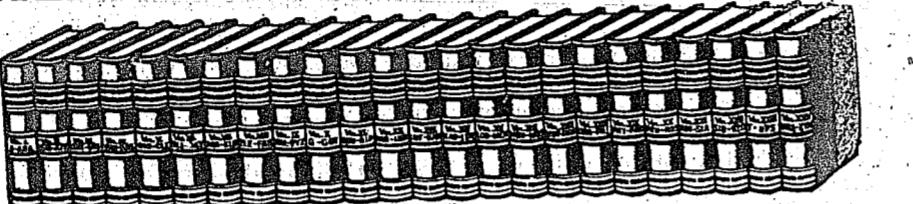
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Officers of State Alliances and experienced solicitors are invited to correspond.

ALONZO WARDALL, President.
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writes the ECONOMIST that the colored Union
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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION OF AMERICA.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY,
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VOL. 2.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

No. 7.

Equivalence of Service.

The central idea underlying the industrial movement is the establishment of economic systems that will insure equivalence of service in the exchanges and business transactions between man and man. And, however optimists may pooh-pooh, or the self-interested try to suppress, that problem has to be solved in the near future. The alternative is the decay and destruction of our civilization. The inequitable distribution of wealth through unjust economic systems has been the fatal cause of the decadence and death of scores of once vigorous and promising civilizations which now live only in the pages of ancient history. Nations and peoples have grown, prospered, and progressed to a point more or less advanced before unjust economic systems had accomplished their fell work and sown the seeds of certain decay in concentrated wealth on the one side and abject, dependent, and helpless poverty on the other.

Then national death was only a question of time. Like causes under like circumstances produce like effects. The inequitable distribution of wealth through unjust systems will have a similar effect in the New World to that which it has had in the Old. The American people have made wonderful progress in the production of wealth, but the same old, costly, strangling, confiscating, usury-absorbing system of exchange of centuries ago still remain, with the same inevitable consequence of concentrating the wealth of the country in the hands of the few manipulators and monopolizers of the exchange medium. It is not intended here to convey the impression that, under an equitable exchange of services and commodities, equality of wealth would exist among men. Not at all. Superior energy, ability, and thrift would bring inequalities. But these limited inequalities produced by those natural and legitimate means would be neither injurious nor objectionable. It is well known, however, that it was not difference in ability, enterprise, and thrift that produced the vast and fatal inequalities of wealth in the past. It is equally well known that it is not disparity in natural ability, energy, and frugality that has produced the extreme inequalities in wealth that now exist. It is the law of nature that man should labor for a living. What nature imposes as a necessity, society demands as a duty. To live upon the labor of others without returning equivalence in service is not only dishonest, but cruel and criminal. Any system, direct or indirect, whether it be by the monopoly of the natural resources, the monopoly and manipulation of the exchange medium, or the monopoly and manipulation of the means of transportation—which results in obtaining the products or serv-

ices of the worker without an equivalence of services rendered him, is alike infamous. The expenditure of labor in production means the expenditure of a part of the life forces of the worker in the product. A portion of the toiler's life is blended, woven, and embodied in every article of wealth he produces. Those stately mansions that line our streets, those piles of goods that fill those warehouses, all this wealth really means so many human lives crystallized by labor.

Under an equitable exchange system every worker would receive for his product or services an equitable amount of the labor or services—that is, the life of others. Under an unjust system of exchange he is robbed of a part of his life. The average pay of the workingman of the country is about \$350 per annum. But let us assume that it is \$500 per annum. The man who by the aid of unjust economic systems or class laws obtains an income of \$500,000 per annum and spends it, actually—not literally but actually—devours 10,000 workingmen during his life.

It is said that among a certain people of Africa when a feast is held an ox is tied up and the flesh cut from the living animal and served up raw to the guests, who devour it while listening to the bellowsings of the tortured beast. With equally unconscious savagery do the greedy, unscrupulous speculators and the princely beneficiaries of dishonest economic systems slowly devour the starving, defrauded workers while listening to their cries of distress and misery. An unjust economic and exchange system produces the worst and most cruel form of cannibalism. It prolongs the agonies of the victims indefinitely and sucks their life-blood and devours the flesh from their living bodies. It makes this fair earth of ours a hell of torture for suffering toilers. It degrades, deforms, and murders poor humanity. The kindly-hearted Lincoln must have recognized this when he said:

I am here to make of myself the best intellectual, moral, and physical being possible. To do it, am entitled to generous food, generous clothing, and comfortable shelter, and if any person or set of persons lays upon me a burden whereby I am required to use more than reasonable effort to feed, clothe, and shelter myself, the person or set of persons so unreasonably burdening me is an enemy of God, and my murderer.

Unreasonable burdens are imposed upon the producers to-day, and their lives and energies embodied in their products are absolutely at the pleasure and used for the profit of the speculators. Monopolists manufacture the muscle, blood, and brain of the workers into wealth without rendering any adequate return. Specu-

FRIENDS visiting Washington city and desiring to call upon THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST or Capital Farmers Alliance, No. 1, of the District of Columbia, should come direct to No. 511 Ninth street northwest, where the ECONOMIST now occupies two large floors, and has recently put in a large and complete plant, including a steam-engine, presses, type, and fixtures, and is rapidly preparing to be an extensive publishing house.

A. L. PLUMMER, General Superintendent of the Colored Farmers Union of Louisiana, writes the ECONOMIST that the colored Union in that State is modeled after the white Union, and seeks to co-operate with it.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

tory and Government.

No. 32.

Having set out the foregoing synopsis of a theory in relation to the growth and tendency of civilization and the effect of political and governmental influences upon it; the various historical evidences already produced, and still to follow, will serve to substantiate and make clear what has merely been imperfectly presented.

To the mind of the student, the theory or philosophy of a subject seems the first thing that ought to be learned, and it would probably have been in more usual form to have set out this theory in the beginning of this series of papers; but, for special reasons, it has been thought best to introduce it here. Evidences already given can be readily referred to, and those yet to follow will be more readily appreciated.

It has been thought sufficient to refer to the earliest stages of man's development only in a general way merely to show the tendency of his progress. Up to the time of the establishment of the Greek republics the history of one race was the history of all, and civilization seems to have been the result entirely of a process of natural selection. Man seems to have been guided entirely by purely selfish impulses, and sought blindly only the gratification of these. No idea of great future results seems to have entered into any of his undertakings, except so far as personal and selfish advancement was concerned.

This era was one of most intense competition, but the competition was between states and societies as well as individuals. This process of natural selection was cruel in the extreme, and the weak and ill-adapted were crushed ruthlessly and without mercy. During this era of force the intellectual character of man strengthened and grew, although subject to the most disadvantageous surroundings. Man became sufficiently intelligent to interfere with this process of natural selection, and to direct his affairs to the accomplishment of foreseen results, and was enabled, to a considerable extent, to alleviate the suffering and hardship to which he had been so long exposed while struggling to reach this advanced footing on the road to enlightenment.

The first era in which man's intelligence was brought to bear most effectively upon his social condition was when popular government was instituted in the early Greek states, and here we have chosen to begin our investigation of the policies and systems devised, the mistakes made, the evils suffered, and the good accomplished. The idea of an unselfish devotion to the common welfare seems to have had its origin among these people and at this time, and a recognition of a duty to society as superior to selfish interests seems to have been the most striking feature of this civilization.

With this unselfish spirit grew the dignity of the citizen and the feeling of mutual reliance and confidence. The jealous suspicion, which was the characteristic of the former purely selfish societies, gradually disappeared and made it possible to disperse the people among

the various industries and pursuits that opened up the numerous paths of science, art, literature, mechanics, and philosophy which led the Greek people out of the labyrinth of ignorance in which the world was lost.

So long as this unselfish spirit prevailed Greece prospered and advanced, and in the degree to which this spirit prevailed. So long as this people were united in sympathy and mutually considerate of the rights and interests of each other they were able to defy the combined powers of the world, but so soon as the spirit of selfishness prevailed, and that just regard of the rights of all was forgotten, when inequality grew out of the selfish ambitions of a few, then the beautiful social fabric tottered to its fall and the shadows of barbarism again crept over the land so long brightened by the rays of liberty and progress.

We have followed the growth of Greek civilization from its birth to the zenith of its glory, to the culmination of its grandeur in the era of Pericles; and we have seen this monster of selfish ambition open the flood-gates of passion and precipitate a conflict that was finally to end in ruin and the utter destruction of the fairest social structure ever before conceived by the mind of man, and which has never since had its parallel.

Greece had now reached that stage of development which in our theory has been termed the "era of dispersion," when variability and diversity of industry were necessary to insure her further progress. Peace was especially requisite to insure the best results for this varied application of genius.

The Greeks were the foremost people in the world in science, in art, in literature, in philosophy, in all those refinements and acquirements which go to elevate man and improve the race. From them, as a center, radiated influences which were rapidly improving all the surrounding nations and dispelling the darkness of barbarism and ignorance. Proud as they were of their grand achievements in war, the Greeks were no less proud of their grand victories won while peace spread her white wings over their classic land.

Who can conceive of the grand results which might have been accomplished had Greece been allowed a century more of peace, just at this time, when her people burned with zeal in the cause of human progress? Who can say but that the world might have been spared ages of misery and conflict, and that to-day the race might not have been in a state of enlightenment and progression which it may not be able to attain for centuries yet?

The nature of man at that age seems to have been peculiarly susceptible to the influences of refined sentiment, and the tendency of the spirit of the age seems to have been toward the destruction of those harsher, more selfish impulses and the teachings of a more generous, more noble sentiment. Had peace prevailed and the tendency of the age gone on with its refining process without interruption it is probable that the era of Roman conquest and the succeeding millennium of savagery might have been avoided, and the race to-day have reached a degree of perfection almost be-

yond our present comprehension. But such was not to be. The era of versatility was to be interrupted almost at its beginning, and a retrograde was to be made which established conditions suited only to the era from which the Greeks had just emerged, and it has just been shown that the continuance of conditions or institutions beyond the time of their necessity or usefulness is poisonous to the society which they affect.

The action of Pericles forced the Greeks from a condition of variability, of diversity of industry, to a condition of centralization, of combination; from a scattered society of individual workers and thinkers to a consolidated body of soldiers.

Not only was the advantage of their diversified labor lost, but the effect on the national character was bad. The people, under the influences brought to bear, rapidly returned to the condition from which they had just emerged, and became like their barbarous neighbors, merely a military machine, and rapidly lost that nice degree of refinement and culture, that nice social unselfishness that had made them a marked and peculiar people.

The war into which the ambition of Pericles plunged the Greek states lasted for twenty-seven years, and was but the introduction of a series of conflicts which ended only in the utter destruction of the Greek republics and an entire perversion of Greek civilization. It will be unnecessary to our purpose to follow this unfortunate conflict in all its details, but will be sufficient to note the most prominent events which marked the striking changes in the institutions of Athens and Sparta, which two states had always been the leading spirits and were the types upon which were formed the characters of all the other states and the entire Greek people.

The war was prosecuted with varying success, but with unvarying misfortune to both Athens and Sparta. Many leaders rose and fell on both sides, but no great genius marked the era with any striking feature. The whole energy of the people was absorbed in the barbarous prosecution of war, and the utter destruction of those elevating and refining influences which were the outgrowth and development of an era of peace. The people were fast drifting back into the condition from which they had emerged on the establishment of popular government, and the sympathy and harmony which had characterized them had given place to hatred, malice and prejudice that made each faction the easy prey of any designing and unscrupulous man who might desire to use them for the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. Ten long, weary, and bloody years were devoted to this destructive conflict before one ray of light pierced the dark cloud of misfortune which had enveloped unfortunate Greece. Cleon, on the side of Athens, and Brasidas of the Lacedemonians, were the central figures of this period; but neither of them was worthy to be ranked with the glorious heroes who had made the name of Greece noble in her palmy days. Brasidas was by far the better of the two and retained to some degree those noble qualities which had given luster to the

Spartan character, while Cleon seems to have been an embodiment of that selfishness and unscrupulous ambition which had so long disgraced the Athenian leaders and had wrought the ruin of the Athenian character. History says of these two men:

Cleon, in all public assemblies, was forever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fires of war. His great success in the expedition against Sphacteria had infinitely raised his credit with the people; he now was grown insupportably proud, and his audaciousness was not to be restrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not so much by the strength of his arguments, as by the boldness and fire of his style and declamation. It was Cleon who first set the example of bawling in the assemblies, where the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms; of striking his thigh, and running up and down the rostrum while he was making his speeches. In a word, he was the first to introduce among the orators, and all those who interfered in public affairs, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt of decency, which soon introduced terrible confusion in public affairs.*

Thus two men, each on his own side, opposed the tranquillity of Greece, and raised, but in a very different way, an invincible obstacle to its peace. These were Cleon and Brasidas; the former because the war screened his vices and malversations, and the latter because it added new lustre to his virtue. And, indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppressions, and Brasidas of performing great and noble actions; but the death of both, about the same time, made way for a new accommodation.

Propositions were made for a truce, which the Spartans accepted, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed on for twelve months. Rollin says of this period:

These two men fell in the same battle, but under very different circumstances. Brasidas was gaining the admiration and reverence of the people of Thrace and northern Greece, whom he was relieving of the tyranny imposed upon them by the Athenians, and Cleon marched with his army against him. Brasidas threw himself into the city of Amphipolis, in order to defend himself. Cleon had written to Perdiccas, King of Macedonia, and to the King of Odomantes to furnish him with as many troops as possible. He waited for these troops, but finding his soldiers, who had followed him unwillingly, grow tired of continuing so long inactive, and beginning to compare his cowardice and inability with the valor and genius of Brasidas, he could no longer bear the contempt and murmurs, and, imagining himself a great leader by his fortunate experience at Sphacteria, which he had taken by accident, he fancied the same good fortune would favor him at Amphipolis. He therefore advanced on that city. Brasidas played with him until he saw his opportunity and then rushed out upon his army and cut it to pieces. Brasidas was wounded in the attack and died in a short time after being carried into the city. Cleon fled at the first attack and was killed by a soldier who overtook him in his flight. Brasidas was buried with the greatest honors and Cleon hidden in an obscure grave.

The characters of these two men are illustrative of the characters of the people they led. Athens had become utterly mercenary, selfish, and demoralized; but the Spartans still retained

their pristine valor, patriotism, and unselfish devotion to liberty and common good of the Greek people. Their whole ambition was for the triumph of liberty and Greek institutions in their purity; for the maintenance of justice and strict equality. They were still the inveterate enemies of special privileges and favored classes.

The true Spartan spirit was shown by the mother of Brasidas. When those who brought her the news of his death applauded his bravery and nobility and declared that he was the noblest man in Sparta, she said: "You are mistaken; my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than he." This spirit in the mother, in preferring the honor of the state to the laudation of her son, was the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms; of striking his thigh, and running up and down the rostrum while he was making his speeches. In a word, he was the first to introduce among the orators, and all those who interfered in public affairs, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt of decency, which soon introduced terrible confusion in public affairs.*

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During this time, being every day together and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure of corresponding with their friends, they grew passionately desirous of leading an easy, undisturbed life; remote from the alarms of war and the horrors of blood and slaughter. They heard with the utmost demonstrations of joy the choruses of their tragedies sing: "May spiders henceforward weave their webs on our lances and shields," and they remembered with pleasure him who said, "Those who sleep in the arms of peace, do not start from them at the sound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their slumbers."

The whole winter was spent in conferences and interviews, in which each party proposed its claims and desires. At last a peace was concluded for fifty years; one of the chief articles of which was that the prisoners on each side were to be restored to their friends instead of being kept as slaves, which up to this time had been the universal custom. This concession was a great stride toward the amelioration of the horrors incident to ancient war, and it alone went far to palliate the evils entailed upon the people by this unfortunate conflict.

Among the historic names which afterward became known to the ancient and modern world, those of Demosthenes, Hippocrates, and Socrates were first mentioned during this period, but neither attained any permanency; all were merely known as soldiers of comparatively humble station.

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differently; but that unholy spirit of destruction born of selfishness, of mercenary instincts and unscrupulous ambition, which already brought such misery upon Athens, again arose in the person of Alcibiades and was destined to again deluge Greece in fraternal blood and finally extinguish the last spark of that saving fire which still burned in the hearts of the Spartans, to whose glorious character alone it was due that Athenian greed had not already destroyed the very germs of that high integrity which had made Greece the wonder of the world.

OFFICIAL.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Members of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and all State organizations coming under its jurisdiction, and special to State Secretaries, greeting:

We have arranged with J. H. McDowell, chairman of the executive board of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, to have printed at once fifty thousand rituals, as adopted by the joint sessions of National Wheel and National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, in joint session at Meridian, Miss., December 5, 1888, for distribution to the different State secretaries direct from his office at Nashville, Tenn. There will also be sent out by him to the State secretaries the new secret work in connection with the ritual. The State secretaries shall send to the county secretaries of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, who shall distribute it to the presidents of each sub-Farmers and Laborers Union of America whose dues are paid up to date of giving same, provided they are not excluded under the eligibility clause. (See Ruling No. 1.)

Given under my hand and seal this the 18th day of October, 1889.

EVAN JONES,

[SEAL.] Pres. of F. & L. U. of A.
State papers please copy.

RULING NO. 1.—ELIGIBILITY.

The following persons are not eligible to membership under the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and if any such are now members of the Farmers Alliance or Agricultural Wheel, they are not entitled to, and must not be given, the new secret work, to wit:

Merchants, merchants' clerks, or any one who owns interest in a dry-goods, hardware, furniture, drug store, or any other mercantile business, unless said member is selected to take charge of a Co-operative Farmers and Laborers Union store; no lawyers who have a license to practice law in a county, district, or supreme court; no one who owns stock in any National, State, or other banking association.

Given under my hand and seal this the 18th day of October, 1889.

EVAN JONES,

[SEAL.] Pres. of F. & L. U. of A.
State papers please copy.

THERE are about 80,000 able-bodied convicts in our jails and penitentiaries. The crime and vice represented by this immense prison population is the outgrowth of a vicious social system which enforces poverty on the many to enable the few to revel in luxury. The best antidote for crime is occupation and comfort.

THE labor question is rapidly becoming the one matter of absorbing interest to the people of this great Nation.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Farmers Exchange (Fayetteville, N. C.) says:

The wonderful growth of the Alliance, springing into full manhood, without the experience and discipline of youth, excited fears in the minds of many, whose opinions were entitled to respect, lest the great power held by it should not be wisely used. To them it was a menace to established business, and a threat of innovations that could not be estimated. There was never just grounds for these fears. The well-known conservatism of farmers as a class was a sufficient guarantee that nothing rash or inconsiderate would be attempted, either in business or politics. Identified with the soil they are instinctively patriots, and so general is intelligence among them that they know that their welfare is to a great degree dependent on the prosperity of the community. Hence the Alliance has made war on no legitimate business. Its policy has been protective of its members from oppression rather than aggressive hostility to any interest. * * *

The Meklenburg Times (Charlotte, N. C.) says: The great question of the distribution of wealth is now uppermost in the public mind in America, England, and Germany, and let us hope its discussion will lead to the true remedy—a remedy which will cause the reorganization of society upon rigid principles of moral ethics.

The Alliance (Lincoln, Neb.) says:

We would suggest the following topics for discussion at Alliance meetings: How shall we improve present methods of taxation? What is the duty of the Government to the farmers? What is the cause of the present hard times? Can our present financial system be improved?—and how? Can monopolies and trusts continue to exist and free government be maintained? What kind of live-stock pays best? Is it our duty to support our own paper?

Brother Burrows, in the Alliance (Lincoln, Neb.), gives the farmers some timely advice in his usual sledge-hammer style:

The interest of self-preservation is strong, and the farmers must look out for themselves. Our financial system is a breeder of periods of financial depression, followed by panics and wide-spread ruin. We are in the depression now, and the crisis will soon come. The truth might just as well be told.

Bradstreet may glaze it over as he may, the symptoms are plain. We warn the farmers, and say to them, take care of yourselves.

The Labor Journal (San Antonio) comes out in the following energetic style:

The United States has never yet had a government for the people. It never will so long as men open their ears to the lull of the demagogue, and close them with asphalt to the plaints of their families.

Between the consolidated, English-controlled liquor interests, and the solid National bank, usury-sustaining interests, working together, these two clam-shells of capital hold the labor element of this country in a parenthesis, robbing it each year of all it earns.

The Maryland Farmer (Baltimore, Md.) encourages organization among farmers in the following:

Evidence is coming in from all sides that the farmers throughout the country are organizing for self protection. It is one of the best signs that they begin to see what is the proper method to secure themselves against those who have been plundering them right and left in the past.

We clip the paragraph given below from the Farm and Home (Minneapolis, Minn.), every word of which is true:

During the past quarter of a century the struggle for human existence has been terribly intense, and seems to be daily becoming more so. Intensive systems of business are the rule in all commercial departments save one—the agricultural. There the extensive system has been, and is, the rule. Small, well-tilled farms have been abandoned for large, ill-tilled ones.

The intensive methods which are both possible and necessary to the small farm have given place to the extensive ones which must be the rule on large farms. Agriculture is using the extensive to cope with the intensive, and it is “getting left.” The big farm well skinned will no longer meet the requirements of the day. The intensive David is getting the better of the extensive Goliath nowadays, as he did in that olden time we read of.

The Iowa Tribune comes loaded to the muzzle, as usual, with strong points. Here is one of them:

R. G. Dunn & Co.’s weekly review of trade of October 11 says: “The Government report was very encouraging, but the loss of gold by the great foreign banks—over \$1,100,000 by England, \$4,000,000 by Germany, and \$2,000,000 by France—was large enough to increase apprehensions of monetary pressure. Large shipments went from London, Brazil, and Egypt. These two opposing influences ruled

the markets during the week. Crops are large and business heavy, and the commercial outlook most favorable; but money is comparatively close, and there is a possibility that it may be closer yet.” Yes, when the American farmer begins to congratulate himself upon fine crops and bursting granaries, and his soul is filled with hope that he will now be able to cut a corner off from that mortgage, he is coolly told that there isn’t money enough to go around; that England, France, and Germany have lost heavily of gold, and it is quite likely they may order American bonds sold in New York, and the gold shipped to fill up all that aching void, thus reducing our money and giving prices of produce another kick down hill. O, this is a glorious system we live under! We can raise crops to feed the world, but we can’t get anything for them because a new demand for gold has sprung up in some corner of the globe.

The Liberal (Cuthbert, Ga.) quotes and comments as follows:

We want to see the day when there will not be a bale of cotton sold in the South to anybody except a spinner. Then the cotton question will be solved.—*Conyers Solid South.*

Correct, brother. You have struck the key that must unlock the cotton question. At least three sets of men now get a profit out of cotton from the time it leaves the farmers’ hands until it reaches the spinner. These things ought not to be.

The Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.) says:

Again we see combined monopolies seize that which should be the agency of free government and prostitute it to the base purpose of retiring a judge whose only fault is that he would not be their tool, and elevating in his stead a man whom they think they can use.

The St. Louis Journal of Agriculture says of co-operation:

The salvation of American farmers is going to depend upon their ability to find some system of co-operation, feasible for the general adoption of farmers in their regular pursuit, as well as in their financial and commercial operations. For this reason, and because so few farmers appreciate at all the real merits of this system, we shall at the subject being monotonous continue to discuss this

We clip the following from the American Elevator and Grain Trade (Chicago) simply to show the manner in which the Alliance is being treated by railroads and to suggest that, while the Alliance may not build any roads, there are bright prospects of its having something to say about the management of those that are already built:

The Farmers Alliance of Elmwood, Cass County, Neb., have appealed to the State Board of Transportation for permission to build an elevator on the right of way of the Missouri Pacific Railway at Elmwood. There are already several elevators at the station and the Alliance applied to the railroad company for a location to erect an elevator, but were refused. The manager of the road probably

considers the elevators there now sufficient to take care of the grain, and does not wish to be troubled with farmers who are constantly striving to monopolize everything. The company should be careful; the Farmers Alliance will be building a competing line.

The Colorado Workman (Pueblo) thus sums up the action of the “money kings” at their late blow-out:

After a \$25,000 dinner, with \$3,000 added for wines, and \$500 for cigars, and \$3,000 more spent over the bar at the hotel, the National Bankers’ Convention adjourned to meet in Washington in December to carry out their plans of plundering the people.

The Dexter (Kan.) Free Press is strongly for educating the farmer:

Almost every day we read in the columns of our exchanges some item that is self-evident of a thorough awakening to the necessity of the farmer being more thoroughly educated in his business. The Farmers Alliance is a big stride toward the consumption of that point. Its teachings will enable us to grasp at a higher knowledge, which is essential to the success and preservation of our interests. We live in an age of unprecedented progress. In every avocation of life, in the various departments of business, we see unmistakable signs, calling for

The editor of the Junction City (Kan.) Tribune gives a simple statement of a grave truth:

The way to keep up prices is to add dollars to the circulation as commodities increase. It is a simple sum in long division:

Divisor	Dividend	Quotient
Commodities	Volume of money	(Prices)

The Wheel (Batesville, Ark.) says:

The Farmers and Laborers Union organization are doing more to unite the North and South and remove sectional prejudice than any other agency in existence. We hope yet to see the day when there will be no North, no South, no East, and no West in our grand union of States. The interest of farmers from Maine to California are, or should be, one and the same, and in our noble order, as a great fraternal brotherhood united by this tie of common interest, would be able to demand and get protection from the aggressions and robbery of organized money sharks; divided our chances of success are not near so certain.

The Wheel also says:

Heretofore our people have acted too much under the pressure of supposed superior minds. But things are fast changing. Now they ask, “Why should I act thus, or why should I desist the course I am pursuing?” Does the public good demand it, or is it the sordid design of some selfish motive?

In other words, they have heretofore acted from sensation, now they demand sound logic. Instead of mere sentiment they want plain reasoning. This change is an omen of good, for when the American people move upon deliberation and from ample reasoning, their action can safely be relied upon for the public good. Good to the greatest number possible.

The Georgians are for the war in the war against jute, says the Atlanta Journal:

The streets and warehouses are gleaming in the sunshine with bright, white cotton bagging. Nearly all the cotton coming in is covered with the new bagging, and reports from all sections of the State show that Alliancemen are almost solidly standing in the fight against jute bagging. Let the good work go on to the “finish.”

The Columbus Sun furnishes another item on this point:

Russell County took Columbus by storm yesterday. Her Farmers Alliance sent in the longest train of wagons loaded with cotton ever seen in the city. The cotton was all wrapped in anti-trust bagging, and was delivered at the Alliance warehouse. The oldest inhabitants say that nothing to equal the Russell County parade was ever before seen in Columbus.

The Clark County (South Dakota) Democrat sums up the result of the Alliance political move in that State in rather discouraging tones:

Last summer leading Alliance men discussed the question of organizing on their platform for independent political action, but finally they decided to work within the old party lines as the politicians held them out fair promises. Congressmen and governors were the important offices for them, and they had got just what they would have got had they made an independent fight and lost—they have got left. The governor, senators, and representatives are, all five of them, corporation attorneys.

The editor of the Democrat is refreshingly American:

The St. Paul Globe calls the article in last week’s Democrat on stealing the school lands “rather partisan.” Well, coming from a family that has fought in every war these States have had and that was represented in the last frays by three generations, it does make our natural blood boil some to see a man who was “discharged for the good of the service”—cowardice—sent to the United States Senate; dishonorably discharged soldiers placed on the pension list; and a man elected executive who helped to defraud poor settlers of their land; all the same year, and that, too, when men are needed to stop one or two grasping trusts that have got the world in their grip, and making us poor devils hustle to get it fenced for them.

Voice of the People (Kingman, Kan.) has an opinion upon current matters which will require more than assertion to change:

This is an era of prosperity. So say the Republicans; but they signal fail to give us any other reason for the exceedingly low prices for all the farmer has to sell, except that it is “overproduction.” Overproduction, and many families in this great Nation starving to death! This doctrine and the theory of “protection to the laboring man” are equally fallacious,

BY N. A. DUNNING.

I have before me a blue-covered pamphlet bearing the seal of the Department of State, entitled “Cookery for Workingmen’s Wives.” It contains a large number of recipes for the cheapest possible meals. It was sent to the Department by the United States consul at Glasgow, Scotland. This is the first official notice that our once boasted American equality had gone from us; that, as a people, we were divided into classes, and as such must endure that patronizing attention which the higher bestows on the lower, not by way of anticipated benefits, but for the purpose of emphasizing social differences. This is the first openly published acknowledgment on the part of those

who ought to know, that there is among us at the present time a permanent dependent class. What is the meaning of this declaration? Does it not say, in so many words, that our system of government has proved a failure so far as the laboring man is concerned? Does it not mean that a government where every man, the rich and the poor, high and low, stands equally before just laws no longer exists? Certainly it does, and even more. Such a publication is an insult to every American citizen.

The Southron, of Sabine (Many, La.), finds that

“mum’s the word” with somebody:

The bond robbers must come together. If one

attempt to tell what he knows without knowing

what the others know or will tell he will make a mess of it. A convention may be called in Canada.

The Weatherford Constitution (Texas) says rather pointedly:

The Georgians are for the war in the war against

jute, says the Atlanta Journal:

The streets and warehouses are gleaming in the

sunshine with bright, white cotton bagging. Nearly

all the cotton coming in is covered with the new

bagging, and reports from all sections of the State

show that Alliancemen are almost solidly

standing in the fight against jute bagging. Let the

good work go on to the “finish.”

The Illustrated Age (Duluth, Minn.) accounts for

the “fall in values”:

At the close of the war of the rebellion we had

\$2,000,000,000 of debt-paying medium, and but few

debts. Under the contraction policy, inaugurated

in 1866, about \$1,300,000,000 was destroyed. So

debts created on a basis of \$2,000,000,000 had to be

paid when the volume was reduced to \$700,000,000.

This was a wholesale robbery of labor, and it was

brought about strictly according to law. What

shall we think of such law-makers?

The Liberator (Dallas, Tex.) furnishes a live

weekly market report. We extract the following:

Cotton is coming in slow, and should, as this is

the week of the fair, and most everybody attend-

ing, be very plentiful. The market is going down,

and the street-loafers are trying to make the cotton

people believe that they are making a good crop of cotton.

You see those prophetic thieves at Liverpool and

New York are at work, and, as they belong to the

knowing gang, they know more about the cotton

crop than the producer. They can communicate

through their tube, the street-loafers, and they can

tell the farmer. When a farmer wishes to know

about his crop he need not go to the field, but come

direct to the city, and hunt up one of the street-

loafers, and he can tell you to a pound what your

crop will make.

The nation which can show the most enor-

mous massing of wealth can also show the most

abject poverty. The one is the usual accom-

paniment of the other. Great wealth can not

be massed except it be taken from the thou-

sands who created it to be centered in the

hands of the few who hold it. Every unusual

luxury enjoyed by one represents its equivalent

in destitution and suffering by many.

The millionaire sets his own limit to the

amount he pays in taxes and the Government

accepts his decision. The poor man must

meet the exact demand or his little all is seized

and made to answer.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The fact of its publication proves that the administration agrees with the consul in his deductions, and gives notice to the American people of what may be expected in the future. Between the lines may be read the fate of the American laboring man, that in the opinion of this administration they are reduced to the miserable existence of a permanent dependent class with all that the term signifies.

A permanent laboring class is a certain number of people doomed to perpetual servitude; without hope, with nothing better in prospect than the every-day drudgery of the slave. Any change for them would be better; they could be no worse; from this fact comes the great danger. John Stuart Mill says:

"If the bulk of the human race are always to remain as at present, slaves to toil in which they have no interest and therefore feel no interest, drudging from early morning till late at night for bare necessities, and with all the intellectual and moral deficiencies which that implies—without resources either in mind or feeling—untutored, for they can not be better taught than fed; selfish, for their thoughts are all required for themselves; without interest or sentiments as citizens and members of society, and with a sense of injustice rankling in their minds, equally for what they have not and what others have, I know not what there is which should make a person of any capacity of reason concern himself about the destinies of the human race."

A government whose financial methods enables bankers to eat dinners that cost \$26, and is teaching its laboring men how to live on dinners that cost but 6 cents, in my judgment needs reorganizing.

The Florida Exchange.

To the Chairman and members of F. A. A. Convention of Florida.

Your committee to confer with the board of directors of the Farmers Alliance Exchange, and report matter to this body for discussion, find as follows:

That we have had a long interview with the board of directors, and they gladly gave us a full statement of the workings of the Exchange, present and past, as well as the plans for the future, the details of which would make this paper too extended, but suffice it to say we find, as far as our time would allow, that the business of the Exchange is conducted on highly intelligent and advanced business principles, and, with the addition of the New York office, with Bro. Wilson as principal, we see no reason why, with the increased facilities, the Exchange should not inspire the confidence of the entire brotherhood.

We approve the plan set forth in the last Exchange circular for handling the orange crop for the next season, which we hope every trustee-stockholder will place before his Alliance.

1. We recommend that as many branch exchanges be organized as possible.

2. Inasmuch as the convention approves the consolidation of the Exchange with the Farmers Alliance, we recommend that there be a committee of five appointed from this body to co-operate with a like committee from the Farmers Alliance Exchange to formulate a plan of such union, and report a constitution and by-laws to the next State Alliance.

H. C. MARTIN,
J. V. W. COBB,
W. C. RIVES,
Committee.

THE Erie Railroad spent in one year \$1,000,000 in controlling elections and "seeing" legislators. The Pacific Railroad spent as much in one session of Congress to secure favorable legislation.

ADDRESS OF COL. L. L. POLK
Delivered at the Piedmont Exposition, at Atlanta, Georgia, October 24, 1889.

For this distinguished honor, conferred through the kind partiality of the board of managers of this great Exposition, I desire to express my warm appreciation and my most grateful acknowledgments. An honor doubly dear to my heart, since I come as the representative of a State and a people whose regard for Georgia and her people is as tender, as loyal, as fraternal, and as sincere as that expressed in the beautiful and touching language of Ruth to Naomi. Bound to you by the ordeal of common suffering, the glories of common triumph, the tender ties of blood and kinship, and sharing in common the cherished deeds and traditions of the past, the opportunities and duties of the present, the inviting promise and responsibilities of the future, North Carolina hails her queenly sister—the Empire State of the South—with the assurance and pledge of her profound interest, her unwavering fidelity, and her sincere sympathy in all that pertains to the promotion and development of your magnificent commonwealth.

Yesterday, from my car window, I gazed through the hazy distance on the picturesque beauty and billowed grandeur of a vast and magnificent mountainous plateau. Across and through it has been drawn an imaginary State line. But the clouds, the glad sunshine, the pearly waters bursting from their rock-bound homes mid its lofty heights, the invigorating atmosphere—all in their missions of mercy, disdain this prescribed limitation in distributing and dispensing their blessings, thus typifying in physical nature that harmonious fraternity of spirit, that cordial congeniality of sentiment, that earnest sympathy and devotion which obliterates names, distinctions, divisions, and State lines in all matters common to the people of our two States.

We rejoice in your prosperity. In the marvelous transformation wrought out by your enterprise, sturdy energy, and indomitable perseverance, as illustrated in the growth of your villages, towns, and cities, the expansion of

your diversified industries and the superb display of the products of your soils and skilled labor in these spacious grounds and immense buildings we find evidences of those high qualities of manhood that shall, under divine favor, lead your State and the South to higher development and grander achievement than has, perhaps, ever blessed a people in all history.

With your genial climate, which is almost continental in its scope; with soils capable of producing nearly all the chief agricultural products of this vast country; your immense timber wealth, your splendid water-powers, your rich mineral resources, with a territory capable of sustaining a population of 12,000,000—equal to the entire population of the Empire of Brazil—with all the inherent elements for developing your State into a great agricultural and industrial empire—where, in all the earth, has the God of nature vouch-safed to man a heritage so princely and grand, a home so charming and delightful?

Among the many seductive considerations presented in the cordial and courteous letter of invitation from my gifted friend Mr. Grady,

was the fact that this is the Alliance and Farmers'

day of your exposition. This recognition of

the great agricultural interest is as just and considerate as it is graceful and appropriate, for

in the South it represents 71 per cent. of

our population and 38 per cent. of the

entire agricultural population of the United

States. It represents \$12,000,000,000 in

implements and machinery, and \$4,000,000,000

in the annual products of its labor. It supplies

over 72 per cent. of our domestic exports and pays four-fifths of the taxes of the country. The entire human family is dependent on it for raiment and daily food. The great propelling power which freights and drives our ponderous trains to and fro over our 150,000 miles of railway, which sends our ships of commerce to the ports of the world, which keeps in motion the vast machinery of all our industries, is the muscle of the strong and brawny arm of the American farmer.

We rejoice at the wonderful and marvelous progress in the arts and sciences, in transportation facilities, in mining and manufacturing, in the growth of towns and cities, as developed within the past two decades, and which was so graphically described last week by your distinguished guest and speaker, Governor Hill, of New York.

The growth of the country under aggressive American enterprise has excited the wonder and admiration of the world. Steam and electricity, those twin giants of power, have been harnessed to the blazing chariot of American progress, and have startled and staggered the human mind by their marvelous achievements. The nations of the earth now sit down in family conference. Steel rails, electricity, the steamship, the steam-power press and the locomotive, have revolutionized the industries and commerce of the world.

Twenty-five years ago, here stood the wreck of a country town. The Genius of ruin and desolation waved his black scepter in fiendish triumph over these hills and plains, while they trembled and quivered under the giant tramp of the war-gods and the reverberations of thundering cannon. To-day we behold with pride your beautiful and flourishing city. The grand rumbling of your trains, the inspiring scream of whistles, the ringing clatter of hammer and trowel, the musical hum of looms and spindles, the swelling din of workshops and factories, the tramp of your busy thousands, the tinkling ring of hammer and anvil, all join to swell the grand chorus of the world's happy song of industrial progress. In all this, I say, the farmers and patriots of the land most heartily rejoice.

But in this rapid development of our civilization, forces have been evolved, socially, industrially, morally, and politically, which are dangerous alike to the liberty of the citizen and to the life of the Republic, and the contemplation of which must arouse serious apprehension, if not alarm, with every reflecting patriot in our land.

Mighty problems confront us and must be met in a spirit of fairness, of justice, and of equity. We stand in the crucial era of our free institutions, of our republican form of government, and of our Christian civilization. "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," is one of the fundamental principles of our Government and must be observed and maintained if we would preserve a vigorous and healthful condition in our economic systems and perpetuate and advance our civilization.

"In our astounding development and almost bewildering progress, let us strive against the domination of one element over another. A just and safe equipoise between the great industries or material elements of our civilization must be maintained.

And on this day it may be appropriate and profitable for the thousands of representatives of the great agricultural interests here assembled to take a brief but faithful survey of the situation. Retrogression in American agriculture means National decline, National decay, and ultimate and inevitable ruin. The glory of our civilization can not survive the neglect of our agriculture, the power and grandeur of our country can not survive the degradation of the American farmer.

Railroads, villages, towns, cities, manufacturing

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

enterprise in all its departments, mercantile and speculative enterprise and corporations, flourish and prosper as never before in our history, and yet there are hundreds of thousands of farmers—honest, economical, industrious farmers, who have tilled good lands, have worked hard and lived hard, and are in worse condition financially to-day than they were twenty-five years ago. In 1860 the farmers of the United States numbered one-half our population and owned one-half the wealth of the country. In 1880, though still about one-half our population, they owned only about one-fourth the wealth of the country. From 1850 to 1860 they had increased the value of their farms 101 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 the increase was only 9 per cent. and yet our agricultural population had increased over 29 per cent., while the aggregate wealth of the country increased 170 per cent. In your own State of Georgia, while your population increased 60 per cent. from 1860 to 1886, your land decreased in value 33 per cent.

And now as to crops. In 1866 the wheat, corn, rye, barley, buckwheat, hay, oats, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco sold for \$2,007,462,231. In 1884, eighteen years later, when the cultivated acreage had been nearly doubled, the number of farms and farm hands had doubled, and agricultural implements and machinery had been vastly improved, these same crops sold for \$2,043,500,481, an increase of only \$36,000,000; or less than 2 per cent. more than they were sold for in 1866.

But we are told that this is due to over-production. There can be no overproduction so long as the cry for bread shall be heard from a single child in the land. It is not over-production, but it is the want of a proper distribution or equitable disposition of the products of labor.

Again, we are told that we can buy more with a dollar than ever before. But we ask, where is the dollar? And how much of the products of our labor will buy that dollar? And when obtained, will it pay more interest? Will it pay more debts? Will it pay more taxes? A pertinent inquiry might be appropriately introduced just here. Why should a United States bond bearing 4 per cent. interest be worth 127 cents on the dollar, while good farms can not be mortgaged for more than one-third their value, at 7 to 10 per cent. interest?

And how stands agriculture in the race of progress with manufacturing? From 1850 to 1860 agriculture led manufacturing in increased value of products 10 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 manufacturing led agriculture in increased value of products 27 per cent., a difference of 42 per cent. in favor of the increased growth of manufacturing.

With these significant and alarming facts before us, can we wonder that our young men are deserting the farms in favor of other vocations? In this fruitful land, where should be heard the husbandman's happy song of plenty and contentment, is it any wonder that we should hear the universal wail of "hard times" among the farmers? Our National Treasury is overflowing with millions and millions of dollars, needlessly wrung from the hard earnings of the people, while the business of the country is clogged and stagnated for the want of an adequate circulating medium. With an agricultural population whose energy, enterprise, industry, and skill is recognized the world over, with generous soils adapted to the successful growth of all the leading crops demanded by commerce, with the teeming millions of the earth as our customers, with transportation facilities equal to the productive power of the country, why should agriculture languish and decline?

But again. It is said that the strength and glory of a country is in the homes of its people. Look at France, that erratic but gallant, brilliant, socialist, and nihilism, solid for the

greatest good to the greatest number, solid for justice and equity among the people, as advocated by our patriot fathers, solid for the rights of the many as against the arrogant assumptions of the few, and solid for the integrity and dignity of that race which has illumined the brightest pages of the world's history with its grand achievements for the civilization and elevation of humanity.

I have thus but briefly adverted to some of the causes and conditions which have brought into being that splendid and powerful organization known as the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. Seeking to restore agriculture to its just position among the other great industries of the country and to reconstruct and re-establish our economic systems on the great and eternal principles of equity and justice, we ask not, but would refuse to accept, any special or class legislation on its behalf. Spurning the nursing bottle of the Government, we ask only for an open field and an equal chance. We ask not for charity, but we demand simple justice. Disguise it as we may, we are threatened to-day with the mightiest revolution—peaceful and bloodless I pray God it may be—that the world has ever witnessed. "Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace." The professional politician may remonstrate against "the farmer in politics," but there are great economic and legislative reforms demanded, alike, by justice and the necessities of the times, which, in importance and magnitude, rise far above any or all considerations of a mere partisan character and which "will not down at his bidding."

Humiliating as it may be to the pride of the American heart, painful and alarming as it may be to the Christian patriot, we have reached already, in the spring-time of our National life, the point where we must decide whether this is really a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," whether the citizen or the dollar is sovereign in this country, whether we shall have an aristocracy of wealth or an aristocracy of manhood and merit, whether we shall re-enthroned in sceptered power the majesty and sovereignty of the people, whether we shall restore our old ship of state to its ancient moorings, or whether it shall be engulfed in anarchy and ruin.

Reaching from New Jersey to New Mexico, and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, the millions of American freemen who are rallying to the standard of this grand organization, undivided by sectional lines, unbiased by sectional prejudice, united by common dangers, impelled by a common interest, actuated by a common purpose, knowing but one name, acknowledging but one flag—the flag of our great common country—invoking the benedictions of Heaven on their patriotic endeavor, they enter on their holy pilgrimage, led and guided by the Spirit of Justice as "a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," they will restore the ark of our covenant, fashioned and bequeathed to us by our fathers, to its ancient place in the holy of holies, in our Temple of Liberty.

THE monopolistic schemers are shrewd, but the people are patriotic and strong. The present awakening among the masses and the evident intent to defend their inherited rights is ominous for the conspirators who would prosper by corruption and betray their country for gain.

It is time that the senseless passion for accumulation beyond reasonable human needs received some sort of check. The uncompromising condemnation of a healthy public opinion will go far toward the accomplishment of the desired end.

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

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

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

Address all remittances or communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Entered at the post-office at Washington, D. C., as second-class mail matter.

ORDERS for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac should be sent in as early as possible, and bulked into clubs; this will facilitate shipment. Price 15 cents; two copies for 25 cents.

THE Proclamation of President Evan Jones, in regard to rituals, is published in this issue. Also a ruling in regard to membership.

An exchange tells as something remarkable the fact that King Manelik II., about to be crowned King of Abyssinia, is the son of King Haelon, by a woman whom Haelon first saw as a beggar soliciting alms at his palace gate. Nothing wonderful in that parentage for a king. A king, in fact every kind of a parasite, is usually a sort of a cross between a robber and a beggar. In the breed of our American kings and parasites there is, however, more of the robber than the beggar.

CAPITAL and labor are declared to be twin sisters; but, if so, labor seems to be a sort of Cinderella.

IN the very heart of the Capital City of the Nation, and about midway between the Capitol and the White House, Capital Farmers Alliance, No. 1, of the District of Columbia, holds its regular semi-monthly meetings. Members of Congress belonging to the order should make their arrangements to attend its meetings during the coming winter.

THE surplus now in the United States Treasury exceeds the hoards of all other nations combined.

Overproduction.

The usual manner of disposing of the damaging fact of low prices for farm products is to claim an overproduction in that line. It is a proposition easily understood and quite difficult to disapprove in an ordinary colloquial discussion, and hence passes for a solution of the question by not being contradicted. But when anything like a close analysis is applied its apparent potency is quickly eliminated.

An overproduction is that amount of any commodity remaining after every use to which it can be applied has been fully satisfied.

A surplus is that amount which remains unused from any cause whatever.

Want of ability to purchase, a desire to hoard, or an underconsumption may produce a sur-

plus. But an overproduction comes only through a surplus of success, or by a reckless and persistent industry. If all our people were comfortably fed, housed, and clothed there neither could nor would be an overproduction, speaking in general terms. It is an indisputable fact that the wants and desires of community keep even pace with increased production. The luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of to-day, and the whims of to-day become the settled fashions of to-morrow. The old is discarded for the new, and the new is taken with the anticipation of being replaced by something different in the near future. This applies to but one class of producers as a rule. It will hardly apply to the farmer. Wheat makes flour now as it did when first produced. Beef, pork, cotton, and wool fulfill about the same mission among the race as ever, with the exception of being more largely consumed. Production in this direction has been very largely increased. Yet there is no overproduction. There can be no overproduction of wheat or meat while any of our people are suffering from hunger. There is no overproduction of boots or shoes when people are barefoot, or of clothing when people are poorly clad. There is no over-stock of laborers when thousands are suffering for want of the articles these laborers could produce, neither is there too many homes when they could be filled with tenants able to pay rent if work could be obtained.

John Stuart Mill discusses the question at great length, but with the same conclusion. He says:

The argument against the possibility of general overproduction is quite conclusive, so far as it applies to the doctrine that a country may accumulate capital too fast; that produce in general may be increasing faster than the demand for it, reducing all persons to distress. This proposition, strange to say, was almost a received doctrine so late as thirty years ago.

Let us go to the figures and amounts themselves and ascertain how much this alleged overproduction was. Working from the rule that this surplus is sent abroad, we find that, in 1888, we exported in all, of beef, pork, and dairy products, 1,132,000,000 pounds, 120,000,000 bushels of wheat and flour (reduced to bushels), and that our whole exports amounted to \$683,000,000. Had the 65,000,000 of our people consumed each day that year more than they did consume, one ounce of meat, it would have taken 1,470,000,000 pounds, 338,000,000 pounds more than was exported.

If they had consumed four ounces of flour each day it would have required 1,48,280,000 bushels of wheat, 28,280,000 bushels more than was exported. If they had expended 3 cents each day for products in excess of what they did expend, they would have bought \$711,750,000 or nearly \$29,000,000 more than was expended. Does any one doubt that our people could have consumed one ounce of meat or four ounces of flour each day more than they did? Go among the alleys, the by-ways, and almshouses, and be taught better. Could we not have expended three cents each day for the comforts or necessities of life more than we did? Stand on the street corner and notice the crowds as they pass by, and receive the answer. Where there is a demand there is no other limit to consumption than the limit of

overproduction.

Overproduction is one of those alleged causes, although food, clothing, houses, and everything useful to mankind are, and probably always will be, in deficiency as compared with the needs of them if the means were at hand to purchase. The constant effort of the human race is, and ought to be, to multiply production. The aggregate effective demand for products, that is to say, the aggregate demand accompanied by an ability to purchase, always increases with production. Supply and demand mean substantially the same thing, and are nothing but two faces of the same fact. Every new supply of any product is the basis of a new demand for some other product. The capacity to buy is measured exactly by the extent of production, when the medium of exchange is sufficient, and there is practically no other limit to consumption than the limit of

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 26.

THE RAILROAD THEORY OF "VALUE."

Having adopted the theory of considering only the element of value, or what shippers can afford to pay for the service of transportation rather than go without it altogether, as a basis for adjusting the freight rates, it is interesting to see to what lengths Mr. Alexander and his associates in the railroad advocacy are carried by that elimination of one of the greatest elements of value.

In the first place, it is worthy of notice, that after having discarded the theory of cost of service, as a basis of rates, Mr. Alexander is unable to avoid constantly returning to it in the course of his argument, as a vital and necessary element. His sense of fairness makes him stipulate that the limit of variation between local and through rates is fixed by the principle that the rates "must not exceed a reasonable profit to the carrier as a maximum, and that they may be reduced to what the traffic will bear as a minimum, if it does not involve the carrier in actual and permanent loss." As an illustration of the minimum as applied to through or competitive traffic, he asserts that "railroads must and should compete at competitive points, down to a limit which is not the average cost of doing all the business, but the extra cost of the special additional business."

But with this recognition of principles, Mr. Alexander puts the whole subject back upon the basis of cost of service. How shall the issue, whether a high local rate involves a reasonable profit or not, be determined without the exact and thorough knowledge of the cost of service which Mr. Alexander declares to be impossible?

The question of a reasonable profit necessarily brings up not only the exact element of cost of service, but the question of watered stock. That suggests further question whether the local traffic being unable to obtain the benefit of competition is to pay the profit necessary to yield the dividend on inflated capital, while the competitive traffic is entirely freed from any burden on that account unaided. The latter part of the subject must be reserved for future discussion; the former is vital to the present issue.

If the railroad interest would produce authentic and exhaustive statements of the cost of service on local traffic as compared with that of the through business, or would show us that there was so much higher cost on the former as to justify the radical differences in the charges, they would make the first step towards sustaining their position, that the rate charged upon the local traffic is not an unreasonable one. But the statement that the cost of service is generally discarded as an element

of rates, is so far justified by the fact that all the discussion on this subject, and all the investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission have so far failed to elicit from the railroad interest a single authentic transcript from their books and ledgers showing the exact factors of the cost involved in a single case of high-rate local transportation. I believe it to be true that the abnormal and false methods of the railroad system, having emancipated the railroad managers from the necessity of exact knowledge upon this vital point, have resulted so that they do not obtain even an approximate understanding of the cost of performing the transportation for the different classes of freight which they carry. This has reduced the business to a blind and hap-hazard application of the principle of what the freight will bear, with the result of charging the last cent that it will bear upon local traffic and taking just what the railroad can get upon competitive traffic. But the point of the whole attack upon that method of doing business is that it results in exacting unreasonable profit, from the local traffic. In determining the question as to what is a reasonable profit, it is not logical or pertinent to confine ourselves to the fact that the charges now made upon local traffic are less than they were when the railroads were first put in operation, and merely a fraction of what they were before the railroads were built. A man can now buy for \$30 a suit of clothes which would probably have cost him \$60 or \$70 twenty-five years ago. But if he were charged \$30 for such a suit by his tailor and should discover that his next-door neighbor had got the same suit for \$10, with possibly an overcoat thrown in (to balance the extra transportation furnished in the parallel case of discrimination between San Francisco and El Paso), he would not require an exact and authoritative analysis of the cost of making such a suit, in order to reach the conclusion that the tailor had charged him an unreasonable profit, by making him pay \$30 for what he could afford to sell to another man for \$10.

The whole issue depends upon the assertion that the high rates to the local points, justified and supported by the corporate theories, involve an excessive and unreasonable profit; and the entire railway arguments are rendered useless by the return of their supporters to the concession that the profits must not be unreasonable, and the claim that after the case is argued out the profit which is shown to exist is not so. Against that position let us take exactly the figures furnished us by Mr. Alexander to illustrate the workings of the principle. With regard to the \$2.14 rate to Ogden, Utah, on a haul of 2,400 miles, as compared with the rate of 87 cents to \$1.25 on the 3,200 miles to San Francisco, Mr. Alexander says: "The net revenue upon the through business taken at such rates is probably not a third of the net revenue which would be lost upon the local, pound for pound, by the reduction." That is, on the reduction of the local rates to the level of the charge made upon the through rate. This statement of the proportion of the net profits is, not of course, intended to be exact, and it would be unfair to hold the writer to it as anything more than an approximation. But it serves the purpose of an illustration to show that, if the net revenue on the through charge of \$1.25 is approximately one-third of the excess of the rate of \$2.14 above that, the net profit on the through traffic is in the neighborhood of 30 cents. The cost of performing the transportation is, therefore, in the case of the longer haul about 95 cents. But if the railroad has to pay 95 cents for hauling a given class of freight 3,200 miles, it is evident that it will cost it somewhat less to haul the same amount of the same freight only 2,400 miles. Suppose the saving of a quarter of the distance to involve only the saving of one-eighth the expense. That makes the expense of the local haul in this case about 83 or 84 cents, and leaves the local rates of \$2.14, approximately shown to be apportioned between 84 cents for the expense of transportation and \$1.30 for net profit to the transporter.

As I stated a little before, the estimate of the proportion of profit on each class of charges is not exact, and can not be held to be authoritative; but it is cogent that however it may be varied, a phenomenal difference in the profits drawn from each class remains. If the net revenue on the lower rate were only 10 cents, then we have a comparison of the net revenue on the local rates over ten times as large as that drawn from the through traffic. Again, as Mr. Alexander points out, when in times of railway and water transportation wars, the through rate is reduced as low as 87 cents, we would have the spectacle of the railroad throwing away money upon the through traffic, which loss inevitably must be made up somewhere or other. That fact requires us to try to justify the war rate of 87 cents by supposing that the net revenue upon the through traffic is even greater than Mr. Alexander estimates. To enable us to suppose that the railroad gets some net revenue out of the 87 cent rate, we must suppose the cost of transportation to be at least slightly below that figure. But if it is so, the supposed cost of transportation upon the local haul three-quarters of the distance is inevitably to be lowered also. And thus the spectacle of a charge supposed to be divided into one-third cost and two-thirds profit is succeeded by one in which the proportion of cost is lowered to one-quarter or one-fifth of the charge, and we must assign three-quarters or four-fifths to the proportion of profits.

These estimates bear with especial severity upon the theory that the cost of service must be ignored, and show the necessity of exact knowledge on that point, for two reasons: first, that the narrow margins which, by the state of the case on through traffic, are shown between the cost and the amount received, would make a mistake more vital; and would, in the next place, if the estimate of cost is erroneous, produce a result which, I understand Mr. Alexander himself to agree to be unjust and abnormal, of transacting the through business at a loss which must be made up out of the high rates charged on the local traffic. Even upon the theory of taking through business only at the "additional cash outlay," which Mr. Alexander

pictures as the true basis for that rate, the elements of expense in railroad operation which go to make up that additional cash outlay are among those which are most difficult to state correctly. The whole attempt of the railway advocates to justify the practice under discussion, is based upon the idea that the additional outlay upon the through traffic is confined to the motive power necessary to haul the freight from its point of shipment to its point of destination. Sometimes we are even confronted with the theory that not all of that motive power is to be counted as expense, because if the railroad does not haul the loaded cars which carry this freight, they would have to haul them empty. Such a theory might have some force if the practice of charging low through rates was confined to an occasional shipment when the railroad had empty cars that must be taken from the terminal points, and would otherwise be hauled without a load. But when the practice is, as it is conceded to be, a regular custom for the purpose of establishing a steady and reliable movement of through freights, it is evident that the cost of hauling the freight and performing the through transportation is not only all the motive power that is expended, but must inevitably include other items of expense in railway service.

To confine the estimated expense on through business simply to motive power, which in 1887 was six-seventeenths of the total expenses of the Union Pacific system, is to ignore the necessity of the majority of the expenses which make up the other twelve-seventeenths. The expense of the through traffic, as a regular part of the business, not only includes the extra cost of motive power, but it produces a considerable proportion of the expenses of "conducting transportation," which made five-seventeenths of the total expenses of the Union Pacific system in 1887; it includes also a large share of the "general expenses," which were about one-and-a-half-seventeenths; it contributes its exact proportion per ton per mile to the wear and tear of tracks, which calls for expenditure on "maintenance of way," which comprises three-seventeenths of the expenses; and it contributes exactly the same proportion per ton per mile of the wear and of the cars in which it is carried, which make up the remaining part of the expenses of railway operations as generally classified, and as set forth in the report of the Union Pacific railway, from which I have obtained these rough proportions. In all these departments of expense, the through traffic, regularly maintained and made a certain feature of railway business, must inevitably require its proportion. The proportion may be somewhat less in some cases; it is more in others. To make the local traffic bear the entire charges of maintenance of cars and way, and the entire charges of conducting transportation, is simply to impose upon it more than half the elements of expense involved in transporting the through traffic, and to do what every intelligent railroad man in discussing this question acknowledges should not be done, make the local traffic pay the expense of carrying the through traffic at a loss, in order to carry on competition with other

roads, which is only useful as a means of killing off that competition.

But unless those items of expense are imposed exclusively upon the local traffic, the remarkable variation and differences in the profits assessed upon the two classes of traffic, remain wholly unjustified. Of the elements of expenditure in carrying on the railroad business, the three items: motive power, maintenance of way, and maintenance of cars, are produced in exact proportion to the number of tons per mile hauled, or in other words, a hundred tons hauled 500 miles requires only half as much motive power, and imposes half the wear and tear of cars, and half the deterioration of track that is involved when the hundred tons it hauled 1,000 miles. These items made up ten-and-a-half seventeenths of the expenses of the Union Pacific railroad in 1887. The items of general expense, and of conducting transportation, which may be regarded as arbitrary or absolute charges for cost of traffic, whether the freight is hauled 100 miles or 1,000, made up six-and-a-half seven-teenths. In other words, three-fifths of the cost of service being those elements which increase in exact proportion to the distance hauled, the other two-fifths being absolute, or imposed in equal amounts upon long and short hauls, it is evident that the progression of expense is steady, although not necessarily in exact proportion to distance. To illustrate: Supposing the expense of transporting 100 pounds of sugar 500 miles to be 25 cents, according to this proportion 10 cents is made up of items which must be imposed, no matter how far the freight is carried. In that case the expense of hauling the same freight 250 miles will be, first, the same 10 cents of absolute expense, and, next, one-half of the 15 cents, which is the amount in the other expense that increases or diminishes in proportion to distance; making an expense on the shorter haul of 17½ cents as against 25 cents on the 500 miles. On the other hand, if the distance is doubled, the 10 cents will remain the same, and the 15 cents, the proportion of expense varying with distance, must be doubled, making a rate of 40 cents for the longer haul, as against 25 cents for the original one. Let us concede that these supposed figures are subject to immense variation and numerous exceptions, for that is undoubtedly the case. It nevertheless remains that the items of expense, with rare exceptions, increase as the distance increases, though not in exact ratio to it. The expense of taking a car of grain from Chicago to the seaboard may be actually a little less than the expense of taking the same grain from a local station 50 miles east of Chicago, where the terminal expenses are actually larger; but that is the rare exception. It is impossible to haul a car-load of freight 1,000 miles at less expense than 500, and by so much more is it impossible to make the expense of transportation over 3,000 miles less than that for 1,000 or 2,000.

Another point is vital in this connection. Mr. Alexander estimates that the net revenue from the through traffic which obtains the low rate is one-third of the net revenue upon the high rate charged to the local traffic. Beyond that he asserts that the volume of the local

traffic, which pays so many times more in net profits to the railroad, is three times or more than that of the through traffic; so that the value of the local traffic is, by Mr. Alexander's own estimate, nine times that of the through. Yet we have in the cases of local discrimination, which are presented for discussion, the remarkable attitude of the railroad in burdening and dwarfing the traffic which is of greatest value to it, and favoring and keeping that which is of the least value. One of the most legitimate justifications for special reductions of rate to special classes of traffic, is the purpose of encouraging that traffic, and thus enhancing the business of the railroad. Yet the conditions which prevail with regard to competitive and non-competitive traffic are such as we see that the railroads burden and dwarf that traffic which is not only the most valuable, as being constantly assured, but which is also the most important as furnishing the greatest volume. If with a proposition of net profit three times as great upon the local traffic as upon the through, the local traffic has developed a volume three times greater, how much more important it would be for the railroad to lower its excessive margin of profit imposed upon the more desirable traffic, and to seek compensation for the reduced charge in the increased volume which they would thus secure to themselves. According to Mr. Alexander's own proportion, the reduction of the net revenue upon the rate on local traffic to the amount of the net revenue on through traffic, would yield the railroad three times the amount of net traffic in total results, and there is no doubt that such a reduction in rates upon local traffic if it were possible, would promptly secure a remarkable enhancement and expansion of shipments that would in a comparatively short time more than compensate the railroad for the reduction in its rates of charges. This may seem a rash and perhaps a rather arbitrary statement, but it is practically demonstrated by the fact that while the Pacific railroads have crossed the continent and performed transportation along their lines for twenty years, the wonderful growth and expansion of industry that has lately taken place upon certain portions of their line only appeared after competing railroads have reached to these points where the increase of population has been noticed, and relieved the local traffic from the exactions which the railroad imposed so long as they were free from competition.

The first contradictions and errors of the railroad arguments in support of local discriminations are the inevitable result of the false conditions out of which those discriminations grow. The influences which force the railroad managers into the position of asserting practically that the whole of a certain transportation is less than one of its parts leads those who try to justify the practice into the most remarkable positions. We have seen how it forces the most able of them, first, into the declaration that the most vital and universal element of value is to be rejected as a factor in the proper adjustment of railroad rates; next, after having formulated the theory of discarding that element, to return directly to it in the assertion that the rates upon local traffic must

not exceed a reasonable profit, and that those upon the through traffic must not fall below the cost of service; then to present as a reasonable profit a charge which, upon the most liberal estimate, is made up of a little more than one-third cost, and a little less than two-thirds profit; then to represent that a business which involves wear and tear of tracks, use of cars, the salaries of agents, clerks, and general managers is not to be charged with the items of general expense of conducting transportation and of maintenance of cars and way. All this is in order to reach the final assertion that the relative advantage shown in the contemporary existence of a transportation charge of \$1.25 from New York to San Francisco, as against \$2.14 from New York to Ogden, is not, as appears upon its face, unfair and adverse to the people, who have to pay the highest charge. The argument closely examined and properly analyzed disproves itself. The attempt to make the incongruous appear harmonious subjects it to suspicion at the outset; and the chief result is to extend throughout the branches of the argument the same sort of contradiction and incongruity as is inherent in the subject at the start. The greater is not to be included within the less; and the whole can not be made smaller than one of its parts.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

For What it was Created and What it Should Accomplish

BY COL. ROBERT BEVERLY, OF VIRGINIA.
Ex-President Farmers National Congress.

The writer has foreseen for twenty years the necessity of this Department, not as a mere seed-store to furnish M. C.'s electioneering packages paid for by the public treasury, nor yet for statistical information, important as that might be; nor as an experiment station, in which capacity the late bureau performed faithfully its part with the limited means supplied by Congress.

Now, at the eleventh hour, when this the most important interest of the country is so depressed that impending bankruptcy is the most flourishing crop in all of the agricultural States, the so-called Solons of the land throw a tub to the whale by facing about andcondescendingly granting us a "Department of Agriculture" without any additional appropriations or powers. Thanks for that much to the able chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the House in the two last Congresses!

For what is this Department created? Not, I say, to run a seed-store, etc., but to look after this grand interest of the country, and to advise and demand such legislation as will save it from impending bankruptcy.

I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the farmers of the United States have worked as hard and lived as economically as any people on the face of the earth; that, with the smiles of Providence in sending good seasons, their sweat and toil has brought forth all the fruits of the earth and necessities of life even until some cry "overproduction." That the wealth produced by their labor is piled up in the coffers of the monopolists of the cities, who are living in the greatest affluence of any people under the sun—yea, beyond that of the crowned heads of Europe. Why is this? Because there has been no legislation for the benefit of the agricultural interest and much detrimental to it, and in behalf of trusts, monopolies, banking institutions, etc. The reason of this latter injustice is that the majority of both houses of Congress, since the war, have been members of these corporations or their attorneys.

Now, what can this Department do, and how do it? Why, in Cabinet council it should set forth the deplorable condition of agriculture;

it should have a statistical report of the mortgages on farms and how rapidly they are increasing, and it should demand relief and restoration to this vital interest of the Nation:

1. The railroad companies and European syndicates fraudulently obtained possession of a belt of land twenty miles wide on either side of all the great trunk lines of railroads right through the public lands west of the Mississippi River—more territory than was embraced in the original thirteen States and ten times more fertile. This has enabled them to control the great meat and grain interests of the country to the ruin of the small farmers. Now, these public lands and reservations belong to the people. The consideration of this matter should be assigned to this Department and it should sift it to the bottom. Is it not time that some department of the Government should take hold of it? If not too late, this Department should be empowered to recover all the public domain that has been fraudulently alienated from the people.

First as to live stock: A timely notice of an approaching blizzard would save 1,000,000 lambs (by the owners having them driven to shelters or protected places), likewise calves and all young stock, and many of the old animals, and, indeed, as in the blizzards of the Northwest, human beings as well.

Then, in the harvesting of grain and hay,

only an experienced farmer knows what forty-eight hours' warning will often save. It can surely be counted by many millions. Who can estimate the time lost by thus working blindly in the dark and against what light would show us? Not only lost crops, but lost time and labor.

In the cotton-belt, with the fields white with the opening bolls, how much more could be saved by forty-eight hours' warning of an approaching storm by applying additional picking force, even to house-labor, and pushing every energy.

The truck-growers informed forty-eight hours ahead to gather what is ripe; or not to ship because shipment will freeze—what interest is more dependent than this? None, unless it be tobacco, and of this crop millions are lost every year for want of this service—millions lost by being left standing too late and caught by frost, and millions lost by being cut too soon for fear of frost; cut green, for want of the information that this system might give. To this interest alone \$5,000,000 might be saved annually.

It is not often that the frost reaches the orange-groves of Florida, but when it does it destroys like fire. Forewarned, their ripe fruit could all be picked, or fires built to protect their compact groves.

Last, the loss of human life by being unwared of coming changes and storms may seem small, but the medical faculty would astound us by giving the number of convalescents and delicate persons who die annually for the want of this foreknowledge, without including those lost in blizzards, floods, and storms on the rivers and lakes and mountain ranges from pneumonia.

Enough about the Weather Bureau. One question more: These trusts and monopolies, such as the trusts on coal-oil, sugar, salt, twine, such as the bagging for cotton, are they to be sanctioned and added to the railroads, telegraph companies, and telephone company? Are they to be allowed to flourish like young bay-trees until they include all articles of commerce—until they smother out all competition, all industries, all liberty among the people? The agricultural interests are more dependent on the weather than any other, and more than half of the 60,000,000 people in the United States are dependent on agriculture. It can be developed by putting it under the management of the most scientific men in the United States, whether educated at West Point or elsewhere, and assigning the Bureau to the Department of Agriculture. This Bureau should establish a code of signals, consisting of flags by day and lights by night, indicating the coming changes or state of weather, these signals to be run up at 2 A. M. on a high pole at every telegraph office in the United States. These signals can predict forty-eight hours ahead (and by perfecting the system and enlarging the means of information to the Bureau can extend to seventy-two hours ahead), and advise of all storms and changes that will occur by signal to the locality where they may occur. These signals will soon be so well understood that the most ignorant laborer will look to them to know what sort of work to go at. Nor will it be limited to the telegraph stations. Many of these stations can be seen over half the adjacent cultivated area, but why

not re-signal these predictions to an observatory on some high point, and thus extend them over all the land?

The former chief of bureau said this would cost \$500,000 the first year and \$300,000 each year thereafter. What if it costs \$2,000,000 annually; can any man overestimate the millions it would save? It would take too much space to go into the particulars, but I will briefly outline the advantages.

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APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

SHELTER AND STABLING FOR ANIMALS.

The humane man desires that every creature depending upon him for the comforts of existence shall be protected from all unnecessary suffering. That animals do not suffer at all from exposure to the most pitiless storms appears to be actually believed by many. No greater mistake can be made. Not only do animals thus exposed plainly express by their actions acute suffering, but many actually perish.

It is well known that in almost every severe blizzard thousands of both sheep and cattle perish on the ranges and ranches of the West. It is estimated that one-fourth of all the animals newly introduced, or certainly one-fifth of them, as exposed on the ranges are destroyed annually by the storms of winter. This means nothing else than that they are frozen to death. First, perhaps their sufferings are such that they cease to feed on even the scant fare accessible to them, and, as animal heat depends clearly on food supply, they can not long resist the intense cold after they cease to feed. Reflect now upon the cruel sufferings of the three-fourths, or four-fifths, of these new range animals which do actually survive the winter. It may well melt the heart of a Bergite, whose righteous soul is vexed beyond endurance at the sight of a hound chasing a fox, or a gentleman riding a horse in a gallop. The hardships of the range, both for man and beast, may indeed, aside from all silly and hysterical humanitarianism of the professional sort, well excite pitiful emotions in the most manly breast. When one of those terrible storms strikes the range, the cattle turn their heads opposite the direction from which the wind blows, and drift before the storm, maintaining a steady pace, hour after hour, until some natural shelter is reached, or until the fury of the storm abates. They often cover more than 100 miles before they halt. If any weak ones tire down and come to a stop, they are speedily frozen to death. If an impassable obstacle is met, compelling a halt, many are certain to perish. There are ten millions of cattle and a greater number of horses and sheep on the ranges. It is certain that above two millions of these animals perish every winter. In the face of such facts, it is but idle to maintain that unsheltered animals do not suffer from exposure to inclemencies of weather. It is entirely certain that they do. On the farms of the older States where all animals are regularly fed very few actually die, even when fed in the open fields. Yet that they suffer very acutely at times is perfectly certain, and that they always lose condition in stormy and inclement weather, even when fed all they will eat, is also true. Therefore, seeing that a merciful man is merciful to his beast, we hold it true that both humanity and economy demand that all animals should be provided with some shelter as a protection against storms in winter. It is often impracticable to do this where very large numbers are carried, because not only is the expense of providing the shelters important, but the expense of feeding and watering sheltered and housed animals is necessarily much greater than in the case of animals fed in lots or open fields. It often happens that in comparative feeding tests animals fed in open lots do better than others similarly fed in stalls. Animals unaccustomed to be housed resent confinement to such a degree as to lose condition, no matter how liberally they may be fed. The question how much a wild animal, unaccustomed to be handled and housed, will lose in condition from irritation and fretting when confined in a stall, is a

very different question from how much an animal accustomed to be handled and housed will lose when exposed without shelter to wintry storms. All animals do better if they have sufficient exercise in the open air than if too closely confined, not taking into account such obvious facts vitiate many of the conclusions drawn from costly feeding experiments, and leads to many costly errors in ordinary farm practice. The best results the writer ever obtained in feeding cattle were from a lot of young high-grade Short Horns, fed in good weather in open yards, but housed at night and, during severe weather, in comfortable stalls.

Here we encounter an error which pervades nearly the whole system of scientific experimentation in agriculture, viz., the approach of these questions exclusively from the chemical side. An analysis is supposed to settle everything. So much carbon oxidized by respiration and furnished in food supply; so much heat developed, so much heat lost by radiation at the temperature of warm stables; so much greater amount lost from exposure to the low temperature and wet of open yards, equal to so many pounds of fodder. All very simple, indeed, and provided a sow was a piece of chemical apparatus and not a living organism, all very correct. Upon one occasion the writer was shown by a distinguished feeder and breeder of cattle, two stables, each containing two hundred head of two-year-olds, past grade, Short Horns. The stables were an exact duplicate in all details; the cattle were of the same breeding, the same age, nearly the same average weight and condition when put in the stalls; the ration for the two lots was absolutely identical, and yet while one lot had gained an average of 100 pounds each in weight the other lot had lost an average of 100 pounds each. The only difference was that the lot which gained had been always accustomed to be handled and housed, the lot which lost had never been handled or confined at all in any way. This case might well paralyze one of the celebrated German chemists who, upon a system of analysis of the feed and excreta of one or two animals, attempted the calculation of nutritive rations which were to reduce feeding to an exact science. The writer is himself a professional chemist and teacher of chemistry of many years experience, and it can not be supposed that he is inclined to depreciate the importance of chemistry in agriculture.

At the same time, from his life-long acquaintance with practical agriculture, and his professional acquaintance with the principles of animal and vegetable physiology, it ought to be admitted that he knows what he is saying when he insists that chemistry is not agriculture any more than practical agriculture is chemistry. In spite of all that has been said, life has neither any known chemical nor mechanical equivalent; certainly it can not be scientifically stated, in the present state of knowledge, how much irritation of confinement in a wild animal is equivalent to a loss of 100 pounds live weight, nor on the other hand is there a chemical or a mechanical form of expression for the ease and comfort of a gentle animal calmly reposing in a warm stall, which is equivalent to 100 pounds gain in live weight. One difficulty in open shedding to which animals can resort at will is that they will not seek its protection, nor stay under it if put there, unless actually shut up, even though the weather be so inclement as to cause them great suffering from direct exposure to it. The writer has known a flock of Southdowns yarded in an inclosure on two sides of which were dry, roomy, comfortable sheds, yet they would not lie under them at night, even during the prevalence of rain and sleet and snow. But are we to argue from such a case that it is better to expose highly-bred sheep at night to the fury of sleet and rain and snow, driven before the pitiless wintry wind, than to shelter them under

a comfortable, clean, dry shed? Yet that very argument was made by men known to be skilled practical farmers, and successful handlers of sheep, in this very case. They maintained that if it was better for the sheep to lie under the sheds than to lie out in the wet, they would of themselves lie under them. The question being put, Is it better for a sheep to feed or not to feed on laurel? which he is certain to eat if he can get it, and certain to die if he eats it, no intelligent reply was attempted. The fact is, very many highly-bred sheep are lost from just such exposure. Probably a still greater number are lost from too close housing and too high feeding combined. The question of the advisability of providing shelter for animals and of the kind, whether open except toward the north, at the back and end, or close all around, or merely a wind-break, such as a hedge or a thicket, or the lee side of a straw-rick, will vary with a great variety of circumstances. Costly structures for this purpose may amount, and will generally amount, to a waste of money. Simple, inexpensive arrangements are equally serviceable, and may frequently, from thorough ventilation and ample room, prove better for the animals. South of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi close stables are not only not necessary for ordinary farm-stock, but the animals will very generally do better under open sheds, or even without any shelter at all, than they will if too closely housed. A most excellent practical rule with regard to valuable animals is to give them the freedom of open lots and sunshine by day than the comforts of stables or stalls by night and during the prevalence of storms. We think the more strictly this rule of practice is tested by scientific principles the more clearly will it appear to be correct in theory as well as judicious in practice. Agriculture is a learned profession, a scientific and most highly intellectual pursuit—not a mere handicraft. This truth must be finally universally admitted.

IMPROVED LIVE-STOCK FOR THE SOUTH.

In the last number some remarks were made on the live-stock on exhibition at the show of the Rappahannock Valley Agricultural Society at Fredericksburg. The importance of live-stock industries at the South is just beginning to be understood by the planters. The necessity for the acclimation of improved breeds there is very apparent. The building up of

the feed and excreta of one or two animals, attempted the calculation of nutritive rations which were to reduce feeding to an exact science. The writer is himself a professional chemist and teacher of chemistry of many years experience, and it can not be supposed that he is inclined to depreciate the importance of chemistry in agriculture.

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THE REPORT OF THE BOTANIST NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Dr. Vasey's report on the grasses of the range country, of Montana especially, is before us, and we find the information therein contained of interest and value. We have about given up the hope of increasing the list of the most valuable cultivated grasses in the best part of the blue-grass country of the Middle States, unless cultivators shall produce hybrid, or rather mongrel, sorts capable of reproduction, as in the case of wheat. We have come to doubt whether any new exotic species of grass can be found in the world to take its place with us on equal terms in such a group as Timothy, Orchard grass, June grass, Blue grass, Red Top. It seems more than doubtful whether the present limits for these grasses can be extended very far in any direction on this continent. The practical question of the future will be as civilization conquers the range country, will any of the native grasses prove valuable and profitable in cultivation? Upon such a question it would be hazardous to venture an opinion based on a botanical description of an unknown variety. When we consider the cruel sufferings and dangers to man and beast inseparable from the range-stock business, we can not but welcome the thought that it has touched its highest point, and the hope that its disappearance before the advance of civilization from this time may be rapid. The production of a great surplus of butchers' meat on the range over and above the capacity of our population to con-

sume is, moreover, one of the great levers in the hands of monopoly to cripple or to crush the business on the lands where, under any system of proprietorship and taxation, it can be pursued more profitably than anywhere else, viz., on the blue-grass lands of our Middle States. When this artificial and unnatural business comes to an end there will be a greater certainty and stability in the business of civilized agriculture.

DRY FODDER OR ENsilAGE?

The absurd claims originally put forward concerning the amount of green-corn fodder which would grow on an acre of ordinary farming land, the more absurd stories about the extraordinary feeding-value of this green stuff, are no longer heard. Even when the corn is not, as formerly, sown broadcast, but planted in drills far enough apart to be worked between, and instead of being cut as formerly, before the ears formed, is allowed to produce and mature good ears before cutting, it is found that instead of forty tons per acre being only a small crop, fifteen tons is a crop above the average. And, whereas the feeding value of the best ensilage as now managed is the feeding value of a good corn crop with the feeding value of the stalks added, it is still a debatable question, whether the feeding value of the stalks as ensilage exceed the value of the ordinary dry fodder by an amount equal to the excess of the value of the corn cultivated and saved in the ordinary way over the value of the corn as produced and saved in the best ensilage. It has become quite clear that the difference is small in any case and that most likely the result will be in favor of the corn and dry fodder under certain conditions, and in favor of the best ensilage under other conditions. Probably the ensilage of the immature corn-stalks is no longer practiced; very probably the ensilage of the whole corn plant with the ear just too old for a roasting ear has a permanent place of value in American agriculture. At the South, as heretofore suggested in these columns, the growth of corn for ensilage to be fed out along with cotton-seed meal will in the future, be profitably and largely adopted. Also corn cured in the ordinary way and passed through a cutter, ears and all, and then steamed along with cotton-seed meal is a thing to be recommended. The Cavalier must call the sons of the Puritans to help them out of the ruts in which they are stalled.

best practice will likewise vary with localities and seasons. North of North Carolina it is very unlikely that any plant will ever supersede the Indian corn for the silo.

THE ELEMENT CARBON.

In former numbers of the paper we presented a popular view of the natural history and chemistry of the elements oxygen and nitrogen, suggesting a broader conception of the great natural functions of these most important substances than is usually suggested by the writers of natural history or chemistry. In this place it is proposed similarly to treat the element carbon. Like oxygen and nitrogen, the great natural store of carbon is found in the atmosphere; but not, like those elements, in the free or unconfined state. In the free state all persons of course know carbon can not be so thoroughly volatilized as to form a part of a gaseous mixture such as the air. Pure air may be regarded as a mechanical mixture of oxygen and nitrogen, and in that view of the case our atmosphere is not pure air, and the carbonic acid gas which is found in it, to the extent of about 3.33 parts in ten thousand, is a combination of one atom of carbon with two atoms of oxygen. This is an extremely minute proportion, but when the whole volume of the atmosphere is considered, the aggregate of carbon is seen to be very great. Let us here remark that this gas, denoted by the chemical expression CO_2 , is not an acid, though commonly so called. The acid contains two atoms of hydrogen and an additional one of oxygen, as denoted by the chemical expression H_2CO_3 . Carbonates are formed by the replacement of the hydrogen of the acid by a metal in the usual way, and the carbonates contain the group CO_3 , as in the carbonate of calcium denoted by the chemical expression CaCO_3 . It is therefore carbonic anhydride and not carbonic acid existing in the atmosphere. The real acid, H_2CO_3 , is not known, unless it is formed in the aqueous solution of the anhydride. This element carbon, though regarded as an impurity of the air, is one of the most important of its constituents, since it is from that source it is derived as an essential and characteristic substance in all organic matter, which is the physical basis of life. The ultimate function of the plant kingdom may be regarded as the dissociation of carbon from oxygen in the carbonic anhydride of the atmosphere, and its transference to the hydrocarbons and protoplasm of plants, in which forms it becomes the physical basis of all the activities of animal life. Note the fact that no animal possesses any such power, and we are in a position fully to appreciate the great historic truth of nature, that the plant kingdom must have preceded the animal kingdom upon the earth, as the mineral must have preceded the plant. Now we read the Mosaic account which has been attributed by great masters in modern science to the uninspired pen of a "semi-barbarous Jew," and see whether the workings and order of prehistoric nature have been correctly or incorrectly reported and described. After the plant has dissociated the carbon atom from the oxygen of atmospheric anhydride, as no animal can do, and has transferred it to the hydrocarbon and protoplasmic compounds which form the food supply of animals, the function of the animal is to dissociate the carbon from these compounds and carry it back to the oxygen of the anhydride which, by animal respiration and through decomposition of animal tissue and animal excreta, is restored to the atmosphere, its primal source. A contrast of the two kingdoms of organic life as to their relations to the element carbon is well calculated to enlarge the conceptions which the most learned have formed of the great phenomena of life as displayed in the universe at large. It would prove in vain to speculate upon the ultimate origin of

that vast supply of carbon now found in the atmosphere in the carbonic anhydride. Where was it? Whence came it? In what form did it exist prior to its entering into that combination? Did this carbon exist throughout a past eternity without any beginning at all? Or else, when, where, and how came it into existence? Also, when did it enter into chemical combination with oxygen to form anhydride of carbon? Where and how came that to pass? Of these things, and of such things, no man knows anything. If any man thinks that he knows, he is deceived; if he pretends that he knows, he is a deceiver, and the truth is not in him. We are not able to get back beyond the carbonic anhydride, at this time, found in the atmosphere, as the ultimate source of the carbon supply of nature. Such questions lie beyond even the vast conception of La Place. The nebular hypothesis has not even any real hypothetical grasp of them. They are a part of the great and marvelous mystery of the vast unfathomed depths of nature. As it reveals itself to our senses, carbon is peculiar with many allotropic forms, presenting such vivid contrasts as soot, lampblack, graphite, charcoal, and the diamond. In general there may be said to be three carbon allotropes—crystalline, graphitic, and amorphous. It is well known the chemistry of carbon compounds has become so vast as to be treated as practically a separate science.

PARIS TO AUBURN.

Gen. James H. Lane, the accomplished and successful teacher of engineering in the A. & M. College, has received news from Paris of the most gratifying character to the people of Alabama in general, and to the friends of this institution in particular.

General Lane sent to the Paris Exposition about fifty drawings done by students of the A. & M. College. The drawings were all regular class work, done one and two years ago, before there was any thought of the college having an exhibit at Paris.

A few days since the General received a letter from Mr. C. Wellman Parke, United States Superintendent of Education at the Paris Exposition, informing him that the jury had awarded the institution a bronze medal for drawings; also that the French Pedagogic Museum had requested that the exhibit be placed in their division, for the United States.

Mr. Parke also suggested that the A. & M. College exhibit would take a high place in the World's Exposition which is to be held in the United States in the year 1892.

This is a very high compliment to our college, and one that The Sketch Book is particularly proud to record. The engineering department of the polytechnic has been steadily improving and growing in reputation for some years. Young men trained in that course are now filling responsible and lucrative positions in various parts of the Union, and in foreign lands. The degree of B. E. conferred by this college is a passport to good employment.

But this compliment, coming from France, where the best drawings of the class are done—where we get many of our finest models—is a certificate of excellence which places this college in the front rank of American schools of engineering.—Auburn Sketch Book.

We take pleasure in republishing and extending the circulation of the above. It will be seen that this writer was not in error when, some months ago, the ground was taken in these columns that the Alabama school was one of the most successful of those endowed by Congress, and further, that the young men of the South need look no further than their own native States for an education to fit them for the great work of directing the industrial development of the South in all great lines of enterprise. General Lane is an intimate and valued friend of the writer, and was his colleague in the original faculty of the Virginia A. & M. College. He is a sterling and valuable man, and one of the best teachers in the South. He is a graduate of that great school, the Virginia Military Institute. During the civil war he was one of the most gallant and successful generals of brigade in the Southern Army. "There is life in the old land yet."

Address to Webster Farmers Alliance
Delivered by Dr. T. W. TAYLOR, of Fountain City, Indiana.

GENTLEMEN: We have met for the purpose of taking under consideration the claims of "The Farmers Alliance." Under the existing order of things is such an organization calculated to be beneficial to those who unite with it, and will its beneficent results extend to the Nation at large?

That the farmers and laborers, as a rule, are not as prosperous as are other classes of the people who do nothing to add to the wealth of the Nation seems to be generally conceded. The speculator and trader who deal in merchandise without in any way changing or adding anything to the articles they deal in; the bankers, and all who loan money at usury; the lawyers and those who have fixed incomes are not productive laborers. It is only the tillers of the soil who raise the food for man and the domestic animals, and the mechanic and artisan who take the crude products of nature, and, by bestowing labor upon them that adds to their usefulness, who are the producers of wealth, and from the result of their labors all non-producers draw their supplies of wealth and luxury. Now, while there is general recognition of the fact that the wealth produced by labor (all wealth is thus produced) does not remain with the laborers who produce it, but finds its way into the coffers of a class that produce nothing; while there is general recognition of this fact but very few people seem to understand how this state of affairs is brought about. There is no question of equal importance to all classes of working people about which there is so great a diversity of opinion, yet all agree that the causes that have produced this dangerous condition of affairs ought to be known by all American citizens, in order that the proper steps may be taken to remove them. The proposition seems to be so plainly just and right, that the producers of all wealth should be enabled to hold at least an equitable share of that which they produce, that no one actuated by a sense of justice will feel disposed to controvert it. While this is true, almost the entire class of producers have so far failed to make any effort to investigate the causes of their inability to hold a reasonable amount of the product of their labor. Such indifference upon the part of producers might be justifiable in a monarchical government, where the people have no power; but in a republic like ours, where every male citizen is a sovereign, and has the ballot placed in his hands, which makes him a part of the ruling class, such indifference is dangerous in the extreme. It therefore becomes a sacred duty of the producers of wealth to at once unite their forces in an organized capacity, in order that the right of the producers to the products of their labor may be secured to all alike. It seems to me that every farmer in the West, at least, where a majority have been working year after year at a positive pecuniary loss, must be ready to enter any organization of their fellows that offers to throw any light upon this vexed problem.

It is not claimed that any organization of farmers now in existence is perfect in every particular; but that the Farmers Alliance does offer advantages to the farmer that he can not secure by remaining outside must be apparent to every one who is willing to investigate its claims. What it proposes to do for the farmers you have learned in part from its declaration of principles which has been read in your hearing. Besides that, you have opportunities to examine the effect of its actual working among the farmers, for it has been in operation for over ten years; and in some of the Western States it has accomplished a great amount of good to the farmers, both in selling the products of their farms and in purchasing

what they need. In every State where it has become strong enough to start a State co-operative exchange, the advantages it offers its members are incalculable. Through the operation of this exchange the farmers can have some control over the price of what they have to sell and what they need to buy. As the case now stands the great trusts in the cities have the entire control of the price lists of all commodities; and the farmers have no alternative but to submit, or form themselves into a stronger combination in order that they may so regulate the price of commodities that justice may be secured to both consumer and producer. In some of the States, through the operation of the Farmers Alliance, this has become an accomplished fact, and what has been done in a few States can be done in all, by the great body of the farmers taking hold of the Alliance and working out its principles. The great trouble with the American farmer is that he feels too independent, and thinks it humiliating that he is unable to successfully manage his chosen business without the assistance of others outside his craft. In the early settlement of the country this feeling was justifiable, for the opportunities of acquiring a competency were unlimited. But the deterioration of the soil, the great increase of population, and the introduction of improved machinery has placed the farmer under a different order of things, and there must now be co-operation of the craft; and a higher order of knowledge of his business and his responsibility as an American citizen, in order that success may crown his efforts. He must learn that he is a ruler, a sovereign as well as a farmer, and that his most important duty is to study and know for himself the underlying principles of a just and wise government. A neglect of duty here may bring disaster and ruin upon the whole people, while a neglect to acquire the necessary knowledge to enable him to be a successful farmer only injures himself and family. In a republic like ours the great lesson for the people to learn is, that we are all interdependent upon each other, and that any legislation in favor of a special class is wrong, and must react to the detriment of other classes. We are bound together in the bonds of fraternity as one people, and must rise or fall together. Not only to teach this great lesson, but to put in practice its principles, is the leading object of the Farmers Alliance. As the source from whence springs all wealth is in the soil, and it is the farmer who brings it out for the use of all the people, for a nation to legislate against the interests of the farmer not only produces injury to him, but brings disaster upon the whole people. As the farmers have a majority of the voters, upon them must rest the greater share of responsibility of bringing about their own ruin along with the ruin of the Nation. Therefore the Farmers Alliance aims to instill in its members the principles of a just and wise government without in any way interfering with their party predilection. If history teaches anything it establishes the fact that no republic can long exist where justice and equity are not extended to all its citizens alike, and where the producers of all wealth are not secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Such a government can only be established and maintained by and through the united action of the producers of wealth. Ever since the dawn of civilization, in all forms of government, shrewd and scheming non-producers have managed to get a controlling influence in nearly all the governments of the world, and have shaped the laws of nations in such a way as to secure to their class all the gains that result from productive labor. Of all the governments the history of the world has handed down to us Sparta in Greece before the Christian era presents the only example of a government formed upon the principles of

justice and equality; where the laborers were protected in all their inalienable rights; where the possessors of virtue and intelligence were accorded the highest honors; and where wealth and luxury could find no place of refuge. The history of no other nation presents so beautiful an example as this, and for five hundred years Sparta was the light of the world.

In the progressive development of nations it is evident that this Nation now occupies the same position as educator of all peoples in the principles of civil liberty as did Sparta in her palmy days. To meet the responsibilities of our position it is the duty of every voter to study and know what is required to constitute a just and wise government. This knowledge can not be acquired in any class of existing schools, but must be learned by the citizens in organizations gotten up by themselves for that special purpose. It was for this purpose the Farmers Alliance was instituted, and after ten years of experience no other institution has seemed to meet the needs of the hour so well as it has. It has changed the condition of the farmers of the Southern States from that of dependence upon the merchants and business men for credit for all the necessities of life, for which exorbitant usury had to be paid, and through its system of co-operative Exchanges has enabled them to secure the highest price for what they had to sell and to buy for cash whatever they wish to buy at the lowest price consistent with justice. Through the workings of the principle of co-operation the poorer farmers are accorded equal chances with the most wealthy, both in selling the products of their labor and in buying what they need. In this way the Alliance places itself in harmony with Christ's teaching, that inasmuch as ye do good to them that need assistance you are fulfilling the law of righteousness and laying the foundations of a just and stable government.

The important lessons can only be learned in organizations among the labor classes; and among all these the Farmers Alliance offers the greatest good to the farmers, and I can hardly see how a farmer can claim to be a good citizen of this Republic and remain outside its folds. We can only gain wisdom by mutual interchange of ideas among our fellows. Isolation has ever been the great curse of the farmer. The need of the hour now is, that he shall be brought face to face with his fellows in organizations of their own, and for that purpose the Farmers Alliance has been placed in the field. For the farmer to remain outside now is treason to his craft and his country. The salvation of the country needs the united action of all the farmers and laborers in order that the right of the laborer to the fruits of his labor may be secured to him. To secure this right the control of the Government must be held by the classes that produce all the wealth of the nation and bear all its burdens. But the labor classes must be educated for the sacred trust, or no benefit will accrue to them. The right to vote is of no use to him who is too ignorant to know the needs of the country, or who is vicious enough to sell his vote for boddle. The great need of the country is a higher moral standard among the people, and a better knowledge of the principles of a just and wise government. To raise the moral standard and to educate the farmers in the principles of a people's government is a leading purpose of the Farmers Alliance.

In the existing condition of the country, the worst element of society, as found in the large towns and cities, has become the controlling element in the politics of the country. The leaders of one or the other of the two old political parties manage to get control of this element at each recurring election—the party that can bid the highest always securing the game. A few years more of such legislation as this secures, will reduce the labor classes to a condition worse than that of African slavery.

The main hope of the country is now in the tillers of the soil, who, if united in solid phalanx, can place in the halls of legislation men from their own ranks, who know the needs of the labor classes, and who will place upon the statute books of the Nation a code of laws that will restore peace and prosperity to this now unhappy country. In all previous crises of the country the farmers have come to the rescue, and have guided the Nation into safe harbors. Again the appeal comes to you to unite your forces and beat back the tide of corruption and profigacy from the cities which is fast undermining every vestige of civil liberty. Without organization there can be no unity of action, and the Farmers Alliance is just such an organization as should enlist the co-operation of the entire fraternity. Refuse to come into its fold and the consequences to the country no one can tell. Upon you, farmers of America, is resting the awful responsibility of nurturing and sustaining the ark of civil government builded upon the natural rights of man. Do not, I beg of you, disappoint the hopes of mankind by your neglect of duty, and thus let the grandest republic the world ever knew go to destruction. This Government of the people, by the people, and for the people must not be permitted to come under the control of a small class of mercenary money sharks and selfish vampires, who live and thrive by unjustly robbing the labor classes of the hard-earned products of their labor, and that, too, in accordance with the laws they have been placed in positions to enact. The productive laborers in all civilized lands are looking to this land of Washington to establish a government that will secure to the laborer the fruits of his labor—a principle of justice that is not secured by any government now in existence. This work of establishing such a government rests with the productive laborers, to whom is intrusted the use of the ballot. Only by organization and union of all their forces can the work be accomplished. Then let organization and union be the rallying cry of the farmers and laborers of the Nation.

THE ECONOMIST has received a number of letters from different sections of the cotton belt asking information in regard to the official order of the cotton committee calling a meeting for the 28th of September, and stating that these meetings would receive instructions. We are unable to state why so many States failed to receive the instructions, and it is probably the fault of the mails. The instructions were printed by the secretary of the cotton committee, Hon. B. M. Hord, Nashville, Tenn., and a package sent by him to each secretary of each State Alliance, to be sent by them to the County Alliance meetings at the county site, in time for the meeting on the 28th. As above stated, our correspondence shows that many of the meetings never received the data and the ECONOMIST is utterly unable to account for it on any other hypothesis than the irregularity of the mails.

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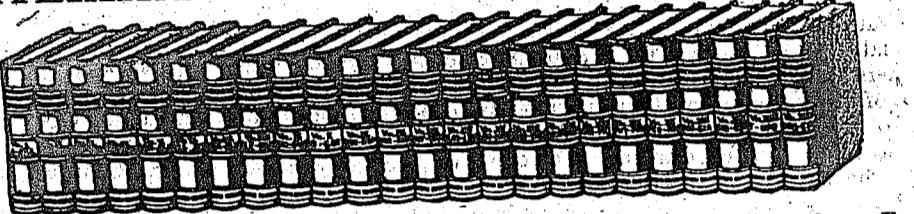
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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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VOL. II.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 9, 1889.

NO. 8.

Systematic Education in Economics.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," he uttered no mere empty declaration. "The Government does not take any interest in the producing classes," exclaim some people in terms of denunciation. The Government takes interest in the classes who take an interest in the Government. If one or two classes run the Government it will be run for the benefit of those classes. This is human nature. If the whole people run the Government, it will be run in the interest of the whole people. There are, unfortunately, far too many who seem to have supposed that this Government was a sort of political perpetual motion machine, which once started would go on continually doing honest, perfect work. In other words, they expected that it would be run perfect and pure in all its parts for their benefit, without they themselves devoting a moment's thought, time, or trouble to have it so. A republic is not that kind of a machine; it requires constant and close attention. It is invariably run in the interests of those who run it. If the masses of the people do not run it then it will be run at their expense, but not for their benefit. A republic should be a nation of thinkers. "When once," says Voltaire, "a nation begins to think, it is impossible to stop its progress." But wishing will not make us a nation of thinkers. It can be done, however, by properly organized effort. The delegates who meet at St. Louis in December should be prepared to devise or adopt some practical plan for the systematic education of the producers and workers there represented upon the economic, industrial and political questions in which they are so vitally interested. This special work has not hitherto received the attention which its importance deserves. It must be promptly and properly attended to at that meeting, and put in operation as soon as possible thereafter.

"What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the small man seeks is in others.—Confucius.

the best method and probable cost of collecting them. It is said that the cost will exceed the census appropriation for the work.

If so, however, Congress should promptly make the necessary supplementary appropriation so that it may be done in an efficient manner. This feature of the census should neither be neglected nor slighted. The people wish to take a correct inventory of their individual financial condition in order to find out exactly where they stand.

It is not so important to know the aggregate wealth of the country, as it is to find out the relative and actual condition of the people. The work outlined for the census enumerators is materially lacking in the lines of statistics necessary to show this real and relative condition.

The industrial organizations complain, and with reason, because of this omission. They complain that the census as proposed, will be a mere enumeration of industries, business conditions, and an aggregate wealth of the country, instead of an honest attempt to show the actual condition of the people. Many of the labor organizations contend that the time of taking the census—commencing on the first Monday of June—is not the time that should have been chosen.

They call attention to the fact that at that season of the year thousands of thousands of the wealthy are in, or on their way to Europe, while hundreds of thousands of the homeless and workless are wandering upon the highways hunting work. That midwinter is the best time for taking a correct census. Then the wealthy are home from Europe, from the mountains, from the seaside, and even the workless and moneyless must seek, if nothing better, the shelter of the police station. It might not be flattering to the national vanity to have such classes included. They are here, however, and their number and condition should be noted.

Inasmuch as the people go to the expense of a census, they should insist that it should be comprehensive, and accurate on important points. An incomplete and inaccurate census would be worse than useless.

THE fact that there are 1,300 cases on the docket of the United States Supreme Court is rather discouraging to those who seek speedy justice before that body. It will take at least three years for the court to dispose of the cases now before it, and many of those have been for years on the docket. Congress should provide some remedy for this condition of affairs. Life is too short and the world is progressing too rapidly for the citizen to afford to wait so long in order to have his cause determined.

The Eleventh Census.

Elsewhere in this issue appears a circular sent out by the Western Economic Association of St. Louis, demanding that the census include the collection of statistics of mortgage indebtedness on the farms and homes of the country.

There can be no doubt as to the importance of the matter suggested. Reliable statistics of individual indebtedness are very desirable and proper provisions for their enumeration should be included in the census work.

Superintendent Porter has had special agents in counties of Ohio, Massachusetts, and New York collecting such statistics, by way of experiment, to find out

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.
No. 33.

This peace, which had fallen like a benediction upon the torn and distracted States of Greece was, however, destined to be of short duration. Had the people been allowed to follow the dictates of their own inclinations and remained undisturbed by the selfish aspirations and ambitions of designing men, Greece might, and probably would, have gone on for years in the paths of peace and toward the grand accomplishments which are the outcome of its elevating and beneficent influences.

The people were satiated with war and blood, and the gaunt misery which ever stalks the ghastly companion of these worst enemies to human happiness and prosperity

had taught them to curb that savage-impetuousity that ever leads only to regret and remorse. The sufferings they had undergone had damped the fires of hate and passion, and they fully realized wherein they had outraged justice and sacrificed their own best interest merely to gratify a senseless

passion, fired by a purely selfish aspirant to fame, to shield himself from the just punishment he deserved and further his personal aspirations, even at the cost of the liberty of his country and the degradation of his people,

to say nothing of the enormous cost to civilization and the best interests of humanity.

This peace secured by Nicias had only fairly begun, when the man arose in Athens whose ambition and selfish aspirations were to again kindle the flame of war which was destined to finally consume all Greece and bring down in one mighty ruin the beautiful fabric of liberty the devotion of the people had built.

Alcibiades was the evil genius whose star arose just as the fate of Greece trembled in the balance, and the shadow of his selfish ambition fell like a pall upon the fortunes of his country. In effect the deeds of Pericles were to be re-enacted, the people to be betrayed, and the welfare of the country sacrificed to further the selfish interests of a demagogue and unscrupulous seeker after fame.

The people of Athens were at this time suffering from the results of following blindly the lead of Pericles, and yet they were ready again to be deceived by a man of the same

family and who had been reared under the guardianship of Pericle himself. Alcibiades was a relative of Pericles. He was of an immensely rich family, and his high birth, great riches, aristocratic connections, and relation to Pericles combined to make him vain, haughty and domineering. He was full of egotism and contempt for Athens. Plutarch says: "Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior or even an equal."

He was given up to the most excessive dissipation, and seems to have had no regard for virtue, but reveled in vice, and was ready to sacrifice every principle to his uncontrollable ambition. Such a man could not be otherwise than dangerous to a State where he held sway over the minds of the people. He applied himself to the study of philosophy under Socrates, and at times his evil nature seemed to have been overcome

by the influence of this great and good man; again his natural depravity would gain the ascendancy, and he would descend to the most disgraceful practices and seem to give way utterly to his dissolute tastes and vicious inclinations. From his early manhood he had aspired to leadership in Athens, and, like Pericles, he relied principally upon his eloquence to accomplish his ends.

Nicias (who had consummated the treaty) was the only opponent of Alcibiades. He was a man of unquestionable ability and patriotism. He realized the benefits of peace, and used his utmost exertions to induce the Athenians to maintain the existing tranquility and avoid any collision that would interfere with the peaceful development of Greek institutions. He had no personal ambitions and could have never thought of playing upon passions of the people to gain personal advantage at the expense of the welfare of the State.

In the contest between this honorable, conscientious man and the unscrupulous and vicious demagogue the fate of Greece was to be decided.

Alcibiades could not be content without the excitement of conflict. Peace was to him tame and insipid, and his ambition, like that of Pericles, was to elevate himself to the highest pinnacle of power and to rule, although his rule brought ruin. His personal aggrandizement was his sole consideration, and the people and the State only the means to be used, regardless of the result to them. He set every means to work to traverse the treaty but lately concluded between the States, but not succeeding in his endeavor he attempted to prevent its taking effect.

He was bitter against the Lacedemonians because they recognized Nicias only in their intercourse, and seemed to take no notice whatever of him, though his ancestors had been granted the right of hospitality among them.

This jealousy excited the worst features of his revengeful nature, and he set to work to plan a means by which the peace could be destroyed and new animosities excited; hoping by inflaming the passions of the people to be able to force himself into the leadership, and turn the popular frenzy to his own advantage. His course was a perfect parallel to that pursued by Pericles in the incipiency of the contest, which had brought such misfortunes upon Athens.

His first step toward the infringement of the peace was an act of treachery. The people of Argos were at enmity with the Spartans, but they feared them too much to bring on an open rupture. Alcibiades secretly encouraged them to break with the Spartans, and promised them that should they do so, the Athenians would aid them,

as they were ready to break the peace which was of no advantage to them. A slight failure on the part of the Spartans to observe the exact requirements of the treaty gave him an excuse to harangue the people, and excite their suspicions. The failure on the

part of the Spartans was, that they had agreed to turn over the fort of Panauctus to the Athenians fully equipped, but instead of doing so, they gave possession of the fort while in a dismantled condition—a matter of little or no consequence when compared to the terrible consequences following a renewal of hostilities. But this served the purpose of Alcibiades, and by his harangues he wrought the Athenians up to a pitch of exasperation against the Spartans for what he called their breach of faith. He not only did this, but he took the occasion to excite the people against Nicias by creating a suspicion against him of being in league with the Spartans, and even went so far as to make charges against him, which he knew to be absolutely false.

This unexpected and unreasonable attack rather staggered Nicias, as he saw that his rival was utterly unscrupulous, and that he had gained a most powerful influence over the people, and that they were carried away by his eloquence and personal magnetism, seeming to lose their reason under the spell of his oratory.

Just as matters were at their worst ambassadors from Lacedemonia, invested with full powers to put an end to all disputes, arrived. These ambassadors were introduced into the Senate, set forth their complaints, and made their demands in such a manner that every member considered them most just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience next day. Alcibiades, fearing that his duplicity would be discovered and his designs frustrated, used every means in his power to engage the ambassadors in a conference with him. He represented that the senate always behaved with the greatest moderation and consideration toward those who addressed them, but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions; that should the ambassadors mention that they had full powers, the people in the assembly would take advantage of the circumstance and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take it into their heads to ask. He assured them that he would aid them with all his influence to get Pylus restored to them; to prevent the alliance of the Athenians with the people of Argos, and to get the alliance with Sparta renewed; he not only made these promises, but confirmed them by an oath. The ambassadors were greatly pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and great ability of Alcibiades; indeed, they regarded him as an extraordinary man. In this opinion they were not by any means wrong, but the character of his ability was the point where they failed in their estimate.

The next day the ambassadors were introduced to the assembly of the people. Alcibiades asked them in the most affable manner the purport of the powers with which they were invested. They answered, as had been agreed, that they came to propose an accommodation, but were not empowered to conclude anything. The answer was no sooner given than Alcibiades rose in a pretended frenzy, and denounced them as liars and knaves, called upon the senate as witnesses to the speeches they had made the night before; and appealed to the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently dealt in falsehood as to say one thing one day, and the very reverse the next. It would be impossible to express the surprise and confusion which overwhelmed the ambassadors; they merely stared at each other, and could not believe their ears or their eyes. Nicias, who did not know of the treacherous trick of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and was overwhelmed with surprise. The people dismissed the ambassadors in a rage; and Nicias was in disgrace.

The next day in the assembly, Nicias so far influenced the people as to have a stop put to all proceedings until ambassadors could be sent to Sparta. Nicias was put at the head of the mission, but returned without having accomplished anything. The people now condemned Nicias for the part he had taken in concluding the treaty. They however did not proceed to any severity against him, but appointed Alcibiades general; and in this way the demagogue triumphed over the patriot, and gained the position and power he had coveted and for which he had acted so dishonorably and contemptibly.

However, the friends of Alcibiades looked upon this treachery and contemptible rascality as a shrewd play in politics, and even to-day such means, when successful, are looked upon as creditable strategy, and evidence of great political ability. Look over our own political history, and see if we can claim any great superiority over Athenian methods.

The Athenians, now fully in the power of Alcibiades, made a league for a hundred years with the Argives, the Eleans, and Mantineans, and sent troops to lay waste Laconia. In this way the evil designs of Alcibiades succeeded, and Greece was again plunged into a bloody war.

The ambition of this man seemed to have no limit, and he was ready to sacrifice everything for its gratification. He conceived the idea of taking Sicily, and, with it as a base of operations, to make a conquest of Egypt, Carthage, and Italy, of overthrowing the Persian power and making a universal empire. His designs against Sicily were finally brought into operation, and the Athenians involved in war with Syracuse. Nicias opposed, as far as he was able, this ambition of Alcibiades, but failed to bring the Athenians to reason, and finally lost his life in the unfortunate conflict brought on by his unprincipled rival, who disgraced himself in a drunken debauch before he sailed on the expedition, and was held to be tried for offences committed against morality and religion, but as the expedition was ready to sail to Syracuse, the trial was postponed until his return, and he was allowed to go; himself and Nicias being in command.

Athens had fallen from her high estate as leader of Greek civilization to the position of a ruined State, and all through the neglect on the part of her citizens to calmly and intelligently consider the questions of common interest the solution of which rested upon them alone, and allowing their action on such questions to be decided by individuals in whom they wrongfully placed implicit confidence, and on whom they failed to hold such check as is always necessary the people should hold and conscientiously exercise.

Alcibiades took the town of Catana on this expedition, and immediately after this event, was ordered back to Athens to stand his trial, which had been pending since the sailing of the expedition. He went on board the galley sent to bring him back, but on its return it stopped at Thurium, and Alcibiades escaped to the shore and disappeared; the galley returned without him, and he was sentenced to death for contumacy, his estate was confiscated, and the priests ordered to curse him.

On hearing that the Athenians had condemned him to death he said: "I shall make them sensible that I am alive," and in after days his treachery brought evil on Athens while he was among her enemies as it had done while he was regarded as the genius of the State and the wise director of its interests.

It is impossible and unnecessary to follow the events of the war with Syracuse, but sufficient to say that it ended in complete disaster to the Athenians, and that Nicias, who during his life had been true to his country and people, fell in the last terrible combat in which the fortunes of Athens went down in ruin.

The Syracusans were assisted by a force of Spartans under Glyppus, and the slaughter of the Athenians was terrible to relate. All who were not killed were made prisoners and sold into slavery, their fleet was destroyed or captured, and not a man who had left Athens upon this campaign returned. "The people of Athens were seized with the utmost consternation and vented their rage against the orators who promoted the enterprise. They had never been reduced to such a deplorable condition, having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elated with so great a victory and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by sea and land, with all the forces of the Peloponnesus."

A little caution, a careful study of the common interest, an intelligent understanding of the situation, and a reliance upon a well-considered public opinion would have saved the State and made it impossible for a political trickster to use the people as a stepping stone to fame and power, and yet with all the experiences of the past before them they had allowed their blind impulses, excited by incendiary appeals, to lead them to ruin and the destruction of all the good accomplished by the labor and wisdom of their fathers.

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THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Labor Journal (Fulton, Ky.) asks Congress the following:

Would it not be a good idea on the part of Congress, which seems to be used as a kind of machine to grind the laboring people, and especially the farmers; to shoot the Alliance, or rather the F. L. U., before it gets any nearer the seat of Government.

The Peoples Signal (Marlin, Tex.) gets at usury in the following style:

It has been usury in every age and nation that has robbed labor, demoralized peoples, and destroyed nations, and it is our laws that have been made in interest of usury and against industry that are creating all the demoralization among our people, and our preachers and our teachers are, sad to say, largely responsible for it.

Silver Leaves (Water Valley, Miss.) has a good idea of what the Alliance is, and what it should do—listen:

The Alliance is fast becoming a power in the land, and its influence is being felt by all classes. It is opposed, of course, by capitalists, and to a certain extent by merchants. In this money-loving corrupt age, some people can not understand how a body of workingmen can combine together for the purpose of helping each other without trying to injure others. It is a fact that all good orders have been persecuted and slandered, but in the end have conquered. Let the Alliance proceed in its noble work and it will prosper.

The Chicago Tribune, in discussing the Huntington railroad combine, says:

The tremendous combination could dominate nearly all traffic between Chicago and the Pacific coast, and wipe out competition and establish monopoly rates at thousands of points in the West. Such a proposed concentration of monopolistic powers may well excite public apprehension, as it will certainly alarm the railroads inside the territory covered, but which are not parties to the scheme.

The first issue of the Indianapolis Globe (Ind.) has the following sensible paragraph:

The success of the Farmers Alliance means the emancipation of the farmers' and laborers' wives, daughters, and mothers from the isolated slavery that now environs them. No intelligent people have ever been enslaved, no ignorant people have been found in any other condition than slavery. The great trouble with the farmers is they cultivate their muscles too much and their brains too little.

The Charleston News and Courier congratulates the farmers of South Carolina on the largest corn crop on record, and truthfully adds:

The debts of the farmers, it is plain, constitute the greatest obstacle they have to contend with in their struggle for the protection of their rights and interests. They can not possibly hope to win until they can control their own affairs, and they can not control their own affairs until they are independent of outside aids and hindrance alike. Full corn cribs next winter will make them independent. The real fight against the jute trust must be made in the corn field during the next ten months, and it will be decided in that field and in that time.

Labor Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) improves as the weeks pass. It reports and comments:

It is an actual fact that cattle are selling in Cherokee county, Kansas, at one cent a pound. Just think of a 1,000 pound cow selling for \$10! How does this strike you, farmers? You could have sold these same cows in 1866 for \$50 to \$60. Feeders in Kansas say they can't pay over six cents a bushel for corn and feed to cattle at the present prices they are getting for them. Is it not about time you were doing a little thinking for yourself, if you have not heretofore done so?

The Alliance Herald (Rome, Ga.) says:

Floyd county ought to make her own cotton bagging, her own cotton-seed meal and fertilizers. Begin, now, farmers, to get ready for your own mills by the next season.

The Dexter (Kansas) Free Press says of National Lecturer Ben Terrell, and President Burrows and their Kansas campaign:

Every Alliance man who failed to hear the national president, J. Burrows, of Filey, Neb., and the national lecturer, Ben Terrell, of Texas, missed the grandest treat of their lives, by not

being at the Alliance meeting in Winfield, Saturday, October 19. Their speeches were simply grand, and no one could fail to understand and appreciate their talk. One of them is a southerner and the other a northerner, but they can prove to any non-partisan spirited man why there should be "no North," no "South."

The Alliance Journal (Clarksville, Tex.) says:

It may be said that the people have the right by suffrage to correct evils and protect and perpetuate popular government. They have. But until recently they have not had the organization which can alone equip them to contend with organization. Now, however, they are in full possession of the sinews of war. The Farmers and Laborers Union, with its wise leaders, able press, and patriotic membership is means worthy and able to suppress influences by which the Standard Oil and similar concerns are striving to control legislation.

The farmers of the far West gained a concession in the law to force the railroads to furnish ears away from the elevators which works to a charm, if the following from the Alliance (Valley City, Dak.) be a fair criterion:

Quite a number of farmers have shipped their own wheat this fall, and those who have done so claim they get several cents more per bushel. Where one farmer had not enough wheat to fill a car, two others clubbed in with him and made up the shortage. The good of the open wheat law is just beginning to be felt.

The Dakota Ruralist (Aberdeen) gives the welcome news:

The Afshold-Basunen, a weekly paper published in the Norwegian language, from Hillsboro', North Dakota, having been an advocate of temperance and prohibition, is going to take another degree. Hereafter it will be a staunch supporter of the Alliance cause. May its success be abundant.

The Courier and Farmer (Federalsburg, Md.) is recognized as a friendly paper by the Maryland Alliance, and is devoting itself to the principles of the order. It reports effective work on the Eastern Shore by Assistant Lecturer H. G. Cowan, deputy organizer.

The Belton (Tex.) Journal answers a very easy conundrum:

Henry Watterson asks, and with apparent seriousness: "What are you going to do for a banking system when there are no more bonds to build on?" Why, bless your soul, Henry, we are going to let the banking business take care of itself just like every other business does. It is not the business of government to either foster, oversee, or conduct the banking business.

The Labor Review (Gladbrook, Iowa) moralizes on a matter of great importance to the order:

No member of the Alliance need be discouraged because there are bad men in the order. As long as human nature is as weak as it is, perfection in human affairs need not be expected. In every department of life, in all social organizations, bad men are found; they bring into disrepute the noble Masonic fraternity, disgrace the church, and cast reproach upon the priestly office. Among the twelve immortal men whom a blessed Savior selected to promulgate his gospel of love and to establish his kingdom on earth, there was a Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his loving Master for the paltry sum of thirty pieces of silver. Then can the Alliance, composed of frail humanity, expect its membership to be purer and better than that of the Masonic lodge and the Church of Christ!

The debts of the farmers, it is plain, constitute the greatest obstacle they have to contend with in their struggle for the protection of their rights and interests. They can not possibly hope to win until they can control their own affairs, and they can not control their own affairs until they are independent of outside aids and hindrance alike. Full corn cribs next winter will make them independent. The real fight against the jute trust must be made in the corn field during the next ten months, and it will be decided in that field and in that time.

The Lansing (Mich.) Sentinel conveys the information:

A barbed-wire trust has now been formed. All right, let them go on, every trust is another nail in the coffin of monopoly.

The Workman (El Dorado, Kan.) is interrogative:

Farmers, do you want a change? Are you satisfied with 15 cent corn, 12 cent oats, 50 cent wheat, and 1½ cent cow, and 5 per cent. taxes, 2 to 20 per cent. per month money and unlimited mortgage?

One of the principles of the organization of the Knights of Labor, one of its aims, is to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor in its every-day application. We began upon an

want a change commence now, and in your county to get it.

The Iowa Tribune (Des Moines) is recognized as having defined views. This is the way it puts its political respects:

Down with the money trusts, and then will follow the railroad, sugar, beef, oil, and all other trusts. Abundant money will open the door of prosperity and liberty, and yet neither old party in Iowa has one word to say against the National bank act, the useless hoard in the United States Treasury, the free loans to the banks, etc., and why? Because both parties are equally guilty of these crimes against humanity. Since the Cleveland administration has demonstrated that Democracy and Republicanism mean the same thing financially, not a word can be smuggled into the Democratic platforms in favor of financial justice.

The Craftsman (Washington, D. C.) says wisely: The most productive field in which the labor agitator can work is that of the unorganized. It is an undeniable fact that men are without the fold more because of ignorance of our principles and aims than for any other reason. Wonderful would be the result if organized labor party everywhere would enter upon an energetic campaign in this direction. We know what benefits are to come—from increased organization, and why should we be so slow to embrace the favorable opportunity?

The Labor Journal (Fulton, Ky.) criticises the conclusion of THE ECONOMIST, that "it is wrong to blame Congress or the administration for this (the financial) policy, because the people return the men who perpetuate it, and when public sentiment demands a change the change will come."

We trust THE ECONOMIST will not make the mistake of employing language which will leave any room for doubt as to its meaning. It should remember that the people who look to it as their National organ, are in the habit themselves of using very plain language, each word of which means exactly what it says, nothing more, nothing less.

Of course THE ECONOMIST does blame Congress and the administration for this contraction policy, which doubtless is kept up to further the interests of the money power whose mandates they obey rather than those of their rightful masters, the people, and that paper (Dr. Macune will please excuse us) should not mince words in saying so. The great plain people want and must have plain language. THE ECONOMIST would do well then to leave the roundabout language of the politician to the political papers, whose mission seems to be to make the people believe there is something radically wrong in Denmark, but fail to precisely locate or give the exact nature of that wrong. All of which is respectfully submitted.

The fact is, that the men who secured this distorted financial condition remain in office, and are either elected by the people or the people's representatives. The road to political preferment is the path to honor in this country, and is beaten bare by the feet of contractionists who walk therein. No man can be condemned for seeking political honors. The people confer these honors, and it is the debased public sentiment which is to blame, brother, far more than the recipient of the favors. To correct whatever may be vicious in public opinion is the intent of THE ECONOMIST, and this can be done best by truthfully showing wherein its viciousness lies.

The Iowa Tribune says:

Morton, Rose & Co., London, have been selected by the Department of State, England, as financial agents for that department. Mr. Morton is the Vice-President of the United States. This makes a leading officer of the United States, financial agent of John Bull. What next?

The Caucasian (Clinton, N. C.) gives an item which shows how the Governor of North Carolina stands. THE ECONOMIST believes the Governor of South Carolina will consent:

"Jute bagging will never be king in North Carolina" were the words used by Gov. Fowle last week at the State Fair, when presenting the wedded gifts to the Bateman-Knowles couple who were married in cotton-bagging.

The Journal of United Labor (Philadelphia) gives Mr. Powderly's speech at St. Louis, from which we quote:

One of the principles of the organization of the Knights of Labor, one of its aims, is to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor in its every-day application. We began upon an

absolutely secret basis, but it was soon found impossible to secure a respectful hearing. In those days it became necessary for us to go before the public and explain what was being done within the organization. We were put on the defensive; our aims and principles were distorted by corporate power, by our enemies in general; and many who should have been friends opposed us upon every imaginable pretext. Having the engines of public opinion turned against our position if we remained secret, we were obliged to throw off the garb of secrecy.

The Chickasaw Messenger (Okolona, Miss.) says:

The cotton-seed oil trust is said to be on the wane, and it is announced in flaming headlines that this gigantic monopoly is to be dissolved because the American policy won't endure combines. It is more likely that the business don't pay. If there is any truth in the statement at all, for while this octopus is said to be dying, another monster robber machine is being constructed which is designed to control the barbed-wire trade, and thus the producer is to be squeezed by another crowd of sharpers.

The Northern Live-Stock Journal (Cheyenne, Wyo.) says:

From all parts of the country comes the same complaint of inordinate prices paid for beef by consumers, and low prices paid to producers. The producers and consumers, as classes, both know that the other is being fleeced and swindled, and each would assist the other; but yet these composing the great mass of the people seem powerless against the comparative handful of men who wield the cleaver. And a spectacle is presented. The power of the middle man has certainly been vastly under estimated; and as we contemplate this situation, naturally we wonder if the country is not really going to the butchers.

The Labor Echo (Houston, Tex.) says:

Trusts are becoming alarmed. They have so far failed utterly to create any sentiment in their favor, while a vast amount of it has sprung up spontaneous, and they will realize that if the American people once take it into their heads to abolish trusts, they may carry their work little beyond and abolish the conditions which make trusts possible. They have taken untenable grounds, and do well to retire from them before it is too late.

Southern of Sabine (Many, La.) says:

The labor press is doing more for the Nation, for civilization, for general advancement, than any other earthly means. It is elevating the people—the grandest of missions. It is sowing the seed which will result in the greatest of earthly harvests. It is exposing long-existing wrong, and advocating the principles of justice.

The Colorado Workman (Pueblo) is disposed to moralize upon one of those unexplainable plain things one constantly meets up with:

This is a queer country anyhow, and queer people live in it. Last year they voted that they would put a boycott on all goods not manufactured in the United States, no matter how cheap they could buy them. This year they are seeing how many flouring mills, iron mills, breweries, farms, railroads, and other natural resources, they can sell to British capitalists, and each State is quarreling with the others because they can't sell more of the property to the British than the other. How the "dampfhoels" expect to maintain a free government and a free ballot, and change the title of property into the hands of foreigners, who are opposed to those principles of government, is past our finding out.

The Great West is a new paper published at St. Paul, Minn., "representing the financial and political interests of the farmers of the Northwest." The second number is to hand, a six column, eight-page paper, from which we quote:

One of the most astonishing things in the offensive warfare against capital and trusts, is the attitude of the Southern Alliance. We have looked upon the South as backward. It was never dreamed that the New South had such magnificent timber in it. The trusts reached out their octopus tentacles to suck Southern blood, and lo! Suddenly the southron rises like a young giant, and strikes a blow which knocks the hydra insensate, at least for a time. This new race of stalwart sons of the South, in the shape of the Farmers Alliance, proclaims the boycott. Not a boycott, mind you, against men. Not a boycott against factories; not a boycott only against newspapers and villages! But a boycott against the old traditional cities of bluish blood—even Charleston! Successful? Well, yes. So successful that they have found how to counteract the gangster's boodle! So suc-

cessful that when a newspaper pounded an alliance man, as Slocum or Glencoe did Mr. Donnelly, the combined Alliances declared a boycott—and lo!—there was one enemy less. Now that is business. That is the most sensible style of doing business we have ever known. Why, if Minnesota farmers had that grit, Jim Hill, in six months, would apply for a coal clerkship on the levee! If they would come up to the breastworks with such masterful courage, in a year the farmers would be \$20,000,000 a year richer. You wouldn't see any railroads tearing up sidetracks to the independent elevators! You wouldn't see a 23 cent difference in the price of wheat 125 miles from market! You wouldn't see freight rates from Southern Minnesota to Chicago (450 miles), two cents more than from Chicago to Liverpool (nearly 4,000 miles)! You wouldn't see a coal combination land coal at Duluth for \$2.80 a ton (hard coal) and 175 miles further lamian it to farmers at \$10 a ton! Nor would you see the Knights of Labor of Chicago purchasing 500 tons of coal in Indiana, and then have to sell it again at the mines because not one of the railroads would carry it for them! No, but you might see more empty tomato cans and guava jelly boxes at the back door of the farmer. You might see the farmer pay his debts and wear calfskin boots on Saturday night and slippers on Sunday afternoon, like the bank clerks! You might see the farmer's children educated "for all it was worth." You might see the old man and the old woman "clear out" on the bright August days; take a vacation along the shores where whispering waves sing a lullaby to the past—and the mirage of the distant ships cast pictures in the eye of the port so near. In fact, they could hobnob with the \$7,000-a-year-and-parsonage preacher who wasn't born in a manger, by a long shot, or the Shylock who don't live in one by a short shot. Yes, ye dirt-slingers, get a little sand in you, take a lesson of your Southern brother—and try a hand at comfort and a two-for-a-cent luxury for the baby, and a new bonnet for the pretty daughter—try the thing once, and see "how the old thing works!"

The Alliance and its Literature.

BY A. BARNWELL, OF MACON, GA.

Even in America, the land of bold progress and rapid development, the spontaneous formation of an organization of such magnitude and extension is calculated to engage the attention and consideration of all thoughtful and public-spirited citizens, and the situation is rendered more serious if, as was the case here, the demonstration was a "class movement," and still further took the form of a secret society.

A year ago prognostications were mainly divided into two classes, those which predicted danger as the inevitable result of an organized demand on the part of any people for relief from real or imaginary wrong and oppression; and those which viewed the entire matter with contempt, basing their opinion upon the statement that "farmers will never stick," and "can not be bound together with cart-ropes." At this writing both of these forebodings are far wide of the mark. As a matter of fact, the organization shows each day more cohesion, and in the face of extraordinary disintegrating pressure farmers have shown more than ordinary stickability."

On the other hand, all of their actions have been dominated by a manly conservatism, which is all the more commendable because their wrongs are real, are aggravated, and deep-seated. They are also difficult to right, because they are to some extent encased in a fog of custom, besides which some color of law has been given by class legislation to an iniquitous system of discrimination in favor of capital, which the alliance of farmers has been organized to investigate and if possible overthrow. All of these obstructions to the establishment of equal rights are irritating, and calculated to arouse indignation and its legitimate outcome, and yet the farmers have been patient, although resolved, fulfilling their pledges, upholding their credit, and avoiding extreme measures. But it is to the literature that has resulted from the move-

ment that I specially call attention, because I have observed it carefully and with gratification.

It goes without saying, that a people must be judged by their literature, or, in fact, by their daily publications; for all that is genuine and spontaneous in these papers must emanate from the people, while the artificial and theoretic will ever be arranged to pander to their ascertained taste, or, in other words, must be appreciated to secure popularity. Now, it is a significant fact that the journalism dedicated to the Alliance under its various names has been of a very high character. It has been marked by a strong educational bias and a determined effort to bring prominently into notice correct modes of thought, and feed them with a moral and practical, and, above all, it has been entirely clean. This is a great point, because, under the guise of giving the news, our daily papers, even when conducted with a view to decency, which all are not, contain columns of direct filth and unnumbered pages of suggestive impurity; and we are informed this daily sewerage must also flow through the weeklies, which, nevertheless, are poured into farm-homes, where lewdness is not so familiarized by constant inspection as to become common-place and so unnoticed. Hence the advantage of pure weeklies directed toward these family circles, and the point I make is, that the Alliance literature, having taken this high platform, it is plainly and unavoidably inferential that this is the line which knowledge of their patrons lead them to believe will be successful.

As I am totally unconnected with and ignorant of the affairs of any of these publications, I can not speak of their financial condition, but as an Alliance man feel flattened by their tone, and as a citizen am deeply concerned that they be given wide circulation, because I believe, voicing the sentiments of the best portion of our population, they are conducive of better thought, better feeling, better knowledge, and consequently better action, and this among those upon which must mainly rest the security of our country as well as its support.

Notice to Parish Secretaries.

I would respectfully call the attention of secretaries of Parish Unions to the resolution of State Union adopted at Alexandria:

Resolved, That the Parish secretary be requested to furnish State secretaries as soon as possible, a copy of the roll of Unions in his parish, including names and post-office address of both president and secretary, and number of members—male and female—of each union, and that secretaries of State Unions shall have 1,000 copies of this directory printed, and one copy sent to each Sub-Union, and one to each officer of State Unions. All secretaries who have not complied with above resolution, or have not sent a complete

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

An Explanation and Some Reflections.

T. D. HINCKLEY HOYLETON, ILLINOIS.

In my "Talks to Dakota Farmers" in No. 1, Vol. 2, I stated the following propositions:

1. The value of your productions is in their capacity to administer to the comfort and necessities of your fellow man, and is only truly measured by the amount of wealth which they will give you in exchange therefor.

2. The price of your production is not measured by the mutual desire of yourselves and other wealth-producers to exchange your respective products, but is estimated in an invention of man called "money." The term "wealth" in the first proposition, I used in its broad sense. Money not being wealth, but only the representative of wealth, was not included.

I tried to show in the argument which followed the above propositions, that there were two forces, either of which being in operation, would tend to diminish the reward of wealth-producing labor. The first of these was an increasing number of non-producers; the second was a decreasing volume of money.

"To illustrate what is meant," I said: "Let us imagine the existence of another world precisely like this in every respect, except for our convenience, it shall be a much smaller world than this, and shall owe no debt. Suppose it to have a population of 10,000 people, with a circulating medium averaging \$50 per person. Now suppose 7,000 are wealth-producers, and 3,000 are non-producers, bankers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, railroad presidents, etc. 'Money' would be plenty. Times would be flush. The producers would find no trouble in getting a market for their productions, and the 3,000 non-producers would be easily carried, since there are no debts, and no interest to pay. Suppose twenty years to have elapsed, and the population in the meantime to have doubled its number. But suppose the wealth-producers to have increased to only 13,000, while the non-producers had increased to 7,000, would not the burden of the wealth-producers of the latter period be harder to bear than those of the former period? And would not this increased load be certainly indicated in lower prices? Some of your readers, it seems, failed to catch my meaning, or to understand the logic of the illustration. I have received a card from a brother in Lincolnton, North Carolina, who, referring to the above illustration, says: 'I can not catch the *rationale* of your imaginary world. It does seem to me the latter would be as easy carried as the former, and easier, all things being equal.' For the sake of clearing away the mist in which our North Carolina brother seems to be involved, and which may envelope others, let us pursue our illustration a little further.

Suppose the total wealth produced by the 7,000 laborers of the first period to have aggregated \$7,000,000 in value; this would be the fund out of which the entire 10,000 would have to draw their sustenance. Suppose the 3,000 non-producers draw upon this fund to the extent of \$500 per capita, thus diminishing the total value by the sum of \$1,500,000.

For this value they, being non-producers, could give no equivalent, or, at least, the equivalent they would give would be of very doubtful utility.

The \$1,500,000 thus drawn from the entire fund produced would leave \$5,500,000 to be apportioned among the 7,000 wealth-pro-

ducers, or a per capita value of \$785.71. The difference between the producers and non-producers in the per capita consumption or ownership of the entire product, would be \$285.71 in favor of the wealth-producers. Now, "all things being equal," the 13,000 laborers of the last period would produce an aggregate value of \$13,000,000. Of this amount the 7,000 non-producers would consume \$3,500,000, leaving a balance of \$9,500,000 to be apportioned among the 13,000 wealth-producers, giving to each the sum of \$730.76, or \$55 per capita less than the producers of the first period received, or rather the wealth-producers of the last period were forced to part with \$55 worth of their productions per capita more than the wealth-producers of the first period were, and that, too, solely because the proportion of non-producers to the producers was greater in the latter than in the former period.

Stated another way, 3,000 men consume or appropriate to their own use, \$1,500,000 produced by the labor of 7,000 people. The per capita burden which this act of the 3,000 would entail upon the 7,000 producers would be \$214.20; 7,000 men appropriate \$3,500,000 which is the product of the labor of 13,000 people, and the burden which each of the 13,000 will have to bear because of this appropriation is \$269.23, or \$55.03 greater than each of the 7,000 producers had to bear in sustaining the 3,000 non-producers.

It seems to me plain enough that the germ of the labor problem will be found in the cause or causes which operate to fill our cities with people at the expense of our rural population.

As man may become enormously wealthy with but little manual exertion if he is smart enough and selfish enough to use the artificial advantage which city life, under existing conditions, confers upon him. It is true that many of those who go to our cities, tempted by the glittering prizes they offer, fail in their aspirations, and eventually sink to greater depths of poverty and degradation than their rural fellow-citizens have yet sounded. And still the tide, with an ever-growing volume, is cityward. There is nothing phenomenal about this. On the contrary, it is the natural outcome of things as they are. Our rural citizens are beginning to understand that while it was possible in times past to get more than a living from the farm, that the time is rapidly coming, if it is not even now here, when all the farm producers, with the exception of the meanest of livings, will be absorbed in the huge profits of city sharpers, capitalistic syndicates, merchant princes, and moneyed lords. City editors of "Rural Homes," "Stock and Farm Journals," etc., may descant upon the beauties of farm life; may write themselves blind and bald-headed, and palsy their right arms in trying to discover why "boys leave the farm," but the boy who has toiled twelve to fourteen hours under a burning sun, comes in at night tired and hungry, and finds, instead of the "new milk and honey" of which the imaginative "Rural Home" editor delights to rave, that he can't have even milk and molasses to eat, because the old man's sorghum crop failed last year, and the milk must stand until it has produced the last possible drop of cream to be churned to butter and carried to the neighboring store and traded for calico or blue denims. Such a boy, and there are hundreds of thousands of them (they are the rule and not the exception) could give the Ruralist editor some valuable pointers as to "why boys leave the earth forever."

They, these ancient cities, Baalbec, and Palmyra, and Thebes, and Memphis, and Carthage, and Babylon, and Luxor, and Jericho, and Tyre, what are they but the charnel-houses in which are buried the hopes of freedom and love of liberty that inspired the breasts of our ancient brethren ages ago? What are they but the morgues from the stone slabs of which the livid faces of civilizations dead long ages ago stare up at the inquisitive student of the world's history? Instead of eloquently exulting over our American cities, had the mighty Talmage not a thousand times better employ his wisdom in trying to give a practical reason why those ancient cities, with all their massive magnificence were blotted from the face of the earth forever?

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless millions mourn."
"All our American cities should be our

exultation. What churches!" Yes, sure enough and truly. What churches!

Churches of brick and stone and iron! Churches of marble and granite, finished in onyx and agate; coruscant in their precious trimmings; imposing in their massiveness; oriental in their splendor; sublime in their conception, and wonderful in their construction. Patiently and perseveringly, untiringly and industriously the humble toilers placed stone upon stone, brick upon brick, ornament upon ornament, until the last stroke had been given, and then retired never more to enter their sacred precincts. Their places were occupied by a class as entirely different and as completely separated from them as the masters of ancient Tyre were from the slaves whose toil furnished them their ivory benches and embroidered sail cloths. "What churches!"

Erected to God and dedicated to the salvation of men—that is, a certain class of men—through the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Imagine, if you can, the meek and lowly Jesus and his motley crew of bare-foot and uncouth-clad followers asking admission into one of these "temples of God." Imagine the look of horror and disgust that would overspread the duc-like countenance of the daintily-clad usher—if they should succeed in getting so far as to meet him—as his widely distended orbits took in the group. But there, perhaps a policeman, stationed in the vestibule would prevent the shock to the delicately scented usher and congregation which such an occurrence would certainly give. "What churches," indeed! What "God's acres" for the dead; gardens of beauty and palaces of marble for those who sleep the last sleep! And, what, "hell's half-acres" inhabited by men and women who have all but lost the semblance of humanity, and whose every thought is blasphemy, every word an oath, and every act a crime! "Palaces of marble!" Yes, paid for out of the unwholly profits wrung by selfish ability out of the pitiful earnings of ignorant parents who are unable to mark the last resting place of their loved ones with even a stone slab!

Our cities are our curse. They are the festering, rotten, running sores upon our economic body, drawing to themselves all the healthy life blood of the nation, and giving it off again in fetid corruption! Even their silken-clad preachers of the meek and lowly Jesus exult that some of their philanthropists (?) can give hundreds of thousands and millions in charity, with no thought, and, more than likely, no care as to whence the hundreds of thousands and millions primarily originated or as to the manner in which their philanthropists (?) came into possession of them!

Their thugs and thieves and cutthroats and paupers, though a grievous burden, do not impose a tithe of the load upon wealth producers that the scheming wiles and cunning tricks of their business (!) men do. They are breeders of boodlers, because the masters of monopoly live there. A boodler could no more live a boodler on one of our farms than a fish could live out of water, or than a national bank could thrive on one of our broad, untenanted prairies. A trust foolish enough to locate its headquarters in one of our rural districts would no more certainly wither and die than would a ballot-box stuffer under a like situation. A Chicago board of trade would thrive as well planted in the midst of a Southern cotton field as a manipulator of "blocks of five" would plant there. The genius of a \$25,000 preacher would be as sadly wasted upon one

of our Western farming communities as the talents of a light-fingered pickpocket would, and for the same reason—the money for neither preacher nor pickpocket is there. Is there anything strange in the way our talented men throng to our cities? Mighty men of art congregate there because it is there that genius, whether displayed in after dinner oratory, or in soothing the troubled consciences of a millionaire congregation, or in relieving a wealthy snob of his diamond pin and purse, or in some other less risky, because legalized, plan of getting other people's wealth, is more likely to receive substantial recognition. These things are so not because they should be so, nor because it is natural for them to be so, but simply because the great mass of ignorant wealth-producers have permitted our cities to become huge artificial suckers up of their wealth. The ability of our cities to build huge asylums of mercy and colleges and universities and academies of music, and to pay eloquent preachers enormous salaries to extol all these things, is not the thousandth part of it, in their ability to produce the wealth necessary to the doing of all this, but consists nearly altogether in their ability to lay outside wealth-producers under tribute to them. When the labor problem, now agitating the world, shall have been solved our cities will have been shorn of their power to rob wealth producers.

With a view to creating such a demand, the Western Economic Association of St. Louis has issued this address to the farmers and other wealth-producers of the country. The practical method of procedure is for any body of such individuals, either organized or unorganized, to adopt resolutions of the following character, and to send them to Washington:

Whereas, There is a growing belief that the farmers and other producers of the country do not obtain an equitable share of the wealth which they create, and that the farms and the homes of the country are very largely under mortgage; and,

Whereas, Exact knowledge on this subject is of great importance in the study of the social and economic questions of the day; therefore, be it [insert here the name of the body adopting the resolutions, and the locality];

Resolved, That it is our judgment that the next United States census should show what percentage of the people in this country occupy their own farms and homes, and what proportion are tenants; and of those who occupy their own farms and homes; what proportion have their property free from debt; and of the farms and homes, which are under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged; and be it further,

Resolved, That the secretary of this meeting be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C., and a copy to the congressman from this district with a request that he use his influence to have these facts collected and published.

This matter is neither Republican nor Democratic. It is purely economic. The appeal is made to you personally, the reader. The next time you are in a meeting of the Wheel, the Alliance, the Farmers and Laborers Union, ordinary mass-meeting, or what-not, introduce resolutions expressing these sentiments, and send them to the officials named. As the reassembling of Congress is at hand, and as considerable time will be required to procure the necessary legislation, and to prepare the schedules before the next enumeration, prompt action is necessary.

C. M. NAPTON, President,

B. C. KEELER, Secretary.

BROTHER D. REID PARKER, of Trinity College, N. C., writes THE ECONOMIST that he has material for a Farmers and Laborers Union song book, and all he needs is to get the endorsement of the national order at St. Louis to make it a success. He will be at St. Louis and go before the committee on publication to secure a fair business-like understanding in regard to the matter. The necessity for some appropriate songs in every feature of the work has often been felt and commented upon; and probably the work of Brother Parker will have a fair and full consideration.

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

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

THE ECONOMIST presents a clean face, this being the first number printed with new type, on its own press, in its own office. Delay in delivery of machinery and fixtures causes the issue to be delayed somewhat, but it is all here.

A Very Valuable Dollar.

During the recent bankers' convention reference was made a number of times to the seventy-cent silver dollar. No doubt it will be profitable to the readers of THE ECONOMIST to examine the reason why it can be called by that name. The coinage act of 1792 made 37½ grains of pure silver the American dollar and unit of American money. It also made the eagle (gold) of the value of ten dollars or units, and its divisions to be of corresponding value in units. This made silver the unit and gold the ratio. This condition remained until 1834, when it was found that the amount of gold in the gold dollar sold for more in England than the amount of silver in the silver dollar. In order to remedy this, after a long discussion, it was resolved by Congress to reduce the amount of gold in the ratio, in order to have it conform to the unit. This was done by taking 1.55 grains of pure gold from the gold dollar. In 1837 it was ascertained that too much gold had been taken from the gold dollar, and in order to make the unit and ratio conform .02 of a grain of pure gold was added. This relative value continued until 1873, with the exception that in 1853 the silver half dollars, quarters, and dimes were debased in order to prevent exportation. No silver dollars were being coined, as the bullion was worth more than the coined dollars. In 1873 a general coinage act was passed, the first since the war. It was before Congress for nearly three years, and was passed without debate or being printed, on the simple word of John Sherman that "it had practically passed Congress at the last session, except it enlarged the truth and force of my suggestion." Because, to say nothing about the banks and the future of our banking system, we ought to have some fixed securities for small holders which can neither be swallowed up by a deluge of watered stock, nor be able to run away to Canada."

No doubt Mr. Watterson is struck with the brilliancy of his fiscal scheme. It is not

23.22 grains of gold. At that time there was not five men in Congress aside from John Sherman who knew what the bill contained, and it was not until 1876 that Senator Conkling, by a direct question to Senator Sherman, disclosed to the people that there had been no American silver dollar for nearly three years. President Grant did not know it when he signed the bill. In 1878 the Bland bill was passed, which remonetized silver and obliged the coinage of at least two million per month. The question might be asked, Why was the unit changed? because gold had become scarce, and, like potatoes under similar conditions, had advanced in price. The relative value between silver and gold had changed. The whole bonded debt was then payable in coin, and coin sold in the markets of the world by weight like pork of wheat. If silver was continued the unit more gold would have to be taken from the gold dollar. If gold was the unit then more silver would have to be put into the silver dollar. In 1834 gold was taken out, and in 1837 gold was added to the gold dollar in order to keep up the relative value. It therefore resolved itself into this simple proposition, Shall the bondholders receive so many grains of gold less for their bonds, or shall the people give them so much more silver? The bondholders had been preparing for this. When the funding act of 1870 passed, it provided that they should be paid in coin of the then weight and fineness. Nothing escapes them. The unit was changed, and the difference is this: If we are compelled to sell silver to England, as we do now, to buy gold to pay the bonds it will take 33,463,541 pounds of silver more to make this seventy-cent dollar pay our debts than it would if silver had remained the unit. With silver the unit it would take 2,196,180 pounds of gold less. This is the whole secret connected with the changing of the unit of money.

A Sort of a Public Blessing.

At the close of the late meeting of the National Board of Trade, in Louisville, Ky., a grand banquet was given the members. Mr. Henry Watterson, orator of the occasion, spoke on the "General state of the country," and is reported as saying:

What are you going to do for a banking system when there are no more bonds to bank on? Some ten years ago I ventured to propose that we reduce the National debt to a thousand millions, and then with that for a fiscal basis, we fund those thousand millions at low rate of interest, and make the debt thus reduced perpetual. Everybody laughed at me. Some said I was crazy; others insisted that I was simply a fool. But I am more than ever persuaded of the truth and force of my suggestion. Because, to say nothing about the banks and the future of our banking system, we ought to have some fixed securities for small holders which can neither be swallowed up by a deluge of watered stock, nor be able to run away to Canada."

No doubt Mr. Watterson is struck with the brilliancy of his fiscal scheme. It is not

original with Mr. Watterson, however. It is many generations ago since it was declared by alleged statesmen and political economists, and accepted as truth by unthinking people, that a National debt was a National blessing. According to that theory a perpetual National debt would be a perpetual National blessing. No doubt it would be a perpetual blessing to the class perpetually drawing the interest, but it would prove a perpetual curse to the class perpetually paying it. In fact, it is neither a nineteenth century, nor an American idea. It belongs rather to the longitude of London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg than to that of Louisville. It is a companion piece to the "divine right" of kings, and a privileged, hereditary aristocracy rather than to the sovereignty of citizenship and equality before the law. Judged from the standpoint of common sense it is on a par with the philosophy of the man who took his wheat to mill in one end of a sack with a stone in the other end to balance it on the donkey's back. The burden upon the people of carrying the \$1,000,000,000 bonds proposed by Mr. Watterson, would be as useless and unnecessary as was the stone in the sack to balance the wheat. The whole scheme would be as grossly unjust in practice as it is absurdly foolish in conception. What arrant nonsense to propose almost on the eve of the twentieth century to a sensible practical people! That instead of issuing directly through their public servants, the Government, the currency, a public necessity, based upon the public credit, National wealth, ability, honor and honesty, they must go in debt, pay interest on bonds, then issue to the holders of those bonds the notes intended for circulation. They must not base their money directly upon National wealth and National law, but instead upon bonds that are based upon National wealth and National law. That they can not directly utilize the public credit for the public benefit, but must instead pay tribute to private corporations. It is related of a Yankee manufacturer of wheel-barrows that many years ago he sent a consignment of those very useful articles to a South American port as a trade venture. In those early days the people of that section were not much accustomed to the use of labor-saving implements. An agent of the consignor sold a few of the barrows to a local builder. The first laborer who tried to use the Yankee device put some of the building material in the barrow, and then instead of wheeling it to the desired place, he raised the loaded barrow upon his head and carried it there. He thought it was quite an invention. Mr. Watterson would have us act similarly in our financial matters. Instead of the people issuing their own money through their own agents, he would have them create a bondholding class; make bankers of those bondholders; furnish them with currency upon which to do a banking business; then take bondholders, bankers, bonds, and interest upon their

shoulders or heads, and carry this burden through life. The South American laborer carrying the loaded wheelbarrow upon his head was a paragon of practical sense in comparison to the folly of adopting such a fiscal scheme. Mr. Watterson must hold a very high estimate of the ability of the people to carry burden, but a very low opinion of their intelligence. He says, "We ought to have some fixed securities for small holders." Indeed! This Government was not organized to provide for parasites of the "small" or large species; nor do the people exist to furnish them sustenance. True, Mr. Watterson would limit the number of tentacles which each parasite should have stuck in the bodies of the producers. He would do this by lowering the rate of interest on the perpetual blessing bonds. This is very considerate in him to be sure. The producers are however opposed to parasitism, whether on a large or small scale, and propose to abolish parasites of all classes and sizes—whether of the two tentacle or ten tentacle species. There are already too many parasites. The backs of millions of workers are bent, and their bodies emaciated from feeding swarms of parasites. Certainly the people will never consent to appropriate \$1,000,000,000 for the purpose of propagating more of them to prey upon labor and industry.

ATTENTION is called to the timely suggestions of C. P. Atkinson that appear in another column of this issue. This is very important. Mr. Atkinson's suggestions should receive careful consideration. Three million organized farmers, who now at last understand the true cause for the depressed condition of agriculture, are closely watching for the indications of the financial policy of the present administration. Their interest in the financial policy of the general Government is fast assuming such proportions that it will soon overshadow their party fealty. Never has an administration before been placed so that it could by a just and necessary act make so many friends, or, failing to avail itself of such favorable conditions, incur such a loss of prestige. There is no half-way ground; it must go up or down.

ECONOMISTS, as a rule, concede that "labor is the sole producer of wealth." If this be true, why does not the producer own and control the products of his labor? Why do men toil in creating all their lives and die in the ownership of but little of any of the wealth they have produced? What power steps in and separates producer and production? It is in the settlement of this question that the so-called labor troubles are met. This trouble occurs when one class of men are convinced that another class of men are robbing them of the fruits of their labor. These two classes, as a rule, represent capital and labor. Some may contend there is no war between these two interests. But there is a war, bitter and ugly. There always has been a war and always will be one

so long as present economic laws are enforced. Their interests are not identical; they are diametrically opposed to each other.

One strives for all the labor that can be bought for a dollar; while the other contends for all the dollars he can buy for a given amount of labor. Each stands ready to take advantage of the other with this difference. When capital obtains the advantage it is termed business, but when labor succeeds in making a point it is called a strike. The one spoliates under forms of law, the other under the ban of society. All thinkers realize that labor is being oppressed; that it has become the weaker vessel, and must be assisted by laws in order to redeem its lost rights and privileges. Numberless theories have been advanced, but the same system of depletion is yet going on. How it will end is not clear, but the idea of reaching some solution in the near future is apparent to all.

THE attention of delegates and others expecting to attend the convention of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, in December, at St. Louis, is called to the fact that the meeting will be convened on the third day of December, as required by the constitution, and not the fifth, as has been reported several times, and mention made in THE ECONOMIST once. This correction is made, and should be carefully noted by the order so as to prevent confusion.

Timely Suggestions.
BY C. P. ATKINSON, OF NEW JERSEY.

I have read with profit and satisfaction the article in No. 1, Vol. 2, from the pen of N. A. Dunning, on distribution. Profit from the ideas advanced; satisfaction in the knowledge, the Alliance can furnish minds so well qualified to present such ideas. But important as the ideas may be, and logically presented as they are, their ultimate value to the agricultural industry must be measured by results. Ideas have to be nurtured into practical realities, before they effect material interests, and the ideas of brother Dunning, no matter how pertinent they may be, or how logically presented, will be no exception. He argues, and to my mind correctly, that the currency is the key to a just measure of distribution. He is sustained in this assumption by THE ECONOMIST, which has taught, and its contributions generally agree, that the present agricultural depression is largely, if not entirely due, to contraction of the currency. If we as farmers believe this, why do we not demand an immediate increase in the volume of currency; if not up to the full measure we believe necessary to relieve the tension, at least sufficient to lessen the intensity of the strain, and demonstrate its utility. The time approaches when the President will be called upon to submit to Congress the most important measures demanding their consideration. Might it not be well to suggest to the chief executive, through the agricultural representative in the cabinet, that there is an agricultural industry in the country; that this industry is terribly depressed, and that relief is imperatively demanded, and if not furnished disastrous results will surely follow. Also suggest what is believed to be the cause, and the remedy, and back this up by a demand for relief signed by every member of an organized farmers' organization in the country, and all other farmers who will sign it. Send the same to the Secretary of Agriculture, with the request that he lay it before the President. Such a course would show that we need and demand recognition, and are not wholly unmindful of the causes from which we suffer, nor of the remedy required. "Hitherto ye have asked nothing; ask that ye may receive."

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1889.

W. S. Morgan.
DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers' Alliance and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

Every farmer and every man interested in the cause of the farmer should read your book and preserve it in his home library.

Yours fraternally,

C. W. MACUNE.

RAILWAYS;
Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 27

THE ARGUMENT FOR THE LONG HAUL.

One of the leading claims on the part of those who support the railway tactics of radically lower rates upon competitive traffic than on the non-competitive, is to the effect, that the influence of nature is on the side of competitive points. This is stated in Mr. Alexander's argument upon the subject, with the assertion that nature, before the construction of railroads, had placed the points connected with each other by water transportation nearer each other in point of transportation facilities than points actually intermediate in point of geographical distance, but for which there was no natural route of transportation open. Thus, he says, San Francisco and New York were nearer to each other by way of Cape Horn or the Isthmus of Panama, than Denver was to either of them; and upon that ground it is claimed that the railroad ought not to be expected to overcome the advantage which nature has given to the points which are connected by water. The same argument were heard in the congressional debates upon the Interstate Commerce Act. "New Orleans and New York are nearer to each other by water than Atlanta is to the latter," said one congressional disputant; "you can not expect the railroad to overcome the disadvantages established by nature."

With due regard to the logic of our respected opponents, that is just exactly what we can expect the railroads to do, because that is what they were intended to do. If the railroads do not overcome the disadvantages of distance, they have no reason for their existence. They were built to do that work; they do perform it; and the most convincing answer to this claim is, that the railroads of their own volition, do overcome that distance on the traffic which they take in competition with the water routes. If the railroads refused to compete with the water routes entirely, the argument that they can not overcome the disadvantages of land transportation as against these water transports, would have some consistency. It might even be *prima facie*, a sufficient answer to those shippers by the land route who endeavor to make them reduce their rates to the level of the charges by water transportation. But when the shippers of El Paso, in the example cited by Governor Stanford, see that the Southern Pacific railroad is carrying past their doors a large amount of freight exactly of the character which they wish to ship, and know that it is overcoming the difficulties of distance by hauling the freight three times the distance which they would require, at a rate which

competes with water transportation, they can hardly be blamed for regarding such a plea as little better than mockery. When the railroads, built to overcome disadvantages of locality, do it successfully, on the competitive traffic, the fair issue in the dispute between high charges to one locality and low charges to another, is whether in a normal state of transportation they ought to overcome the disadvantages of distance in an extreme degree for the benefit of one locality, and thus emphasize the disadvantage for another.

Practically the same argument in another form is presented by Mr. Alexander, in stating, as one of the misapprehensions of the subject, the claim that the transportation for the larger haul involves the greater cost. This he asserts to be a virtual misunderstanding, because, as he says, it is the fact that the transportation of freight from San Francisco to New York by water, would actually cost less than the transportation of the same freight from an intermediate point across the continent. This would have some bearing upon the question at issue, if the railroad that takes the freight from San Francisco, transports it to New York by the water route. If the Pacific railroads should frankly say: "We cannot afford to transport freight from San Francisco to New York at the rates which are charged by water, but we will carry them by our steamers or sailing vessels to the Isthmus, or around the Horn at the regular rates for ocean transportation," the intermediate points would, in that case, have less foundation for their complaints. But when the transcontinental roads transport the San Francisco freight by land over their railroads and through the intermediate points, which are charged more on a haul of two-thirds or one-half the distance, then the question of cost, not of transportation by water, but of the transportation by railroad becomes a legitimate part of the discussion. No one has ever declared it to be a hardship that ocean transportation, or steamers on the rivers, or canal boats upon artificial water highways, can transport freight more cheaply than the railroads can; but when the action of the railroads themselves establishes their ability to compete with the water routes, the question becomes a cogent one, whether the higher rates which they are enabled to assess upon their non-competitive traffic, permits them to support the cost of unremunerative competition, or whether there is a fair and legitimate profit on competitive traffic, and their rates upon the non-competitive represent an excessive and undue profit.

The most general belief is to the effect that the former is usually the case, and that the high charges upon local traffic represents an excessive profit levied on that portion of the railway traffic which has no other means of obtaining transportation, except to pay whatever rates the railway may choose to impose. There is some foundation for this belief in the statistics. The average gross

earnings of the railway system of the United States for 1888, were \$960,000,000, while the net earnings were \$301,000,000. This shows a margin on the average railway charge of a little over 30 per cent. to be assigned to net earnings or profit. As the net earnings are larger upon passenger traffic than upon freight business, it is evident that the average profit must be somewhat less on freight traffic. When, in contrast with that average rate of profit upon railroad traffic, we have presented the spectacle of profits on local traffic of 65 to 70 per cent., as shown in Mr. Alexander's statement of the discrimination against Ogden, and 75 to 80 per cent. in Senator Stanford's illustration of the difference in rates between San Francisco and El Paso, there is, at least, a very strong presumption of excessive profit upon the business which has no means of obtaining relief from such burdensome rates.

It has no slight bearing upon the question under consideration, that these large profits are imposed upon a class of business which by its volume and character, might be expected to have a valid claim for the establishment of rates which would yield a margin of profit rather below the average, in the expectation that its large net earnings in the aggregate, would compensate for such a reduction. It is one of the fundamental claims of the railroad, that the volume of shipments of certain classes can be immensely enhanced, and the net earnings largely increased in the aggregate by low rates yielding upon each car-load but a slight proportion of profit. Yet in the adjustment of rates between local and competitive traffic we find exactly this principle violated. Mr. Alexander tells us that the volume of local traffic upon which the Pacific railroads impose a margin for profit, four or five times that which they obtain from the competitive points, is probably three times the total of the through traffic. Yet we are confronted with the fact, that in such cases the railroad throws aside the principle of the lowest margin of profit upon the freight which yields the greatest volume, and imposes several times the profit on the larger volume of traffic. In the illustration of the cotton rates, as between Winona and Memphis which was argued in Congress during the interstate commerce debate, the railroad rates dealt with the article which would occupy the same relative position to the Southern roads that grain freights do to the Western and Northwestern railroads. Yet in this case, we have the spectacle of the Southern railroad imposing upon this fundamental and universal freight, a charge or profit or net earnings, which by the most moderate calculation must be ten or twelve times that imposed upon the through traffic, and divides the local freight charges into the proportions of 25 per cent. for expenses, and 75 per cent. for profit. Wherever this is the case, it is not too much to say that it is neither in accordance with the best interests of the country, nor the best interests of the railways them-

selves, that a portion of the community should be subjected to such burdens, while other localities are given the vital privilege of emancipation from them.

On the other hand, the railway argument when properly analyzed, affords a good deal of foundation for the theory, that the high charges upon local traffic are useful in maintaining the position of the railway, by which it can compete for business at the competitive points, even at rates which yield no profit. We have seen that the railway position is that the reduction of charges at the competitive points is permissible by the omission of two elements which are included in charges upon local traffic. The first, is that of profit or net earnings, which must yield the interest on bonded indebtedness or the dividends on the capital of the road. The second, is composed of elements of cost which permeate the entire business, but which, Mr. Alexander argues, are to be discarded, except those which must be added for the additional cost of transporting the competitive freight. The first point, under the present constitution of the railway business, must be conceded to have some cogency in this connection. If the railways can make the through freight pay its cost of transportation and yield a little something to the net earnings, it is, certainly, under the system which divides traffic into competitive and non-competitive divisions, for the railway interest that it shall have the privilege of taking what net earnings it can get upon the through traffic rather than to lose the business and the profits from it altogether. This would account for a 30 per cent. variation between local and through rates of charges; that is upon the average of freights. The through traffic which involves about the same cost as a similar local haul, might be carried 30 per cent. cheaper. Or in the case where the through haul involved 30 per cent. more expenses, it might be carried at about the same rate as the local freight. This is subject to two qualifications: First, a portion of the 30 per cent. average profit ought to be imposed upon the competitive traffic; for the difference is justified only by the supposition that it will obtain a certain amount of profit. Next, it is to be supposed that the great and fundamental classes of traffic on which these local discriminations are the most onerous, are carried at a less margin of profit than the average drawn from the total of railway traffic; and therefore, the difference between local and through charges must be less, in just the proportion that the average profit is lower. The average freight charge of the entire railroad system of the United States having been a little over 1 per cent. per ton per mile in 1888, while the average charge upon grain freights was between 5½ and 6 mills per ton per mile, the presumption is natural and legitimate, that the proportion of profit upon the low-grade freights was much less than the proportion of profit on the aggregate business. Consequently what-

ever differences under present conditions are legitimately established between local and through traffic must be reduced by the same ratio.

The utter insufficiency of this explanation of the extreme differences between competitive and non-competitive traffic returns us to the railway theory, that competitive traffic must pay only the additional cost which must be imposed over and above what the railroad would have to pay if this competitive traffic were not carried. This is generally held by the railway school to mean that the item of expense which must be charged upon the competitive traffic is only the loading of cars and the furnishing of motive power. But this entirely ignores the fact that there are large and necessary items of railroad expense which must be charged to all classes of traffic alike, and which are equally enhanced as each class of traffic is enhanced. The through traffic wears out the track, and requires expenditures for maintenance of way; it wears out the cars, and requires expenditure for maintenance of rolling stock; it necessitates the employment of agents and clerks, and the work of train dispatchers, telegraphers, conductors, and accountants, some of them in exact proportion to the increase of volume, and some of them perhaps in less proportion. But it is a fact that those items of expenditures which may be conceded as not enhanced by the addition of the work of transporting the competitive traffic do not amount, as shown by the reports of the Union Pacific Railroad, to 10 per cent. of the total expenses of railway operation, and are but little over 5 per cent. of the total earnings. The best answer to the claim that through traffic should be emancipated from a considerable amount of the leading items of expense can be presented in a single illustration. Suppose one railway to transport a given volume of freight traffic, of which three-quarters is local business and one-quarter is through business. Suppose another one parallel to it to transport the same aggregate volume of tonnage-mileage of the same classes of freight, but of which three-quarters is through business and one-quarter is local business. It is safe to say that, all other things being equal, the cost of conducting transportation, of motive power, of maintenance of cars, and of maintenance of way will be nearly equal upon these two railroads, while the general expenses involving the cost of clerical work will be slightly less upon the road which does the largest amount of through business. The economy by the excess of through business will not be sufficient to justify the variation of 5 per cent. upon the total charges. This being the case, and the railway theory discarding the elements of cost comprised in maintenance of way and maintenance of cars, so far as the competitive traffic is concerned, it follows that the cost, in those departments of expense, which is imposed by the through traffic must necessarily be made up by the revenue from the local freight.

Notice to Attendants at St. Louis.
OFFICE FARMERS ALLIANCE EXCHANGE,
1 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK,
October 23, 1889.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Pursuant to your request I have made application to the following passenger associations for reduced rates to the meeting of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, convening in St. Louis, Mo., December 5-7, 1889: Trunk Line Association, embracing the territory north and east of Pittsburg, except New England; Central Traffic Association, embracing territory west of Mississippi River and South Missouri River; Southern Passenger Association, for territory south of Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of Mississippi Rivers; and Western States Passenger Association, for the territory west of Chicago and St. Louis to the Missouri River and northwest to St. Paul.

In reply to my application I have received the following, which please publish for benefit of delegates attending:

CERTIFICATE PLAN—MEETING OF FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION AT ST. LOUIS, DECEMBER 5-7.

Instructions to Persons Attending the Meeting.

* * * * *

2. The concession applies to persons starting from said territory. If the starting point is not located on one of those roads, tickets should be purchased to the most convenient point on any of the said lines, and thence, by direct routes only, through to place of meeting.

3. The concession is fare and a third, on committee's certificate. It is conditional on there being an attendance at the meeting of not less than fifty persons holding such certificates.

4. The going ticket must be purchased within three days before or two days after the opening date of the meeting; otherwise no reduction in fare will be made on the return passage.

5. Each person availing of the concession will pay full tariff first-class fare going to the meeting, and get a certificate filled in on one side by the agent of whom the ticket is purchased. The agent keeps the certificates in stock.

6. Present the certificate to the proper officer at the meeting, that the other side may be filled in.

7. Certificates are not transferable.

8. On presentation of the certificate, duly filled in on both sides, within three days (Sunday excepted) after the meeting, the ticket agent at the place of meeting will return the person to his starting point at one-third the highest limited fare. The return ticket will be issued over the route used in going to the meeting, and will be available for continuous passage only.

9. No refund of fare will be made on account of failure of any person to obtain a certificate.

Delegates and others availing of the concession should present themselves at the offices for certificates and tickets at least thirty minutes before departure of trains.

Each secretary of State Alliance is requested to notify delegates attending.

Unless each one procures a receipt or certificate of ticket agent when they buy their tickets, showing they purchased the ticket and paid full fare, we cannot secure a reduction. If you can't get a through ticket at your local point, buy a ticket to nearest junctional point, or where through tickets can be bought.

Oswald Wilson, President.
All Alliance papers please copy.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

HEREDITY.

Any attempt to popularize a subject so vast and in some respects so indefinite as heredity is beset with many difficulties. Many persons believe that such knowledge is best confined to works intended solely for the perusal and use of professional experts. Those who begin to read an article on such a subject, after reference to Webster's *Unabridged* for a definition, will be disappointed to find that there is no such word in the English language as heredity. They will find there hereditary as an English word, and the definition of it sufficiently obscure to plainly show the vacuity of mind with which the lexicographer views the subject. The Latin word which lies behind all this confusion is *heres*, of which the English equivalent and derivative is heir. Heredity, though not a word according to Webster, is nevertheless a term in common use among scientific men. The term is often used in Darwin, and a distinguished professor of Johns Hopkins, Brooks, to wit, has written a book so entitled. Heredity is equivalent to heirship. It implies everything received or receivable from an ancestor; obviously it includes existence and all the details of the organism which renders existence possible, and determine often its duration and the minutest circumstances of its development. That such a subject is one of the greatest which can possibly present itself to the human intellect is most certain, and hence it is that all discussions of it, by even the greatest scientific minds, remain incomplete, contradictory among themselves, and unsatisfactory in their final conclusions. In spite of all this there are many self-evident facts of great importance in themselves, and from which most important conclusions are inevitable, which lie upon the surface of this great subject open to inspection, thrusting and obtruding themselves upon our attention. Some have denied the heredity of disease. Admitting the heredity of red hair, or black eyes, they have denied the heredity of talent, of long life or bodily strength, or beauty or amiability, or on the other hand of depravity or basitility, or a criminal propensity, or insanity. Much of this confusion comes of inability to see or refuse to look upon a subject of painful contemplation. It is the part of manliness to look truth squarely in the face and take measures of defense to avert, or of preparation to meet its consequences, which we shall in no wise escape by shutting our eyes against the facts which present themselves to our senses. The conspicuous lack of effectual study of such a subject is not creditable to the high pretensions of modern science, nor to the boast of the modern educator, that his duties are most completely and effectually performed. It was, for example, held by a most distinguished physician in a celebrated case that insanity is not hereditary, but he admitted on cross-examination that the predisposition is inherited, which constitutes the physical basis of insanity and awaits only the application of the exciting cause. It is clearly obvious that a distinction was here attempted, where it was admitted a difference does not exist. In other words, insanity is not inherited ready-made, but all the conditions are inherited which bring it into existence, the final result being that the son is insane because the father was insane. To such reasonings as this the question may be opposed, would any sane man suffer a child to marry a man whose father and mother had both died insane, and if not, why not? It is wholly in vain to attempt to minimize the influence of heredity. Speaking of a certain constitutional taint as unmistakably and fatally hereditary, Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, in his work on Preventive Medicine, says: "My friend, Professor Gross, believed that in the person primarily affected the effects never die out." I believe that in those affected in the second generation the effects never die out. I have seen the effects in the third unquestionably, and I believe in the fourth generation. It is not, however, in relation to the human family that these questions are here discussed further than may be necessary to illustrate the nature of heredity in the abstract and to establish in the mind a clear conception of it. Recognizing in it a controlling force in the reproduction of all organisms, whether plants or animals, and a force at the same time over which man may exercise control within limits, the present purpose is a practical view of certain questions relating to the science and art of breeding. No one has even called into question the fundamental axiom of the breeder, viz.: "Like begets like."

Moses wrote of each that in the beginning the decree was that it shall "bring forth fruit after its kind." Horace wrote:

"Forte creantur fortibus et bonis
Est in juvencis est in equis patrum
Virtus, nec imbellum ferores
Progenerant aquilas columbam."

That is, the brave begotten are by the brave and good, etc. Like begets like is as old as creation; what does it mean? It means that whatever characters and qualities are derived by a parent from its ancestors, it transmits to its offspring the conditions of life which affect development remaining unaltered. When any living creature through alteration of its environment varies in process of development from the type of its ancestors it may transmit such variation, and it may become a part of the new heredity in the midst of a new environment, even in an increased and exaggerated form. Features peculiar to individuals may be; features characteristic of the race must be transmitted; within these limits it is not possible to set bounds to the possible variations. Thus a vast number of breeds of pigeons have been produced differing among themselves far more widely than many natural genera. It is possible to multiply the number of groups of pigeons, morphologically distinct, indefinitely, but all will be pigeons; none of them can become sparrows, or cranes, or vultures.

FRENCH CHEMIST ON ABSORPTION OF NITROGEN BY THE SOIL.

F. C., a correspondent of the American Farmer writing from Paris, states that a very interesting discussion between Schloessing in the affirmative and Berthelot in the negative, is progressing before the French Academy upon the question of the direct absorption of nitrogen by soils. We beg to refer to our articles on this subject in back numbers of some weeks since. The question we take it is not as to the absorption of nitrogen by soils; that is not a question, but of the oxidation of nitrogen when subjected to soil action and microbial action, and the action of the roots of living growing plants. F. C. states that upon the question, continental chemists are divided into two opposite camps, but it is regarded as established that microbial activity favors absorption of nitrogen, both by the soil and the plants growing upon it; that is to say, we take it that the amount of combined nitrogen in the soil is increased at the expense of atmospheric free nitrogen by the combined action of the porous bodies of the soil the activities of microbial life in the destruction of organic matter, and the activities of the acting roots of growing plants. Verification of this position may constitute the hitherto lacking proof of the oxidation of free nitrogen in the presence of this complex soil situation, and of its subsequent entrance into the nutrition of plants. The porous bodies of the soil contain condensed nitrogen in the condition most favorable for combination with nascent oxygen resulting from decomposing organic matter in the soil. Moreover, all fermentations, perhaps all microbial decompositions of organic matter, produce ozone. Ozone on its part, is capable of oxidizing free nitrogen, and much more so condensed and occluded nitrogen of persons' bodies, as in the soil. Demonstration is lacking; this is a working hypothesis for some of our American station chemists, if adequate to the undertaking.

THE ELEMENT CARBON.

It was formerly believed that the atmosphere contained six parts in the thousand of carbonic anhydride. It is now known that this estimate is too high by nearly one-half. The last edition of Wilson's Hygiene gives the general average at 3.30. The observations of the writer made the general average at Washington for outdoor air 3.32. Ground air is far richer in this gas than the atmospheric air, and the deeper we get down the greater in general does the amount appear to be. At three feet to fifteen feet depth as much as ten per cent has been repeatedly found. In the bottom of deep wells and in the galleries of mines and such places quantities are found sufficient to suffocate men. It has been supposed that this excess of carbonic anhydride in ground air is due to the decomposition of organic matter in the soil. It seems, however, to be much more likely that it is due to the greater power of the porous bodies of the soil to absorb and occlude larger quantities of this gas than of the oxygen and nitrogen composing the atmospheric mixture. Ground air is richer in nitrogen moreover than in oxygen. Subterranean waters are often charged to supersaturation with carbonic acid, which evaporates when they reach the surface and subterranean pressure is removed. In this way a portion of the iron in many chalybeate waters exists as carbonate, dissolved in the excess of carbonic acid held by the water. In the justly celebrated and most highly valuable water of the famous Rawley Springs of Virginia, all the iron and a great part of the alkalis exist as carbonates, and still the excess of the gas is so great after forming all these carbonates, and saturating the water so that no more can be dissolved, it is held in excess under subterranean pressure as in a soda fountain, so that the

For the middle and Northern States the fair season may be said to be closed with the close of the month of October. The season of 1889 has been the most successful since the war, both as to the character of the exhibitions and the numbers in attendance. In not a few cases the crowds have been phenomenal. What is indicated by this success? Hardly that the difficulties of the situation are lessening for agriculture. Prices have not advanced; the cost of producing agricultural staples is not materially lessened; taxes are not

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

water sparkles like cologne, and produces effects like champagne does when freely taken by persons not habituated to its use. Carbonic acid is also enormously consumed in nature in forming mineral carbonates such as with lime and magnesian rocks of almost continental area. It is also one of a few substances forming ores of metals such as iron, copper, zinc. The origin of the carbon of the coal deposits is very ancient vegetation; it may be regarded as representing so much carbonic anhydride withdrawn from the atmosphere, and thus stored for the use of man long prior to his advent upon the earth. The origin of graphite is doubtless similar and more ancient still. Of the origin of diamonds nothing tangible appears to be known. Scientifically their variety makes them interesting, and in the great economics of nature they have no place.

Of thirteen elements probably essential to the formation of a living cell none is more conspicuously important than carbon as a structural substance. It is the corner-stone of the frail tenement which for a brief season the human soul inhabits. It forms a part and the most stable part of every primordial cell in which the foundations of a new life are laid for every living thing. Such a cell is a link in the endless chain which unites the generation which cometh and the generation which passeth away. It is the conjugation of a pair of cells which is the beginning of every new life, the generation of a new individual, as in pursuance of the great general plan, cell is added to cell in that marvelous development whereby from a beginning so small a man of full stature is built up in the express image of God. Carbon is the foundation element of each and every cell.

If we seek the distinctive chemical peculiarities of carbon they will be found in its remarkably diverse forms, and in the facility with which it unites with itself in the formation of radicals, which are essentially groups of atoms capable of being transferred from one compound to another, and otherwise acting precisely like an element. Each radical so formed being practically a new element, the number of compounds is indefinitely increased. One of these groups, viz., ethyl C_2H_5 , when combined with hydroxyl, H_2O , forms alcohol C_2H_5O . From this point of view the stupendous consequences of this distinctive character of carbon are evident. For if by Satan came death into the world, and all our woe, alcohol has been to Satan an able coadjutor. If the devil be the father of evil, alcohol is its mother; a sort of devil's wife, that has done mankind more harm to innocent posterity. The following weighty words are from Richardson's Preventive Medicine: "Physical over-strain, mental overstrain, the all but certain producers of constitutional mischief, should specially be prevented. Every thoughtful person who wishes well for his kindred, should oppose with the most resolute determination the competitive freaks and insanities which are now the fashion of the hour. With their utmost energy thoughtful persons should oppose the current cramming system of so-called education, and the extortions of examinations into existence. The result of extreme mental pressure is already bearing fruit. It is not raising the culture of the nation in any sense. It is unfitting manhood and womanhood for good steady and progressive work, and it is keeping alive, actively alive, the constitutional proclivities to nervous and mental disease. It is particularly mischievous to the young women who are to become the mothers of a future generation." This last sentence let every mother of children ponder.

JAPAN CLOVER.

Our article on this subject has brought considerable inquiry about it, which we have replied to as well as able by private correspondence, as it came mostly from personal friends of the writer. The correspondence evidenced considerable interest in this plant. We repeat here the former opinion, it will not succeed as far north as where it will be killed by hard frost as early as the middle of September, for in that case it will not reseed itself, and as the first year's growth after seedling is comparatively scant and unpromising, if it has to be reseeded every year it can not amount to much. From Maryland southward it undoubtedly will everywhere establish itself, and will prove a very important addition to the forage plant of that section. On the southern half of the range country it is likely to greatly increase the capacity of the ranges for carrying stock, and will very likely prove of value in displacing "loco" plants. A great point in favor of the Japan clover is that it is exempt from ergot and other insects and poisons which, notwithstanding the belief and the say so of persons not well informed, are responsible for very heavy annual losses of like scientific work. We must be content in this place with mere glimpse of recent advances.

To go fully into the chemistry of carbon compounds would be an undertaking without end; no subject is so vast. Its developments for long yet to come may be expected to outstrip the industry of even the most industrious chiropters of scientific work. We must be content in this way there—the sample sent being from a growth which took possession of a clay bank far below the surface, and apparently destitute of any power to sprout a seed or sustain vegetation. It is just such places this plant takes possession of, and its digestive and assimilative powers are demonstrated to surpass almost any thing heard of in the higher plants. The difference between Japan clover and wheat or corn in this respect is very great and very instructive.

A TROTTING DOG.

A correspondent of that excellent journal, the American Field, tells a story of a trotting dog. It is not stated that he is a dog trotter. It is stated, however, that the exhibition was a dog trot, Kansas City, Mo., was the place. The dog was advertised to make a half mile, drawing a cart and boy weighing 81 pounds, but the boy was not ac-

complished owing to the bad condition of the track. Nevertheless, it is said all who saw the exhibition were well pleased. The dog trotted the full half mile in the mud without a skip, in the good time of 1.52, beating the time made by some of the horses that trotted during the afternoon. After a short rest, the dog was again started, and made the half mile in 1.49½. It is said the dog is a purebred Irish red setter. Whether this thing be true or a joke does not appear, but it is known that in Northern regions the dog is valued as a beast of burden, and may doubtless come to be put to useful work in small powers made for the purpose; churning, and such like work, has been done in small tread powers by dogs. Mastiffs, St. Bernards, and other very large breeds suffer for want of exercise, and no reason exists why they may not be made to take it, and do useful work at the same time. A brace of mastiffs, in harness, could easily draw a man in a light pole cart or similar arrangement. In a small tread mill-power, they could perform work which would be really important in a poor family. We take this joke seriously. Put the lazy dogs to work.

"Plutocracy, or American White Slavery."

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

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

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

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

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

2. As to its political merit, my own predilections in the same direction possibly disqualify me for impartial judgment. At least, I may say in a most unministerial way, that in my biased opinion, "it knocks the black out." And, if you will allow, I will venture to add that in its guise of fiction it will touch the "haslets" of more people, and awaken more thought, and induce deeper conviction than a thousand congressional speeches. To the common mind, the one usually presents facts like Ezekiel's Valley of Dry Bones, which were "very many and very dry." The other, like that same valley when breathed upon by the Spirit, the bones no longer prone and ghastly skeletons, but standing up a great army of living men.

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

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

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

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

THE able statisticians now engaged in preparing the forthcoming *NATIONAL ECONOMIST* are bringing to light statistics from the most reliable sources, which will open the eyes of the 14,000,000 wealth-producers in this country. Those statistics are going to show the reason why of many heretofore unexplainable conditions.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No 25

The Supervising Surgeon General is charged with the supervision of all matters connected with the Marine Hospital service, and with the disbursement of the funds for the relief of sick and disabled seamen employed on the vessels of the mercantile marine of the oceans, lakes, and rivers, and the revenue cutter service, the general superintendence of the marine hospitals, the purveying of supplies, the orders, details, and assignment of medical officers, and the examination of property returns.

The employees and salaries are: Supervising Surgeon-General, \$4,000; Surgeon, \$3,000; Passed Assistant-Surgeon, \$1,800; clerk, \$1,800; five clerks at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,200; hospital steward at \$1,200; four sanitary inspectors, Havana, Cuba, at \$2,500 each; assistant inspector at same station, \$1,200; six copyists at \$600; messenger at \$600; laborer, \$480; laborer at \$360. The force being supported by a monthly tax upon the wages of American seamen engaged in foreign or domestic trade, is variable as to the numbers and salaries. It consists now of about 115 medical officers, with salaries ranging from \$3,000 to \$100 per annum; about 150 stewards, nurses, and other employees paid at rates ranging from \$720 to \$100 per year.

It is the duty of the General Superintendent of the Life-Saving Service to supervise the organization and government of the employees of the service, to prepare and revise regulations therefor; to fix the number and compensation of surfmen to be employed at the various stations; to supervise the expenditure of all appropriations made for the support of the Life-Saving service; to examine the accounts of disbursements of the district superintendent, and to certify the same to the accounting officers of the Treasury Department; to examine the property returns of the keepers of the several stations, and see that all the public property thereto belonging is properly accounted for; to acquaint himself, as far as practicable, with all means employed in foreign countries which may seem to advantageously affect the interest of the service; and to cause to be properly investigated all plans, devices, and inventions for the improvement of life-saving apparatus for use at the stations which may appear to be meritorious and available; to exercise supervision over the selection of sites for new stations, the establishment of which may be authorized by law, or for old ones, the removal of which may be made necessary by the encroachments of the sea, or by other causes; to prepare and submit to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates for the support of the service; to collect and compile the statistics of marine disasters contemplated by the act of June 20, 1874, and to submit to the Secretary of the Treasury, for transmission to Congress, an annual report

of the expenditures of moneys appropriated for the maintenance of the Life-Saving service, and of the operations of said service during the year.

The employees in this bureau are: Superintendent, \$4,000; assistant, \$2,500; principal clerk and accountant, \$1,800; topographer and hydrographer, \$1,800; civil engineer, \$1,800; draughtsman, \$1,500; two clerks, \$1,800 each; three clerks at \$1,600 each; two clerks at \$1,400 each; five clerks at \$1,200 each; two clerks at \$1,000 each; five at \$900 each; assistant messenger at \$720; laborer, \$660; one assistant superintendent of construction, \$125 per month; one at \$110; one at \$100; and one at \$3.25 per day. Seven District Superintendents at \$1,800; four at \$1,500, and one at \$1,200 per annum. Eighty-eight keepers of life-saving stations at \$700 per year each; one thousand four hundred surfmen at \$40 per month.

The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics collects and publishes the statistics of our foreign commerce, embracing tables showing the imports and exports respectively, by countries and by customs districts; the intransit trade inward and outward by countries and by customs districts; imported commodities ware-housed, withdrawn from and remaining in ware-houses; the imports of merchandise entered for consumption, showing quantity, value, rates of duty, and amounts of duty collected on each article or class of articles; number of immigrants, their nationality, occupation, etc., arriving from foreign countries, and the number of passengers departing for foreign countries; the inward and outward movement in our foreign trade, and the countries whence entered and for which cleared, distinguishing the nationality of foreign vessels; also special information in regard to our internal commerce. The bureau issues annually the following publications: Annual Report of Commerce and Navigation; Annual Report of Internal Commerce; Annual Statistical Abstract of the United States; Quarterly Report on Commerce, Navigation, and Immigration; Monthly Summary Statement of Imports and Exports; Monthly Report on Total Values of Foreign Commerce and Immigration; Monthly Reports of Exports of Breadstuffs, of Petroleum, and Cotton.

The divisions of the bureau are as follows: Division of Examination and Revision; Division of Compilation; Miscellaneous Division; Library and Files.

The employees and salaries are as follows: Officer in charge, \$3,000; chief clerk, \$2,000; four clerks at \$1,800 each; four at \$1,600 each; five at \$1,400 each; nine at \$1,200 each; three at \$1,000 each; two copyists \$900 each; three at \$720 each; messenger at \$840; assistant messenger at \$720; laborer at \$660; female laborer, \$480. Experts are temporarily employed by this bureau to furnish statistics relative to internal and foreign commerce.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing, designs, engraves, prints, and finishes all of

the securities and other similar work of the Government printed from steel plates (except postage stamps and postal notes), embracing United States notes, bonds, and certificates, national bank notes, internal-revenue stamps and customs stamps, Treasury drafts and checks, disbursing officers checks, licenses, commissions, patent and pension certificates, and portraits of deceased members of Congress and other public officers authorized by law. The machinery used in this bureau is a most wonderful triumph of human genius. Its cost was enormous, and the work done is simply perfect. The most skillful artists only are employed, and the bureau is really an exposition of modern art and mechanical skill.

The employees are as follows: Chief of Bureau, \$4,500; assistant, \$2,250; accountant, \$2,000; stenographer, \$1,600; clerk, \$1,600; two clerks at \$1,200 each; one clerk at \$1,000; two assistant messengers at \$720; laborer at \$660. Large numbers of engravers, plate printers, skilled and unskilled workmen, etc., are employed by the day or piece, permanently or temporarily, at wages varying from \$1 to \$12 per day. The whole force frequently exceeds one thousand, and is regularly near that number.

This concludes the review of the Treasury Department, which has been made as brief as possible. A volume could be written descriptive of this vast Government machine which would be full of interest and information, but the limited space at command forbids any further elaboration. It is hoped that from what condensed information here given, the reader may be able to realize to some extent the vastness of the institution, and the enormous expense its support entails upon the people. None of the other departments are to be compared to the Treasury in magnitude or responsibility, yet each one is a sort of nerve centre having its ramifications extending into every section of the country, and its influence is felt even in the most secluded localities. Next to the Treasury in importance comes the Interior Department.

The minutes of the twenty-second session of the National Grange, at Topeka, Kan., 1888, contains the following report of the committee on good of order, which was adopted:

The committee on good of the order, to whom was referred the resolution relative to the appointing of a committee of one to represent this order at the meeting of the National Wheel, to convene at St. Louis December 5th, 1888, also a like committee to meet the Alliance Co-operative Union, which assembles in the city of Meridian, Miss., on the same date, have considered the resolution in all its bearings, and the committee has directed me to report the same back to this body, and recommend that it do not pass, for the reason that the Patrons of Husbandry are to-day in a condition that will not bear them out in seeking an alliance with any other organization.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. MARS, for the Committee.

Origin of Property in Land.

[This should have preceded the article published in No. 4 under this option, the series having been intended to follow chronological order, but the copy was sent to press first by mistake.]

After the Roman power was fixed in Britain there was a rapid development of agricultural interests and industry, although there seems to have been little, if any, material change in the system of tenure which they found existing at the time of their conquest. The changes they made related almost entirely to the product of the lands and not to the tenure. The Romans were the first to discover or create an estate of uses in land as distinct from an estate of possession. Having seized upon lands in Italy belonging to conquered nations, they considered them public lands and rented them to the cultivators, thus retaining to the state the property in the lands, or, as we say, the fee, but giving the occupier an estate of uses. The rent of these public lands was fixed at one-tenth of the produce, and this was termed usfruct—the use of the fruits. This was the system the Romans introduced into Britain.

The British chiefs, who submitted to the Romans, were subjected to a tribute or rent in grain; it varied, according to circumstances, from one-fifth to one-twentieth of the produce. The producer was bound to deliver it at the prescribed places. This was often a great hardship, as many were obliged to carry grain a great distance or pay a sum in money to be relieved.

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The Romans gave great attention to the development of agriculture. Cato says: "When the Romans designed to bestow the highest praise on a good man, they used to say he understood agriculture well and is an excellent farmer, for this was esteemed the greatest and most honorable character." Their system produced a great alteration in Britain, and converted it into the most fruitful province of the empire; it produced sufficient grain for its own inhabitants, for the Roman legions, and also supplied a large surplus which was sent up the Rhine to be stored in the great granaries which the Emperor Julian had built in Germany. On one occasion a fleet of eight hundred vessels was sent to Britain to carry this grain to Germany, where it was distributed to support the plundered inhabitants.

Further than thus giving an impetus to agriculture, the Roman occupancy seems to have had no material effect upon the land system.

They do not seem to have established any military tenures such as they established on the Danube and the Rhine, nor do they seem even to have taken formal possession of the land, the tax they imposed seeming to have been a tribute demanded from labor rather than a rent for land.

The Roman rule seemed to have totally converted the original inhabitants to a condition of dependence, and when they abandoned the country the people seemed utterly helpless. Having so long depended on a master, a leading and directing power, when left to themselves they seemed incapable of directing their own affairs; they had become dependent, and lost all self-reliance, all independence and personal pride. This is a striking

and fertile portions of the south, swarmed from the savage forests of the north. These invasions were not colonizations, they were migrations of whole peoples, as full and complete as the Israelitish invasion of Canaan; they were more destructive of property but less of life. These migratory hosts left a desert behind them, and they either gained a settlement or perished. The colonies of enlightened nations kept a connection with their native land, and when in need appealed for aid to their kindred people; but these migratory hordes had no country, no reserve, and must fix themselves effectively or perish. The lands they vacated were occupied by others moving from still more remote localities. These people brought their own social arrangements, and these were varied and altered by those they found in vogue among the people they overthrew. This makes it very difficult to connect the land system established by the aborigines in any nation with the system which after a lapse of a few centuries was found to prevail in another tribe or nation which occupied the same lands. This great movement extended itself to Britain, and it is to it that we must look for the great modifications and changes in the land system from what we have seen it to be up to this time.

The invaders of the fifth century, who followed the Roman evacuation, the Angles and Saxons, came from a region north of the Elbe, which we call Scleswig-Holstein, and from them came the polity established in England after the Roman rule.

None of the Roman historians give us any idea of the habits of the people who lived north of the Belge; they had no notion of Scandinavia or Slavonia, and it is scarcely probable that we can find among the customs of the Teutons the basis whence came the polity established in England by the invaders of the fifth century.

The Angles and Saxons, although they entered England from Germany, were relations of the Norwegians and the Danes and of the family of sea-robbers; they were not Teutons, for the Teutons were not sailors. Caesar tells us that "the Belga colonized part of the coast," they kept up a connection with their people on the main land, but the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes did not colonize; they migrated, and left no traces in the lands they had occupied. Each separate invasion was a settlement of a district; each leader aspired to sovereignty and was supreme in his own domains; each, like Romulus and Alexander, claimed descent from the gods, from Woden. Each chief was independent of the other, and owed no allegiance to the other; marriage or conquest united them ultimately into one kingdom.

The primary institutions were molded by time, and the state of affairs in the eleventh century was as different from that of the fifth as the present is from the eleventh. Yet one was as much the outgrowth of its predecessor as the other.

If the invaders of the fifth century were Teutons it would be reasonable to look for similarity between systems and names, but it is seen that there is as great dissimilarity between the English and German names of the classes as between the English and the Roman. The German mark system has no counterpart in the land system introduced into England by the Anglo-Saxons. The German system as described by Caesar was only suited to a nomadic people who had no home-ties. The mark system is of later date, and was most likely introduced by later races who settled permanently on the lands vacated by the earlier Germans; and as this system is Celtic it is not probable that the later people adopted the system of the earlier inhabitants? An examination of the names and titles is not only of great interest, but it will give valuable ideas as to the origin of the system.

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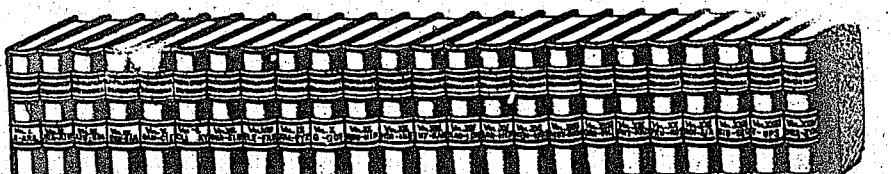
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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.
No. 34.

We have seen Athens reduced to the most desperate condition, by the misfortune which befell her army and fleet at Syracuse, but this was not the limit of the suffering her people were destined to bear; indeed, she was but entering upon an experience of horrors such as it has been the fate of few people to endure. So long as the people were united, so long as a true equality, civil liberty and an ennobling spirit of patriotism prevailed Athens rose and advanced in arts, in science, in philosophy; in all the attainments that grace an advanced civilization; but so soon as ambition, greed of wealth, and desire for imperial power replaced the love of liberty and sincere regard for justice, her people fell from the height their early virtue had raised them to.

Betrayed into an unfortunate conflict, by the selfish aspirations of an ambitious demagogue and their own unbridled passions, this fated people were now to drink to the bitter dregs the cup of misery filled by their own reckless folly and passionate thoughtlessness. Instead of advancing defiantly to the conquest of the empire they had hoped to establish, they were now driven to the necessity of attempting to defend themselves at home. They were no longer to lead in the councils of Greece, or send forth armies to win laurels upon the field; their allies deserted them and they were left alone to bewail the blindness and folly that had made them the tools of designing schemers, wrecked their fair prospects and brought ruin and desolation upon their homes. For a time they struggled hopelessly against their adverse fate, catching at every straw the current of events bore upon its bosom, until at last they sank beneath their misfortunes and were overwhelmed by the flood of evils which poured mercilessly upon them.

The Lacedemonians, seeing the great advantage gained, determined to prosecute the war with renewed vigor. The Athenians, in their distress, knew not where to turn. Alcibiades, who had gone over to the Persians after his escape, saw in the misfortune of Athens his opportunity to achieve, to some extent, his selfish aspirations, and to build his fame upon the wreck of the liberties of his countrymen, and managed to have it suggested to the Athenian leaders that he could command aid from Persia, provided the government were put into the hands of the rich aristocrats, and not left in the hands of the masses who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went to Samos to confer with him as to the best means to bring about his desires. A plan was agreed upon and put in operation to effect the change of government.

By degrees, the democracy was abolished, and the end was accomplished shrewdly by the following means: The people in their distress had ceased to think for themselves,

and readily accepted any suggestions from those who appeared to have sufficient courage left to struggle against what all felt to be an adverse fate. It was agreed that ten commissioners be appointed with absolute power, who were, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done. In thus surrendering the power that rested in themselves, the people lost the last vestige of hope for maintaining their liberties, and the triumph of the schemers was assured. History contains no more solemn warning to a free people against surrendering the slightest portion of their rights, even under the most threatening conditions than this.

At the expiration of the term fixed the general assembly was summoned, wherein the first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit without being liable to any accusation for infringing the law, or to any penalty in consequence.

It was afterward decreed that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated one hundred persons, including themselves. Each of these chose and associated three more who were his friends; this made in all four hundred, and in these, absolute power was vested.

To blind the people, and deceive them with a shadow of popular government, while really an oligarchy was established, it was agreed that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens to assist them when they should judge it necessary. This necessity of course never arose; nothing was ever done, except by order of the four hundred, and these were composed of the wealthy and powerful.

In this way the people of Athens were robbed of their liberty by those in whom they had placed their trust, and through their neglect to educate themselves to a proper understanding of vital national questions. Had they set themselves earnestly to work to study the situation, relying on themselves alone and jealously preserving the innate rights of which they were possessed, they could never have been betrayed.

The people having agreed to this arrangement, after the dispersion of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers and reinforced by one hundred and twenty young men whom they had in pay, entered the senate and compelled the senators to retire and elected new magistrates out of their own body.

Now began a reign of terror. The four hundred set about fixing themselves firmly in power. They refused to authorize the return of Alcibiades, fearing that he would soon make himself master. They began a most tyrannical abuse of power; some of the prominent citizens they put to death, and others they banished and confiscated their estates. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even complain of it, were butch-

ered on false pretexts, and those who demanded justice of the murderers were intimidated.

The four hundred, as soon as they felt settled in power, sent to Samos to secure the army's ratification of their establishment. The army protested against the proceeding in the city, recalled Alcibiades, and created him general, with full power to sail directly to Athens and crush this new tyranny. Alcibiades now saw that he had the fate of Athens in his hands, and having made himself a favorite with the Persian power, and having no ambition except his personal advancement, began to speculate with the Persians to discover whether his best interests lay in establishing his authority in Athens or in giving his country over to Persian power.

While Alcibiades was thus trading on the misfortunes of his country the conditions in Athens had grown terrible in the extreme. The tyranny and cruelty of the four hundred had grown to be so unbearable that the people, driven to frenzy, rose against them; and the city ran red with the blood of the people. Conflict and riot were continual. The people had grown desperate, and the four hundred were kept busy defending themselves. They fortified that part of the Pyræus which commanded the harbor; and determined to let in the Lacedemonians rather than expose themselves to the fury of the populace.

The Lacedemonian fleet, which was hovering about the port at this time, attacked and destroyed the few galleys the Athenians had gotten ready for service, and this proved the finishing blow to the power of the four hundred. The people rose against them in a body and deposed them by force.

After the overthrow of this tyranny the people, desperate in their misery and misfortune, unfit to reason calmly, united with the army in recalling Alcibiades, who, with the army and such vessels as they had secured from allies who had joined them, came to Athens. The people, ready to welcome any event that gave them a shadow of hope, received their new general with the greatest demonstration of joy.

The new hope awakened in the breasts of the Athenians, fired them with sufficient zeal to gain a few unimportant victories, which served to encourage them; yet the real power of Athens was no more; the strength of the state was gone; and even the love of liberty was lost in the common degradation of the times. Many of the meaner orders of the people enthusiastically favored the assumption of the sovereignty by Alcibiades; the more intelligent and thoughtful, however, overcame this movement, and compromised by appointing him generalissimo and allowing him to choose his own colleagues. He gathered a hundred ships and set out against the Lacedemonians.

While defeat and misfortune had wrought the ruin of Athens, success was no less fatal to Sparta; for it was at this time that the poisonous seeds were sown that were to

choke the growth of those virtues which had been the glory of Sparta and of Greece.

The temporary success of Alcibiades called out new energy on the part of the Lacedemonians, and Lysander was chosen to lead the Lacedemonian fleets. In the character of this man was hidden the leaven of evil that was finally to destroy all of that heroic virtue that had made Sparta so long the home of virtue, of honor, and of patriotism, and to contaminate the people with that fatal spirit of avarice and greed that had already brought ruin upon Athens.

Lysander was without doubt one of the ablest generals Sparta ever produced. He possessed all the hardy accomplishments of his people, but was deficient in those high moral qualities which were the very soul of the Spartan system. He is described by the historians of his time as belonging to one of the highest families, "was bred up to hardships, and paid the usual regard to the discipline and manners of his country." He was brave and aspiring, and, like his countrymen, sacrificed all sorts of pleasure to his duty. He had an evenness and sedateness of temper, which made all conditions of life sit easy upon him; but, with all, was extremely insinuating, crafty, and designing, and made his interest the only measure of truth and falsehood.

This deceitful temper was observed to run through the whole course of his life; it was said of him that "he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury, and it was a maxim with him, that when the lion fails he must use the fox." This was the character of man in whose hands now rested the fate of Greece. Athens had had Pisistratus, Pericles, and Alcibiades; Sparta now had Lysander.

Lysander took possession of the fleet and carried it to Ephesus, gave orders for assembling of ships of burden from all parts, and established a yard for building galleys; he made the port free for merchants; gave public places to artificers, put all kinds of trade in motion, and by these means filled the city with riches and laid the foundation of that magnificence and voluptuousness which afterward ruined Sparta.

The conflict now went on, with Lysander and Alcibiades as leaders. With the details we need not concern ourselves, but the result was finally fatal to Athens. The Athenian forces were utterly cut to pieces and Alcibiades escaped to Persia, where he finally met a violent death. The 3,000 Athenian prisoners who were captured were put to death, and the Lacedemonians moved against Athens with their entire force.

When the news of this disaster came to the city all was consternation and despair. Rollin says: "Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every quarter. The people imagined the enemy already at their gates; they represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor and the shameful slavery

they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than death itself."

The next day the assembly was summoned, and it was resolved to shut up all the ports but one, to repair the breaches in the walls and prepare for a siege. It does seem that after all the terrible lessons the Athenians had had they would have learned the necessity of calm deliberation in their affairs; and yet, in their conduct when they chose to give their fortunes into the hands of Alcibiades they were as thoughtless and impulsive as when they had granted special franchises to Pisistratus. Such are the terrible lessons it has required to bring men to a realization of the necessity for a calm and rational action in all their measures and the necessity to avoid hasty and impulsive acts that invariably bring trouble.

As Lysander advanced toward Athens, he found many Athenians scattered in the districts through which he passed. These he compelled to take shelter in the city, intending to crowd it to such a degree that he could soon reduce it by famine. The wretched Athenians, hemmed in on every side, without provisions, ships, or hope of relief, prepared to meet the last extremity with patience; in this way, without speaking of capitulation, and dying in the streets by hundreds, they obstinately continued the defense until their provisions were entirely exhausted; they then sent commissions to ask for terms.

The Lacedemonians told them that they would not destroy a city which had so nobly defended Greece in the most critical time of her existence; but that they should destroy the long walls and the Piræus; that they should deliver up all their ships but twelve;

that they should restore their exiles, should make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedemonians and serve them in all their expeditions by sea and land.

The Athenians asked their ambassador why he had agreed to give the walls into the hands of the Lacedemonians which Themistocles had built in defense of them. He replied that he had Themistocles' design in view when he agreed to the stipulation; for, said he, "Themistocles built those walls for the preservation of the city, and I, for that reason, have agreed to destroy them; for if walls only secure a city, Sparta has none and is in a very ill condition."

The treaty was ratified, and the next day Lysander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the anniversary of the day upon the Athenians had gained the famous naval battle of Salamis. The walls were demolished to the sound of flutes and trumpets, and all the marks of rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty.

This ended the Peloponnesian war after it had been waged fiercely for twenty-seven years. The result was in the end no less fatal to the victors than to the vanquished, as will clearly appear from the recital of the

events which followed rapidly upon this victory of Lysander.

Discord and internecine strife had opened the flood-gates of passion; and reason had lost her sway amid the carnival of blood. Corruption and vice had begun to taint that lofty spirit of patriotism and honor; the serpent avarice had stung the Spartan pride of race and its deadly poison was contaminating the hearts and minds of those who had been the bulwark of Greek liberty and the nurses of the new-born civilization which was to regenerate man. The down-fall of Athens was the spark that was to fire the train already laid, to wreck the beautiful structure of liberal government which had been reared upon the classic soil of Greece.

WHEN Charles Francis Adams, president of the Union Pacific railroad, declared in a public speech some some time ago that the natural tendency of the railroad systems of the country was to consolidate, and that such consolidation was desirable, there were few disposed to doubt his first proposition, although many might question his second. The recent consolidation of the New York Central, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Chicago and Alton, the Union Pacific and their branches is a notable event in American railroad history. The aggregate mileage of the lines included amount to 27,100 miles, with a capital of \$564,952,000, and a total debt of \$621,690,000. This vast combination reaches from ocean to ocean, and from the great lakes to the Gulf, taking in almost every important point. It is said that other lines will be added to the consolidation—the Denver and Fort Worth among others mentioned.

READING the campaign speeches in some of the States holding elections this year, a stranger would naturally infer that they were peopled principally by professional politicians, with personal records to be attacked and defended instead of, as is the fact, by farmers and other producers burdened with faulty economic systems which required modification and improvement. Reforms are needed. But elections thus conducted are not for the purpose of effecting or indicating reforms, but are merely a struggle for the offices. Hence the personal character of the aspiring politicians is the principal subject discussed, and the only thing settled by the result is as to who shall draw the salaries.

IT is said that there are only five students in attendance at the Missouri Agricultural College. The young men of Missouri must not be very eager for agricultural education, or there must be some grave defect in the management of the college. It is passing strange in a great agricultural State to find so few of her sons desirous of obtaining a scientific and practical knowledge of a business in which so many of them must make a living, and upon which all are either directly or indirectly dependant. If the fault be in the young men, then it is a mistake on their part; if in the institution, then it should be remedied.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Chillicothe (Mo.) Crisis puts an economic fact well:

By a doubling of the general range of prices the power of capital over property would be reduced one-half to begin with. Then as the debtors got out of debt the power of capital over their property would be still further reduced.

That the converse of this is true the producers of this country have experienced; so that another fact may be stated: By halving the general range of prices the power of capital (money) over property (products) has been doubled to begin with. Then, as the debtors got in debt the power of capital (money) over their property (products) has been still further increased.

The Journal of United Labor (Philadelphia) has an excellent editorial, "Credit, not Gold, the Financial Basis," worthy of consideration for both matter and manner of treatment. It concludes:

Now, if the people could once thoroughly grasp this idea that credit, not gold nor even paper money, is the basis of modern commercial transactions, and that they are paying private individuals for magnanimously lending this credit (at 25 per cent.), we should be much nearer the stage when the public will demand that the national credit shall supersede the present high priced and much less substantial credit of usurers and money-mongers.

The Ellis County Mirror (Waxahachie, Texas) is perhaps justifiably pessimistic:

Corporate wealth is pulling together from every quarter of the globe. Capitalists and monopolists of all kinds are playing into each other's hands, and unless labor resorts to the same scheme, there is nothing but servitude for the industrial classes in the future.

The Labor Journal (Fulton, Ky.) says:

There are 700 wheels and about 250 Alliances in Kentucky, making nearly 1,000 sub-Unions in the State, and the work still goes bravely on.

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

Let the farmers and laborers of Arkansas watch well the movements of the opposers of organized labor. By soft speeches and fair promises they will attempt to carry out their nefarious schemes. Be vigilant and watchful. Organize, educate and co-operate.

The National Advocate (Lewiston, Me.) sums up the situation as follows:

The railroad monopoly is now so complete that they control the price of farm products both here and in the West, and past history proves that they will only allow the farmers of the West a price for their products barely sufficient to keep the wolf from the door, while they charge the consumer East all he can possibly pay. And while the farmers of the West can only grow crops about six months in the year the mortgage grows 12 months; and is never damaged by cyclones, drouths or grasshoppers.

Martha's Bulletin (Mathaville, La.) says:

The people are thinking, and it is evident that patriotism is not dead. Reform will be easy when the "common people" get together.

The Bevier Appeal (Bevier, Mo.), very correctly puts it in this way:

There are thousands of men, who know and believe in their hearts, that there are many radical changes needed in the laws of our country, in order to secure justice and equity to all, but who do not possess sufficient moral courage to step boldly forward, and show their fellow citizens where they stand on those questions.

The Troy Herald (Troy, Mo.), has the following good point:

To preserve liberty it must be a thought for every day and all occasions, an inviolable principle for all our fellow-citizens, a common interest indispensable to individual and collective welfare.

Our Opinion (McPherson, Kan.) gives the following explanation of our trouble:

The wealth that comes in exchange for a fair equivalent, God knows, never harmed mortal man. It is that which has been gathered through usury, through extortion, and through the bribery of the public conscience and of our law-makers

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

and law-enforcers that is cursing this nation. Such wealth it was, gathered in the blood of the weak and innocent, that cursed and destroyed the nations of antiquity, eating out their hearts until they crumbled and fell from their own weight. And such wealth is it that is cursing this nation, and which, unless the evil is speedily undone, will bring upon us untold misery and ruin.

St. Louis Journal of Agriculture says:

The paramount question of the times, is where can farmers find relief from the present condition of affairs. It is a question that is in the mouths of every one; that is published in the columns of every paper printed in the interest of farmers; and even the political press are beginning to echo it. The reason for this universal inquiry must then have a solid foundation in fact. Although the farmers' granaries and corn cribs are full and his stock abundant and fat, yet there is something wrong when in spite of all this they are poor. The infinite and direct cause of all this, the cause visible to every eye, is manifestly that the prices the farmer can get for his produce are too low.

The Northwestern Agriculturist (Minneapolis, Minn.) hits the bull's-eye when it says:

The remedy for hard times usually suggested to farmers by the editors of city papers is "old fashioned economy"—a return to the habits and manners of the olden time. When these daily papers discard the perfecting presses and go back to the hand-press, it will be time enough to give this kind of advice; and it is bad advice to give. Farmers of this age ought not to go backward, but forward. He wants no old fashioned economy but new fashioned management. The old fashioned economy was good in its time, but it is not adapted to the times. Life is broader on the farm, now. The farmer is no longer cut off from the rest of the world. He hears the whistle on the railroads, and if he chooses the daily paper brings the world to his doors. He can not go back to homespun, and if he could his children will not. He must advance and make the farm and farm methods keep pace with him and his necessities.

The Caucasian (Clinton, N. C.) says:

For the last decade the farmer has been playing a losing game. The farms have become less fertile, production has decreased, while a larger quantity of any given product is necessary to bring in the dollar, and therefore the dollars have grown distressingly scarce. This diseased condition of the very tap root of our growth and progress is beginning to tell heavily upon every branch of our industries. Something must be done. A change must be brought about.

The Fair Play (Arkansas City, Kansas) guesses the trouble exactly in the following:

Perhaps the greatest cause for hard times and scarcity of money in circulation is the fact that there is not money enough to meet the business of the country. In 1865 we had \$52 per capita, and now we only have about \$7 per capita, while we now produce about three times as much as we did in 1865. With three times the production we have only about one-seventh of the money to operate with. Here is a whole volume of truth to tell us what is the matter. The money ring has this people by the throat.

The Dexter Press (Dexter, Kan.) contains the following about bank taxation:

We overheard a gentleman make the following remark Saturday: "There are three things almost extinct in the United States. They are the buffalo, the red-man, and the true American citizen."

Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) gives the following gem:

The great reform movement among the farmers is to correct that policy and those systems which give the power to the few, to filch and impoverish the many, which fosters monopoly and destroys our energies.

The Arkansas Economist (Searcy, Ark.) gives the good word:

From every quarter comes the cheering report that new members are being initiated and new life infused into the order.

The Labor Tribune (Carthage, Mo.)

If the great English syndicate that is said to have been recently formed for the purpose of buying up Kansas farm mortgages avails itself of its opportunities Kansas will soon be a British dependency—a province of Great Britain. At the last term of the district court in Labette county, Kansas, there were ninety-seven suits for the foreclosure of mortgages. Of a large number of sales of farms in Cherokee county—our neighbors just over the line—twenty-two farms were bought by one man, and it is said they are for the British

syndicate referred to above. Scores of evictions by the sheriff are the result of every term of the court in every county in the State, and thousands of people are being turned out of their homes, and yet the papers are boasting Kansas farmers paying off their mortgages and getting out of debt!

The Ellis County Mirror (Waxahachie, Tex.) propounds the following question. Who will answer?

Why is it that so little legislation for the people and so much for the party? The people serve the party and its leaders instead of making it serve them.

The editor of the Rural Home (Toisut, N. C.) appears to be well up in the Scriptures. Here's a sample:

"He that is not for us is against us." The merchant who sells jute bagging or uses it on his own cotton, or the ginner who keeps it in stock for his customers or uses it himself, or the farmer who uses it is assisting the jute trust to fight the cotton planters of the South and should be classed among a very paradise. Whatever tends to extirpate poverty in an increased degree tends to lessen crime. The duty of society, then, is surely to use every endeavor to eradicate poverty and bring about a social millennium.

The Western Sentinel (Winston-Salem, N. C.) says:

The farmers have never before accomplished any lasting relief because they have never before organized, and their wishes have never been consulted simply because they never demanded them should be. In the Farmers Alliance the Sentinel sees the only means of relief from trusts and class legislation, and we bid it God speed.

The Wheel (Conway, Ark.) says:

"Millions for defense and not a cent for tribute," was the war cry of our fathers. Now we are giving millions as tribute to the money trusts, to the transportation trusts, and to the landlord trust, and thus far a servile spirit seems to hold our people as in a vice, and the trusts are tightening the screws every day.

BRADSTREET'S reports contain the following regarding railroads in England. There must be some mistake about American legislation, for this reason: there never was an act passed in this country that did not favor the railroads.

Just at present there is considerable agitation among English traders and manufacturers for relief from what their spokesmen characterize as extortionate freight charges imposed by the railway companies. A number of meetings have lately been held at some of the more important commercial centers advocating more vigorous action on the part of the merchants and manufacturers than has yet been taken. They appear determined now to secure if possible parliamentary supervision of freight charges. To this end they have taken steps to form a league to extend throughout the United Kingdom, which will endeavor to secure from sitting members of Parliament pledges to vote for parliamentary supervision.

Oktibbeha (Starkville, Miss.) Citizen:

This has been a disastrous year for the "combinations" and their friends. The copper, cotton and pork corners have been burst this year; the cotton-oil, lead and sugar trusts have been hampered into a condition in which they are rendered comparatively harmless.

The Pee Dee Alliance (Bennettsville, S. C.) says:

The stimulant to labor is the expectation of enjoying the reward. If this expectation be invariably disappointed, the laborer finally ceases to employ himself in a way which brings only disappointment and discouragement. If this disappointment be the result of the injustice of others, or of established law, favoring a class at his expense, either the laborer becomes a cowed and soulless slave, whipped to his task of producing merely for the enjoyment of his masters, or the spirit of his indignation will burst into a flame and consume the matter that has kindled it.

The Colorado Workman (Pueblo, Col.) gets at it in this way:

We overheard a gentleman make the following remark Saturday: "There are three things almost extinct in the United States. They are the buffalo, the red-man, and the true American citizen."

Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) gives the following gem:

The great reform movement among the farmers is to correct that policy and those systems which give the power to the few, to filch and impoverish the many, which fosters monopoly and destroys our energies.

The Arkansas Economist (Searcy, Ark.) gives the good word:

From every quarter comes the cheering report that new members are being initiated and new life infused into the order.

The Local News (Butler, Mo.) puts it in this way:

This country is now within the grasp of cold-blooded money trusts, which limit the money output, prescribe the conditions on which it designs to accept the currency at the hands of the

Governiment, and arranges the channels through which it shall reach the people, and the terms upon which it shall be doled out.

The Democrat (McKinney, Tex.) says:

"Coming events cast their shadows before"—and sometimes they knock the everlasting daylights out of a fellow.

The Colleton (S. C.) Press says:

One of the most contemptible spectacles presented upon this sinful and sorrowful mundane sphere is that of the man who decries the agencies which, in spite of his foolish opposition, are building up his fortunes.

The Farmers Alliance (Ooltewah, Tenn.) says:

Poverty is the most dangerous foe to organized society because it is the prolific source of crime. Were crime extinguished human society would be a very paradise. Whatever tends to extirpate poverty in an increased degree tends to lessen crime. The duty of society, then, is surely to use every endeavor to eradicate poverty and bring about a social millennium.

The People's Signal (Marlin, Tex.) pays respects to members of both the big parties:

If any man thinks all the Tories, the enemies of our forefathers, are dead he is badly mistaken. They are here to-day and as active as they ever were. In the north they call themselves republicans and in the south democrats. Whenever you hear a man talking about "the necessity of a strong government," "the inability of the people to control themselves," "God Almighty's money," etc., you can put that fellow down as a Tory.

The Chillicothe (Mo.) Crisis says of the silver convention called in St. Louis Nov. 26:

The silver convention which will convene in St. Louis November 6 is not to be in the interest of mines merely, but in the interest of other and vaster industries. The subject to be discussed is of vital interest to the whole people, save a few, a very few comparatively—the owners of funded wealth. The silver question involves the money question, and the objects of the St. Louis convention would be better understood if it were denominated a monetary convention. It is strictly non-partisan—a broad-minded affair, unhampered by the narrow-gainged policy of party. We suggest to the committee that a special invitation be extended to Senators Jno. P. Jones, Wm. Stewart and J. A. Reagan, and Gens. Warner, of Ohio, and Weaver, of Iowa, to address the convention. They have made the money question a study and could throw much light on the subject.

The Royston Alta (Royston, Tex.) pays the following tribute to the Alliance:

The Alliance is not only binding men together in matters pertaining to the common interest in a manner unprecedented in the history of agricultural organizations, but it is also developing a spirit of independence, self-reliance, and manliness that has secured the good-will of an unbiased public, and has won the respect of its enemies, and we hope to see it continue on in the good work.

The Alliance Journal (Clarksville, Tex.) very pertinently remarks:

There has been a trust formed on barb wire. Rail splitting will become profitable.

The Liberal (Cuthbert, Ga.) is not quite in love with railroad methods judging by the following:

The successful work of the railroad monopolists, aided by paid attorneys and "big-dailies," in manipulating the legislature against the constitution of the State, will embolden the betterment claimants to press their claims with more insolence.

The Girard Herald (Girard, Kan.) says:

We know they have been contracting the currency, but that only means they have been "salted it down," nothing more. There is money, but the Government has given it into their control, and whenever it is in their interest to say they haven't the money, or money is scarce, they do so.

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THE F. M. B. A.

History and Plan of Organization.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

The Farmers Mutual Benefit Association was first organized in Johnson County, Illinois, some six years ago. Its organization seems to have been contemporaneous with the organization of the Agricultural Wheel, and the Southern and Northwestern Alliance, and the revival of the Grange, the oldest agricultural secret society in the country. There is food for thought in the fact that these different societies sprung into existence in widely separated parts of our country at about the same time, and that they have grown until they now number in their ranks nearly half of our entire farming population. But as it is our purpose to give a brief history or outline sketch of one of these societies, we will leave speculative inquiry as to the inspiring cause of the existence of any of them to those who feel curious or interested in such matters. However, we will promise, by saying that the declaration of principles and purposes of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, which we quote later, will leave no one in the dark as to what the men who instituted that organization believed to be the inspiring necessity of the association. The association was regularly incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois two years ago. At that time its entire membership did not exceed 15,000, and was confined exclusively to a few counties in Southern Illinois. In its early life it experienced the vicissitudes and dangers common to all similar organizations, but as its object, the ameliorating of the farmers' condition, came to be understood, and as its works showed its ability to accomplish its purpose, it gathered strength and numbers at an ever-increasing ratio, and to-day, according to its official organ, the Progressive Farmer, printed at Mt. Vernon, Illinois, it numbers 2,000 subordinate lodges, and has a footing in nine States of the Union. Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, North Carolina, Nebraska, and Iowa. It is composed of a general assembly, county assemblies, and subordinate lodges. The first four years of its existence its general assembly, or National body, was composed of representatives from county assemblies, and from subordinate lodges, according to numerical strength, but two years ago it was found necessary, because of the unwieldiness of the general assembly, to revise the constitution and cut off direct representation from subordinate lodges, and confine it exclusively to county assemblies, and there is no doubt that should it continue its career separate from the other farmer organizations, it will be found necessary to again revise its constitution and confine representation in the general assembly to State assemblies, for the erection of which it will also have to provide. The following quotation from paragraph 4. of its constitution, shows that its projectors intended it for a purely farmers society.

"Subordinate lodges shall consist of duly qualified farmers, citizens of the United States, inducted into the association as provided by its laws and authorized usages."

The experience of the subordinate lodges shows that their members are inclined to put a very liberal construction upon this part of their constitution, and when the applicant is a wealth-producer, even though his connection with the interest of farmers may be as remote as that of a country carpenter or railroad section-hand, he is usually successful, and further experience proves that this

class is as loyal to the association as the members are who fully come up to the regulation farmer standard.

The officers of the general assembly, county assemblies, and subordinate lodges, are a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. The special officers of the general assembly, are five trustees. These officers are all elected by ballot, except when there is no opposition, when they may be chosen by acclamation. The president, at the opening of each meeting, appoints a chaplain, sentinel, and such guides as the work of the evening may require; also fills vacant offices by *pro tem* appointments. Of committees, he appoints the majority, and the vice-president the minority. The duties of the secretary and treasurer are such as those performed by like officials in similar institutions. Before being inducted into office they are each required by the constitution to give a satisfactory bond. Seven members constitute a quorum in a subordinate lodge. The fee for initiation is fifty cents. Annual dues to subordinate lodge one dollar. Per capita dues to general assembly one cent quarterly. County assemblies regulate their dues to suit their requirements. Subordinate lodges may organize other lodges, and may charge the new lodge \$5 for their services, but this is seldom done. The general instructor, who is an officer of the general assembly appointed by the board of trustees, and special instructors and organizers appointed by county assemblies, also have the power to organize subordinate lodges. A new lodge must pay one dollar for a charter empowering them to meet and work. The charter fee is paid only to the general assembly.

Every candidate for the degrees, of which there are two, is required to take upon himself a solemn pledge which he is previously assured will not conflict with any of his religious or patriotic duties, nor with any of the duties which he owes to his family or himself, binding him on his honor to conform to the regulations of the order. The ceremonies of initiation, when carried out with proper decorum, are beautiful and impressive, and are such as are calculated to convey to the mind of the novitiate the necessity of confidence in his brethren, and the benefit he will derive from confidence so placed. Members of the association are required to co-operate with each other to obtain better prices for farm products, and to concentrate their purchases in the hands of as few men as possible in order to obtain their supplies at reduced prices. The following instance will show what the order can do for its members:

1. They have oppressed the honest toiler by bringing down the price of labor.
2. By bringing down the price of the farmers' grain, stock, and produce.
3. By levying excessive taxes.
4. By collecting heavy commission for handling the producers' and consumers' products and supplies.
5. By making the people support many public officers with high salaries.
6. By extravagant appropriations of the public money where it benefits very few or none, and of the public lands to speculative companies.
7. By drawing our money out of circulation, greatly injuring business, and either turning it over to the bankers or piling it up in the public treasury, where it serves as a temptation to politicians.

8. By enacting class legislation, which unjustly burdens many for the benefit of a few.
9. By enacting a multiplicity of laws, and in such a complicated way that they cause expensive litigation with poor results.

10. By regulating the price of grain, stock, produce, and supplies, more by a gambling system known as option dealing than by the law of supply and demand.

11. By manipulating conventions and elections through the influence of money and scheming politicians in such a way as to fill the majority of offices with men who serve themselves and the moneyed few, instead of the poor and oppressed many.

12. By placing the burden of taxes on the poor man, and especially on the farmer, while those having large incomes, enormous wealth in stocks and bonds, are almost entirely exempt from taxation.

13. By demoralizing the citizenship of our noble freeman through party prejudices, and depreciating the suffrages of the people through bribery, fraud and corruption.

The result of these evils is hard toil, pinching poverty, and ignorance on the one hand,

and ease, luxury, extravagance and aristocratic arrogance on the other.

CLAIMS.

1. We, the farmers, claim that the inalienable rights of one man are also the inalienable rights of all other men.

2. That our country should be ruled by the great voting masses and not by the moneyed few.

3. That our tax burden should be borne by each citizen in proportion to his wealth.

4. That all classes of good citizens should be fairly represented in our legislative halls.

5. That the farmer has as good a right to set the price on the products of his labor as other men have on theirs.

6. That legislation, speculation, and taxation can not produce wealth, but wealth is the product of labor.

7. That excessive taxation is robbery under the form of law.

8. That class legislation is also robbery, because it takes from one citizen for the benefit of another.

9. That the salary of officeholders should be fair and reasonable, but should not enrich them while their constituents are thereby made poor.

10. That in order to reap the greatest benefits from free American suffrage, it should be free from the influence of money, deception, and prejudice, and be directed by education to the candidates who most nearly represent their constituents.

11. That candidates for office should possess the following qualities: Capability, integrity, and sympathy with the tax-payer.

12. That United States Senators should be elected by the direct vote of the people.

13. That State and Government appropriations are too frequent and too often only benefit a few.

14. That all land granted to railroads should be taxed.

15. That speculators should not be allowed to speculate off of delinquent tax-payers, but the cost should remain the same and go to the school fund.

16. That as the farmer feeds the world and furnishes the material to clothe it, his calling should be more highly favored; he should be better respected and his labor better rewarded.

17. That farmers have as good a right to organize as any other class of people.

18. That farmers should settle their differences by arbitration instead of expensive litigation.

19. That the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association should be recognized by the laws of our country, as should all such associations as may be organized by the toiling masses for improving their condition and protecting their rights.

PURPOSES.

That just demands can only be sustained and the evils remedied by the united efforts of those who are oppressed and who make the demands, and as the evils bear most heavily on the farmers, therefore, we, the farmers, have organized the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association for the purpose of maintaining our rights, transacting our business, resisting oppression, educating our people, and improving our condition in all respects in which we can use legitimate methods.

Our motto is: Equal and exact justice to all; special privileges and immunities to none; charity to those in poverty, affliction and distress, and especially of our own order.

We do not expect to remedy these evils, sustain our claims and accomplish our purpose by forming a new political party or by

joining hands with any political party, but by educating the farmers to look, to read, to think, to speak and to act for themselves, to combine and protect themselves; to know how they are oppressed; to know why and to know the remedy, and to use their right of suffrage for men who possess the true qualification for office, regardless of party or politics.

The thoughtful person who reads these "declarations of principles and purpose" from which we have quoted so largely, can not help being impressed with the significance of two points: First, the plain, blunt manner in which they show the absolute necessity of political action upon the part of wealth producers; second, the homage they pay to the power of party spirit when in their latter part they expressly disclaim any intention to take such action.

Every evil, with one exception, of which they complain is a political one.

Every reform which they demand can only be accomplished through intelligent action at the ballot box, and one of them, at least—the election of U. S. senators by the people—only by amending the Constitution of the United States. That men with the ability to perceive as plainly as those who formulated these demands the real causes of the evils from which all are suffering should find it necessary to disclaim any intention of hurting any existing political party is as humble an acknowledgment of the power of party spirit as the most intense partisan could ask, and yet the wisdom of their course is vindicated in the possession of an instinctive knowledge, latent within our breasts, that without this explicit disclaimer of party action the association had never materialized.

The wisdom of their course is also justified in the political history of the F. M. B. A., a banker and a farmer, not a member of the order, for representatives.

The republicans more than complied with the demand made upon them; they not only nominated the man named by the F. M. B. A., but they nominated another farmer and member of the order for senator, and their third man was also a farmer. The three were pledged in a series of resolutions to work for the interest of the farmers, and were specifically pledged to use their efforts to cut the interest rate from 8 to 6 per cent.

The democratic flour manufacturer for senator, a banker and a farmer, not a member of the order, for representatives.

The political history of the F. M. B. A. may be divided into two separate parts.

1. The attempt of designing partisans to use the order for the benefit of their respective parties.

2. The attempt of over-zealous members of the order to coerce the dominant party of their region to grant them their demands.

The utter collapse of both attempts, strictly chargeable to the power of party prejudice, as it was, is a signal vindication of the wisdom of the promoters of the association when they put their disclaimer of any intention to organize a new political party as a remedy for the evils ahead of their idea that it was a necessity to educate the farmers to look, to read, to think, to speak and to act for themselves. But let the sequel of these attempts at political action rather than our assertions be their vindication.

We, of course, will not attempt to give an account of every instance in which an attempt was made to use the F. M. B. A. politically, but only a few, all of which come under our observation.

Southern Illinois is the stronghold of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, and the only instances we shall cite are located there.

Southern Illinois is divided into three congressional districts, the 18th, 19th and 20th. The farmers of the 19th and 20th districts were strongly organized at our last general election; the 18th not so strongly.

The founders of the association were wise in declaring that the farmers need to be educated "to look, to read, to think, to speak and to act for themselves." Despite dissensions the order is flourishing like a green bay tree, and is growing at the rate of 30 to 40 lodges a day.

The 19th district is overwhelmingly democratic, while the 20th is nearly as strongly republican.

The democrats and the republicans of the 18th district each nominated a lawyer. The Union labor party nominated a Knight of Labor and an F. M. B. A. man.

The democrats of the 19th district nominated a lawyer and the republicans, knowing the race to be an absolutely hopeless one, nominated a farmer and a member of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association. In the 20th district the republicans nominated a lawyer and the democrats, knowing the race to be an absolutely hopeless one, endorsed the nominee of the U. L. party, who, by the way, was a farmer and a member of their association. All three districts elected lawyers.

The 42d senatorial district of Illinois is democratic. A few bumptious members of the F. M. B. A., who "felt their oats," got together and formulated certain demands upon the old parties, winding up by demanding that a certain member of the order be nominated by the democrats for senator, and a certain other member be nominated by the republicans for representative, and threatening dire consequences to the party ignoring their demands. The democrats nominated a flour manufacturer for senator, a banker and a farmer, not a member of the order, for representatives.

The republicans more than complied with the demand made upon them; they not only nominated the man named by the F. M. B. A., but they nominated another farmer and member of the order for senator, and their third man was also a farmer. The three were pledged in a series of resolutions to work for the interest of the farmers, and were specifically pledged to use their efforts to cut the interest rate from 8 to 6 per cent. The democratic flour maker and banker and farmer were duly elected, as was the republican farmer who was not an F. M. B. A. man. The interest rate was not cut to 6 per cent. Washington county, which composes a part of the 42d senatorial district, is safely republican. The republicans at their county convention nominated a man for circuit clerk who had been "brought up in the courthouse." The democrats, at their convention, adopted a set of high-sounding resolutions, which, by the way, were the same as those adopted by the republicans at their senatorial convention, and nominated a farmer and member of the F. M. B. A. for county clerk, of whom the county democratic organ took occasion to say during the campaign: "It is true that Mr. — (the F. M. B. A. candidate) is only a farmer, but, etc." Only a farmer was beaten by 500 majority. The democrats of Irvington township, a part of Washington county, nominated as their candidate for supervisor an F. M. B. A. man. The republicans nominated a farmer who is opposed to the Farmers' association. The F. M. B. A. candidate for supervisor was defeated; the balance of the ticket elected.

This short political history of the F. M. B. A. carries with it two lessons: First. The members of the association are not nearly as much of a unit in standing by their members politically and by political measures which are for their interests as the opponents of the association are in their opposition to such men and measures. Second. The founders of the association were wise in declaring that the farmers need to be educated "to look, to read, to think, to speak and to act for themselves." Despite dissensions the order is flourishing like a green bay tree, and is growing at the rate of 30 to 40 lodges a day.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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

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

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Think of This.

With the consolidation of the agricultural orders, now effected and to be effected at St. Louis, and the consequent vast aggregate of membership in the new organization, will come relatively increased responsibilities to those called to official positions in that body. In union there is strength; but that strength must be utilized or it is worthless. With increase in membership will come increased power for usefulness, provided it be properly and wisely directed; otherwise, it will be rather a source of weakness and eventual disintegration. In such a body, undertaking so great a work, involving such grave responsibilities and fraught with such grand possibilities, an official position may be deemed a post of honor. It is only so, however, when the duties thereof are efficiently and faithfully performed. Failure in this will bring dishonor upon the officer, discredit upon the delegates who selected him and disaster upon the cause they represent. It will not be a sinecure. A vast work remains to be done in order to secure the ends in view; it will require not only ability but adaptability to the particular work of the particular place to which each is called. This has been the greatest source of weakness and cause of failure in the industrial and reform organizations of the past—their utter neglect to take into consideration the ability and adaptability of the agents whom they selected to lead and direct the movement. It was the shrewd and observant Tallyrand who said that “the great secret of good government is to get the right man in the right place.” It is the great secret of success in all movements and in every business. One man may be well qualified for a certain position, but utterly unqualified for another place. One man may be a useful member of an organization and an honorable, upright citizen, but entirely unsuited for official position. In industrial organizations heretofore members have been influenced far too largely by sentiment, friendship, personal popularity and other such irrelevant motives in the selection of officers. This should be changed and good judgment and proper discrimination exercised

in this vitally important matter. It should be remembered by the members that those organizations were not formed for the purpose of furnishing their personal friends with official position, but rather to effect certain great and necessary reforms. When a certain work is to be done—that is, an office to be filled—instead of seeking a friend to give him the office as a gift of friendship, they should rather seek a good workman, an agent capable of doing the work properly. Not only should they seek one capable of doing it; but they should strive to select the man best adapted to, and most efficient in, that particular work that can be found in their ranks. There is plenty of first-class ability to select from, and therefore no excuse for making a blunder in the selection. In fact, a blunder under the circumstances, would be worse than a crime. Every incapable inducted into official place weakens the movement, retards its progress, and lessens its hope of success. It should be, therefore, the duty of every member to use careful and conscientious discrimination in the selection of officers. The magnitude of the interests involved demand this; the hopes and appeals of suffering humanity demand it. He who fails in exercising this discrimination to the best of his judgment is false to his pledges given, false to himself, and false to his fellow-men.

Some Suggestions.

In all the important meetings and deliberative assemblies heretofore called together in the interest of the great farmers' movement, there has been one serious evil prominently noticeable, and in order that the delegates to the great St. Louis meeting may be on their guard and prepared against it especial attention is invited to the facts here noted.

It has been usually the case, that delegates have left home unprepared to give sufficient of their time to the cause to insure careful and thorough investigation of the various important questions brought before them for their consideration. The consequence has been that the majority have been restless, anxious about the condition of their private affairs, or probably not supplied with a sufficient amount of cash to defray their expenses beyond a limited time, and altogether in a state of mind utterly unfit to undertake the great and responsible duties devolving upon them. The result has been that organization has scarcely been completed before the question of adjournment is brought up and overshadows every other matter; the whole body becomes restless, and all the members are utterly disqualified to give their best abilities to the duties devolving upon them.

Now let every member to the St. Louis convention remember that he is the chosen representative of his people to a deliberative assembly, the importance of which is without a parallel in the civil history of the nation. Let him remember that a crisis has arrived in the affairs of the nation where the

people have determined that it is necessary for them to take their affairs in, their own hands and demand of their servants that they give heed to the instructions of those whom they serve. The great agricultural masses have for decades borne the evils and unjust oppressions put upon them by the corrupt speculative and mercenary class, aided by inefficient and unreliable political leaders, until they have awakened to the realization of the fact that longer exercise of patience would be criminal and an injustice to their children as well as dangerous to the stability of the government. Earnestly they have applied themselves to a study of the great national questions which affect them; manfully they have mastered them, and to-day all are aroused to full realization of the great evils and dangers which confront them.

To the farmers of America great economic questions are to-day as familiar as the simplest matters of farm detail and management. To-day they realize their position as free men and citizens of the grandest nation under the sun. To-day they realize how they have been betrayed, how their rights have been trampled upon and how the dignity of the American citizen has been defied and insulted. Long since they realized the importance of organization and co-operation for their common good. This they have accomplished. Now the remedies are to be considered and the best means of relief decided upon. To you they have entrusted this sacred duty. In your hands they have placed the future of their children and their country. Through your action, good or bad, happiness or misery must be their fate. Could a holier, a more solemn, a more awful responsibility rest upon man?

In the name of humanity, of liberty, of the happiness of children yet unborn, rise to a full appreciation of the dignity of the trust imposed in you, and let no small interest, no mercenary affair, come between you and your solemn duty to your people and your children. Remember that the momentous questions upon which you are to decide must have your whole, your undivided, your prayerful attention, and not merely for a day, or a week, but for days, for weeks, yes, for months, if necessary. The Congress of the Nation sits for months, year after year, and still what they have done toward the solution of these great questions is nothing.

Can you conceive it possible that you, or any body of men, can master these great issues in a few days? Consider then the great responsibility which rests upon you. Arrange your private affairs, and your business in such a manner that you will be relieved entirely of all anxiety. Put sufficient money in your pocket to defray your expenses for a reasonable length of time. Impress upon your people the necessity for such provision. Come to St. Louis prepared and determined to let no personal or trivial matters interfere with the full and conscientious performance of your whole sacred duty to your people and your country, even should it occupy

your time and mind for weeks. Let the whole country be impressed with the dignity, the earnestness, the conscientious devotion to right and justice of this representative body of American farmers. These are times pregnant with great events. Let the world see that you fully realize the magnitude of your undertaking, and are ready to make any sacrifices to secure the great object of moral and political reform, and the re-establishment of the true principles of American liberty, equality, and justice. Let every delegate, without fail, prepare himself to remain in St. Louis until the object for which the meeting is convened be fully and perfectly accomplished. Let no heed be paid to time, and the question of adjournment only be brought up after all that the combined intelligence of the body can suggest has been fully considered and acted on.

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

LAST week the ECONOMIST called attention to the crowded condition of the United States Supreme Court docket and the necessity of some measure of relief. This week Secretary Hinkley, of the American Bar Association, presented to President Harrison a letter prepared by a special committee of the association upon the subject, and urging that some plan be adopted to dispose of the accumulated business before the court. The President promised to call the attention of Congress to the matter in his forthcoming message. It appears that in the first twenty years after the organization of the court in 1790 the average annual number of cases pending before it was less than one hundred, and never reached over one hundred and fifty until 1843. Between 1862 and 1882 the number of cases docketed at the beginning of each term increased from less than 350 to more than 1,000. In order to lessen the number of cases Congress in 1875 passed the act raising the minimum limit of appeal from \$2,000 to \$5,000. This did not avail however, as the number is constantly increasing and has now reached over 1,300. The average time at present between the perfecting of an appeal in the circuit court and the hearing in the Supreme Court is not much less than four years. The average delay of cases is lengthening year after year. It is to be hoped that the coming Congress will adopt necessary measures to promptly dispose of pending cases.

IN the recent elections reports go to show that the Australian ballot reform system, where adopted and used, gave general satisfaction to all who sincerely desired a pure and secret ballot. If this new system will but suppress boddle and bulldozing at the polls, it will prove a blessing indeed. It

Special Notice to Organizing Officers—From and after this date all organizers and county superintendents will send charter reports and charter fees direct to me. This will enable the Alliances you organize to get their charters at once. Now notice, send to me direct for all charters, no matter what State you are in. Dues and fees send as heretofore to your State superintendent. Charters are issued by R. M. Humphrey, Houston, Texas.

THE next census will employ 80,000 men.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 28.

ERRORS AND EXCUSES WITH REGARD TO LOCAL DISCRIMINATION.

Throughout the discussion of local discriminations we have endeavored to establish the following points as pivotal in determining the abstract and natural principles of justice to be applied to the practices under discussion.

1. The theory of basing rates only on value, or what the freight will bear, discards the vital and controlling elements for the just determination of prices and charges, namely, the cost of production or service. To take only one of the two great forces which fix values, is to establish practical injustice, and leads to the development of the anomalies and self-contradictions with which this subject of local discrimination is replete.

2. The theory that competitive business is only subject to the additional cost of doing the business, beyond what the railroad will have to pay if it leaves the business undone, refers the matter back to the question of cost of service, which is discarded by the railway interest at the inception of the discussion. It bases the rate most closely upon the cost of service and upon those elements of cost which are most difficult to determine. It is generally held by the railroad interest to include only the cost of motive power, in order to justify the extreme cases of local discrimination. This construction of the theory results in levying the cost of maintenance of cars and way, and the cost of conducting transportation and general expenses solely upon the local traffic, while they are undoubtedly enhanced by the increase in the volume of through traffic.

3. The admission that the charge upon the local traffic must not exceed a reasonable profit, likewise concedes the importance of the correct determination of the cost of performing the service; and it only calls attention to the remarkable contrast, in which a profit is declared to be reasonable upon the local traffic which, by the very nature of the case, must be from five to twelve times that which is accepted upon the competitive traffic.

4. The theory that water transportation is solely responsible for the radically low rates at competitive points, ignores two facts which are vital in connection with the application of the rates to the railroad business. The first is that extreme cases of local discrimination has appeared in favor of points at which there was no water competition. The next is that there is no public or private consideration which forces the railroads to compete with water routes, unless they can make a profit by doing so. Their own private pur-

Alabama—William McKinney, Rockford, Coosa county, Ala.

Florida—J. W. Carter, Thomasville, Ga.

Georgia—E. S. Richardson, Marshallville, Ga.

Louisiana—L. D. Laurent, Alexandria, La.

Mississippi—J. H. Nichols, Starkville, Miss.

North Carolina—J. J. Rogers, Apex, N. C.

South Carolina—James H. Carey, Society Hill, S. C.

Tennessee—J. W. Brown, Prospect, Tenn.

Virginia—J. J. Rogers, Apex, N. C.

Kentucky—S. B. Erwin, Fulton, Ky.

Indian Territory—Charles Roberts Stonewall, Pontotoc county, I. T.

poses do not call upon them to compete for business at a loss, as the sole object of engaging in railway traffic is that of profit; and there is no public necessity that they shall compete with other classes of transportation at a loss, especially when some one else must make up that loss. It is not for the public advantage that the local traffic of the country must bear the cost of repairing the railroads, of replacing the cars, and of generally conducting the railway business, in order that the railways may be able to compete with the water route, and possibly as they have done upon some of the water highways of the country, drive the steamers out of the business which the railways desire to secure. On the contrary, if the water transportation is really and decisively a cheaper form of transportation, it is for the interest of the public to leave that class of business undisturbed, and to trust to the competition of those engaged in it to keep the rate at its lowest level. The sole reason for the competition of a given railroad, either with water transportation or with other railroads, must be that the business shall yield a profit, and a material profit, above its share of those expenses which constitute 15 or 17 per cent of the total expenses of railway operation and nearly 54 per cent of the total receipts, as shown by the reports of the Union Pacific railroad already referred to. But the supposition that the rates on the long haul do yield a profit above such expenses only brings out into stronger relief the excessive profit on the local charges, in such cases as those cited by Mr. Alexander with regard to Ogden City and Senator Stanford with regard to El Paso.

These points clearly understood and placed beyond dispute, settle the character of all those extreme cases of local discrimination which furnish the illustrations in the discussion of the subject, both in these articles and elsewhere. The idea of a double charge for a half or two-thirds the distance, especially where those distances are counted by thousands or hundreds of miles, necessitates the supposition either of exorbitant prices upon the shorter haul, or a loss of money upon the long one, which the local traffic must make up. It is a legitimate conclusion that wherever the railroad methods result in a greater variation between local and through traffic from the well-known and leading element of cost of service than the 40 per cent margin taken as the average by the figures already cited, the presumption is undoubtedly established of either an excessive burden upon the local cities or a loss on the through traffic, or possibly both.

There are considerations which must be recognized as natural forces in producing the milder forms of local discrimination, or the performance of a greater service of transportation at less rate for one locality than for another. First it must be conceded that in exceptional cases the cost of performing the service is actually less upon the longer distance than upon the shorter one, or in

the more modified and general class the cost is less in proportion to the distance over which the freight is transported. This is a valid and necessary consideration in determining the proper adjustment of charges. In the first place it must be recognized as a practically universal rule that the cost of transporting any class of freight a long distance is less per ton per mile than that of transporting the same freight a shorter distance. It is a self-evident fact, when all the charges involving the expense of transportation are understood, that the same freight cannot be hauled one hundred miles for one-tenth the cost of hauling it a thousand, although some of the railroad writers are disposed to represent that such a claim is made by their opponents. I do not know of a leading supporter of railroad reform who proposes to regulate rates in exact proportion to distance. To do so would be to impose a discrimination in favor of the shorter haul and against the longer one, as incorrect and abnormal in principle as those which now exist in favor of the longer haul and against the shorter one.

In addition to that there are, no doubt, exceptional instances in which the aggregate cost of transporting a given freight a long distance is less than the cost of transporting it over a portion of the haul, but one that is nearly as long. For instance, the facilities at Chicago for handling large amounts of grain at the smallest possible cost to labor will probably make it cheaper, in actual expense, to transport a car of grain from Chicago to New York than from a local station a short distance east of Chicago. This difference will probably be slight and the cases in which it exists are probably rare and exceptional. But, in studying the subject and seeking to determine the principles by which it should be judged, it is well to recognize the fact that there may be exceptions in which the longer haul involves an actually less cost of service than the shorter one. In such cases it is no more than just that the less expensive service should carry the lower charge. It is not for the public advantage that the longer haul should be paid for at the higher rate, simply because it is longer, any more than that a thousand miles of water transportation must carry higher charges than five hundred miles of land transportation, simply because the freight was carried over a greater distance.

This discrimination in the tariffs will naturally produce considerable differences in proportion to the distance carried, as between through and local traffic. The average net profit upon railroad traffic is about 30 per cent. Upon the supposition that the full rate of charge upon local freight yields a return of 6 per cent upon the capital, it is evident that, in cases where the railroad is compelled by competition to accept a profit in the ratio of 1 per cent, or a sixth of the

proportion of profit on the local business, it involves a reduction of the through rates to 75 per cent of the local rates, where the cost of service is the same, or permits the establishment of a through rate equal to that of the local rate, where the cost of service on the through business is one-fourth greater. Such reductions on the through traffic with the service is actually less upon the longer distance than upon the shorter one, or in

ized and conducted upon a plan which divides the traffic into classes, one of which has the benefit of competition and can escape the railroad charges if they are too high, and the other of which is non-competitive, and must accept the option, either of paying the railroad charges or of not enjoying any transportation whatever, it will be necessary for this difference to be recognized. It is the proper function of the railroad manager to seek to obtain a profit from the business which he conducts, such as will yield the fixed charges upon debt, and the dividend that may be drawn from the business, for the benefit of his stockholders. Therefore, he imposes upon the local traffic a rate of charges which will yield, say, 6 per cent upon the capital of the road, calculating upon the aggregate business which the road is able to obtain. The reasonableness or unreasonableness of this charge may depend upon the question whether the capital stock of the road is watered or not; but that is a separate question, and, for the sake of the illustration, we may suppose that it represents an actual and *bona fide* investment. With such rates fixed at the local points, the railroad managers find at the competitive points a considerable volume of traffic of which, perhaps, they can obtain a fair share by a reduction of their charges. The reduction may yield a margin over the full items of expense which the transportation involves, not in the full ratio of 6 per cent, but in the ratio of 2 or 3 per cent, while the total profit on the volume of business thus obtained may amount to a very considerable addition to the net earnings of the road. It is necessary to recognize in all the discussions of this subject, that while the conditions prevail which divide railroad traffic into competitive and non-competitive traffic, it is necessary and unavoidable that railroad managers shall make the reductions upon competitive traffic, which will enable them to earn additional profits for their company by accepting a less ratio of profit on the competitive traffic than that which they feel themselves required to impose upon the local business.

This discrimination in the tariffs will naturally produce considerable differences in proportion to the distance carried, as between through and local traffic. The average net profit upon railroad traffic is about 30 per cent. Upon the supposition that the full rate of charge upon local freight yields a return of 6 per cent upon the capital, it is evident that, in cases where the railroad is compelled by competition to accept a profit in the limits set by this principle, may pro-

duce cases in which a greater charge is imposed upon the intermediate points than upon the through traffic; but it cuts out a great majority of the extreme examples which have formed the illustrations of that abuse. It can not cover either the cases cited by Senator Stanford of a charge of \$10 per ton upon freight from San Francisco to New Orleans, while El Paso, one-third the distance, pays \$30 per ton on the same freight, and it is very questionable whether this difference would come anywhere near that presented by Mr. Alexander, as between a rate of \$2.14 from New York to Ogden, Utah, and a charge of 87 cents to \$1.25 from New York to San Francisco. Such eccentricities of the railroad tariff involve a wider disregard of the cost of service than is permitted by this principle, and are based upon the double contradiction of the expert railroad managers, comprised in first discarding the cost of service altogether, and then assigning the whole of the cost of performing transportation to the local freight, and only a fraction of it to the through traffic. It is safe to say that the proportion of reduction which is rendered legitimate by these considerations, so long as the conditions of the railroad system exist as they are, can, in nineteen cases out of twenty, be confined within the limits imposed by the long and short haul clause of the interstate commerce law. In other words, the presumption is fair that when the through rate is less than the rate from an intermediate point, involving only a portion of the transportation, the discrimination has gone beyond the point of enforcing the cost of service equally upon each class of trade, and accepting a materially less ratio of profit upon the through trade, simply because that is the only way in which the traffic can be obtained.

I do not wish the admission that the discrimination in the amount of profit to be obtained from the two classes of traffic, is necessary while the present conditions of the railroad system exist, to be taken as comprising an admission that those conditions are legitimate and just. The purpose of the inquiry is to go deeper than that, and to point out how these abnormal and unnatural differences are produced by the conditions, and to inquire whether the conditions themselves can not be reformed with advantage to all the interests involved. But it is only justice to the railroad managers that we recognize the necessity they are under, in the discharge of their duty of securing such traffic as they can obtain for their corporations, to impose the charges which will yield the necessary profit on the local business, and to take what they can get in the way of net earnings upon the business which may otherwise take some other route of transportation. It is not either a wanton exercise of power or a deliberate act of injustice to the disfavored locality, when the traffic manager of the railroad takes a lower rate of profit from the competitive point than he does from the local traffic.

It is simply the result of irresistible circumstances, and for it not he, but the conditions under which he labors are to be blamed. With regard to the conditions themselves, they are still an open question for discussion. If the railroad system is organized upon a plan which involves an uneven disposition of industry and prevents the even growth of population and the most economic disposition of production; which imposes the cost of profit for railroad capital upon one class, and takes it away from another class, these may be legitimate subjects for inquiry and legitimate objects for reform.

The Situation,
BY OSWALD WILSON.
Manager Farmers Alliance Exchange, 1 William
street, New York.

"Speculators to-day control our Government and dictate a policy that affects every citizen. They gamble in the food products of the nation, and increase or decrease values at will." The farmer will ever be a mere "hewer of wood and drawer of water" so long as this speculative class can sell the products of his labor long in advance of their maturity.

The following editorial from the World of October 22, is significant:

We do not believe that Secretary Winder has any purpose or willingness to conduct Treasury operations with a view to the advantage or disadvantage of anybody in Wall street. We believe him to be an honest man, as all our Secretaries of the Treasury have been. Nevertheless, in every such financial situation as that which has existed for some days past, the fortunes of men are immediately dependent upon the course which the Secretary of the Treasury may elect to pursue. If he does anything to relieve the money market he plays, with the whole power of the Treasury, into the hands of those whose interest require an easy market. If he does nothing he lends the whole power of the Treasury to those whose speculative

the World give us relief? How will we take the people's Treasury out of the money market?

Had we better not kill speculation? It is a many-headed hydra, and reaches into every avenue and department of society. It is useless for us to talk of legislation, of railroad rates, of low prices for products, and high prices for supplies, so long as the speculative class runs everything with a high hand. The producing classes must unite, market their own products, and buy their own supplies. In this way the chain that binds our farmers to the speculative class is broken. Credit is the strongest weapon of the speculator, and the worst enemy to the farmer and laborer. Eliminate this and we have taken a long step toward freedom.

We must educate ourselves upon this question, and unite.

We must awaken thought and start an inquiry from the minds of the toilers upon "The Situation."

ONE OF the oldest and most extensive wholesale dealers in coffee in the City of New York is about to retire from the business, for the reason, as he asserts, that the trade has fallen into the hands of speculators, and he does not propose to become a party to the dishonest methods by which they prey upon the public. He declares that the people of this country are paying at least \$30,000,000 more per year for their coffee than they would have to pay under honest methods of dealing and reasonable profits. It appears that the retiring coffee merchant has a conscience, a very inconvenient and utterly useless thing among cornerers and commercial gamblers. The incident is a seriously suggestive object lesson to the students of economics, and doubly so to the American citizen interested in the welfare of his country. If upon this single article of consumption coming in free of tariff duty the people are forced to pay to speculators \$30,000,000 of unjust profits, how many billions of unjust and speculative profits do they pay upon all they consume? Surely it is time that the people should remodel and reform the exchange systems under which and by means of which such wholesale robbery is effected. The present systems are neither scientific, sensible, nor honest. Gamblers control and monopolize the exchange medium, and hence all business is being reduced to a species of gambling in which the shrewdest and most unscrupulous operators are the most successful.

THE following is a list of the salaries received by the chief rulers of the various nations: The United States, \$50,000 a year; Persia, \$30,000,000; Russia, \$10,000,000; Siam, \$10,000,000; Spain, \$3,900,000; Italy, \$3,000,000; Great Britain, \$3,000,000; Morocco, \$2,500,000; Japan, \$2,300,000; Egypt, \$1,575,000; Germany, \$1,000,000; Portugal, Sweden, and Brazil, each \$600,000; France, \$200,000; Hayti, \$240,000; Switzerland, \$3,000; Saxony, \$700,000.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

HEREDITY.

Variability, as an element of heredity, does not appear to have received satisfactory treatment, even at the hands of our greatest naturalists. The tendency to vary has rather been considered an inherent characteristic of living organisms, and is usually represented as an antagonistic force disputing with heredity the control of the development of the individual. Variability is not a force, but a response to the action of an infinite variety of forces. It is not a cause, but an effect of many and various causes. Inheritance is a mixture of the characters of the race, and of the two individual parents. Disease produces in the individual alterations of structure and of function. These alterations of structure and of function are transmitted by the individual to the offspring. The alterations produced by disease in the parent reproduced in the offspring by heredity become the cause of the disease; the so-called predisposing cause, and we say, inaccurately, the disease, is hereditary. We do not perceive that it is the effect of disease in the parent which becomes the cause of disease in the offspring, and this defect of structure and function becoming a dominant character of the race; the successive generations dwindle progressively, and after a few more generations perish utterly, and we say then the race has been annihilated by inherited disease. It is now certain that consumption is not inheritable, for the tuberculosis microbe does not pass from parent to offspring. But the ruinous condition to which the lung of the parent is reduced by the microbe, both as to structure and function, transmitted to the offspring, invites the microbe to take advantage of the low vitality of the pulmonary structure which is the effect of inheritance, and its invasion and subjugation of this ill-developed lung is readily accomplished. So the effect of consumption in the parent transmitted to the next generation as a physical and functional defect becomes in that generation the cause of consumption. It would be a very sad error to conclude that because the tuberculosis microbe does not pass from parent to child, consumptives may intermarry with impunity. The child has consumption because the parent had it, or with a more inevitable and appalling certainty, because both parents had it. We may not indeed be able to demonstrate all the links in the chain of causation in any given case. But we do know enough to assure us that it is mere fool-hardiness for intermarriages to be made between consumptive individuals or families. In the case of crazy individuals, or families affected with insanity, intermarriage becomes madness itself. There is a transmission of what has been styled the psychical trautism, the mental maliment, the soul wound as well as the cerebral mischief which was the immediate cause of the psychical trautism, the soul wound, the insanity, the dementia, the monomania, or whatever the nature of it, so that insanity is theoretically, and as a matter of fact, the most fearfully hereditary of all diseases. It is a disease also of animals, as well as of mankind. Especially are there crazy dogs and crazy horses, both very dangerous to deal with. In fact, so far as is known, the laws of heredity and the capacity to suffer adaptive change, responsive to a changed environment, are common to the human race and lower animals; perhaps the general principles are the same as regards all living organisms. The nomenclature of heredity is very defective. Commonly we say of an individual that it has half the blood of its male, and half the blood of its female parent. It has not a single corpuscle of the blood of either. The male parent contributes no blood, nor none of the materials of which blood is formed, to the organization of the embryo. He contributes the organizing force conveyed in probably a single cell. She contributes all the organizable material which carries the foetal development to the point of capacity for independent existence. In this connection, the term blood is very vague, and, therefore, very unscientific. Science is the simplest form of truth. We say of an individual it has half the blood of a parent, one-quarter of the blood of a grandparent, one-eighth the blood of a parent in the third remove, and blood in the same mathematical ratio as the generations multiply, so that at the seventh remove we say that it has blood in the proportion of the 1-2-8 part of the parent representing each branch of the genealogical tree in that particular generation. This form of expression is both inexact and very misleading. It expresses nothing with exactness but the number of generations which intervene between any individual and a particular ancestor in the line of

descent. Neither can the amount of influence exerted upon the development and character of an individual be thus equally and minutely parcelled out between the two lines of ancestry and the several individuals composing both. In every case one or the other parent, one or the other of the lines of ancestry converging in the individual, is prepotent over the other. It is generally the male parent and the male line, but not always; and in those cases when the female parent is prepotent, the writer is of opinion that it is the transmitted potency of the sire of the dam which prevails; he believes that the domination of the male over the female in the act of reproduction is a natural law. In the scheme of creation the male is the primate, the female an helmette for him. At this allusion some men will scoff. Very well, let them scoff. It is fully verified by all the observations of the writer, and by all that is known to the modern scientist. In so far as organizing force dominates the material it organizes, is the office of the male superior to that of the female in the function of reproduction. The ovum is neither less nor more than a minute sac of organic material. The spermatozoon is neither less nor more than a cell highly charged with organic force, and constitutes the transferable link in the chain of life which is a chain unbroken throughout all the generations of the past in the male line.

The prepotency of the male parent and of the male line, while undoubted, is not absolute. It is perhaps never carried into all the details of organization. The potency of the males in the female line of ancestry is, so to speak, brought forward by heredity and concentrated in the latest union of sexes against the superior potency of the male concerned in that union, and may be superior to all the potencies of the male parent in the ancestral line behind the actual male parent in the latest union of sexes, brought forward and concentrated in him by heredity, and may even be sufficient to overpower the individual potency of this immediate male progenitor. In such a case those who confine their attention to the single point of combined carbon in the shape of atmospheric carbonic anhydride to sustain the plant kingdom in its great office of purveyor of food for the animal kingdom. Nor can we imagine the successful substitution of another element than carbon or another combination of that element as it exists in carbonic anhydride which could fill the great office of a balance of power between the two great kingdoms of organic nature. Are all these marvelous checks and balances of the great cosmos to be regarded as chance arrangements?

In what manner moreover could a principle of evolution, or a theory of natural selection apply to bring about a state of things such as we behold displayed in the universe? The very attempt to contemplate a plan so vast, a system so complex and so marvellously adjusted, is sufficient to paralyze the mind. Let any man attempt the study of the natural history and chemistry of these great elements each in its relations to the cosmos; let him ponder its great natural functions, and then let him turn and see if he can know why so great a number of elements appear to be endowed with no great natural functions and to have no part in the great economies of nature. He will find assuredly that no more than Tyndal can he fathom the abyssal depths of "this mystery of which we form a part and in the midst of which we dwell." The next of the greater elements we propose in this place to examine very briefly as to its chemical characters and its great natural functions will be hydrogen, which will complete our sketch of the atmospheric elements essential to the composition of living matter. We believe that such a study as we here suggest of the thirteen elements thus intimately associated with life in all its manifestations and forms, can scarcely fail to profoundly influence the views we take of existence and its true intent and meaning.

REVERTED PHOSPHORIC ACID.

The question "what is reverted phosphoric acid?" is asked in letter which lies before us, written by a farmer who says he does not know, and is not able to find out. Quoting from a private letter of the very distinguished agricultural chemist, Dr. Voelcker, we endorse the quotation. He says: "So-called reverted phosphoric acid is what no chemist can determine, and until you eliminate that elastic term from your analysis your fertilizer analysis can not be placed on a satisfactory basis in the United States." The best definition of reverted phosphoric acid is that it is an "elastic term." If a sample of ordinary commercial superphosphate be subjected to the action of pure, cold water, a certain portion is dissolved. This residue, insoluble in water, the analyst reports "phosphoric acid, soluble." If now the residue, insoluble in water, be treated with solution of ammonium citrate an additional portion will be dissolved, and this the analyst reports "phosphoric acid, reverted." The residue he reports "phosphoric acid insoluble."

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Resolved, That we, as farmers and cotton-growers, assert that we have an undeniable right to cover our cotton in any material that we may choose.

Resolved, That the farmers and cotton-growers depurate and denounce the action of all cotton exchanges which does not ally themselves and co-operate with the action of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, as being in direct antagonism and positively injurious to the interest of the farmers and cotton-growers.

Resolved, That since we, as farmers and cotton-growers, learning and feeling the unjust and evil practices that have been in active operation for many years, greatly to the detriment of the farmers, do now commend the action of the New Orleans Exchange for the interest they manifested in behalf of the farmers, and hope they will receive the patronage they deserve.

J. J. STUBBS,
M. H. BROCK,
B. R. NASH,

Committee.

On motion, the president appointed a committee of (3) three, and amended so as to make the president chairman, to wait on the owners of the cotton compresses of the city of Shreveport, and state to them that whereas as the city of Monroe, Ruston, and Minden, all with less favorable factories, are only charging 50 cents per bale for compressing cotton, that we, the Farmers Union, demand that the charges for compressing cotton be reduced to fifty cents per bale, and that said committee notify each Sub-Union the action of said compresses.

Resolved, That we extend our thanks to the Cottage Grove Union for the kind and hospitable manner in which we have been entertained, and most especially to the ladies, for the bountifully supplied baskets; and we thank the officers of the Union for kindness extended to the members.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished the Bossier Banner, Plain Dealer, Caucasian, Farmers Union, NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and all papers favorably disposed, be requested to copy.

Adjourned to meet at Red Land on the first Wednesday in January, 1890, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

By order of president,
B. R. NASH, W. N. DALES.
Secretary Parish Union.

If you want the most compact and useful manual of parliamentary rules and usages, get THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST ALMANAC and hand-book of useful information. Every secretary is requested to act as agent, and send in a club. It makes parliamentary usage so plain and simple that any person can readily understand it.

Mr. T. A. CLAYTON, State business agent of the Farmers and Laborers Union of the State of Louisiana, writes us under date of Oct. 28th:

Resolved, That whereas it is currently reported that the Shreveport Board of Trade is hostile, and working against the interest of the Farmers Unions, we will only patronize such merchants as prove themselves to be friendly disposed towards the Farmers Unions.

On motion, a committee of (3) three was appointed to draft resolutions expressing the feeling of the Parish Union toward those exchanges that disregarded the action of the N. O. Cotton Exchange. Committee reported as follows:

Notice to Attendants at St. Louis.
OFFICE FARMERS ALLIANCE EXCHANGE,
1 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

October 23, 1889.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Pursuant to your request I have made application to the following passenger associations for reduced rates to the meeting of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, convening in St. Louis, Mo., December 5-7, 1889: Trunk Line Association, embracing the territory north and east of Pittsburgh, except New England; Central Traffic Association, embracing territory west of Mississippi River and South Missouri River; Southern Passenger Association, for territory south of Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of Mississippi Rivers; and Western States Passenger Association, for the territory west of Chicago and St. Louis to the Missouri River and northwest to St. Paul.

In reply to my application I have received the following, which please publish for benefit of delegates attending:

CERTIFICATE PLAN—MEETING OF FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION AT ST. LOUIS, DECEMBER 5-7.

Instructions to Persons Attending the Meeting.

2. The concession applies to persons starting from said territory. If the starting point is not located on one of those roads, tickets should be purchased to the most convenient point on any of the said lines, and thence by direct routes only, through to place of meeting.

3. The concession is fare and a third, on committee's certificate. It is conditional on there being an attendance at the meeting of not less than fifty persons holding such certificates.

4. The going ticket must be purchased within three days before or two days after the opening date of the meeting; otherwise no reduction in fare will be made on the return passage.

5. Each person availing of the concession will pay full tariff first-class fare going to the meeting, and get a certificate filled in on one side by the agent of whom the ticket is purchased. The agent keeps the certificates in stock.

6. Present the certificate to the proper officer at the meeting, that the other side may be filled in.

7. Certificates are not transferable.

8. On presentation of the certificate, duly filled in on both sides, within three days (Sunday excepted) after the meeting, the ticket agent at the place of meeting will return the person to his starting point at one-third the highest limited fare. The return ticket will be issued over the route used in going to the meeting, and will be available for continuous passage only.

9. No refund of fare will be made on account of failure of any person to obtain a certificate.

Delegates and others availing of the concession should present themselves at the offices for certificates and tickets at least thirty minutes before departure of trains. Each secretary of State Alliance is requested to notify delegates attending.

Unless each one procures a receipt or certificate of ticket agent when they buy their tickets, showing they purchased the ticket and paid full fare, we cannot secure a reduction. If you can't get a through ticket at your local point, buy a ticket to nearest junctional point, or where through tickets can be bought.

Oswald Wilson, President.
All Alliance papers please copy.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 26.

The Department of the Interior was not established until 1849, but has developed into one of the largest and most important of the executive branches of the Government. It is located in a magnificent marble and granite building covering two entire blocks and the street between. The structure is probably the most massive and imposing of any Government building in the city. It is pure Doric in style, having four porticos, one in each front. These porticos are gable projections, each ornamented with massive columns and heavy stone cornices. The style of the building, although of the rigid Doric and entirely without ornamentation, has a most splendid effect. The interior is a perfect labyrinth of corridors and offices. The building is perfectly fire-proof, there being no wood used in the construction, but space forbids further description.

The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the supervision of public business relating to patents for inventions; pensions and bounty lands; the public lands, including mines; the Indians; education; railroads; the public surveys; the census, when directed by law; the custody and distribution of public documents. He also exercises certain powers and duties in relation to the territories of the United States.

The First Assistant Secretary of the Interior considers appeals from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and from the administrative action of the Commissioners of Patents and Indian Affairs; examines charges against officials and employees; countersigns pension certificates and

certifies official copies and as to official character; supervises and instructs Indian inspectors, commissioners, and school superintendents, and matters pertaining to the Indians generally; acts on recommendations for the dismissal of departmental employees, their resignations and applications for leave of absence; supervises the business from the Bureau of Education and of the Document and Census Divisions, and matters relating to the Government Hospital for the Insane, Columbia Institute for Deaf and Dumb, Freedmen's Hospital, Yellowstone Park, and the Hot Springs in Arkansas; grants admission to the Maryland Institution for the Blind, and approves its accounts; approves expense and transportation accounts, orders for stationery, and vouchers for rent, advertising and miscellaneous supplies, and acts as Secretary in the absence of that officer. His pay is \$4,500.

The Assistant Secretary considers appeals from the Commissioner of Pensions, and questions relating to violations of the pension laws; has general supervision of the business of the Boards of Pension Appeals, and reviews the routine correspondence pertaining to public lands; countersigns letters-patent; examines official bonds and contracts

as to their correctness; has the admission and disbarment from practice of attorneys and agents, and considers questions as to their fees in pension and bounty land cases; acts as Secretary in the absence of both that officer and the First Assistant Secretary. His pay is \$4,000.

The chief clerk has the general supervision of the clerks and employes, of the order of business, records and correspondence, and contingent expenditures in the Secretary's office; also superintendence of the Interior Department building. His pay is \$2,750.

The total number of employes in the office of the Secretary of the Interior is one hundred and sixty-one, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$183,610 per year.

The Assistant Attorney General attends to the legal business of the department under the direction of the Attorney General. He has in his office eighteen employes, and the salaries of the office aggregate \$41,700.

The Commissioner of Patents is charged with the administration of the patent laws, and supervises all matters relating to the issue of letters-patent for new and useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements. He is aided by an assistant commissioner, three examiners-in-chief, an examiner of interferences, an examiner of trade-marks, and twenty-five principal examiners.

The salary of the Commissioner of Patents is \$5,000 per year. The number of employes in his office is five hundred and seventy-nine, and their salaries aggregate \$666,070.

The Commissioner of Pensions supervises the examination and adjudication of all claims arising under the laws passed by Congress granting bounty lands, or pensions on account of service in the army or navy. He is aided by two deputy commissioners, and a medical referee. His salary is \$5,000 per annum. The number of employes in this bureau is one thousand four hundred and sixteen. Their aggregate salaries amount to \$1,880,250.

The disbursements for pensions during the fiscal year 1888 were \$79,646,146.37. The total number of pensioners on the rolls was 452,557. The total disbursements for pensions since 1861, was \$963,086,444.73. The salaries and expenses of pension agents during the year 1888, were \$887,700.53. The increase in pensions during the year, was \$4,830,659.52.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office is charged with the survey, management and sale of the public domain; and the issuing of titles therefor, whether derived from the confirmation of grants made by former governments by sales, donations, or grants for schools, railroads, military bounties, or public improvements. He is aided by an assistant commissioner. The Land Office audits its own accounts. The salary of the commissioner is \$4,000 per year. The number of employes in this bureau is four hundred and seventy-nine. The total aggregate of salaries is \$636,20.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has charge of the various tribes of Indians in the various States and territories. He issues instructions and receives reports from agents, special agents, and traders, superintends the purchase, transportation, and distribution of presents and annuities; and reports, annually, the relations of the Government with each tribe. The number of employes in this bureau is eighty-two, and the aggregate of salaries is \$109,740. The Indian agencies, industrial schools, and other service, employ a large number outside of Washington.

The Commissioner of Education collects such statistics and facts as go to show the condition and progress of education in the several States and territories, and his duty is to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of the schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country. The number of employes in this bureau is thirty-eight, and the aggregate of salaries is \$45,220.

The Commissioner of Railroads is charged with prescribing a system of reports to be rendered to him by the railroad companies whose roads are in whole, or in part, West, North, or South of the Missouri river; and to which the United States have granted any loan of credit or subsidy in lands or bonds; to examine the books, accounts, and property of said companies; to see that the laws relating to said companies are enforced, and to assist the Government directors of any of said railroad companies in all matters which come under their cognizance, whenever they may officially request such assistance. The number of employes in this bureau is six, and the aggregate of salaries \$14,420.

The Director of the Geological Survey has charge of the classification of the public lands and examination of the geological structure, mineral resources, and products of the National domain.

The number of employes under the Director is one hundred and forty-four, and the aggregate of salaries is \$284,040. Besides these who are all in the city of Washington, there are two hundred and fifty employes, more or less, attached to the various benevolent institutions, such as the Government Asylum for the Insane, the Freedmen's Hospital, etc., etc., their salaries aggregating about \$225,000. There are also five hundred employes, more or less, attached to the various miscellaneous, scientific, and experimental stations which are independent of executive supervision. Among these may be classed the Bureau of Ethnology, the Fish Commission, the Howard University, the Washington Monument, and the Smithsonian Institution; this would add an aggregate for salaries of at least \$500,000, making a grand total of seven hundred and ninety-four employes, and an aggregate of salaries amounting to \$1,009,040.

The Assistant Secretary of the Interior is charged with the supervision of the public lands, and the examination of the titles thereto. He has general supervision of the business of the Boards of Pension Appeals, and reviews the routine correspondence pertaining to public lands; countersigns letters-patent; examines official bonds and contracts

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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The Superintendent of the Census supervises the taking of the census every tenth year, and the subsequent arrangement, compilation, and publication of the statistics collected. It is estimated that this bureau will, in taking the next census, employ about eighty thousand men. The cost, of course, is enormous.

The following local institutions are attached to the Department of the Interior: Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, with forty-two employes, whose salaries aggregate about \$30,000 per year. Government Hospital for the Insane, with about three hundred and twenty employes, whose salaries aggregate about \$150,000. Freedmen's Hospital, with forty-three employes, whose salaries aggregate about \$25,000. Howard University, with fifteen employes, at salaries aggregating \$18,000. The entire number employed in the department is thus shown to aggregate, exclusive of the Census Bureau, three thousand nine hundred and ninety-three, and the aggregate of salaries \$4,828,620.

The Solution of the Problem.

BY J. A. TETTS, OF RUSTON, LA.

The writers for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST all agree that there is a necessity for a change in the condition of the producers of the country before they can enjoy prosperity and have a fair chance to obtain that happiness that is the object of pursuit of the whole human race. My opinion is that for the producers it is within easy reach if they will but use the proper means to attain it. The reason we are so much under the dominion of capital and the parasites of society, is that we allow them to control the price of the product of our labor. All wealth being the product of labor, the party that controls the price

of the product can dictate the part that labor shall reserve for its use, and appropriate the balance. A few men in Liverpool or New York can meet and in ten minutes after an agreement between them, can dictate to ninety out of every one hundred farmers throughout the South whether they shall have coffee for breakfast during the next spring or not, and whether their children shall have sufficient clothing to protect them from the cold of winter. They can also dictate to the Western farmer whether he shall burn corn for fuel and eat gophers for dinner, or be able to pay the interest on his faithful friend and visitor—the mortgage. They can also dictate to the miner, the operative, the mechanic, and the tramp how they shall fare for the next twelve months. Droughts, cyclones, grasshoppers, chinch bugs, etc., can bring desolation and want on certain limited sections of our land, but boards of trade and exchanges, like the plagues of Egypt, can bring desolation and ruin on a whole people. Why? Because the producers have, as a rule, parted with the ownership of the majority of the wealth they create before its creation. They deal directly in "futures." They promise to pay out of

their crops for goods or money before those crops are grown, and make those promises to men who are not interested in their happiness. These men to whom they bargain their uncreated wealth desire to obtain it at such a low price that when the wealth is delivered to them they can make a great margin when they sell to the consumers.

Let us take a little view of the situation. Cotton in the South is the wealth of the South. From the profits of handling it, and the articles consumed in its production, all the cities and towns are built. All the railroads and steamboats are built; many thousands of factories, and many coal and iron mines are dependent upon its production, and many hundreds of thousands of laborers in cities are employed to handle it. All of these get their livings from the margins, and thousands accumulate vast fortunes. On the other side, there are millions engaged in its manufacture and in handling the manufactured product. Thus you see that the item cotton cuts a considerable figure in the wealth of the world. Let us look a little further, and see its effect on other agriculturists of our Nation. The Northern and Western farmer finds in the South a ready market for a large part of the surplus wheat, hay, and hog product. Wipe out cotton and put the South to raising all she needs to eat, and the Western farmer would have but a small chance for money. This shows the power of the wealth producer if he were able to control his own product. The miner, if he could price and limit the supply of coal, could have a good living for himself and family. The grain-grower and hog-raiser ditto; the operator in the factory ditto; and so on through the whole list; but as it is, capital controls and prices the wealth of all classes till it can direct the greater part of all wealth

into its coffers. Now what is the solution of the difficulty? Let labor work to obtain control of its own product, and if there be any wealth in it, let a fair share remain with the producer. How shall this control be obtained, you ask? I answer, by co-operation. The masses of the cotton farmers pledge or mortgage their cotton to the merchants for supplies, thereby giving them possession of the crop as soon as it is produced. These merchants not having a sufficiency of capital themselves, borrow of commission merchants, bankers, etc., and in turn, deliver the control of the cotton to them, and probably these are under obligations to others and so on, till the majority of the crop is under the control of a class of men whose whole interest is to keep the cotton farmer poor, and appropriate to their own use all the wealth he creates.

My remedy is to get all classes of farmers and working men to form co-operative stores, and become their own merchants, thereby keeping control of the only wealth they produce. If all the farmers of the South were organized, and would co-operate to get control of the cotton they could do it. There are enough who have money ahead to put up

sufficient capital to command the confidence of capitalists who lend, to borrow all that would be necessary to assist the poorer ones in making the crop. Then the cotton as security, would be in the hands of those whose interest it is to keep up a good price for the producer. The grain farmers of the West can do likewise and get control of their product, and the same with other callings.

All these classes of labor can be brought to co-operation and exchange with each other, and the intervention of the middle man can be dispensed with. Co-operative stores should precede co-operative factories. When we get so we can price the product of our own labor, then we can afford to let other laborers price theirs, but we can not afford to let the speculating middle man price all. When we allow others to price our labor and the necessities of life, we have damned up the stream that brings us happiness and turned the current toward some one else.

Wealth is not happiness, but a certain amount of it is necessary before we can do our duty. We can not expect to be happy and content while we leave our duties to our families unfulfilled. We owe it to our patient and sympathetic wives, and to our children, to use every honorable and legitimate means to retain for our own use all the wealth we produce. We can not expect our children to be happy and free if we raise them up in ignorance and leave them in prospective serfdom, and any man who knows the situation and is not using his energies to remedy the condition, is unworthy the respect of his fellow men. It is useless to leave those children of ours wealth if we leave them the present surroundings, for it will flow from them like the sands in an hour-glass. We must change the conditions surrounding us, or we can never hope for prosperity; and one of the principal means of bringing about the change is for us to assume control of the products of our labor, and control profits made on what we consume of the products of others.

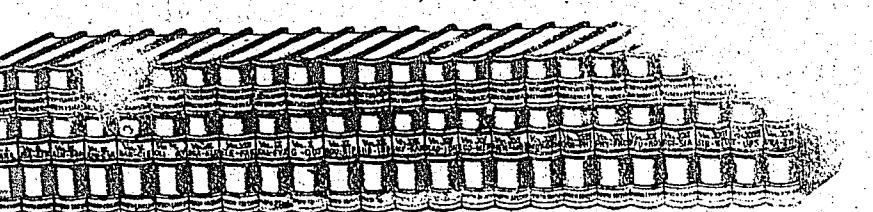
The pope in a recent public address said that the papacy was a protector of the working classes, and advised the formation of associations, "which shall be devoted to securing the material welfare of workmen in procuring increased facilities for labor, inculcating principles of economy, and defending the rights and legitimate claims of workmen."

The able statisticians now engaged in preparing the forthcoming NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac are bringing to light statistics from the most reliable sources, which will open the eyes of the 14,000,000 wealth-producers in this country. Those statistics are going to show the reason why of many heretofore unexplainable conditions.

In the Southern States there are 16,000 colored school teachers. The colored people have colleges, universities, and seminaries that are worth \$2,000,000 in property.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION OF AMERICA.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY FIVE CENTS }

VOL. II.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 23, 1889.

NO. 10.

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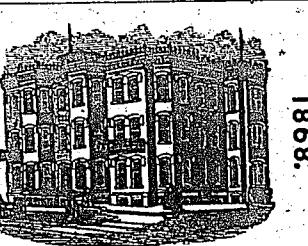
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the decrees which year by year passed more and more of his rights, of his liberties and of his labor under the control and into the hands of the governing few. Thus the very evils which both parties professed to fear and were fighting against were produced—in other and more dangerous forms however.

A centralization far worse than that which the States rights advocates feared was effected by the concentration of political power

in the hands of the few, and with it a weakness far more dangerous than decentralization was implanted in the body politic. When a republic lapses into an oligarchy it becomes the worst, the weakest and the most vicious of all forms of government.

It matters not whether the central oligarchy be the strongest and dominate the State oligarchy, or the

State oligarchies dominate a weak central oligarchy, as long as the people do not rule and control, but are ruled and controlled, they will be subjects and serfs.

The fundamental error of both the States rights advocates and their opponents was in assuming that the proper division of power between the national and State governments was the most important consideration and the most vital to the preservation of the people's rights and liberties.

Far more important and far more vital is the proper division of power among the individual citizens. It

will be replied that this has already been provided for by giving each citizen a vote,

and therefore an equal voice and power in ruling the country. True, each citizen, as a general rule, has been given a vote.

But what is the good of having a vote without knowing how to use it? Of what use is strength to a blind Sampson?

What show has ignorant suffrage confronted by organized and cunning intellect? General or universal suffrage will not of itself suffice.

How then, it may be asked, can political power be distributed among the individual citizens?

Knowledge is power.

The diffusion of knowledge among the people means the relative distribution of power among the individual citizens.

Had but half the time, energy and ability wasted in quibbling and quarreling over questions as to

whether the State or Nation should exercise

this or that function been utilized in educating the voters, and thereby developing and strengthening the political power of the individual citizen, far more profitable and satisfactory results would have been produced.

It is only through the education of the voters and the consequent increased political power of the individual citizen that

centralization in government can be pre-

vented. No ideal division of power between federal and State jurisdictions can stay the march of centralization in the absence of intelligence, of power in the individual citizen. That political power in our country has been and is rapidly passing into the hands of a few is self-evident; that such has been the general tendency in all popular governments history attests. Why? Because the masses have failed to make their influence felt; because they have been lacking in knowledge, that is, power to assert themselves. It has been caused by the weakness of the individual voter.

Just in proportion to that weakness of the individual has centralization in government been effected. Just in proportion to the mental weakness of the individual voter has monopoly flourished.

It is the theory that American citizens are sovereigns; in practice they are subjects. With 12,000,000 voters in the republic, yet a few thousand men virtually rule the country.

In order to be sovereigns and exercise individual sovereignty citizens must be thinkers who will accept only "truth for authority, not authority for truth;" who will go to the polls as men knowing what they are voting for, and why, instead of as the unthinking dupes of the party boss. Each vote will then represent not only an intelligence, but a conscience.

Then there will be no evils or dangers to be feared from centralization or decentralization, because the powers and functions vested in the National and State governments, respectively, will be all alike controlled and used for the public benefit.

The education of the voters and the development of the political power of the individual citizen is then the work to be accomplished.

The citizens, now subjects, must be raised to the dignity, power and independence of sovereigns.

It is through education, and education only, that this can be effected. In the full development of the political power of the individual citizen, and the thorough exercise of this individual sovereignty, lies the safety of the republic, lies the security of the people's rights.

In this the State sovereignty advocates will find the only real preventive of centralization; in this the believers in National supremacy will find the only certain means of securing and maintaining a strong and stable government; in this, and this alone, can all find safety.

THE Catholic congress, recently in session in Baltimore, put itself on record by an emphatic indorsement of the right of laboring men to organize for the maintenance of their rights and the advancement of their interests.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

No. 35.

Lysander gathered the spoils of Athens together, among which was a vast sum of gold and silver. This great amount of wealth was given into the charge of Gylippus who had won the signal victory at Syracuse which was the prime cause of the final downfall of Athens, and which placed his name high upon the Spartan roll of honor. This money he was commissioned to carry to Sparta and deliver to the Ephori. The temptation proved too great for even this man who had already reached the height of Spartan ambition. He unsewed the bags at the bottom, so as not to disturb the seals, and extracted from each bag a sum of money; then, sewing them up again, they had the appearance of not having been tampered with, as the seals were intact. When the bags were opened, a memorandum of the sum each should contain was found in the end on which the seal was placed. This exposed the defalcation of Gylippus, and he fled from the country, forever disgraced, his great name blackened. Rollin says of this introduction of money into Sparta, and speaking of the ruin of Gylippus:

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most judicious Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money which enslaved not only the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lysander for having acted so contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the ephori how incumbent it was upon them to banish all that gold and silver from the republic, and to lay the heaviest curses and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other states, introduced only to corrupt the wholesome constitution of the Spartan government which had supported itself for so many ages with vigor and prosperity. The ephori immediately passed a decree to proscribe that money, and ordained that none should be current, except the usual iron coin.

But Lysander's friends opposed the decree, and sparing no pains to retain the gold and silver in Sparta, the affair was referred to farther deliberation. There naturally seemed only two plans to be proposed; which were, either to make the gold and silver coin current, or to cry them down and prohibit them absolutely. The men of address and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their opinion, reconciled both the others with great success. This was wisely to choose the mean between the vicious extremes of too much rigor, and too much remissness. It was therefore resolved, that the new coin of gold and silver should be solely employed by the public treasury; that it should only pass in the occasion and uses of the state; and that every private person in whose possession it should be found, should be immediately put to death.

Plutarch says:

This was a strange expedient; as if Lycurgus had feared the specie of gold and silver, and not the avarice they occasion; an avarice less to be extinguished by prohibiting individuals from possessing it, than inflamed by permitting the state to amass and make use of it for the service of the public. For it was impossible, whilst that money was held in honor and esteem with the public, that it should be despised in private as use-

less, and that people should look upon that as of no value in their domestic affairs which the state prized and was anxious to have for its uses; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the public, being a thousand times more dangerous to individuals than the vices of individuals to the public. The Lacedemonians, therefore, in punishing those with death who should make use of the new money in private, were so blind and imprudent as to imagine that the placing of the law, and the terror of punishment, as a guard at the door, was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house; whilst they left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire, and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves a violent passion for amassing wealth, in causing it to be deemed a great and honorable thing to become rich.

Sparta, through the military genius of Lysander and the impregnable virtue of her people, had now risen to the position of unquestioned superiority among the Greek states. She dictated the policy, and controlled the conditions which prevailed in all. Had her people preserved that high moral dignity and purity which had heretofore distinguished them, Greece might have started afresh upon a new line of advance and maintained her position in the vanguard of progress and enlightenment. But human nature is weak, and the spirit of avarice and selfishness is strong; even the Spartan spirit and virtue fell before it, and the fatal consequences swept over the face of Greece like the blast of the poisonous winds that rage upon the desert.

Lysander, in consequence of his victories, of course stood at the head of the Spartan people. From what has been already said of his character it will be readily seen that it was but natural for him to give way to all those evil passions which filled his breast, but had been concealed by the exercise of a wonderful self control. Now possessed, as

he was, of almost despotic power, all these evil impulses were given free rein, and the effect was terrible in the extreme. He established in Athens an oligarchy in the hands of thirty of his creatures who were as evil as he, and the history of their cruelties and oppression is without a parallel. The Spartans, intoxicated by their triumphs, from the champions of liberty and virtue became the defenders of oligarchies and the oppressors of the people they had set out to protect. Avarice afflicted the entire people, whose virtue had been destroyed by the introduction of money. The states of Greece were again thrown into fierce internal conflicts, and Sparta established and maintained in each an oligarchy which was a most despicable tyranny. The ancient laws of Lycurgus were set aside and disregarded, and wealth flowed in golden streams into Sparta from all the cities of Greece and Asia Minor. Lysander reveled in the utmost splendor and grandeur, and rivaled Pericles in his selfish ambitions and mercenary schemes, while he equalled the autocrats of Persia in his cruelty and fierce oppression.

Sparta grew rich, and the people aband-

oned themselves to luxury, vice, and the greed of wealth. Civil wars raged, and for half a century Greece seemed doomed to desolation, while Sparta seemed crazed by avarice and mercenary greed. Many brilliant men rose and fell during this period, but their exertions were futile against the demoralization which had overwhelmed the people through the giving way of the Spartans to the power of riches and the evil ambitions it excites. Internecine conflict so wrecked the spirit of the people, that when the ambition of Philip and Alexander aspired to the establishment of an empire under the Macedonian power, the Greek states fell an easy prey, and Sparta, who had always been the shield of Greek liberty, in her degeneracy offered no resistance to the triumphant conquests of Macedonia.

The Sparta of Lycurgus and Leonidas was dead; her spirit had departed, and only the gilded skeleton of her former mighty self remained, in the corrupt, mercenary, avaricious state which bore her name, and was given up to trade, speculation, the pleasures of luxury, and the vices of riches.

It is impossible, in the space allowed, to trace the gradual demoralization of the people and extinction of the ancient spirit, but it becomes necessary to pass over a great amount of interesting history, including the war with Thebes, the conquest of Alexander, and the weak attempt to revive republican institutions in Greece through the Achæan League, and content ourselves with a view of the condition of Sparta at the time of Agis, near the close of the third century B. C., after the spirit of avarice and mercenary speculation had done their work; when the last attempt was made to revive the spirit that had made Sparta the administration of the world.

Plutarch, in referring to the condition of Sparta at the time of Agis, says:

The first symptoms of corruption and dissipation in the commonwealth, appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian power and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedemonia. Nevertheless, the agrarian law, established by Lycurgus, still subsisted, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the Ephori, and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate their estates in their lifetime, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment that this man proposed the decree which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated.

Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean and laborious occupations for their bread, and consequently looking with hatred

and envy upon the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which perhaps one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble, without property or honor, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

We have seen just such a condition existing in Athens at the time of Solon, of Pisistratus and of Pericles; each recurrence caused by a series of years spent in mercenary speculation, by which the wealth produced by the industry of the masses was gathered into the hands of the few, and the homes of the people made the subject of trade and security, as well as the means by which the rich oppressed the poor through legal claims they managed to get, and holding eviction over the unfortunate debtor as the penalty for his failure to meet unjust demands.

Sparta, so long as she had kept her people free from the taint of avarice, so long as their lives and ambitions were above sordid gain and mercenary profit, had been free from the inequalities, injustice, and wrong that had been the curse of Athens. Now that her people had departed from the paths of virtue, beaten plain by their fathers, they had fallen upon those evils that are the same destination of any nation upon which they are visited.

Plutarch says of Agis: "He thought it a noble undertaking to bring the citizens again to equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants." He began to test the spirit of the people, to find what amount of opposition he would meet and from which class to look for it principally. The young men received his ideas of reform with an enthusiasm beyond his expectations. Plutarch says:

They adopted the cause of virtue with him, and, for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus as a fugitive slave, while the masses rallied to the cause of Agis. Through the influence of Leonidas, and the party of the rich, the Senate was brought to support their cause, and as the Senate had the right to decide what laws should be proposed for the acceptance or rejection of the people, they decided against the *rhetra* by a majority of one.

The Senate thus for a time prevented the people succeeding in their desires for reform, just as aristocratic bodies always have opposed and delayed measures intended to break down classes and establish true equality.

[Note.—The Lysander here referred to must not be identified with that Lysander who first introduced money into Sparta, and who was referred to in the opening of this article, and who was killed in battle nearly a century before this time.]

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

Notice to Delegates at St. Louis.
OFFICE FARMERS ALLIANCE EXCHANGE,
1 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK,
October 23, 1889.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Pursuant to your request I have made application to the following passenger associations for reduced rates to the meeting of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, convening in St. Louis, Mo., December 5-7, 1889: Trunk Line Association, embracing the territory north and east of Pittsburg, except New England; Central Traffic Association, embracing territory west of Mississippi River and South Missouri River; Southern Passenger Association, for territory south of Ohio and Potomac Rivers; and Western States Passenger Association, for the territory west of Chicago and St. Louis to the Missouri River and northwest to St. Paul.

In reply to my application I have received the following, which please publish for benefit of delegates attending:

CERTIFICATE PLAN—MEETING OF FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION AT ST. LOUIS, DECEMBER 5-7.

Instructions to Persons Attending the Meeting.

* * * * *

2. The concession applies to persons starting from said territory. If the starting point is not located on one of those roads, tickets should be purchased to the most convenient point on any of the said lines, and thence, by direct routes only, through to place of meeting.

3. The concession is fare and a third, on committee's certificate. It is conditional on there being an attendance at the meeting of not less than fifty persons holding such certificates.

4. The going ticket must be purchased within three days before or two days after the opening date of the meeting; otherwise no reduction in fare will be made on the return passage.

5. Each person availing of the concession will pay full tariff first-class fare going to the meeting, and get a certificate filled in on one side by the agent of whom the ticket is purchased. The agent keeps the certificates in stock.

6. Present the certificate to the proper officer at the meeting, that the other side may be filled in.

7. Certificates are not transferable.

8. On presentation of the certificate, duly filled in on both sides, within three days (Sunday excepted) after the meeting, the ticket agent at the place of meeting will return the person to his starting point at one-third the highest limited fare. The return ticket will be issued over the route used in going to the meeting, and will be available for continuous passage only.

9. No refund of fare will be made on account of failure of any person to obtain a certificate.

Delegates and others availing of the concession should present themselves at the offices for certificates and tickets at least thirty minutes before departure of trains.

Each secretary of State Alliance is requested to notify delegates attending.

Unless each one procures a receipt or certificate of ticket agent when they buy their tickets, showing they purchased the ticket and paid full fare, we cannot secure a reduction. If you can't get a through ticket at your local point, buy a ticket to nearest junctional point, or where through tickets can be bought.

Oswald Wilson, President.
All Alliance papers please copy.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Rock Islander (Ill.) contributes the following chunk of good sense:

Easy-going economists who affect to regard trusts and other analogous forms of commercial combination as but the legitimate outcome of modern methods of transacting business may ere long find their airy illusions rudely dispelled by the prosaic, inflexible operations of judicial decrees in various States. In the East, where capital has its stronghold, the courts and legislatures are moving very circumspectly in the presence of the trust monster; but in the breezy West and South a different condition of things prevails. The smashing in Louisiana and Texas of the cotton-oil trust, and the passage by the Michigan legislature of a measure making all combinations in the nature of trusts criminal conspiracies, are significant indications of an aroused public sentiment.

The Jeffersonian (Topeka, Kan.) says:

Statistics will show that more than one-fourth of the proceeds of all wealth produced by labor in Kansas goes to England and Europe to pay rent, interest and dividends. If the people had voted with any sense or intelligence, during the past thirty years, this vast sum would have been kept at home and would have made us a prosperous people instead of a poverty stricken one.

The Weekly Newsboy (Jasper, Texas) in the following item, puts the case exactly as did the late S. S. Cox, who had charge of the bill. The appropriation was made small for the purpose of killing it. The farmers will have to petition early if this scheme is headed off:

It is announced that Census Superintendent Porter will confer with the Interior Department, with a view to the collection of statistics of farm mortgages. As this will require additional legislation by Congress, and the time of that body will be pretty well occupied with urgent party measures looking to the disposition of future "loaves and fishes," it is hardly to be expected that a measure that has only utility to recommend it will command much of that augustly political body.

The Courier and Farmer (Federalsburg, Md.) says in regard to alliance membership:

Now, brother farmer, you believe that "something" must be done; you believe that the farmers are the proper persons to do "something" for the farmers; you believe that organization is "something" the farmers need in these times; you admit that the alliance is a good thing "if it is carried out." Brother farmer, you are the man to carry it out. Don't wait for some one else to do "something;" do it yourself.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) correctly gives us some more:

While the sheriffs are evicting thousands of farmers from their homes in the West, hundreds of farms are being abandoned in the East, because the owners have been starved out! Shades of Washington! Jefferson! Jackson! Lincoln! Is it possible that this is the Government you founded and helped perpetuate? To what nether depths must we descend before we awaken to the dangers lying before us as a Nation?

The Arkansas (Searcy) Economist tells the naked truth, which all may well heed, in the following:

We have long been clamoring for Eastern capital, and now we are getting it, thousands of dollars, both Eastern and English, and we are giving in lieu liens on the farms and improvements of the country. One or two drouths in succession, short crops, and foreclosures will follow. Foreign capital applied in the development of new enterprises should be invited, welcomed and encouraged, but capital in exchange for trust-deeds or the happy homes of this Southland of ours should be spurned by him who would remain with the free.

The Star (Evergreen, Ala.) says:

It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, and only by thought that labor can be made happy.

The Farm Voice (Walnut, Miss.) in its first issue says:

The mortgage system of this country is an abomination. When a farmer gives a mortgage on his crop he necessarily loses a part of his independence which naturally belongs to his calling.

The Mecklenburg Times (Charlotte, N. C.) comes out with the following:

We are having a general stampede among the farmers in and around the town of Hornet—men hiding out in daylight from the officers and collectors of bills known as "guano and ration bills." Others are jumping the chattels, leaving behind them brokenhearted grass-widows, with houses full of helpless children, while others are turning over their crops, old cows, horses, mules, and wagons. The woods are full of chattel farmers, and all the public roads are full of officers and collectors.

The Pee Dee Alliance (Bennettsville, S. C.) is responsible for the following:

The son of a farmer living in the rain belt of eastern Colorado attempted to climb a corn stalk on his father's place the other day, but became dizzy and fell to the ground, breaking his arm. The boy's parents talk of bringing suit against the Government for allowing crops to grow to such abnormal dimensions.

Mississippi (Summit, Miss.) lets the world know there is nothing the matter with the farmers in that vicinity:

The alliance members of this section own their own gin, and up to the present time have ginned about 150 bales. About 100 of these have been covered with towels. That is the way we do business. We are determined to use cotton bagging, and if the cotton factories form a trust it will be raised the price of our own produce.

The Springfield (Mo.) Weekly Journal hits the nail square in the item below:

The law of the land is supreme when a defendant has no money, and a defendant is quite supreme when he has enough of it to beat the law and the testimony. That seems to be about the size of it in this country.

The Home Journal (Perry, Ga.) says:

Over six million acres of land belonging to the Florida railroads are now under the control of a consolidated syndicate, called the Associated Railway Land Department of Florida. The syndicate has its headquarters at Sanford. These lands will be sold, or leased, as suits the judgment of the syndicate.

The Labor Journal (Fulton, Ky.) gives fair warning to trusts:

It is said on pretty good authority that the cotton-seed oil trust will dissolve in the near future. There are several other trusts, which will have to undergo dissolution sooner or later. Public sentiment against trusts, combines and monopolies is becoming so great that they must go down or do worse.

The Advocate (New York) says:

The lands of these United States are capable of sustaining 1,000,000,000 of people, and all the world are grasping for them. We have already 15,000,000 of people, of foreign countries now quartered on our lands and in combination with Americans are grasping at our immense treasures in the vaults of the United States. While the nations of Europe are spending all their resources on armaments and soldiers, and all are in debt up to their eyes to support them, we, as a nation, are an exception, and have so much money in vaults that we are obliged to build more treasury buildings to hold the money. The wealth of the United States is phenomenal. In 1881 it was estimated at \$43,642,000,000—more than enough to buy Russia, Turkey, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Australia, South Africa, and all South America, with their lands, mines, cities, palaces, factories, ships, flocks, herds, jewels, money, thrones, sceptres, diadems, and all the possessions of 177,000,000 of people."

The Political Record (San Francisco, Cal.) puts it in this way:

Corporations are soulless. They have neither patriotism, religion, humanity, justice, or charity, while the people have all these things, and can be trusted to do right if it only be made plain to them.

The Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution says about trusts:

The cotton-oil trust gives the latest exhibition of internal weakness. It was about to fall to pieces when the leading certificate holders got together, and, to use their own picturesque language, proceeded to "pump the water" out of the concern. In a total capitalization of \$42,000,000 it was found necessary to pump out \$21,000,000 of water; but even this heroic treatment doesn't seem to have helped the affair. Its disease is a complication of which dropsy was only an element.

The Clark County Democrat (Clark, South Dakota) in figuring out the surplus held in the United States Treasury, says:

There are 2,000 voters in Clark county; so \$80,000 of this money came from this county. This is about the banking capital of the county, or in other words, had the national Government not taken this money from the people of this county they need never have made a chattel loan. This is without figuring the interest the people have paid for the past ten years because this money is locked up.

The Democrat wishes every farmer and business man would use pencil, paper and brains a little while on this matter and then sit down by their hard coal fires and think for about five minutes. What would be the effect on business of \$80,000 distributed among the people of this county? Add to this that the people have paid about twice this sum in usurious interest during the past ten years, because this money was locked up, and then think again what would \$240,000 do toward breaking the trusts that hold control of everything?

Would you farmers like to pay off those mortgages? Would you like the capital to start a twine factory? Would you like to have taken stock in a flax mill? Would you like to have held your wheat back and forced the mills to bid for it?

The Lawrence (Kan.) Weekly Journal gives the following item, but with no reason for such a condition:

It is said that there are 60,000 boy-tramps in the United States. That means 60,000 kids pegging along to see Satan.

The Local News (Butler, Mo.) gives the following good item:

There are some people in this county who think they must stick to their old prejudices or the world would fail to move. That's right; stick to them until you get your fill. But after you do once get your eyes open, you will want some one to kick you for ever being the fool you now are.

The Liberal (Cuthbert, Ga.) gives good advice, which should be acted upon:

The work of the Farmers Alliance has but just begun. The fight with the jute trust is by no means won. They must not be deceived by any apparent weakening in the ranks of the trust. The great cotton trust, through which the speculators control the cotton crop of the south, is yet to be fought. This is the most important battle to be fought. It behoves the alliance, therefore, to make as many friends and as few enemies as possible among the farmers. Absolute and universal concert of action and co-operation will be necessary to control the prices of their own products.

The Cottage-Home (Texarkana, Ark.) says:

We believe that farmers are entitled to a reasonable cost of their products, with a fair profit besides. No one ought to deny them this.

Legislation is given in behalf of all other industries to give them this, but no one thinks of giving this to the farmer, who is the mainstay of the country, and whose labor has made all the wealth that this great country can boast of.

Southern, of Sabine (Many, La.), says:

The government has always protected capital and forgot the people on whose energy it has to depend. Labor has been used as a chattel, but the day has come for a change. The arrogance of corporation will not be tolerated. If the government, or the people who are clamoring against strikes and labor unions will prohibit the combination of capital, it will make all things equal. The man who labors is of as much importance to the State as the capitalist, and must receive the same protection. The State failing in this duty, labor must protect itself, no matter who is the sufferer.

The Wheel (Batesville, Ark.) talks about the wheel after this fashion:

The fact that the wheel meets strenuous opposition by no means indicates that it is wrong. No reform, in all the history of ages past, has ever been inaugurated but that it had unmitigating opposers, and that, too, from those who would be the beneficiaries of the consummation of such reform. We must endeavor to preserve harmony within that we may be able to successfully combat the enemy without.

The Lincoln Independent (Lincoln, N. M.) makes a point in the following:

Man learns from experience, but it is only while the pain of his experience is on him that he profits from his knowledge.

The Alabama Alliance Advocate says:

The Alabama Alliance Bagging factory made its first loom of cotton bagging to-day in the presence of W. L. Dolphyn, Capt. D. Ledyard, the Herald reporter, and a number of Philadelphia gentlemen. The work was satisfactory and the bagging of a superior quality. Twenty looms will be used as soon as they are got in running condition. The bagging runs 16 ounces to the yard, and measures 44 inches in width. The bagging is closely woven and of a superior quality, and was pronounced by several Philadelphia cotton men present superior to jute bagging as cover for cotton. They were all familiar with the fight of the alliance against the jute trust, and were high in the praise of the great work the alliance is accomplishing. The alliance has an order already for 800,000 yards of bagging and will not be able to fill orders for this season. The first two rolls of bagging have been engaged by Capt. Ledyard for the Montgomery Exposition. The alliance is accomplishing a great work in the State, and is especially active in Florence. There is now being erected another large plant for the manufacture of cotton bagging, besides the new warehouse, which will shortly be erected for storing alliance cotton of Lauderdale county.

The Kansas Commoner (Newton, Kan.) explains the situation exactly:

The Southern Messenger (Buchanan, Ga.) gives some good advice:

There is nothing more annoying than debt. Strong men become maniacs over this one thing. Then how careful people should be in making debts. It is better, and there is more solid comfort in the long run, to live sparingly on things not paid for than to live sumptuously on things not paid for. Let our people resolve to pay their debts and from then on stay out of debt. To accomplish that which we desire, we, as alliance people, must keep out of debt. It may take some of us one, two or more years to clear ourselves of debt, but the idea is to buy but little and work to that point, and begin now.

Colman's Rural World (St. Louis, Mo.) prints the following, to which we say amen:

Let the thieves and plunderers go on, under cover of unrighteous laws, in the formation of their trusts and combines to increase the price of all that the people eat and wear, until the pressure wears through to the quick, and the masses will go to the polls in a solid body and smash them into smithereens. The quicker the better.

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

The member of a labor organization established for the betterment of the condition of the producers, socially, mentally, morally and financially, at this day and time, who would discourage a full and free discussion of political economy within that body is either ignorant of the first principle of such institutions or the most detestable demagogue. The former should be tolerated long enough to give him an opportunity to think and act and the latter bodily fired out as an enemy to his fellow man, posterity, his country and his God.

Workmen's Appeal (New York) gives an item on the circulation:

According to the Director of the Mint, the amount of paper and metallic money in circulation in the United States (outside of the Treasury) on July 1, 1889, was \$1,380,000,000, or about twenty-one dollars per capita. If we consider that a large portion of this sum is locked up in the vaults of banks and in the coffers of great corporations, it will be seen that the amount per capita in actual circulation is very small.

Dexter (Kan.) Free Press.—Let some banker answer its question. Don't all get up at once:

The bankers propose to increase the coinage of silver to double the present capacity, but at the same time they propose to withdraw the same amount of currency. Now will some one please answer how the laboring classes of these United States will be benefited by this move. If this should be done, whose is the special interest, the banker or producer?

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) gets choked on the following:

What do you think of the 14 cents a bushel for oats—and "glorious prosperity!" 60 cents for No. 1 hard wheat and "glorious prosperity!" Single counties robbed of \$100,000 a year and on the wheat difference—and "glorious prosperity!"—how she votes, don't you know that you only help them to increase their prosperity at your expense?

The Alliance Journal (Clarksville, Tex.) makes the following true remark:

When we make a resolve and violate it it lessens our confidence in our moral honesty; and, what is worse, produces a similar effect upon our friends and makes cowards of us all.

The Farmer's Voice (Chicago, Ill.), in speaking of the St. Louis meeting, says:

The leaders of the farmer organizations that will meet in St. Louis on December 5th have high and solemn duties before them. It is in their power to weld all their societies into one compact and effective body for combined political action on the side of popular rights and for the general prosperity of the whole people.

These leaders, if they be truly loyal to their trust, will seek to embody in word and deed the aspiration after better and truer things that is now rising from millions of hearts.

The coming social and political reformation will finally be wrought out because the great plain people of America decree it en masse.

Generals can guide this march if they do so wisely and with the intent of saving time and trouble in reaching the grand end that is sought. More than this they can not do, and less will not be permitted.

This movement toward coalition on the part of all America's producers is as natural as the attraction of gravitation, and is governed by a kindred moral law.

The Kansas Commoner (Newton, Kan.) explains the situation exactly:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 4, 1879.

MY DEAR MR. CHITTENDEN:—I entertain the most unwavering faith in the power of the Government to coin money out of any material it sees fit; and the fact that there have been improvements since the adoption of the Constitution in the way of making money no more limits its constitutional power to make money in the best way and most cheap and convenient for the use of the people, than because there were no telegraphs and steamboats at the time the power was given it to regulate interstate commerce and post routes, therefore it must carry the mails on horseback in saddle-bags. I am willing, for the sake of the people, to do, to undertake the labor of arguing that question before the courts in any manner that a case may be made; of course, an actual case. Now a case can easily be made for a friendly suit to bring up the points. Let a note of any person of upward of \$5,000 be presented to him for payment. Let him tender therefor payment in greenbacks of the issue of 1878, or the issue of any date since August 20, 1866, which is the official date of the end of the war. Let the party holding the note refuse the tender and bring suit. Let the tender be pleaded, state what it was and let that plea of tender be demurred to, and the record of the whole case need not take up two pages, and thus raise the whole question of the right of the Government, in time of peace, to issue legal tender notes or money.

Do not mistake me to think that the legal-tender is the best form of money, for that is a question for legislative adjudication, and I hope the legislature will so far get out from under bankers and capitalists as to adjudicate that question in the best interests of the people and for the prosperity of the country. I am very truly yours,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

The Hon. S. B. CHITTENDEN, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The Co-Operator (West LaCrosse, Minn.) gets it about right in the following:

Now they are forming a company to control all the grain elevators in Chicago. They are organizing to control everything from the cradle to the grave, and those who are paid to stop such rascality and protect the people join with them and divide the spoils. They may look for a day of reckoning; the people are slow but none the less sure, and promises will not always fill the bill.

The right of Government to issue legal tender paper money as a war measure has really always been conceded; and, whether conceded or not, nearly, if not all, governments have assumed that prerogative at different periods. When the late war closed, the banks claimed that, if the Government did have the privilege of issuing legal tender as a war necessity, it had not the right to do so in time of peace. In order to settle that question a suit was brought before the Supreme Court. The following letter from General Butler upon that subject will no doubt be of interest to the readers of the ECONOMIST.

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The Wheat-Growers Convention.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

It makes all the difference in the world whose ox it is that is gored. Irvington Lodge, No. 420 of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, appointed me a delegate to attend the wheat-growers convention, held at St. Louis on the 23d of last month. The wheat-growers convention was called by the officers of a corporation known as the Farmers Federation of America; with a capital stock of \$20,000,000. The avowed purpose of the convention was to form a combination of wheat growers for the purpose of advancing the price of wheat, and although the president in his opening remarks declared that, "We are not here for the purpose of denouncing trusts and combinations but to meet the issue of new systems and conditions in trade," speeches were made on every hand denouncing trusts and combines, and then the convention went grandly to work to perfect the details of one of the most gigantic "trusts" ever conceived in the mind of man. Gigantic I mean as to the number of individual units who will compose the aggregate combination and as to the far-reaching effect of their act should their combination ever become an effective one. Most trusts thus far formed are composed of a combination of corporations, each of whom is engaged in manufacturing or producing the same article, and thus the units of existing trusts, being themselves creatures of law, are amenable to the law creating them, and the people of one or two States may weaken and perhaps entirely destroy the power of any existing trust by simply annulling the charter under which the unit has a legal existence. The wheat-growers trust is an altogether different affair. Its unit is the individual farmer who may be doing business in the "Mississippi valley or on the Pacific slope," and while its name indicates that its attention will be confined to wheat exclusively, yet the executive board was given power over all farm products, including farm stock.

The combination is to be completed in this manner: The units of the trust, that is to say, the farmers and stock growers of any county in the region above named will meet in their respective counties and elect one of their number a member of the Wheat Growers Association for a term of two years. By virtue of his election he is to be the agent through whom the farmers of his county are to dispose of their surplus productions, and he in turn is obliged to ship the overplus to the executive board only at such price as said executive board may dictate, and, of course, the price which the executive board fixes is the price that millers and foreign shippers will have to pay. The executive board of the interstate Wheat Growers Association is composed of two members from each State and Territory included in the Mississippi valley and Pacific slope, who are to hold office for the term of two years. The executive board was formally organized by the election

of Norman J. Colman president, who was given power to choose his own secretary. Mr. Colman was President Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture, and enjoys the honor of having been the first man to hold that position in this country. But the funny part of the whole business was the gravity with which the convention, after electing the distinguished ex-war Governor Robinson, of Kansas, temporary president and Norman J. Coleman permanent president, and after listening to these distinguished gentlemen inveigh against trusts and combines, adopted, among others, the following resolution:

Resolved, That we ask that such steps be taken by our National Congress (either by the passage of laws, or the repeal of existing laws) as will destroy the present existing monopolies and trusts, and prevent the formation of others.

Of course the Wheat Growers convention will repudiate with scorn and contempt every imputation that they were engaged in doing the very thing which they solemnly resolved to ask Congress to make it illegal for anybody to do; and yet, the only difference between the Interstate Sugar Refiners Association, commonly called the sugar trust, and the Interstate Wheat Growers Association, is that one is fully fledged and in active operation, while the other is as yet in a state of embryo. It may be that the magnitude of their undertaking inspired the fear of failure, and being painfully aware of the fact, that trusts and monopolies generally are a burden upon the people they determined to hedge against the day when their scheme might finally collapse by formally denouncing all trusts. However, it is to be earnestly hoped that this latest attempt at trust forming will be pre-eminently successful, and that they may at least double the present price of wheat.

The object of our order is to reverse the present method and make commerce run in the interest of agriculture, and we can't do this by "resoluting." It will take determined action.

The local merchant and credit are the iron bonds that hold us. We must abolish these. The first thing was to organize the people, because single-handed and alone our efforts would end in defeat. As an organized body we come into the fight for the control of commerce. The first essential was to bring capital to our assistance, and this we did in starting the Exchange system. The plan and by-laws we give below: With a State Exchange and branch exchanges in every county we are prepared to handle our own produce and deliver direct to the manufacturer, receiving in return therefor such articles as we need. To do this an office has been opened in New York. New York being the commercial center of the United States, we must have a representative there. We invite all States to come in and make the affair a national one. While Florida has taken the initial step, we must have all the States. We will sell cotton and every kind of produce, and receive orders for all kinds of merchandize, which will be filled at broker's prices.

trust bull, the property of Mr. Americanus Monopolus. The goring has resulted detrimentally to the wheat-growers but beneficially to Mr. Monopolus. Any person who believes that we wheat-growers don't know how to express our feelings of hatred for the trust bull of Americanus Monopolus in lurid terms, is respectfully referred to the columns of any Alliance, Wheel, or F. M. B. A. paper printed in the wheat-growing region about the time the twine-trust was getting in its work. But if we wheat-growers can invent a trust bull that will gore our neighbors ox to our profit, ah! that's a horse of another color. How contemptibly selfish and stupidly human we wheat-growers are after all.

The Farmers' Alliance.

BY OSWALD WILSON,

President Farmers' Alliance Exchange of Florida.

The agriculturist of the United States stands to-day in a very peculiar position. Producing as he does the raw materials for food and clothing, he has no voice in determining their market value. Commerce is the medium through which the articles are distributed, and is necessary to the well-being of society. But is there any reason or justice in permitting the commercial class to rule our country in their own interests? Speculators are to-day running agriculture in the interest of commerce. This enables them to dictate prices and how we shall sell our products. We must sell at their weights, classification, and prices, and when we purchase any manufactured article it follows the same rule. Hence, the system is wrong, and no matter what others say our condition as farmers is due to the way commerce controls agriculture.

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The very thing Mr. Baldwin states as a fact, if proven, would be to me a powerful argument. Every man who has read the

Agriculture a Success.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Many pseudo-agricultural papers and many political papers have great unbounded love for the farmer. It is in one a very pleasant occupation, with the music of bees and the songs of birds to enchant you as you walk on green carpets and poeteze on the beauties of the landscape. In the other it is the very making of a man, so independent, so noble, so virtuous and patriotic. This is taffy—a sugar-plum for these children of nature—pet names and soft pats to keep the lamb quiet while they fleece. If these testimonies were given by agriculturists we could either agree or dissent from them without a blush of shame; but when put forth by the organ of some mammoth manufacturing concern, or by the organ of some political faction, we at once conclude they want something, and that something is money or votes. Our righteous indignation is further increased when other occupations are not similarly soft-soaped, plainly saying that these seedy individuals are the most innocent prey of the cunning and unscrupulous in their fraud, chicanery, and humbuggery.

The Farm and Fireside some time ago circulated Carnegie's views on trusts without dissent, and we find the following in last issue as taken from the Farm and Home:

It is claimed that farming does not pay like other occupations. I believe that it does pay. It is more profitable than any other industry to a larger number of people or in a larger number of cases than other forms of business. Because people hear of an occasional instance of prosperity among machinists, mechanics or manufacturers, it is assumed that nearly all succeed, but this is not so. The 95 or 97 per cent of unsuccessful men are never referred to, while the small numbers who succeed are lauded to the skies. This is about the proportion in nearly every trade and profession of success or failure. A larger, better showing is made among men who follow agriculture. The intensity of competition among manufacturers requires them to hire cheap labor. The one hope of those so forced to the wall is to go on to farms or become so skilled in some line that their labor is indispensable. It is not necessary that one should go West to begin farming with the hope of success. Labor, frugality, skill, effort, are just as sure of reward in New England as in the newer States, and the same qualifications are much more likely to give success in farming than in any other profession or employment. There are just as many opportunities to do well now as were ever known. Nor do farmers spend more hours at their labors than men in other occupations. The drudgery of the farmer is no more severe than that experienced by the tradesman, merchant or professional man.

We note first that Rev. E. C. Baldwin's occupation is not calculated to make him a learned expositor as to the condition of agriculture in this country, unless he had previously been a jack at all trades and finally took to preaching as the choice of all. He says: "It is claimed that farming does not pay like other occupations"—that is to say, like some of the other occupations. Now, is Rev. E. C. Baldwin prepared to say that farming pays as well as refining sugar under the trust, banking under the usury trust, manufacturing agricultural instruments under a patent monopoly bought from some beggarly genius, lending money on farm mortgages, manufacturing under a 40 per cent protection, or selling goods at 50 per cent. If he is, let him show his figures. About 95 or 97 per cent of unsuccessful men have accrued from other trades and professions, says Mr. Baldwin.

The NATIONAL ECONOMIST has seen it proved

About Insurance.

BY W. H. SLANE, OF EOLA, LA.

I have read an article in your issue of Oct. 19th on insurance. I am glad this subject is being brought forward, and I hope it will be thoroughly discussed, and a good plan adopted soon. Insurance on life is all we poor farmers have to insure, and for this insurance I think each State ought to insure its own members. I do not think it will do to make it national. I will give my plan and take Louisiana for illustration. The Union of Louisiana has, I think and will say, 50,000 male members. Now let the union make it constitutional for these members to pay five cents each, as a special tax, on the death of a brother member in good standing. This will give the brother's family \$2,500, enough to take care of his family and educate his children. As the membership increases reduce the tax, so as not to pay over \$2,500 to the family. This plan of insurance would have a powerful effect in making members do their duty to the union cause. No member would like to lose his policy to his family. It will be the cheapest plan of insurance. It can be carried on without any additional expense. Our State secretary is paid a good salary to attend to the union business, and will need nothing more for what little he does in this matter. First let the subordinate union where the brother dies appoint three trustees of that union, and let the sub-secretary notify the State secretary that the brother, giving his name and his union, and names of trustees appointed by that union to receive all moneys for that brother's family; the State secretary to notify parish secretaries that the brother died; parish secretary to notify sub-unions to collect as dues five cents from each member and send it to the trustees of the union where the brother died. This is insurance at cost.

THE following report, kindly furnished us by the Department of Agriculture, will doubtless be of interest to many of our readers:

The official returns of November to the Department of Agriculture relate to yield per acre and quality. They make the rate of production of corn a full average, slightly above 26½ bushels per acre, and the quality medium, relatively low on the Atlantic coast, from New York southward, and high west of the Mississippi. The returns of potatoes make the average yield 76 bushels per acre. The general average for tobacco of all kinds is 645 pounds per acre.

The best corn is in the Missouri Valley, as well as the highest yields. The saturating rains of the coast region, with insufficient sunshine, have left the corn soft and chaffy. The crop in high lands, especially if well cultivated, is of better quality. The reduction of quality, over large districts, will induce rapid consumption and limit stocks reserved for spring use. In the region of commercial corn the quality is generally good.

The Irish potato crop is poor, in yield and quality, in the Eastern and Middle States. The Western States report better results. The Rocky Mountain yields are less than was expected, and the quality scarcely medium in a large portion of the breadth. The New York crop is estimated at only 56 bushels per acre. The Michigan average is 78 bushels per acre.

THE condition of every nation is gauged as regards advancement and social privileges not by the cheapness of its products, but by their higher commercial values.

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Railroad Consolidation.

The reported combine between the Gould and Huntington systems of railways and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe system, including some other lines between Kansas City and Chicago, making a total length of all lines operated by the new combination 27,096 miles, is commented upon extensively by the press, and in many cases severely criticised. Yet the intelligent and close observer of the economic conditions of the country will neither be greatly surprised nor alarmed at this move on the part of these great monopolies. There are only two sides to the railroad question as it is now before the American people. They must either be regarded according to Mr. Hudson's teachings, as published in THE ECONOMIST, in which case they will cease to be monopolies and subject to the full action of competition, or they must be recognized as monopolies, which they unquestionably are under present customs and usages, and be thoroughly controlled.

The inevitable tendency of monopolies is to combine, and there seems to be some very strong reasons for concluding that it is better for them and better for the country that they do combine; better for them, because they can improve the service and lessen their expense; better for the public, because they can be easier controlled under one management than when the conflicting interests of many managements have to be considered in applying control. This view is based entirely on the roads being recognized as monopolies. If they are, then competition between railroads is an anomaly and cannot exist. For example, say two cities one hundred miles apart are connected by a railroad that cost \$40,000 per mile, or \$4,000,000. To get the benefit of competition these cities induce capitalists to build another road. The result is that instead of the traffic between the two cities having to pay the operating expenses of one road and interest and dividends on \$4,000,000, they have the operating expenses of two roads to pay, and the interest and dividends on \$8,000,000. Now suppose a commission carefully adjusts the relations between the two roads so as to exactly divide the traffic,

and fixes so low a rate that they exactly pay expenses, and that their freight rate on a ton of coal is then \$1 per ton, is it not fair to presume that if one of the roads has the whole traffic it could reduce the rate 25 per cent and make a profit? Hence the tendency to consolidate, even if necessary to abandon one road. Some economists reason that it would be better for the roads, better for the people, and cheaper in the long run for the Government to prohibit the building of competing lines, and reduce the maximum freight rate by law to a less amount on one road than would be the cost for the same traffic carried by two roads. The only real danger in the consolidation of railroads until all in this country shall be under one management, is in the power such a concentrated aggregation of wealth would have in securing legislation favorable to its interests, that might be in conflict with the true interests of the general public. This danger may be met by the people electing men to office whom they know to be incorruptible. Politicians will laugh at such an expression, but farmers know there are many such men in the land. What the country most needs and should firmly demand, is such action as will certainly stop discrimination, as this evil is one of the most potent causes for the building of cities at the expense of the country, which, if persisted in, must in time bring disaster.

There is great danger in these combinations if they are to be allowed full sway to not only conduct the railroad business of the country, but use the power they possess to influence legislation and the proper execution of the laws. The true remedy depends upon the decision of the question as to whether the railroads are monopolies or not, because the Government has no right to enter the field of private business and private enterprise, (that should be left to the regulating influence of competition), but any line of business that is a monopoly is in a more or less degree a public business, because it is the concern of all, and no government has a right to farm out a monopoly to a class without limitation or control, because by so doing the right to oppress all other classes at will would be conveyed. It is certainly a plain duty incumbent upon the general Government, if it authorizes a certain class of its citizens to conduct a business that is a monopoly, to reserve such control as will enable it to protect all other classes of its citizens from extortion or abuse by such monopoly. If, then, they are to be regarded as monopolies and efficient Government control applied, these combinations are not to be feared, because the control can be as easily applied to one management as to many. If then they are to be regarded as public highways in fact and thrown open to the full play of competition, combination need not be dreaded; because their success will depend purely on their merits. But if they are allowed to proceed with their business conducted as a complete monopoly, as they now are, and no

efficient Government control applied, then they certainly are evils of the greatest danger, and should be regarded with deep concern by all patriotic citizens.

THE Individualist, of Denver, Colorado, criticises the sentiment recently expressed by THE ECONOMIST in regard to socialism and anarchy in a fair and conservative manner, and propounds several questions for the purpose not of creating one of those long, dry discussions, but to secure a correct survey of the ground and see whether there is, according to the views entertained, any difference between true democracy and "rational individualism." There is no objection to a consideration of the subject. The only difficulty is the one always present in the discussion of these abstruse questions, the great difference in the conception of the exact scope and meaning of terms and phrases. Perhaps the definition and scope of every word or phrase, as understood by the Individualist, used in comparing true democracy with rational individualism might show that there was no issue between the two systems, while the same words and phrases defined according to the conception of some other thinker would array these two systems in antagonism. Of course a person who answers a direct question that is simply propounded and unattended with a definition of its author's conception of the exact scope and meaning in full and in detail, must be answered according to the conception the one answering has of the language used in the question. Under such conditions persons who believe alike may insist on and contend for entirely different answers to the same question.

The questions propounded to the editor of THE ECONOMIST by the Individualist are:

1. Does he or does he not unequivocally and unreservedly indorse Spencer's principles?

2. Can government rightfully assume to do anything other than to protect individuals in the enjoyment of their natural rights?

3. If it prevents and restrains any and all shades and grades of crime, what more should it do?

4. Has not a man the natural right to occupy and use unused portions of the surface of this planet and should not any statute that prevents the enjoyment of that right be abolished?

5. Is not democracy, "the happy medium," content with telling men to do as they please, so long as they infringe not the equal freedom of their fellow men?

6. If you answer the last question yes, wherein do the fundamental principles of individualism differ from those of democracy?

7. Wherein do democracy and individualism differ in deductions from the principle, and which is right, and why?

The first principle of Herbert Spencer referred to in the first question is:

Every person has a natural right to do whatsoever he wills, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal rights of any other person.

All of these questions depend upon the answer given to the first one, if that be a negative a discussion of the balance will be of no interest; but if that be an affirmative the others are then pertinent. The first question must from a careful consideration of the exact meaning of the words used be answered in the negative. There are many good reasons for this, but one or two in this place will be sufficient. First, it is in conflict with the

teaching of Jesus Christ, who must be admitted as the greatest expounder of the duties and responsibilities of man and the only teacher of ultimate truth the world has ever known. If the lowly Nazarene taught anything, he taught that man was not only responsible for his crime but for his talents, and that he had a duty to perform to his fellow-man and to posterity. According to the "principle" a man has a right to drink as much liquor as he pleases, so long as he in no way infringes on the equal right of any other man. Still it is known that a man who for years keeps his system saturated with stimulants always experiences such a disturbance of the nervous system that his offspring have weak stomachs, poor digestive powers, bad nutrition, dyspepsia, and a tendency to the nervous diseases and insanity. Can any one claim that a person has a right to afflict posterity in this manner? Still it is not in conflict with a fair construction of the "principle." Second, man as a rule is his own greatest enemy, and he oftener needs protection from himself than from others. Experience has demonstrated that a wise system of laws that compels him to discharge his duty to his fellow men and to posterity tends to augment his own prosperity and happiness.

No principle, system, or code of laws has ever yet been a near enough approach to ultimate truth, to be a true guide to the actions of men. Religion alone occupies that exalted position and will never have a rival.

THE decline in the price of cotton is no matter of surprise. It is a strong proof of the position contended for by this paper throughout the season. Latham, Alexander, & Co., of New York, are among the best

American authorities for statistics on the cotton crop, and in their recent cotton circular they admit that this year's crop is in the aggregate no larger than last year's crop. This opinion is also sustained by the reports from the Department of Agriculture. It is known and admitted that the world will require 7,400,000 bales of American cotton for spinning purposes this year; it is also known that the season commenced with practically none of the old crop on hand, and now when the very best authorities are compelled to admit that the gross American crop will not reach 7,000,000 bales, prices are still kept down.

The readers of THE ECONOMIST, many of them may not understand how this is possible. It all depends on the manipulation of the volume of money in circulation in the country. Those interested in squeezing the crop out of the hands of the farmer have reduced the volume of money in circulation in the country. This makes money more scarce and hard to get, which has a tendency to force the farmer to sell regardless of price, at the same time this reduction in volume increases the purchasing power of money, which means diminished prices for everything else; but this decline in prices of all commodities af-

flects cotton the most, because it is in the hands of farmers who are compelled to sell. All the markets for produce and commodities have recently been strained to the utmost to prevent a break, and this strain is caused from sympathy in the pressure being brought to bear by a reduction in the volume of money in circulation in order to reduce the price of cotton in the face of conditions that should insure a marked increase from present prices. Nothing could be a stronger demonstration of the power of money to oppress when an inflexible volume is manipulated by a class interested in speculation.

The farmers have not sold their cotton when they had no obligations maturing, as has been asserted. The farmers in the East have been told that those in the West were selling right along at the high prices that prevailed early in the season, and that they were being fooled into holding till prices fell. The same tale was reversed and told to farmers in the West, and to support both the receipts were compared to last year's crop.

This is unfair, because last year's crop was marketed at least two months later than this year's crop. A fair comparison is with the crop of 1887, which was no earlier than the present year, and shows, according to Latham, Alexander & Co.'s circular, dated October 12, 1889, the stock in U. S. ports is 156,036 less than in 1887. The stock in Liverpool is 84,000 less than in 1887, and the total visible supply of the world is 556,989 bales less than in 1887. But the figures that show the American movement are the receipts at American ports, between September 1 and October 12, this comparison shows that 203,578 more bales were received in 1887 than in 1889.

Farmers may rest assured that it is not brother farmers selling that has depressed prices, but the irresistible power of an increased purchasing power given to money by decreasing its volume. When this is understood they may falsify to one section about what another section is doing as much as they choose, but it will avail them nothing.

Organization of Caroline County (Md.) Alliance.

On Saturday, November 9th, notwithstanding the inclement weather, the delegates of the various Subordinate Alliances in Caroline County, Md., met in Denton, and were organized as a County Alliance by Deputy Organizer, H. G. Cowan. There are eight Alliances in the county, all organized within seven weeks, with a membership of seventy-five, and all were represented except one. The following officers and standing committees were elected: George F. Quidort, president; Purnell Johnson, vice-president; E. S. Heffron, secretary; T. H. Evergreen, treasurer; John Cowan, chaplain; J. F. Roop, lecturer; J. F. Gelletly, assistant lecturer; W. M. Price, doorkeeper; James Sharp, assistant doorkeeper; George Dew, sergeant-at-arms; C. W. Hobbs, Dr. T. Saulsbury, D. B. Hubbard, executive committee; W. B. Nuttle, W. C. Todd, W. A. Wilson, committee on the good of the order.

The above shows the interest taken by the farmers of Maryland in the Alliance movement. In the near future this State will be among the best organized and most prosperous in the order. This is true, because there is no State that needs some such organization more than Maryland.

RAILWAYS;

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

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

No. 29.

THE WASTE OF EFFORT.

No better example of the way in which sectional interests may affect the views of the public, and the same people may be led to take both sides of the same question, is needed than the example of some of the merchant and commercial bodies of the interior cities, with regard to the application of the long and short haul clause in their traffic. The vast majority of these cities make shipments subject to the discrimination as compared with the far western cities, and therefore supported the provision that they should not be charged rates in excess of cities farther away. But as compared with rural towns and local stations it was found that the ability to receive and send goods to and from New York at a less charge than to intermediate local stations enabled these cities to control the local trade. So that we have had numerous instances of merchants and business organizations claiming the protection of the enactment as against other cities involving a greater transportation, and at the same time opposing its operation where it enabled smaller places to get their goods direct from New York, and to make their shipments directly to the seaboard.

It is plain that there can be no satisfactory or rational settlement of a broad national issue upon lines which only take into consideration local and conflicting interests, and even permits the same person or the same organization to take opposite sides of the same question, as their interests may throw them first upon one side and then upon another. This matter can never be intelligently discussed until the selfish and sectional aspects of it are cast entirely to one side. We must inquire after the state of transportation which is best for the agricultural interests as a whole; we must seek to perceive or to establish the influences which will cause the most even development of national industry and prosperity for the benefit of the whole nation, and not for any special section; we must even inquire what will subserve the true and legitimate prosperity of the railroad interests. Up to this time the public discussion has been made, a competitive trial as to which system can give the most forcible expression to its wish for advantages at the expense of other systems. Therefore, after three or four years of debate upon the subject, we are hardly nearer a rational settlement of the dispute than we were before. If THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST can perform its function and justify its title, by bringing the people solidly to the support of the settlement of the ques-

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Railroad Consolidation.

The reported combine between the Gould and Huntington systems of railways and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe system, including some other lines between Kansas City and Chicago, making a total length of all lines operated by the new combination 27,096 miles, is commented upon extensively by the press, and in many cases severely criticised. Yet the intelligent and close observer of the economic conditions of the country will neither be greatly surprised nor alarmed at this move on the part of these great monopolies. There are only two sides to the railroad question as it is now before the American people. They must either be regarded according to Mr. Hudson's teachings, as published in THE ECONOMIST, in which case they will cease to be monopolies and subject to the full action of competition, or they must be recognized as monopolies, which they unquestionably are under present customs and usages, and be thoroughly controlled. The inevitable tendency of monopolies is to combine, and there seems to be some very strong reasons for concluding that it is better for them and better for the country that they do combine; better for them, because they can improve the service and lessen their expense; better for the public, because they can be easier controlled under one management than when the conflicting interests of many managements have to be considered in applying control. This view is based entirely on the roads being recognized as monopolies. If they are, then competition between railroads is an anomaly and cannot exist. For example, say two cities one hundred miles apart are connected by a railroad that cost \$40,000 per mile, or \$4,000,000. To get the benefit of competition these cities induce capitalists to build another road. The result is that instead of the traffic between the two cities having to pay the operating expenses of one road and interest and dividends on \$4,000,000, they have the operating expenses of two roads to pay, and the interest and dividends on \$8,000,000. Now suppose a commission carefully adjusts the relations between the two roads so as to exactly divide the traffic,

and fixes so low a rate that they exactly pay expenses, and that their freight rate on a ton of coal is then \$1 per ton, is it not fair to presume that if one of the roads has the whole traffic it could reduce the rate 25 per cent and make a profit? Hence the tendency to consolidate, even if necessary to abandon one road. Some economists reason that it would be better for the roads, better for the people, and cheaper in the long run for the Government to prohibit the building of competing lines, and reduce the maximum freight rate by law to a less amount on one road than would be the cost for the same traffic carried by two roads. The only real danger in the consolidation of railroads until all in this country shall be under one management, is in the power such a concentrated aggregation of wealth would have in securing legislation favorable to its interests, that might be in conflict with the true interests of the general public. This danger may be met by the people electing men to office whom they know to be incorruptible. Politicians will laugh at such an expression, but farmers know there are many such men in the land. What the country most needs and should firmly demand, is such action as will certainly stop discrimination, as this evil is one of the most potent causes for the building of cities at the expense of the country, which, if persisted in, must in time bring disaster.

There is great danger in these combinations if they are to be allowed full sway to not only conduct the railroad business of the country, but use the power they possess to influence legislation and the proper execution of the laws. The true remedy depends upon the decision of the question as to whether the railroads are monopolies or not, because the Government has no right to enter the field of private business and private enterprise, (that should be left to the regulating influence of competition), but any line of business that is a monopoly is in a more or less degree a public business, because it is the concern of all, and no government has a right to farm out a monopoly to a class without limitation or control, because by so doing the right to oppress all other classes at will would be conveyed. It is certainly a plain duty incumbent upon the general Government, if it authorizes a certain class of its citizens to conduct a business that is a monopoly, to reserve such control as will enable it to protect all other classes of its citizens from extortion or abuse by such monopoly. If, then, they are to be regarded as monopolies and efficient Government control applied, these combinations are not to be feared, because the control can be easily applied to one management as to many. If then they are to be regarded as public highways in fact and thrown open to the full play of competition, combination need not be dreaded, because their success will depend purely on their merits. But if they are allowed to proceed with their business conducted as a complete monopoly, as they now are, and no

efficient Government control applied, then they certainly are evils of the greatest danger, and should be regarded with deep concern by all patriotic citizens.

THE Individualist, of Denver, Colorado, criticises the sentiment recently expressed by THE ECONOMIST in regard to socialism and anarchy in a fair and conservative manner, and propounds several questions for the purpose not of creating one of those long, dry discussions, but to secure a correct survey of the ground and see whether there is, according to the views entertained, any difference between true democracy and "rational individualism." There is no objection to a consideration of the subject. The only difficulty is the one always present in the discussion of these abstruse questions, the great difference in the conception of the exact scope and meaning of terms and phrases. Perhaps the definition and scope of every word or phrase, as understood by the Individualist, used in comparing true democracy with rational individualism might show that there was no issue between the two systems, while the same words and phrases defined according to the conception of some other thinker would array these two systems in antagonism. Of course a person who answers a direct question that is simply propounded and unattended with a definition of its author's conception of the exact scope and meaning in full and in detail, must be answered according to the conception the one answering has of the language used in the question. Under such conditions persons who believe alike may insist on and contend for entirely different answers to the same question.

The questions propounded to the editor of THE ECONOMIST by the Individualist are:

1. Does he or does he not unequivocally and unreservedly indorse Spencer's principles?
2. Can government rightfully assume to do anything other than to protect individuals in the enjoyment of their natural rights?
3. If it prevents and restrains any and all shades and grades of crime, what more should it do?
4. Has not a man the natural right to occupy and use unused portions of the surface of this planet, and should not any statute that prevents the enjoyment of that right be abolished?
5. Is not democracy, "the happy medium," content with telling men to do as they please, so long as they infringe not the equal freedom of their fellow men?
6. If you answer the last question yes, wherein do the fundamental principles of individualism differ from those of democracy?
7. Wherein do democracy and individualism differ in deductions from the principle, and which is right, and why?

The first principle of Herbert Spencer referred to in the first question is:

Every person has a natural right to do whatsoever he wills, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal rights of any other person.

All of these questions depend upon the answer given to the first one, if that be a negative a discussion of the balance will be of no interest; but if that be an affirmative the others are then pertinent. The first question must from a careful consideration of the exact meaning of the words used be answered in the negative. There are many good reasons for this, but one or two in this place will be sufficient. First, it is in conflict with the

teaching of Jesus Christ, who must be admitted as the greatest expounder of the duties and responsibilities of man and the only teacher of ultimate truth the world has ever known. If the lowly Nazarene taught anything, he taught that man was not only responsible for his crime but for his talents, and that he had a duty to perform to his fellow-man and to posterity. According to the "principle" a man has a right to drink as much liquor as he pleases; so long as he in no way infringes on the equal right of any other man. Still it is known that a man who for years keeps his system saturated with stimulants always experiences such a disturbance of the nervous system that his offspring have weak stomachs, poor digestive powers, bad nutrition, dyspepsia, and a tendency to the nervous diseases and insanity. Can any one claim that a person has a right to afflict posterity in this manner? Still it is not in conflict with a fair construction of the "principle." Second, man as a rule is his own greatest enemy, and he oftener needs protection from himself than from others. Experience has demonstrated that a wise system of laws that compels him to discharge his duty to his fellow men and to posterity tends to augment his own prosperity and happiness.

No principle, system, or code of laws has ever yet been a near enough approach to ultimate truth, to be a true guide to the actions of men. Religion alone occupies that exalted position and will never have a rival.

THE decline in the price of cotton is no matter of surprise. It is a strong proof of the position contended for by this paper throughout the season. Latham, Alexander, & Co., of New York, are among the best American authorities for statistics on the cotton crop, and in their recent cotton circular they admit that this year's crop is in the aggregate no larger than last year's crop. This opinion is also sustained by the reports from the Department of Agriculture. It is known and admitted that the world will require 7,400,000 bales of American cotton for spinning purposes this year, it is also known that the season commenced with practically none of the old crop on hand, and now when the very best authorities are compelled to admit that the gross American crop will not reach 7,000,000 bales, prices are still kept down.

The readers of THE ECONOMIST, many of them may not understand how this is possible. It all depends on the manipulation of the volume of money in circulation in the country. Those interested in squeezing the crop out of the hands of the farmer have reduced the volume of money in circulation in the country. This makes money more scarce and hard to get, which has a tendency to force the farmer to sell regardless of price, at the same time this reduction in volume increases the purchasing power of money, which means diminished prices for everything else; but this decline in prices of all commodities af-

fects cotton the most, because it is in the hands of farmers who are compelled to sell. All the markets for produce and commodities have recently been strained to the utmost to prevent a break, and this strain is caused from sympathy in the pressure being brought to bear by a reduction in the volume of money in circulation in order to reduce the price of cotton in the face of conditions that should insure a marked increase from present prices. Nothing could be a stronger demonstration of the power of money to oppress when an inflexible volume is manipulated by a class interested in speculation.

The farmers have not sold their cotton when they had no obligations maturing, as has been asserted. The farmers in the East have been told that those in the West were selling right along at the high prices that prevailed early in the season, and that they were being fooled into holding till prices fell. Can any one claim that a person has a right to afflict posterity in this manner? Still it is not in conflict with a fair construction of the "principle."

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This is unfair, because last year's crop was marketed at least two months later than this year's crop. A fair comparison is with the crop of 1887, which was no earlier than the present year, and shows, according to Latham, Alexander & Co.'s circular, dated October 12, 1889, the stock in U. S. ports is 156,036 less than in 1887. The stock in Liverpool is 84,000 less than in 1887, and the total visible supply of the world is 556,989 bales less than in 1887. But the figures that show the American movement are the receipts at American ports, between September 1 and October 12, this comparison shows that 203,578 more bales were received in 1887 than in 1889.

Farmers may rest assured that it is not brother farmers selling that has depressed prices, but the irresistible power of an increased purchasing power given to money by decreasing its volume. When this is understood they may falsify to one section about what another section is doing as much as they choose, but it will avail them nothing.

Organization of Caroline County (Md.) Alliance.

On Saturday, November 9th, notwithstanding the inclement weather, the delegates of the various Subordinate Alliances in Caroline County, Md., met in Denton, and were organized as a County Alliance by Deputy Organizer, H. G. Cowan. There are eight Alliances in the county, all organized within seven weeks, with a membership of seventy-five, and all were represented except one. The following officers and standing committees were elected: George F. Quidort, president; Purnell Johnson, vice-president; E. S. Heffron, secretary; T. H. Everngan, treasurer; John Cowan, chaplain; J. F. Roop, lecturer; J. F. Gelletly, assistant lecturer; W. M. Price, doorkeeper; James Sharp, assistant doorkeeper; George Dew, sergeant-at-arms; C. W. Hobbs, Dr. T. Saulsbury, D. B. Hubbard, executive committee; W. B. Nuttle, W. C. Todd, W. A. Wilson, committee on the good of the order.

The above shows the interest taken by the farmers of Maryland in the Alliance movement. In the near future this State will be among the best organized and most prosperous in the order. This is true, because there is no State that needs some such organization more than Maryland.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 29.

THE WASTE OF EFFORT.

No better example of the way in which sectional interests may affect the views of the public, and the same people may be led to take both sides of the same question, is needed than the example of some of the merchant and commercial bodies of the interior cities, with regard to the application of the long and short haul clause in their traffic. The vast majority of these cities make shipments subject to the discrimination as compared with the far western cities, and therefore supported the provision that they should not be charged rates in excess of cities farther away. But as compared with rural towns and local stations it was found that the ability to receive and send goods to and from New York at a less charge than to intermediate local stations enabled these cities to control the local trade. So that we have had numerous instances of merchants and business organizations claiming the protection of the enactment as against other cities involving a greater transportation, and at the same time opposing its operation where it enabled smaller places to get their goods direct from New York, and to make their shipments directly to the seaboard.

It is plain that there can be no satisfactory or rational settlement of a broad national issue upon lines which only take into consideration local and conflicting interests, and even permits the same person or the same organization to take opposite sides of the same question, as their interests may throw them first upon one side and then upon another. This matter can never be intelligently discussed until the selfish and sectional aspects of it are cast entirely to one side. We must inquire after the state of transportation which is best for the agricultural interests as a whole; we must seek to perceive or to establish the influences which will cause the most even development of national industry and prosperity for the benefit of the whole nation, and not for any special section; we must even inquire what will subserve the true and legitimate prosperity of the railroad interests. Up to this time the public discussion has been made a competitive trial as to which system can give the most forcible expression to its wish for advantages at the expense of other systems. Therefore, after three or four years of debate upon the subject, we are hardly nearer a rational settlement of the dispute than we were before. If THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST can perform its function and justify its title by bringing the people solidly to the support of the settlement of the ques-

tion upon grounds which seek only the interests of the entire country, it will achieve a great and statesmanlike work.

Laying aside the interests of section and leaving out of the question, for the present at least, the conditions of the railroad system which impel railroad officials to discriminations in favor of one locality and against another, what are the conditions which justice to the entire people and the interests of the nation as a whole should cause to be established, in reference to the adjustment of transportation rates to and from the different portions of the country?

I state it as a fundamental axiom, that the country will be most benefited by permitting the transportation which entails the least cost in its performance to be made at the lowest rates. If there are any conditions by which the transportation for a long distance can be made at a less actual cost in the service than that for a short distance, it is for the welfare of the public and the nation that the lowest charge shall be made. Thus, it can easily be imagined to be the case that grain can be transported from the Northwest by way of the lake and canal route at a less actual cost to the transporter than the same staple can be carried by rail from the districts of Illinois and Indiana, which have no other transportation. But whenever a departure is made from the basis of cost of the service (which, of course, includes a fair return upon the actual investment of bona fide capital) to that degree the normal distribution of industries and the performance of commercial services upon the most economical plan is disturbed and prevented. In other words, the proper basis for determining the justice of rates, considered merely in the abstract, is the legitimate and honest cost of performing the service.

To perform the service of transportation for one community at a less charge than is imposed upon another community for the same cost and labor in the performance, is an injustice upon the same basis that a similar discrimination between individuals entails.

The first respect in which such a practice works to the disadvantage of the public as a whole is by destroying the influences which secure the location of industries and the development of production in the localities best suited to economical production and distribution. A prominent factor in the value of any section or city for agricultural or industrial production is the amount of labor which will be required to reach the market for its product. Suppose that two sections present an equal economy in producing a given staple before it is shipped from either, but that the shipment of the staple from one of them involving a transportation which will cost five dollars per ton, while that of the other, on the basis of expense, will cost ten dollars per ton. If the agencies of transportation make the charges from both districts equal, the result inevitably is that the economy of production and distribution included. Pittsburgh is undoubt-

edly better suited to the economical production of iron staples than any point on the prairies of Dakota; but the points on the prairies of Dakota are able to reach the buyers of iron in that State at a less cost of transportation than Pittsburgh is. If we imagine a condition of transportation in which the charges are kept in close relation to the legitimate cost of the service, it is evident that Pittsburgh will produce such articles in the iron industry as can be delivered to the consumer at the least cost; and if there are any articles which iron factories can sell to the farmers of Dakota at a less cost than Pittsburgh can, with the transportation added, the industry will be located at the Western point. Such a result is for the benefit of producers and consumers alike; as well as for the prosperity of the nation. But when such a normal arrangement is interfered with by the charging of twice as great rates for the same cost of service, either in one case or in the other, the ability to locate the industry at the point which is best suited for it is interfered with; the extra cost thus imposed is distributed between producers and consumers, and the railroad is either forced to do a greater service for less money, or by charging a greater rate for the less service loses the chance of enhanced business, which always flows out of the normal and legitimate adjustment of rates.

The same consideration applies with even greater force to the transportation of agricultural products. It is evident that if the cattle, grain, or pork of the far West can be transported by the railroads to the seaboard at a given cost the same staple can be transported from the intermediate agricultural districts at a less cost of service. It does not matter what the exact proportion may be, nor is it necessary to take into account all the varying elements of cost of service. It is enough to rely upon the mathematical statement that the whole is greater than one of its parts. For illustration, let us suppose the cost of transporting the agricultural product from Nebraska to Dakota to be \$6 per ton and the cost of transporting the same staple from the farms of Ohio or Illinois, one-third the distance, to be one-half the larger cost.

It is evident that to whatever degree that proportion is departed from, to that degree an abnormal influence is brought to bear in favor of the production of the staple in the district which is thus favored beyond its normal and legitimate share of production. It is enough to rely upon the mathematical statement that the whole is greater than one of its parts. For illustration, let us suppose the cost of transporting the agricultural product from Nebraska to Dakota to be \$6 per ton and the cost of transporting the same staple from the farms of Ohio or Illinois, one-third the distance, to be one-half the larger cost.

It is evident that to whatever degree that proportion is departed from, to that degree an abnormal influence is brought to bear in favor of the production of the staple in the district which is thus favored beyond its normal and legitimate share of production. Reverse the usual adjustment and suppose that the Western product is charged three times as much for transportation as the Eastern, while the proportion of cost is twice as much. In such a case a 50 per cent stimulus is added to the production of the staple at the Eastern point; and the opportunity of the West to produce its staples and to send them to the markets at the natural cost of transportation is denied. The same abnormal interference with the natural distribution of products takes place if the Western product is carried as cheaply or more cheaply in proportion to cost

than the Eastern. If the Ohio farmers are charged actually more for the transportation of their products to New York than the Dakota farmers are, it is a virtual edict that the grain or pork must not be raised in Ohio but must be raised in Dakota. If they are charged the same as the Dakota farmers the principle is the same, although the degree of its application may be less; and so on down until the natural proportion is reached, which permits each district to raise such products as it can produce and send to market most cheaply.

While it is natural that such abnormal interferences with the natural distribution of industry may be regarded with complacency by those who are favored by them, they can not be viewed as innocuous, in a national or social aspect.

The farmer of the West may be very well satisfied to have a premium offered on his products just as the farmer of the East is proportionately dissatisfied; but for the interests of the farming industry all over the Nation, it is evident that the highest condition of agricultural prosperity will be observed if the agricultural industries enjoy a condition of transportation which enables the staples to be taken to the market, at the least cost of service. To enact that, they must be carried one thousand miles when a normal condition of transportation would enable them to be raised at a point involving only two hundred miles of transportation, is to the disadvantage of the agricultural industry as a whole.

The sum total of the national agricultural industry must bear its share of the unnecessary transportation, just as surely as the man who gets hold of a lever at the wrong end must put forth an unnecessary effort to sustain the weight which is thus given an advantage over him. The same phenomenon has been repeated in the case of Pittsburgh freight at a comparatively recent date. The adjustment of transcontinental rates established a lower rate from the seaboard cities to the Pacific coast, than could be obtained from Pittsburgh; and the anomaly has been presented of goods destined for San Francisco being first shipped from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia or New York, and then shipped right back through their original point of departure, on their way to San Francisco.

These are extreme examples of the waste of effort which is imposed by the local discriminations ignoring the just relation of rates to the relative cost of service between localities. But the same waste pervades the entire body of all discriminations. To the extent in which these discriminations force the production of the millions of bushels of grain in the far West, and prevent the production of such staples in the agricultural sections closer to market, to that extent the waste is imposed.

The weighty fact hangs over the entire subject that no adjustment of rates, and no method of concealing its effects, will enable the Nation to escape the penalties of that wasted effort. It may be impossible to determine just exactly where the loss falls; it may be a subject of endless dispute, whether the cost of performing the unnecessary labor of transporting staples seven hundred or a thousand miles more than is required by the normal and short haul clause of the interstate commerce law. But it is well to see what might be secured if some of the abnormal influences of the present day were permitted to interfere with the legitimate distribution of production, and in doing so we may be able to estimate the magnitude of the loss imposed upon the nation by the wasted effort which is a necessary result of these abnormal influences.

The greatest evil of local discrimination in their broad and national aspect may be summed up in a couple of words: "Wasted effort;" and the manner in which this waste may appear has received some remarkable illustrations. Several years ago the establishment of iron rates as between the mills of Pittsburgh and the works of the East, were such that the Eastern mills could ship their product past Pittsburgh to the Western market at an actually less charge than the Pittsburgh mills. At the same time, the adjustment of rates from Pittsburgh to the East was such, that Pittsburgh, through a superior

However the subject may be confused and however complicated its enormous variety of

detail the fact remains that for every mile of unnecessary transportation imposed by an abnormal disregard of the natural cost of distribution some one must pay. The futility of the hope that such interferences with the natural elements of commerce can go unreengaged is shown by a glance at the congested condition of our cities, the desertion of farms for cities, the troubles of the railroads in obtaining profit for the service of transportation, and the unprosperous condition of the farming industries in the more remote parts of the country. If there be no other causes which could be assigned for these unsatisfactory aspects of the national interests peculiar to each class an adequate explanation might be found in this one great error. The transportation of hundreds of millions of tons of agricultural products a thousand miles where five hundred might supply the population states a sufficient cause for lack of prosperity and languishing agriculture. Such a waste can not be made innocuous any more than the burning down of a building erected at great labor can be considered as in any other light than as a loss, whether the loss falls upon the owner or upon the insurance company which pays for it. So long as this condition of unnecessary labor continues, so long as the nation keeps on burdening itself by lifting a thousand pounds where five hundred would represent all the effort that is necessary, so long it will be impossible to secure the full and normal development of our industries and agriculture, by locating the production of each in the section where they can be most economically produced and from which they can be distributed at the least expenditure of labor.

There is no question of representing the ideal distribution of industries and products set forth in this article as one that it is easy to attain or that can be hoped for within the life time of any of the readers of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST. On the other hand, it is well to have it clearly understood that under the conditions which now prevail in railway management and in the operation of the highways of commerce it would be impossible to make even an approach to that ideal. While the present condition of railway operation remain as they are discriminations of some degree between localities will be inevitable. The only approach toward modifying them has been the restraint placed upon their most extreme form by the long-and-short haul clause of the interstate commerce law. But it is well to see what might be secured if some of the abnormal influences of the present day were permitted to interfere with the legitimate distribution of production, and in doing so we may be able to estimate the magnitude of the loss imposed upon the nation by the wasted effort which is a necessary result of these abnormal influences.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.
HEREDITY.

It is not unusual for naturalists, even great naturalists, to confound atavism with reversion. Atavism implies the sudden reappearance of the personal or individual likeness of a remote ancestor in the midst of a group of animals in which the type has been fixed for many generations on a model very different from that likeness. The subject of this atavism is a single individual which generally fails to transmit its newly acquired type. Reversion is a different phenomenon. When fertile hybrids are capable of being produced and are mated inter se we observe first exaggerated variation among the offspring and then a more or less sudden and eventually complete return of the type of one or other parent, not of a single individual, but of the entire group. This is reversion, and is a phenomenon always observed. No case is on record which does not present this history. Even in the few cases where hybrids possess a limited fertility inter se, first exaggerated variation followed by complete reversion of all the offspring to the type of one or other parent is what has never yet failed to be obtained. It is evident that atavism is a phenomenon, not only not the same as, but in no way related to, reversion. To confound the two as mere forms of variation is a conspicuous fault of Darwinism. It is now admitted that the celebrated Separdes, bred between the rabbit and the hare and at one time believed to be an established new race resulting from the crossing of the species, have completely reverted to the type of rabbit. The confounding of species by hybridization is made impossible in three ways, viz., (1) by the inability of one species to mate with the other successfully; (2) by the absolute sterility of the hybrid of the first cross inter se; (3) by inevitable reversion of the fertile hybrid to one or other parent species. Not a solitary case can be named in which a permanent hybrid race has been naturally or artificially produced.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The first report of an American Secretary of Agriculture by Secretary Rusk is meeting with the sort of criticism from the political press which might have been expected. A great part of it is flippant and foolish, and based on no understanding of the nature or value of scientific work and no capacity to understand it; and the large part of it is directed from the standpoint of partisan politics, and is of the character above which that sort of criticism is not able to rise; whether it be friendly or unfriendly, it is of no importance or value. A large part of the political press of the country was actually hostile to the reorganization of the department under a cabinet minister. American agriculture is not in any wise indebted to the political press for this recognition. Its influence was ignored in the matter, and now epitomized criticism, designed to belittle the dignity of the new secretaryship, is the order of the day. It remains for the farmers of the nation to defend the dignity and the rights of the department from unfair methods which are intended to minimize its usefulness and hamper its work. It is not necessary for the agriculturists to abandon their party faith in order to follow a Secretary of Agriculture in his political suggestions and opinions. The work of organiza-

tion of the department is what now needs attention, and not its political influence. The organization of a great national experiment station at Washington is the important work necessary to complete the outline of the scientific organization with a fully equipped division of experimental culture, which should be organized and equipped on a completely non-partisan basis, so that its work may not be hindered and crippled by the changing fortunes of political parties and the outgoings and incomings of administrations. This organization should be non-sectional and non-partisan, and of such material throughout as to command the confidence of the country. If it is on another plan it will be to do over again, that is all.

PRECAUTION AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS.

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tion of the department is what now needs attention, and not its political influence. The organization of a great national experiment station at Washington is the important work necessary to complete the outline of the scientific organization with a fully equipped division of experimental culture, which should be organized and equipped on a completely non-partisan basis, so that its work may not be hindered and crippled by the changing fortunes of political parties and the outgoings and incomings of administrations. This organization should be non-sectional and non-partisan, and of such material throughout as to command the confidence of the country. If it is on another plan it will be to do over again, that is all.

EXEMPTIONS FROM TAXATION.

Among the many pretexts upon which government has exceeded its just powers and rightful functions, to interfere in behalf of the business of one class of citizens at the expense of all other classes, none has been so prolific a parent of evil as wrongful exemption of the property of rich men and great corporations from taxation. The pretence is that the exemption is for public service and benefits. In every such case it is the property of the rich claiming such exemption, and the deficit in the public revenue thus produced is made good by increased taxation of the poor. The whole trend of modern legislation has been in favor of the rich and against the poor. All the financial legislation of the United States for thirty years past has been for the rich and against the poor. It was devised with the intention of increasing the value of the holdings of the rich at the expense of the holdings of the poor. That low degree of vitality in pulmonary tissue which offers least resistance to the colonization of the lung by the microbes of tuberculosis. It is, in view of these facts, easily understood that under one set of conditions the microbes may be inhaled and thrown out harmless time and time again. Under another set of circumstances the first inhalation of them will be followed by colonization, and the subsequent development of fatal consumption. All these things being understood, as they ought now to be understood by all intelligent persons, it must be known that avoidance of the microbe is avoidance of the disease. The reception of the microbe may at any time or under any circumstances be followed by colonization and disease, but the risk is, under unfavorable conditions, converted into a certainty. Now, then, why does any sane man allow any person to give any one of his children a guinea pig? Nearly all guinea pigs being tuberculous, or so liable to become so as to render them scarcely less dangerous to have around them rattle snakes. Why does any sane man not seeking to inoculate his children with consumption allow a tuberculous old cat to cough and wheeze out its wretched existence in their beds, and on their little laps, and on the cushions before the fire around which they play? It is a practical question whether there be a limit to human folly? Oh! guinea pigs have been petted by children these thousand years and wretched old cats have wheezed out their existence unmolested before the fires of our ancestors and among their children. Yes, verily, they have, and one-fourth of those persons have died of consumption. About one-fourth of all adults who die perish of this disease. How many of them received their colonies of tubercle microbes from guinea pigs and pet cats? Who is able to say? That some of them did is amply certain.

who owns in one block fifty millions tax-exempt Government four per cents. As there are many millions of this latter class, viz., the needy poor, the revenue lost by exemption of the property of the millionaire is made good by them out of their necessities. This thing amounts to a practical exemption of the vast bulk of the property of millionaires from all taxation, which constitutes the bulk of revenue; that is to say, the tax laid upon the necessities of life, which is rather in the nature of a poll-tax, and which is coming mainly out of the necessities of the poor, who man the great productive industries. But when a few rich men, under government protection, combine and conspire to control output and limit production of life's necessities, while they screw dividends up and screw wages down, until their extortionate greed is glutted; then the worst effects of the abuse of the power of taxation by the Government are experienced by the people.

It is a fundamental principle of republican government; it is a fundamental principle of our own organic law; it has ever been the boast of the American people that all taxation under our system must be and is uniform. Is that taxation uniform which exempts the property of the rich and charges the deficit against the property of the poor? What constitutes uniform taxation? When the taxable basis includes every species of property at a fair valuation, and exempts no property under any pretext or pretence, then and then only can taxation be uniform. No indirect tax paid by the consumer can possibly be uniform. Every departure from this principle is false legislation, maladministration, or misgovernment. Every tax exemption or omission is a departure from the fundamental principles of good government and of the most undoubted natural justice. It is an offence on the part of the state against the people; an invasion of their rights by the state; a flagrant violation by it of a great fundamental principle of its own constitution; an usurpation and a flagrant abuse of a power reserved to the people themselves in express terms. Why do the people tolerate this? The most wicked and flagrant usurpations and tyrannies of the worst governments of which history gives account have originated in the abuse of the taxing power, and have ended in high-handed outrage, enforced by slaughter and confiscation, of which we read aghast with horror after the lapse of centuries. It is the power to tax concerning which the people should hold government to the strictest accountability. Strange to tell it is, of all things the thing concerning which they know least, and of which they take least account. Small wonder that corporations, all whose valuable franchises have been granted by the state in consideration of public service and public benefits promised by the corporations, and having in view of those promises received the further benefits of exemption from taxation, now claim that the state has made a perpetual contract with them, which, notwithstanding habitual violations of it by the corporation, they hold to be for ever binding as against the people; and they defy the state and laugh the people to scorn. Small wonder if some day the people shall break loose upon these greedy monsters in the semblance of a cloud-burst and sweep them utterly away. A state is a sovereign, and can not be a party to a contract, for a contract is an agreement made in pursuance of law and enforceable at law. A state can not be sued. The agreement of a sovereign, like a gambler's pledge, is an obligation of honor, enforceable only by a war power and not at law. It is not a contract. This is the

whole strength of the Virginia coupon cases. The creditor, relying on the Dartmouth College decision, gets judgment, and the State pays no money on it. Those corporations which rely on their wrongful exemptions from taxation will find that a sovereign cannot bind his successor to its false abandonment of any prerogative of sovereignty. A sovereign, be it understood, is merely the agent with which the administration of the supreme power of a people is lodged for the time being, and it can neither increase or diminish the powers lodged with it. The sovereignty is in the people, and they can not be divested, nor divest themselves, of it while they remain a nation, nor of any portion of it. Least of all can the state divest the people of it in favor of a corporation or trust. In this matter of exemption from taxation can a legislature bind its successor? No; the state, the agent of the people, with whom the administration of their sovereignty is lodged, is bound to hold the corporation it creates perpetually subject to the jurisdiction of the state. The laws, if any, or decisions of the courts, if any, in conflict with the sovereignty of the people can never be binding upon the people.

No definite information exists as to the amount of taxable property falsely exempted from just and equitable taxation in any of the several States, but it is doubtless many times greater than generally supposed. It can only be inferred to what extent these false and fraudulent exemption of the property of the rich have been obtained of the Government. The Government, on its part, recoups its lost revenues by laying upon the poor, cruel and unbearable burdens. Thus, through abuse of its power of taxation, the Government actively promotes the schemes of the rich to enormously increase their gains at the cost of the poor. Small wonder then that while the poor in this country are extremely poor, the rich are extremely rich. If it be made a legislative alternative to double the debts of the poor, or reduce by half the tax exempted hoards of the rich, let every citizen decide upon his vote. If uniform taxation can not be realized, at least take the heaviest end of the burden off the shoulders of the poor. But taxation can be made uniform, which is just and right, by including in the taxable basis all property of every description at a fair valuation; which, with proper and wise economy in public expense, will reduce the rate of taxation far below the present rate. Let the people command it to be done.

HYDROGEN.

In former papers we have invited attention to a popular view of the natural history and chemistry of the elements oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon, pointing out some of their great natural functions; showing that each is the only element known in nature capable of its functions, and that each exists in precisely the quality essential to the existence and the maintenance of the present order of things in nature. If hydrogen had no other claim to a very prominent place among the greater elements than that it in union with oxygen forms water that would be sufficient. Hydrogen is the lightest substance known, and hence forms the basis of comparison for the atomic weights of the elements; they being expressed in terms of the hydrogen unit are all heavier, and hence, expressed in positive quantities, to the avoidance of negative quantities, and to a great extent, of fractions in the mathematics of chemical research. Hydrogen has a very wide range of combining powers, and is hence scarcely found free in nature on any important scale,

Much the greater part of nature's supply of this element is used up in the formation of water. A moments consideration of a waterless world in imagination will show that a universe minus hydrogen would be an impossible conception. In all protoplasmic or living substance, hydrogen is a structural element, and thus becomes a constituent part of the concrete which is the physical basis of life. In this function nothing can supplant it. Water as a constituent of every living organism is essential to its life, and nothing completely deprived of water by dessication can continue to live. Therefore, both hydrogen and its great oxide are essential to life. Not only is hydrogen thus structurally important, but as a promoter of and participant in chemical activities it is second to no other element. When forced into chemical combination with oxygen by combustion water is formed, and a degree of heat otherwise unattainable is produced. Hydrogen, when thus oxidized, burns with a small pale flame, in no way suggestive of the enormous heat produced. Mixtures of oxygen and hydrogen when ignited combine with explosive violence, forming water and producing instantaneous and intense heat, hence, such mixtures are highly dangerous. One very important function of hydrogen is the formation of ammonia by combining with nitrogen, H_3N being the formula of ammonia. A curious fact is the strongly alkaline properties of this gas. The importance of ammonia as one source of the supply of combined nitrogen for the support of organic life is very apparent. The distinctive chemical characteristic of hydrogen seems to be the facility with which it suffers replacement in a great number of important compounds by other elements. An acid has been defined. A substance containing hydrogen capable of being replaced by a metal. As an example, sulphuric acid contains hydrogen replaceable by zinc, in the formation of zinc sulphate, as the formula will make plain: Sulphuric acid, H_2SO_4 ; $Zn = H_2S$; $ZnSO_4$, viz.; when zinc is added to sulphuric acid, the hydrogen of the acid is displaced by the zinc and escapes as free hydrogen gas, while the zinc combines with the sulphuric anhydride forming zinc sulphate. This is the usual method of preparing hydrogen in the laboratory, and fully illustrates the characteristic of this element under discussion. With the exception of the haloids this is the manner in which all chemical salts are formed. In an immense field of activities therefore this element is the chief agent. In the field of organic chemistry the same activity is displayed in innumerable compounds, both as to the component parts and the products of living organisms. It is a natural function of hydrogen to combine with carbon, forming alimentary substances capable of oxidation by the respiratory function, to which is due both animal heat and animal energy. This class of substances is sometimes styled respiratory food. When taken in excess the surplus is stored as fat. The immense importance of body fat in animal life is scarcely appreciated by students. Even in the matter of beauty of outline it is the chief factor, and Shakespeare to the contrary, beauty is no vain and doubtful good. If it be true, and true it is, as another poet hath it, that "the worth of any thing, is but the money it will bring;" let a man go to a florist for a nose gay, or a button-hole bouquet, and he shall know something about the money beauty will bring. For a beautiful woman we are told "the ancient world was won and lost." We deny that the consideration of beauty is beneath the dignity of science.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 27.

Next in importance to the Interior Department comes the Post-Office Department, which has developed from a most insignificant beginning one hundred years ago into one of the most perfect and colossal systems in the world.

The Department is located in the same street and immediately opposite the Interior Department. The building occupied is of marble, built in the Corinthian style. It occupies an entire block, and has four fronts. The building is entirely inadequate to the requirements of the service, and other buildings are rented from private parties in various parts of the city for the use of this Department. The necessity for additional room suggests a plan by which the Post-Office Department building could be made one of the most elegant and attractive of the Government buildings.

As just stated, it faces the Interior Department on the same street, and occupies one entire block. The present building could be used as a wing, the adjoining block purchased, and on it a building, the exact counter-part of the present, be erected. These two buildings would constitute the two wings. Then, in the street separating them, and immediately opposite the grand portico of the Interior Department building, could be constructed a main rotunda and grand porticos, one fronting north and the other south, these porticos to consist of colonnades, similar to the porticos of the Capitol wing, the entire building to be of pure Corinthian design.

This would place two grand public buildings near together, and the two would represent the two extremes of Greek architecture, the Interior Department being of the Doric style, the most rigidly plain, and the other the Corinthian, the most rigidly ornamental. This may possibly be the intention of the Government architect, but the suggestion seems so natural and the result to be accomplished so splendid that the temptation to offer it too great to be resisted.

This Department is under the direction of the Postmaster-General, who is a member of the Cabinet. He appoints all officers and employees of the Department, except three assistant postmasters-general, who are appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate; appoints all postmasters whose compensation does not exceed \$1,000; makes postal treaties with foreign governments, by and with the advice and consent of the President; awards and executes contracts, and directs the management of the domestic and foreign mail services. In the office of the Postmaster-General there are sixteen employees, and the aggregate salaries is \$27,000 per year.

The First Assistant Postmaster-General has charge of the Appointment Office, which includes five divisions, viz: Appointment

Division, has the preparing of all cases for establishment, discontinuance, and change of name or site of post-offices, and for the appointment of all postmasters, agents, postal clerks, mail messengers, and Department employees, and attending to all correspondence consequent thereto. Bonds Division has the duty of receiving and recording appointments, sending out papers for postmasters and their assistants to qualify; receiving, entering, and filing their bonds and oaths and issuing the commission of postmasters.

Salary and Allowance Division has the duty of readjusting the salaries of postmasters and the consideration of the allowance for rent, fuel, clerk hire, and other expenditures. Free Delivery Division: The duty of preparing cases for the inauguration of the system in cities, the appointment of carriers, and the general supervision of the system.

Blank Agency Division: The duty of sending out the blanks, wrapping-paper, and twine, letter-balances, and canceling stamps to offices entitled to receive them.

The number of employees and their salaries in the office of the First Assistant are as follows: Aggregate number of employees 89; aggregate of salaries, \$118,000.

The Second Assistant Postmaster-General has charge of the Contract Office, mail equipment, etc., including the following divisions:

Contract Division: The arrangement of the mail service of the United States, and placing same under contract, embracing all correspondence and proceedings regarding frequency of trips, mode of conveyance, and times of departure and arrivals on all routes, the course of the mails between different sections of the country, the points of mail distribution, and the regulations for the government of the domestic mail service.

Division of Postage Stamps and Stamped Envelopes: The issuing of postage-stamps and stamped envelopes, newspaper-wrappers, and postal-cards; also the supplying postmasters with envelopes for their official use, and registered-package envelopes and seals.

Division of Registered Letters: The duty of preparing instructions for the guidance of postmasters relative to registered letters, and all correspondence connected therewith; also the compilation of statistics as to the transactions of the business.

Division of Files, Mails, etc.: The duty of receiving, distributing, and indexing all papers coming into the office; of dispatching and recording all papers sent from the office; and of keeping and attending to the office files.

The number of employees in the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, is 88; and the aggregate of salaries is \$117,850.

The office of Foreign Mails has charge of all foreign postal arrangements, including the preparation of postal conventions and the regulations for their execution, as well as the consideration of questions arising under them; and conducts the correspondence relative thereto, both with foreign governments and private citizens.

It also has supervision of the ocean mail steamship service in all its details, including the settlement of accounts with steamship companies for the conveyance of mails from the United States to foreign countries.

The number of employees in this office is 11, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$1,920.

Inspection Division has the duty of receiving and examining the registers of the arrivals and departures of the mails, certificates of the service of route agents, and reports of mail failures; noting delinquencies of contractors, and preparing cases thereon for the action of the Postmaster-General; furnishing

blanks for mail registers, reports of mail failures, and other duties which may be necessary to secure a faithful and exact performance of all mail service.

Mail Equipment Division: The issuing of mail locks and keys, mail pouches and sacks, and the construction of mail-bag catchers.

The number of employees in the office of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General is 100. The aggregate of salaries is \$137,780.

The Third Assistant Postmaster-General has charge of the finance office, etc., embracing the following divisions: Division of Finance has the duty of issuing drafts and warrants in payment of balances reported by the Auditor to be due the mail contractors or other persons, the superintendence of the collection of revenue at depository, draft, and depositing offices, and the accounts between the Department and the Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, and special designated depositories of the United States. This division receives all accounts, monthly or quarterly, of the depository or draft offices, and certificates of deposit from depositing offices.

Division of Postage Stamps and Stamped Envelopes: The issuing of postage-stamps and stamped envelopes, newspaper-wrappers, and postal-cards; also the supplying postmasters with envelopes for their official use, and registered-package envelopes and seals.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

The Basis of Union.

BY CLARK ORVIS.

1. ABOLISH LAND MONOPOLY.—By means of a graduated tax on excessive holdings—sufficiently high in city or country—to prevent land being bought for speculation or permanently held for rent. This would give all the competent an opportunity to labor, secure homes and become better citizens.

2. SUPPLY MONEY AT COST.—By amending the law which now requires our Government to loan money to bankers on bonds at 1 per cent, so that loans on small landed estates—say to the extent of half their cash value—can be obtained at the same rate.

3. SUPPLY TRANSPORTATION AT COST.—By authorizing our Government to gradually purchase the railroads and manage them in the interest of the entire people, as the post office is now conducted. Government should be authorized to construct competing lines when existing roads refuse to sell at what it would cost to build and equip equally good roads.

The declared object of our National Constitution is to establish justice. Justice gives every one the opportunity for productive labor and the full product of his industry. The above three basic principles of political economy, with efficient police protection, will secure substantial justice to all—"the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These united measures surely undermine the foundation of plutocracy, class rule and class legislation; because in modern civilization all class privileges and tyranny are based on land monopoly, money monopoly, and transportation monopoly. These measures are both conservative and radical. They conserve liberty and strike directly at the root of tyranny. They convert wealth from a cruel discriminating tyrant to an impartial and universal friend, without confiscation or interference with vested rights. They encourage all useful productive enterprise and discourage monopolistic and speculative enterprise. They aid helpful competition and social co-operation and check destructive competition and social antagonism.

They give man the individual and social liberty he has ever been seeking and demanding but has never found. They give the individualist full liberty to maintain and prove individualism and the socialist the same liberty of social co-operation for the test of socialism. They give rational liberty to all and repress only the vicious and tyrannical. Their spirit and tendency is expansive, not repressive—optimistic, not pessimistic.

The Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Alliances, and other labor unions, and a large majority of the American people, are in favor of these three measures of political economy, and are divided on all other new measures.

Then education and union on this basis is the only line of action by which we can soon and peacefully attain the end desired—the emancipation of labor from the tyranny of capital, which end also involves the emancipation of the debtor class from the tyranny of the creditor class. It is only minor side issues that delay this union. Some of us want to add to this platform prohibition; others free trade and tariff reform; others more tariff protection; others exclusion of foreign immigration, etc., thus dividing our forces and neutralizing our strength, and while the power of capital is concentrating and becoming more oppressive every day, we are giving nearly all our strength to agitation, denunciation, and little to united effective work for emancipa-

tion. Now, in the present crisis, let us concentrate all our political strength on these three cardinal measures, and agree to accept the present national status on all other political issues till the primary object is attained.

This attainment would produce such general abundance, prosperity, contentment, and social harmony that, possibly, none would feel the need of more individual, political or social rights, or of more repressive measures. The liquor seller might find it more agreeable and profitable to engage in productive industry. The toper might find so much stimulus in the new opportunities to gain wealth, knowledge, and perform honorable use, that he would not feel the need of alcohol to stimulate him to action or drown his sorrows. Woman's opportunities and useful activities might be so immensely enlarged that she would cease to feel it a duty to engage in political strife to right her wrongs or to expand her ample field of action and social use. The State socialist might find we had got all he had expected from State socialism; and the anarchist more than all the liberty he had dreamed of by the abolition of all government. And the great capitalist would surely find he had gained a social security and peace that compensated a hundred fold for the frequent doubling of his money and possessions by oppressive rent and interest.

Let all the friends of justice, liberty, and productive industry unite on this platform to elect the next Congress in 1890. In whatever party we are working, let us seek to nominate representatives pledged to make these three measures first and dominant in Congress, and if the party nomination does not succeed, make an independent nomination. Then vote for the man so pledged, by whatever party nominated. If all the friends of these measures will so unite, we can elect the next Congress without forming any new party.

Brothers and fellow citizens! In the name of the Lord, for humanity, let us unite and prove the practical efficiency of these constitutional, conservative, republican, and democratic measures—the rational application of Christianity and the golden rule. And the God of justice and mercy will bless us; and all nations will rise, call us blessed, and follow our example.

The crisis calls for union!

No matter how much a bushel of wheat costs in production, its commercial value is fixed without any regard to it.

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One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

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One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

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

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

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

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

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work that I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

Yours for the right, ISAAC McCACKEN,
Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1889.

W. S. MORGAN. DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers' Alliance and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

Every farmer and every man interested in the cause of the farmer should read your book and preserve it in his home library.

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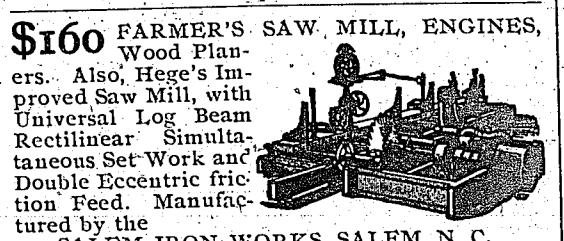
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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.
No. 36.

Lysander, being one of the ephori, resolved to prosecute Leonidas under an ancient law which forbade every descendant of Hercules from intermarrying with a foreigner and made it a capital offense for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. Of both these offenses Leonidas had been guilty, as he was educated in Asia and had married into a Persian family, but this law had been obsolete for many years; indeed, since the Spartans had abandoned the system of Lycurgus and given way to the frenzy for wealth and commercial speculation.

Leonidas was put upon his trial and the charge was proved against him in the fact that he had married a Persian woman while dwelling in that country, and had two children by her; that upon her conceiving an aversion to him, he had returned to Sparta against his will. During the pending of the suit Cleombrotus, the son-in-law of Leonidas, laid claim to the crown, and Leonidas fled to the altar of Minerva and took sanctuary. He was deposed and his position decreed to Cleombrotus.

The brutal and dishonorable extremes to which avarice will go to defend its hordes and fix its power is well represented in this conflict between the party of the rich and the people of Sparta. No measure was disregarded, no matter how cruel, corrupt or unjust, provided it served the end to be accomplished. Perjury, bribery, murder, assassination, anything that would serve the end, was accepted and acted on without hesitation or compunction, and this is the character that has distinguished the representatives of wealth and mercenary power in every action and every age.

Soon after Leonidas was deposed Lysander's time expired and he quitted his office. The party of the rich, by bribery and corruption, elected their friends and tools, thus controlling the ephori, and they agreed to restore Leonidas. They also began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands which those magistrates had agreed to. In this danger the friends of Agis and Cleombrotus persuaded the two kings to unite their interests and defy the schemes of the ephori, for, they said, "these magistrates have no power but what they derive from the difference between the kings. In such a case they have the right to support with their suffrage the prince whose measures are salutary against the other who consults not the public good; but when the kings agree nothing can overrule their determinations. To resist them is to fight against the law. For as we said, they can only decide between the kings in case of a disagreement; when their sentiments are the same the ephori have no right to interpose."

Agis went out to the aid of his friends, with the highest hopes on account of the spirit of his men and devotion to him as their leader. They were mostly young men who, now released from their debts and expecting a division of lands, if they returned from the war, strove to gain the commendation and regard of Agis.

While Agis was absent on his campaign, Agesilaus, still one of the ephori, and delivered from the pressure of debts which had, to some extent, held his mercenary ambitions in check, gave way to all his avaricious

placed others in their places. Agesilaus was one of these new magistrates. They then armed a number of young men and released many from the prisons; the party of the rich were greatly terrified, expecting that an indiscriminate slaughter would be begun; however, not one life was lost; on the contrary, Agis, who had learned that Agesilaus intended to kill Leonidas on his flight, and had placed assassins in his way for that purpose, sent a picked body of men to escort him safely to Tegea, where he retired into exile.

In this way the revolution was successfully accomplished, and would probably have gone well had it not been for the treachery of Agesilaus, who was thoroughly corrupted by the vile disease of avarice. He owned vast estates in lands, but at the same time was deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts nor willing to part with his lands, he represented to Agis that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the same time it would probably raise a great commotion and probably insurrection, but if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterward quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands.

It will be remembered that this is exactly the same pretense that was used upon Solon in Athens, and that to this failure to include the lands in the reform was due to the failure of his whole system and all the evils which afterward overwhelmed that unfortunate state. The very same conditions and evils which had afflicted Athens over four hundred years before now prevailed in Sparta, and the sentiment which had brought the ruin of the Athenian people had now fixed itself in the breasts of the Spartans.

Agesilaus drew Lysander also into the same snare. An order was issued for bringing in all bonds and evidences of indebtedness, and they were piled together in the market-place and burned. Plutarch says that "when the fire began to burn the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress; but Agis in a scoffing way said he never saw a brighter or more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the distribution of lands should be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found some pretense or other for delay until it was time for Agis to take the field with the Achaeans, allies of the Spartans, who had applied to them for aid.

After the death of Agis but one other attempt was ever made to redeem Sparta from the deadly evils which afflicted her.

This endeavor was made by Cleomenes, who was the son of Leonidas. After the death of Agis, Leonidas compelled his widow, who was the daughter of Gylippus and the heiress to his great estates, to marry Cleomenes, who was not then of age; his object being to secure her great fortune. Agiatis, which was the name of the woman, is described as very beautiful, and of a most noble and generous disposition. She did all in

aspirations. He scrupled at no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added a thirteenth month to the year, though the time by the Greek calendar had not come for this addition, and insisted on the people's paying extra taxes for that month. Being afraid of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by the entire people, he maintained a guard which always escorted him to and from the senate house. He expressed an utter contempt for one of the kings, Cleombrotus, and the respect he paid to Agis was rather on account of his being his kinsman than of the office he held. He boasted that he would be one of the ephori again the next year. This determined his enemies to risk an immediate attempt against him.

They openly brought back Leonidas from Tegae and placed him on the throne. The people now rallied to the support of Leonidas, for they were incensed at having been deceived in the promised distribution of the land. Agesilaus escaped with his life through the intercession of his son who was extremely popular with the people.

When Leonidas was again at the head of the State, through the intercession of his daughter, the wife of Cleombrotus, that unfortunate escaped death, and was sent into exile. Agis, on his return, finding his good work all destroyed, took sanctuary. In this way he lived for a time attended by two friends. One of these had borrowed a great deal of valuable plate and other rich furniture from the mother of Agis, and through this, his avarice overcame his honor, and he thought if he could betray Agis and bring about the death of both himself and his mother he could keep what he had in his possession. He did betray Agis, who was brutally strangled, and his mother and grandmother being enticed to the prison where his body lay. Not knowing of his murder, they were induced to enter to see him and both brutally put to death. The story in its detail is thrilling, but space will not allow its recital.

This was the cruel and savage means the party of plunder adopted to fix speculation and usury upon Sparta, and in this way ended the attempt of Agis to restore the primal virtue, happiness and glory of Sparta. Agis was the first king of Sparta put to death by the ephori, and he suffered for a noble attempt to restore liberty, justice, and equality; destroyed by avarice and a craze for mercenary gain.

He inquired of his friends, who had known Agis, as to his character, ambitions, and aims; and through the influence of his wife came to admire that patriot extremely, and was fired with an ambition to emulate his noble example.

He determined to perfect his plans in secret rather than admit even his most intimate friends into his confidence, and took every care that no mishap should occur.

He considered that he could better accomplish his undertaking in time of war than in peace, and as the Achaeans had declared their intention of compelling all the Peloponnesian States to enter their league, considered this a favorable opportunity to bring on the conflict that was to aid him. Aratus, the general of the Achaeans was making a campaign with this purpose in view, and Cleomenes induced the ephori to send him with a force to oppose him. Cleomenes was, at this time, a very young man, and Aratus held him in

her power to escape from the fate forced upon her, but when she found that it was inevitable she patiently submitted, and brought all her powers to bear to win the affection of Cleomenes and succeeded in gaining a great influence over him.

Cleomenes was naturally inclined to be generous, and was of a noble and magnanimous disposition. Under the influence of Agiatis his noble nature developed and strengthened. Plutarch says of him: "Nature had disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manner as much as Agis, but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardor in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuit of honor or whatever appeared to him in that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people, and to bring them, even against their inclination, to what was good and salutary. He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns and preferred to spend his time in the enjoyment of affluence and luxury; that individuals, actuated entirely by self interest, paid no attention to the great affairs of the State any further than they might turn their acts to their own emolument; and what rendered the prospect still more melancholy it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to the preserving of fortitude and universal equality which had so long been the glory of Sparta."

By this time Cleomenes had determined to put his designs into execution, and bribed the ephori to permit the renewal of the war. He also, like Agis, enlisted his mother in his plans, and she supplied him with large sums of money to further his objects.

Cleomenes now marched against Leuctra where he gained a brilliant victory which placed him in such popular position, that he considered that the time had come when he might break the yoke of the ephori, make a division of the lands, and restore the universal equality which had so long been the glory of Sparta.

He laid his plans before his step-father, who was vastly rich, and enlisted his aid. He then took two or three other friends into the scheme. He then took such of the citizens as he thought would most oppose his designs, and marched against the cities of Heraea and Alsea and took them. He then laid siege to Mantinea. At last he so harassed and exhausted his troops that most of them desired to be left to rest, and he returned to Sparta with only his mercenaries.

To such of these as he thought he could rely upon he communicated his designs, and advanced slowly, so that he might come upon the ephori while they were at supper.

When he approached the town he sent a herald ahead to the hall of the ephori, who pretended to bear a message relative to the army. Two young men, who had been educated with Cleomenes, accompanied this herald, each at the head of a small party. While the herald was holding the ephori in conversation, these others rushed in with drawn swords and cut down all the ephori except Agesilaus. As he was the first to fall, they thought him dead, but in a little while he crept away in the confusion and took sanctuary in the Temple of Fear, which adjoined the hall of the ephori, the other four were killed on the spot and ten other persons who came to their support.

The next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens whom he considered dangerous to his plans of reform, and removed all the seats of the ephori. Then he assembled the people to explain to them what he had done and why.

His address was to the following effect:

He described how it was that the ephori had gradually absorbed and usurped power, which it was never intended they should possess, until they had become tyrannical oppressors of the people, who had from time to time surrendered one right after another until, imperceptibly, they had been reduced to a condition of servitude. He said that "while they kept within the bounds of moderation it was better to endure than remove them; but when by their usurpations they destroyed the ancient form of government; when they could depose some kings and put others to death without form or trial, and threatened those who desired to see the divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, they became absolutely insupportable. Had it been possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exterminated those pests which they had introduced into Lacedemon, such as luxury, superfluous expense, debts, usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, I should then have thought myself the happiest of kings. In curing the distempers of my country I should have been considered as the physician whose lenient hand heals without giving pain. But, for what necessity has obliged me to do I have the authority of Lycurgus, who in establishing his system appeared in arms. Therefore the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence that it is impossible to new-model a constitution without the terror of an armed force."

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When he had finished his address he was the first to surrender his own estates into the public stock. His father-in-law and his immediate friends and relatives did the same, and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile, and declared that they should all be recalled when tranquility reigned once more. Not only were the forces of the Achaeans defeated, but Argos, the ancient rival of Sparta, submitted to her; Corinth revolted from the Achaeans and placed herself under Spartan protection. Many other cities and the most of Arcadia did the same; even Pellene, one of the ten Achaean cities, came over to Sparta. It seemed that Spartan valor and virtue would again save and unite Greece; but Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, jealous of the honors Cleomenes, who was a much younger man, was winning, took the traitorous step of calling to his aid the power of the Macedonians, who already had subjugated all the northern states of Greece, and agreed to aid him in conquering the Peloponnesus. Thus the Achaeans lost its character as the defender of Greek independence and allied with its enemies. Cleomenes was attacked by overwhelming odds at Sellasia, and was defeated, his army being utterly destroyed, and Cleomenes went into exile into Egypt, where he met his death in a fruitless endeavor to lead the Egyptians into an attempt to establish their liberty. This final blow to popular government in Greece fell in the year 221 B. C., just six hundred and sixty-three years after the founding of the institutions of Lycurgus.

The Macedonians were once more supreme over all Greece, the only states unsubdued being Aetolia, Messenia and Elis. Soon the tide of Roman conquest swept over the classic land, and glorious Greece was swallowed up by the insatiable ambition that made Rome the ruler of the world.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Alliance Journal (Clarksville, Tex.) don't get far out of the way in this item:

While farmers have been disappointed in the yield of their staple crops, they have found store accounts and bank notes fully as heavy as expected. Poor toiling masses! is there no relief from the burden that takes away from the poorly-furnished table and scanty wardrobe. The sweating brow, the unsteady step, the tremulous voice—a true picture of a farmer as he enters the roughly-hewn cabin after his twelve or fifteen hours work has been performed? What is there to lighten the burden of his thoughts or buoy up his drooping spirits. His crops are short; his debts can not be paid in full, some necessities of life have not yet been provided for the inmates of his household, the little ones want a Christmas present and he knows that disappointment awaits them.

The Southern Alliance Farmer comes out square on the cotton business:

No farmer in Georgia can make money and get less than 10 cents for cotton. The truth of this is shown by the fact that we have been gradually growing poorer and poorer for the last fifteen years. How long will we be dictated to by American and English speculators as to what kind of covering we shall use for our cotton? The lords of Liverpool own the Indies, and would like to force us to use jute, and the American speculators want to keep us far from the spinners as possible.

The Alliance Eagle (Ellisville, Miss.) says:

Don't blame the poor man for selling his vote with hunger and starvation staring him and his family in the face. The temptation is too great, when the bait is offered. If you want to blame anything, hurl your curses at the banking system, that makes money so high and men so cheap.

The Newspaper (California, Mo.), correct:

Cheap money, cheap transportation, and cheap land are what the industrial classes need, want, and must have in order to retain the fruits of their labor.

The Local News (Butler, Mo.) gives some good advice:

The fight is still on; the war against monopolies and trusts, combines, and aggregated capital is beginning to be earnest, therefore let us lag not nor weary in well doing, but be firm, so that when we are brought to the test the opposing band will be compelled to brand us "tried and true."

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

Every man who thinks, reasons, and who has the courage of his convictions to express the same as being outside the rut of popular opinion, he is called bad names, and if nothing worse can well be applied to him, "he is a crank." God bless the cranks as a necessary agency to save the country from hypocrites.

The Climax Advocate (Climax Springs, Mo.) wants plain English used:

The National Advocate (Lewiston, Me.) says:

The most fundamental and important truths in relation to the nature of money have always been so covered up by the technicalities, warped and twisted by designing persons, that it has completely deceived the people respecting its true character. Although they may have known or felt that there was something wrong in its power, yet they never exert themselves to ascertain the mysteries of this power. Writers upon political economy, generally, as well as the people, have taken it for granted that nothing was fit to make money but the precious metals, and seem to forget that it is this very fact of their being made into money from which these metals derive a great share of their value. Stop their use as money and you stop the demand, stop the demand and they will fall in price—but still they ignore this uncontrollable law of supply and demand and argue from the standpoint of intrinsic value.

The Lincoln (N. M.) Independent gets at it in this way:

It is very pleasing to publishers who work incessantly for the good of humanity without any particular remuneration in this world, to know that no matter on what pretext a man refuses to subscribe for his local paper he invariably borrows the paper and allows its truths to keep right along sinking deep into his heart.

Colman's Rural World (St. Louis, Mo.) says:

In just the proportion that wealth elevates one man above his fellows is it apt also to make him indifferent to their fate. The millionaire is not dependent upon free government for the maintenance of his political and civil rights. As De Toqueville long ago showed, the very rich men in a republic are naturally opposed to it, for they would probably enjoy greater rights in oppressing their poorer fellow citizens were all alike living under a despotism.

The North Dakota (Jamestown) Capital owns up as follows:

It might as well be confessed that 275 lawyers legislate for us as their masters and clients, the monopolists dictate. What shall we do to be saved? This is the all-absorbing question for the wealth producers to answer, for we see the mo-

nopolies absorbing the substance of the people daily, and the great middle class in America is passing away. The remedy is in the hands of that middle class which is being exterminated as a class by being transferred to a lower grade by impoverishment.

In the Journal of Agriculture (St. Louis, Mo.), a correspondent puts it in this pointed manner:

The question, "Why are Farmers Poor?" has been much discussed lately in some western papers. The general verdict seemed to be that they were poor because they were robbed of part of their earnings. If this is true we ought to know it. One way to discover the truth of the matter is to compare what he gets with what he earns.

The Alliance (Lincoln, Neb.), speaking of the barbed wire trust, says:

The barbed wire trust is based wholly and only on the power of combined capital. It has not back of it the protection of a single patent. It throttles competitors and holds up the price of wire solely through the power of combination.

The Colorado (Pueblo) Workman says:

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nopolies absorbing the substance of the people daily, and the great middle class in America is passing away. The remedy is in the hands of that middle class which is being exterminated as a class by being transferred to a lower grade by impoverishment.

The Ellis County Mirror (Waxahachie, Tex.) says:

Congress will have a scratching time, and unless they consider the people's interest more than they have done of late, they themselves will have a scratching time if they are wise.

Colman's Rural World (St. Louis, Mo.) in discussing the farm mortgage question says:

The failure of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, of Kansas, has brought out a new feature in this farm mortgage business, and is causing far more alarm than the amount involved in the failure would under ordinary circumstances. The bankrupt company had \$2,223,007 in guaranteed loans and \$200,000 in debentures. The bad condition of Kansas land mortgages of late has prevented it from meeting the guaranteed interest, and it has therefore been compelled to close business. Its liabilities will wipe out its capital, but the holders of its loans and debentures have the mortgages to fall back on, and there is likely to be lively time in consequence, if the Eastern capitalists go to work foreclosing on the farmers.

Journal of Industry (Quincy, Ill.) gives the following:

Every man should let his conscience act as a safety-valve over his acts, public or private. Be brave and act your part well. Let right be your motto, and with a clear conscience, care not for your enemies but stand true to your friends.

The St. Louis (Mo.) Christian Advocate don't fear to tackle wrong whenever it may appear. Here is a good example for others papers to follow:

In Alabama, when money is borrowed by mortgaging farms, the rate of interest ranges from 18 to 24 per cent per annum as a rule; the tenants and croppers get about 35 per cent of the cotton made in the State, but it is all pledged for supplies before it is gathered; on an average 90 per cent of the whole crop is pledged before grown for supplies and interest. The same is true of Mississippi, and, to a great extent, of all the cotton States. The very worst form of indebtedness is that contracted by securing advances on growing crops. It makes life a burden, labor a punishment, without hope of enjoying its returns. It reduces the farmer and his family to a state of veritable slavery. No people can prosper under such a degrading and debasing system.

The Arkansas (Prescott) Despatch says:

Huntington pays \$2,000,000 for a titled husband for his daughter. Oh! shame.

The Carolina Banner (Tarboro, N. C.) gives the following interesting item as the assumed prosperity of the country:

Times must be hard, with worse coming. Sheriff Tunell, of Hyde County, has resigned. He says the people are not able to pay their taxes, and as he is unwilling to "push" them he resigned.

The Cottage Home (Texarkana, Ark.) says:

If the farmers pursue the right course and remain united in demanding their rights, they will succeed in spite of all opposition.

The Liberal (Cuthbert, Ga.) comes very close to the truth in this item:

An American woman has recently married a worthless foreign nobleman. She sold herself for a title. The poor girl who sells herself to keep out of the poor-house is disgraced forever. But the society woman who sells herself for a title or for a big sum of money is as good as ever in society. But where is the difference? The former is more respectable than the latter, though the world says otherwise.

The Texas (Dallas) Farm and Ranch sends the following news:

Manufacturers of cotton bagging say they will be able to supply all demands for that article next year at six cents per pound.

The Arkansas (Searcy) Economist, in discussing over-production, says:

Yes, this country has raised too much. There may be something in the over-production theory after all. There is an over product of mortgages.

There is a crop that no insect has ever yet attacked; drouth has not withered it, nor floods drowned it out. The money power has planted it on the richest soils, cultivated it with the most assiduous care, and copiously watered it with the scalding tears of humanity. There is an over-protection of taxes. The wealth of the millionaire has escaped its proportion of the burdens of the State, adroitly shifting those burdens upon

the shoulders of productive industry. There has been an over-production of official salaries.

When money became plenty as the result of war, official salaries were promptly increased to fit the new and more prosperous order of things, but when the contraction mill was set to work it contracted the income of the farmer and laborer,

squeezed his price down below the cost of production, but never once did it reduce a salary, or a debt, or an interest rate.

The Sentinel (Chicago) says:

Digging gold and silver out of a hole in the Rocky Mountains and burying it in another hole beneath the Treasury building in Washington may be fun for the Shylocks, but it is death for a mortgaged-cursed people.

The Kansas (Topeka) Farmer in speaking of Bro. Ben Terrell's speech, says:

He does not favor a third or alliance party. He believes the existing parties will do what the farmers ask whenever they ask it with power to enforce the demand. Farmers constitute a majority of all parties in the Western and Southwestern States, and when they organize and demand a certain thing and then stand by their pledges to one another, their parties must succumb, because the men who make up a majority have agreed upon what they want, and they will have that or nothing.

The New Mississippian (Jackson, Miss.) gives the following instructive figures on the bagging question:

If the cotton crop of 1889 is as large as that of 1888, 49,000,000 yards of bagging will be required to wrap the crop. If the cotton crop be wrapped in jute, \$4,300,000 will pass out of the planteers' hands. If the crop is wrapped in cotton bagging, \$4,900,000 will remain inside the lines of the cotton States to be added to the circulating medium. The making of 49,000,000 yards of bagging will consume 100,000 bales of cotton, which decreases the number of bales for market and enhances the value of the remainder 4% per pound, making the gain of the cotton planters \$8,625,000.

The Progressive Farmer (Mt. Vernon, Ill.) gives the following sound reasons regarding a cash business:

Never lose sight of our encouragement of the cash system, the pay-as-you-go plan.

It will now be in order for the followers of Baal to tell the farmers they will soon be out of debt now that they have elected a people's ticket. Set this down, gentlemen; the votes cast for the people's ticket means taking the shortest cut possible to get out of debt, viz., by setting a wave of popular demand in motion that will sweep our one-sided laws from the statute books, and either enact none in their place or ones that will protect the poor equally with the rich.

The Fair Play (Arkansas City, Kan.) says truly:

The plain remedy then is for the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer and wage-earners of all classes to work in harmony together for the selection of representatives from their own classes whose first will is to the whole people of which they are the great majority, and it is the duty of all other citizens to aid in the great work, because what benefits these classes is best for all.

The Southern Cultivator (Atlanta, Ga.) contributes this item:

If the farmers pursue the right course and remain united in demanding their rights, they will succeed in spite of all opposition.

The Baltimore (Md.) Methodist analizes wealth as follows, which is about right after all that is said concerning it:

The dailies announce the death of the head of a great cotton firm in England, with the comment, "He was very wealthy." The difference between a man who lays up treasure on earth and one who lays up treasure in heaven is that the wealth of one is spoken of in the past and the other in the present tense. We know many an humble man who died in faith of whom it may be said, "HE IS very wealthy."

The Meridian (Miss.) Daily News, in concluding an article showing how the planters might control the cotton crop, says:

No matter what view may be taken of it, with every facility for knowing more about the condition of the crop than any one else, and posted as to other points, the cotton producers have it in their power to largely protect themselves against speculators and manipulating consumers.

The Amherst (Vt.) New Era comes out with some good advice:

The time has come when you should put a stop to this unequal contest. Fill your legislative halls with farmers and not lawyers. Let them go there and make your laws, and when they are sent back even the farmers may understand, and not be compelled to take them to a lawyer to have them explained.

The Maryland Farmer (Baltimore, Md.), speaking of farmers in politics, says:

The readers will see readily what is meant here. We farmers have a mission in politics which is greater than party fealty, which over-rides all party, which should make use of party to secure

its ends. The prosperity of the farmer, his freedom from the oppressions of other classes, his re-tention of his home and of a comfortable share of the necessities of human life, demand that this shall be the position of the farmer in his political action.

The Lithonia (Ga.) New Era comes at the credit system in this fashion:

The credit system, like many other systems adopted for man's convenience and benefit, is subject to much abuse and one-sided advantages. Like brandy, a little along, used sparingly, may serve to stimulate and invigorate trade and meet such conveniences as make up for man's good, but when used too freely it is hazardous and often entails perilous vicissitudes and distress.

The Memphis (Tenn.) Appeal says:

In Arkansas the proportion of farmers in debt in the cotton region is 75 per cent, and in the grain and grass region 25 per cent. The most of the labor is performed by the tenant or share-had farmer. He rents the land at from \$6 to \$10 per acre, or works for part of the crop. The risk on him being great, the merchants score him from 50 to 100 per cent; in other words, it costs him two-thirds more to live than if he had cash.

THERE is prosperity and prosperity. Here is metropolitan prosperity. It is a New York business man talking in reference to a question of a newspaper reporter:

The people of the country are enjoying more prosperity than they have had for five years. Our grain and cotton crops are bigger than they have been for years, and the freight rates are so moderate that farmers generally are enjoying the profits of the great plenty in their fields.

Another business man in Gotham gives this glowing response:

Everybody seems to have enough money for the necessities of life and something to spare for the luxuries. The big cotton crop gives Southern planters a chance to scatter their cash, and the grain and cattle raisers have seldom enjoyed a more bountiful year.

Here is rural prosperity as told by a Western paper of the same date:

Corn is selling at 16 to 17 cents, delivered; wheat at 55 to 60 cents per bushel; Irish potatoes at 15 to 18 cents per bushel; hay at \$3 per ton. But notwithstanding those low figures, debts, interest and taxes remain as high as ever.

The Farmers Voice, of Chicago, speaking of the cattle raisers, says:

It does seem a hard and cruel thing for farmers to be compelled to sell to the beef trust below the actual cost of production, while the trust realizes such immense profits.

A Notable Address.

At the National Farmers Congress, in Montgomery, Thursday, November 14, Col. R. J. Sledge, of Texas, chairman of the Cotton Committee of the Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union, delivered an address upon a most important subject to the farmers of the South and of the country, which is here given in full:

It is one of the most remarkable freaks of nature that an article of such universal use and necessity should be produced only on such a small fraction of the earth's surface, and its production dependent upon such a limited number of people. Just think that 83 per cent of the world's supply is under the prime control of the people of the southern portion of the United States, and a unanimous determination to plant no more would paralyze the industry of the earth. The yearly values growing out of the cotton crop are without parallel in history; and, compared with the aggregate, all the gold mines of Peru, California and the Indies, sink into insignificance. With such a generous gift from nature the cotton producers' section should be the very garden of the world, its homes palaces and its people princes; but through the unjust conditions prevailing, established and continued by the wiles and designs of schemers and tricksters, by the enactment of unjust and evil legislation, the people who raise cotton are still struggling in poverty, little better than serfs to the favored and irresponsible few. But the question which presents itself to the cotton producers of the South is, how can we direct our energies to gain the best results for ourselves from this great boon nature has bestowed upon us? How shall we handle the cotton crop? The subject may be well divided into two parts: First, the consolidation of the handling of the cotton crop in its production and preparation for market; and second, the handling of the cotton crop in its sale and shipment, or upon the markets as a commodity of commerce.

Under the first head there are many minor evils and abuses, which I have not the time to discuss; but there are several prominent evils that demand attention. In a general way, it must be admitted that there is not care enough taken in the harvesting of cotton to avoid trash, sand and dirt; and that the presence of foreign substances is always very expensive, because it lowers the grade. It is generally ginned by public gins, that are paid by the bale or hundred pounds; and they are allowed to gin too fast, and, as a consequence, the cotton fiber is often badly cut up and napped. It will always be found profitable to carefully pick and gin the crop. One of the greatest evils in handling the crop in its preparation for market, and one that continues to be wasteful and expensive in its subsequent handling as a commodity of commerce is the size of the bales and, as a consequence, the character of wrapping necessary. It is usually put up in bales weighing 500 pounds each. These are, of course, so unwieldy that they must always, in handling, be rolled upon the ground in the mud, sand or dirt, and require heavy, coarse wrapping, and heavy iron bands, which makes a tare of from fifteen to thirty pounds per bale, and even then does not protect the cotton. A small bale weighing 150 pounds could be handled by one man, and need never be laid down in the dirt; requires nothing but wires to preserve its shape, so that it may be slipped into sacks, which may be returned to the shipper and,

as a consequence, removes all loss from tare as well as expense of freight on the tare. The small bales are packed by a simple and cheap machine to a greater density than the best compress is able to give the large bales now in use. I would therefore recommend the small-bale system of handling cotton as a vast improvement upon present methods, and as a perfect way of forever settling the jute bagging war; and think that the sacks for covering the small bales should be made of cotton, because it is less inflammable and more impervious to moisture. I am prepared to demonstrate that a saving of eighteen millions of dollars yearly can be secured to the cotton planter by the introduction of the small bale.

To sum up, the methods of handling cotton upon the farm may be improved by a more careful system of picking and ginning by packing in small bales, and by housing in dry storage houses until offered for sale.

Under the second division of my subject, that of handling the cotton upon the markets, there are many things to consider. The profits and savings growing out of home manufacture are subjects which have their results in the future, and their consideration may be reserved or prolonged without injury to present interests. The object for immediate consideration is the best method to be adopted for handling the raw material annually, as it is produced, so that the great losses which accompany present methods and conditions may be avoided to the greatest extent, and the producers rendered independent of the power now exercised over them by speculators and money manipulators.

The aggregate of the present crop is estimated at above seven million bales, of nearly four billion pounds; the final value as raw cotton above four hundred million dollars. This is the result of the industry of the cotton planters of the South, and the question for them to solve is, how shall they manage this product in order to keep a just proportion of its value at home, and thus be enabled to enjoy the fruits of their toil and economy.

The first evil to be recognized as placing the planter at a disadvantage is his obligation to merchants, by which the control of his product is virtually taken away from him, and he is compelled to dispose of his crop, or at least a portion of it, at unremunerative prices, at the pleasure of his creditors, and at a time when his own ability to refuse to sell would greatly aid others of his fellow producers to secure a fair price, and thus his misfortune, or short-sightedness, is visited on his friends and neighbors, and enables buyers to supply their necessities at prices ruinous to all producers. A large number of producers being thus under obligation to buyers or merchants they may be compelled to deliver a large quantity of the staple at one time, and thus fix a price so low that more fortunate neighbors can not sell except at ruinous prices. The fact that a portion of the cotton producers are independent of the merchants does not protect them from loss so long as there is a sufficient number in the toils of debt to enable the buyers to command the delivery of a sufficient amount to meet their requirements at a ruinous rate, thus enabling them to hold down prices until the more fortunate are exhausted in their ability to hold, and then they, in their turn, are compelled to let go at the prices fixed by the speculative class.

The remedy seems to lie in relieving the cotton crop of all obligation, if possible, thus enabling the producers to command the market and fix prices at a remunerative rate.

The crop mortgage should be forever abandoned. The only hope of escape from this robbery seems to be perfect and thoroughly organized co-operation among the cotton raisers; the devising of such a plan as will enable all to avoid any claims to mature upon the crop. This accomplished, let the actual demand of spinners for consumption be estimated, and the times of delivery of necessary quantities be learned. Let the speculative demand be entirely ignored, and then a fair and reasonable price fixed. Let it be so arranged that no cotton shall be sold except to supply the actual demand for manufacture, and that only at the reasonable price agreed upon. In this way the quantity annually held for speculation will be removed, and the full return of value flow where it should—to the producer. This would require a system of warehouses, insurance, and a managing and clerical force at home. Such expenses kept among the producers, instead of being sent away, the profits enjoyed by the speculators in other localities would swell the net income of the producers. By such co-operation among producers the expense of handling, ginning, baling and hauling of the crop might be greatly reduced, and various other advantages gained, which will readily suggest themselves from time to time. The great object, however, to be constantly in view is the necessity of arranging to hold the crop after it is produced; and a systematic arrangement by which the actual demand for consumption may be known, and the exact quantity required at proper intervals to supply the demand.

Estimating the difference between what the producer receives and what the spinner pays, exclusive of freight charges, at 1½ cents per pound, we have an aggregate of over sixty million dollars, of which the producers are robbed, and which goes into the hands of the speculators. Add to this, for insurance, storage, necessary handling, etc., for speculative purposes, say ten million dollars more, and the aggregate saving on the raw cotton amounts to over seventy million dollars, which by the present unjust and unwise system goes to speculators entirely. By this system of handling the crop, it will be seen that almost seventy-five million dollars will be retained at home in the hands of producers, in addition to the amount realized, even at what is considered average prices; and the grand total amounts to over four hundred and seventy-five million dollars, which the producers should receive in cash, and not in the way of necessities at exorbitant prices, which reduces their actual return to a mere fraction of what it in justice should be. Added to this sum the vast amount which would be realized from being able to manufacture the entire crop at home, and the return for cotton-seed oil and fertilizers from hulls, and the aggregate value to the South is beyond the entire producing capacity of any nation under the sun.

Let the cotton producers once realize the enormous advantage such co-operation would give them; the vast gain in being able to buy for cash what they require at a reasonable price, and there should surely be no difficulty in inducing them to undergo any amount of temporary privation to place them in such a position of vantage. Let the cotton planters of the South once become masters of the great staple—they produce and hold, and then they, in their turn, are compelled to let go at the prices fixed by the speculative class.

The remedy seems to lie in relieving the cotton crop of all obligation, if possible, thus enabling the producers to command the market and fix prices at a remunerative rate.

tion upon a people who could master the wiles of mercenary chicanery, and build up a prosperity such as the world never before beheld.

The wealth of Babylon, or Carthage, or Thebes would be but as dross beside the prosperity of the redeemed South; because the riches of those cities was but the results robbed from the labor of slaves, while the wealth of the South would be the just return of the labor of well-reputed freemen, who knew their rights and had the courage, the manhood, the intelligence, and the endurance to demand and maintain them. A glorious picture could be presented of Southern prosperity and the grand possibilities which might arise from this golden gift of nature to the people of the South, but it would be out of place here. It is enough to say that the future prosperity of the South and her people rests in intelligent and perfect co-operation among her cotton producers. The grand object to be achieved is the absolute control of her cotton crop by the industry which produces it, and their relief from the power which dictates to them the price they shall receive for this indispensable article of commerce and necessity.

The Lesson of the Election.

T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

The above caption is in large editorial demand in this country during the days immediately following every general election. The tone of the "lesson" is gay and hopeful or sad and despondent, as the writer is of the victorious or vanquished party. One striking peculiarity of the "lesson" is the wonderful unanimity with which the vanquished editors agree that it was the free use of boodle by their opponents which gained them the victory. Thus, in 1884, while Democratic editors were joyfully declaring that "the lesson of the election" meant that the people had grown tired of protection, Republican editors were lamenting the fact that "the free use of British gold" had accomplished the defeat of the notorious "tail twister," but the congressional editor of 1886, when the democratic majority in the

House of Representatives was reduced from 40 to a beggarly baker's dozen, and when not only Wm. R. Morrison's handsome majority of 2,000 was completely wiped out and that gentleman left in the soup, but Carlisle's majority of 6,000 came very near going by the board, then "the lesson of the election" as drawn by Republican editors took on a much brighter hue, and Democratic editors sadly lamented the corrupt use of money by their opponents. In 1888 the election of Harrison was joyfully hailed by Republicans as an effectual rebuke to "Cobden club and British gold," while Democratic organs could not find terms strong enough in which to condemn the corrupt manner in which protection "fat" had been used to buy up "blocks of five." In the late election the tables are again turned and the "lesson" drawn by Democratic organs is one of exultation that the corrupt methods of protection in the election of Harrison is so speedily meeting with deserved rebuke, while the "lesson" as drawn by Republican editors takes on a lugubrious tone and sadly laments the corruption of Democratic managers. All these charges and counter-charges and this apparently thoughtless vacillation of the people between republicanism and democracy means something, and perhaps we can spend no more profitable moments than in trying to find out what. Its principal meaning is that there is no definite differ-

ence on any principle of value to the people between the Republican and Democratic parties. No doubt the people thought five years ago that the struggle between Blaine and Cleveland really meant a struggle between the principle of protection and tariff reform, but when Congress met the winter following Cleveland's inauguration that illusion was rudely dispelled. The House of Representatives, with 40 democratic majority elected, as everybody undoubtedly thought, for the express purpose of reducing the tariff, not only absolutely refused to pass Morrison's 20 per cent horizontal reduction bill, but flatly refused to take any action whatever on the tariff question. The Democrats sought to make a scapegoat of Samuel J. Randall, and accused him of successfully using his power as chairman of the committee on appropriations to defeat the honest efforts of his party to enact tariff legislation. But their puerile plea of inability to accomplish a reduction in the House when they had a majority of forty at their backs did not satisfy the people, and it is small wonder that the wet blanket which the Democratic House threw upon the ardent hopes of tariff reformers created a dissatisfaction which only needed the help of a few disgruntled office-seekers to result in the "tidal wave" which came near sweeping the Democratic majority out of the House of Representatives.

The utter incapacity which the Democratic House majority displayed in the handling of the tariff question during the winter of 1885-'86, and during nearly the entire summer of 1886, was supplemented the following summer—1887—by a quarrel between land-reformer Sparks (who, as Commissioner General of the Land Office, had been instrumental in reclaiming, as the records of the land department as well as the files of Democratic papers of that period will show, millions of acres of public land that had been stolen by land-thieving corporations) and Lamar, Secretary of the Interior. This trouble was settled as soon as the result of the different State election of that year was definitely known, by the acceptance of Mr. Spark's resignation by President Cleveland, who, as further evidence of his confidence in Lamar, shortly elevated that gentleman to the supreme judgeship. This act of the President added much to the load of disappointment expectations which his party was already carrying. When Congress met the winter following (1887-'88), the Democratic members of the lower house completed the self-stultification of their party by giving San Randall, the man whom they had vilified and abused without stint for defeating their efforts at tariff reform in the preceding Congress, his old position of chairman of the appropriations committee. Is it to be wondered at that with all this load of broken promises and hypocritical double-dealing added to the power of an army of disappointed office-seekers, the Democratic party foun- dered in the last Presidential campaign? Isn't the lesson of the late election simply a repetition of the lessons of the last several elections?

It is true that Congress has not met since the election of Harrison, but it is also true that he has been in office long enough to make many bitter enemies in his own party.

No doubt if Illinois had voted this fall she would have gone Democratic. Why? Well, why did Iowa, and Ohio, and Virginia, and all the rest go Democratic? Has the Republican party shown by any legislative enactment that it is not true to the promises it made during the Presidential campaign? It has neither enacted new laws nor repealed old ones. Matters stand exactly where they did, so far as these things are concerned, when Cleveland retired to private life. Are the people really so fickle-minded where matters of State are concerned, that they will not vote two years in succession for the same policy? If yes, how long since they have been thus afflicted? Isn't the seemingly contemptible vacillation of the people in the election of Cleveland, in the defeat of Cleveland, in the election of Harrison, and now at the first opportunity since his election, in the defeat of his party in the banner Republican States, plain evidence that the voters recognize the fact, despite the mouthings of contemptible demagogues to the contrary, that there is practically no difference between the dominant parties? Either this is the case or the people have become so imbecile as to be unable to retain the same opinion upon a given subject twelve months together. Risking a charge of useless repetition, but for the purpose of clearing up matters, let me explain: When the Democratic members of Congress, in their efforts to placate a few millionaire beneficiaries of protection, restored Mr. Randall to his old place in their councils and gave to him the very position which they had accused him of using in the preceding Congresses to defeat tariff legislation, and when Cleveland, in his efforts to conciliate land-stealing corporations, accepted the resignation of Mr. Sparks and elevated the friend of corporations, Mr. Lamar, to the supreme judgeship, they each, no doubt, accomplished the thing which they desired, but they also, accomplished something which they didn't desire. They partially opened the eyes of the people to the fact that the Democratic party was catering to the power of monopoly to as great a degree as the Republican party was. The passage of the Mills bill by the Democratic house was recognized by the monopolistic masters of Democracy as a deep-laid, diplomatic and absolutely necessary scheme of their tools. They knew that unless the Democratic house was allowed to pass that bill there would be absolutely no issue between their Republican and their Democratic henchmen, and that there would be great danger in that event that the people might at once take things in their own hands and make an issue, in which case monopoly would be certain to suffer, so they kindly stepped aside and allowed the Democratic house to pass the Mills bill, knowing, of course, that it would never pass the Senate. Well, the result of all this pusillanimous juggling was the creation among the people of a feeling of utter, and to some extent, of contemptuous indifference as to which party succeeded in the coming campaign. This feeling of indifference on the part of the people clothed certain disgruntled Democrats with a power over their personal following which they could not have exercised had the course of Democracy been different, and it was the exercise of this power that defeated Cleveland. It was the exercise of this same power by defeated Republican office-seekers that, to a greater degree than anything else, caused the late reaction in the Republican ranks. The late election, more effectually than anything of recent occurrence, proves that the only issue between the dominant parties is the spoils of office. Since this is true, the late election more than anything of recent occurrence ought to inspire the real reformers, the bona fide enemies of monopoly, with a feeling of certain success in the immediate future.

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

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

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

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.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE POOR.

The following statement from the advance sheets of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac tends to give the reason:

MANIPULATION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

We owed in 1866.....	\$2,783,000,000
We have paid on the principal.....	1,080,000,000
We have paid as interest.....	2,462,000,000
We have paid as premium on bonds.....	36,000,000
Total amount paid.....	3,578,000,000

In 1889 the amount yet due on the debt was.....

Had the debt been contracted to be paid in wheat it would have taken Bushels. in 1866.....

We have paid on the principal.....

We have paid as interest.....

We have paid as premium on bonds.....

Total amount paid.....

We yet owe.....

Total.....

Deducting amount due in 1866.....

Amount consumed by interest and payment on principal.....

Had the debt been contracted to be paid in cotton it would have taken Pounds. in 1867.....

We have paid on the principal.....

As interest.....

As premiums on bonds.....

Total paid.....

We yet owe.....

Total.....

Deduct amount due in 1867.....

Amount consumed by interest and payment on principal.....

The largest cotton crop was in 1887-'88, when it reached, 7,046,833 bales, or 3,290,891,000 pounds. A little figuring will show that the total receipts from sixteen years' crops will be required to make up for the amount paid on principal and as interest and pay the remainder of the debt. Two years' crops would have paid it all in 1867. It will take over five years' crops to pay what is yet unpaid at present prices. The wheat crop of 1888 amounted to 415,868,000 bushels. Three crops would have more than paid the debt in 1866. It will take more than five crops to pay what remains. What is true of the public debt is true of all other indebtedness. The farmer who owed a mortgage of \$2,000 in 1866, and has since reduced it to

\$1,000, owes more at the present time than ever before. Let every farmer and planter consider the above statement well.

HOW TO CHANGE THE SONG.

At a time when Guizot was prime minister of France and Thiers leader of the opposition, the latter, in a political debate, was criticizing the government, when Guizot indignantly exclaimed: "But you and your friends do nothing but criticize us. What would you do if you were in power in our place?" "We would sing the same song you are singing, only we would sing it better," calmly replied Thiers. This was a frank confession for a practical politician to make. Were the professional politicians in this country as candid as the majority of those out of office, no matter of what party belonging, would admit that were they in power they "would sing the same song." The professional politicians of the outs are always fierce in criticism of the ins, and strong in promises of reforms should they be intrusted with power. But when they are placed in power they "sing the same song." Probably they think that they "sing it better," but that is a matter of taste. Our people must recognize this fact; that no matter what set of professional politicians are placed in power, they will "sing the same song" until public opinion forces them to change their tune and pass the necessary reform measures. The agricultural and other industrial organizations have been formed for the purpose of effecting, among other things, an intelligent public opinion in favor of needed reforms. At St. Louis, December 3, delegates from these orders will meet in National convention to give expression to the voice and wishes of the workers they represent. But no matter how truly, clearly and strongly those wishes may be expressed; no matter how great, grand and good the thoughts in which they are embodied; no matter how pertinent, practical and necessary in their nature, scope and bearing, unless methods are devised, and means provided to bring and keep them prominently before the public and create public opinion in their favor the work will be in vain. "But words are things," says Byron, "and a small drop of ink falling like dew upon a thought produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think." They must use printers' ink. They must disseminate thoughts, and the thoughts of their best thinkers. They must lay the foundation for a press and literature commensurate in ability and circulation with the importance of the work, with the magnitude of the interests involved. Without a reform press monopoly will prove invincible. Fifty thousand British soldiers kept 250,000,000 of Hindoos in submission because of the dissensions, ignorance and apathy of the latter. Less than 50,000 monopolists make the laws of this republic and exact hundreds of millions of tribute annually from the producers because the people are divided and do not understand

the economic systems by which they are robbed. They must be educated. Set the masses to thinking and monopoly is doomed. Plant good thoughts in the minds of men and good deeds will follow. Diffuse honest thoughts among earnest men and injustice must cease.

Cannon-balls may rule a day, But thought is a weapon stronger.

THE TRIBUTE TO ALIEN INVESTORS.

The following official table is from the Treasury Department, Washington, made up to June 30 of each year:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Year	EXPORTS.		Imports.	Excess of imports and exports.
	Domestic	Foreign		
1879	\$17,555,018	\$7,442,406	\$24,997,441	\$20,296,000
1880	9,347,893	7,795,026	17,142,919	93,034,310
1881	14,226,944	5,179,903	19,406,847	110,575,497
1882	43,480,271	5,937,208	49,174,479	42,472,399
1883	21,623,181	10,397,152	31,820,333	28,489,391
1884	59,225,635	16,997,748	67,133,393	3,330,912
1885	24,370,929	17,955,115	42,421,525	37,426,262
1886	5,141,117	16,651,921	35,997,691	60,770,756
1887	13,710,340	13,287,391	35,997,691	33,995,754
1888	33,105,504	13,215,679	49,144,183	59,577,096
1889	80,214,994	16,426,539	95,641,533	23,993,973

This presents a most startling view of our economic system. A careful examination reveals the fact that the excess of exports of gold and silver during the past year over imports lacks but ten millions to equal the entire excess of the previous ten years. The table of exports and imports of merchandise for the past year shows a balance of \$2,730,277 excess of imports. When this amount is taken from the excess exports of gold and silver there remains \$6,948,183 in gold and silver to be accounted for. Why is it that this vast amount of life-blood has been drawn from us? Who sent it away? And what has been received as an equivalent?

These are questions that interest all. Carnegie and others of his kind have bought castles, and Huntington and others have bought titles for their daughters, but even these transactions sum up but small part of this immense treasure. There are but few United States bonds held in Europe, consequently we can not look to their sale as a solution. There seem to be but two methods of solving this problem; either means certain death to American institutions. The first is, this money was sent out of the country to pay interest on private or corporate indebtedness. Or, second, our millionaires of the present are doing what millionaires of the past have done, depositing money in Europe against a time of need. If the first explanation be true, heaven help our country. This \$64,948,183 will pay interest at 5 per cent on \$1,298,965,660. If we are indebted to foreign capitalists this amount where lies the hope of the American farmer? The speculator puts a price on his products long before harvest, and the alien holds a mortgage years before seeding. If our wealthy men are sending money abroad it must be upon the same principle that "rats desert a sinking ship." One cold, solid fact is apparent to all. During the last fiscal year, which ended June 30, 1889, there has been

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sent out of this country nearly \$65,000,000 in gold and silver more than has been received. Calculating upon this basis there has been over thirty millions sent away since that time, making in all for the last eighteen months nearly \$100,000,000. Need we wonder then at the present hard times, or be at a loss to account for the 40-cent wheat, 16-cent corn, 9-cent oats, 7-cent potatoes, 2-cent beef, or three millions of tramps? Will this not account for 9-cent cotton in the face of an active demand by all the world and a late marketing of the crop? Is it not plain why this present year will close with more business wrecks than any other year in the history of the nation? Does this prove that we have as much money in the country as ever? Certainly not; but it is evident that the administration of our national affairs for the past thirty years stands guilty as charged.

If the farmer and laborer would understand that it is in sweat and toil, aching muscles and weary limbs that this vast sum must be worked out, conditions would soon change. If they would but realize that it is not the bank, the bondholder, the speculator, or the broker that pays any part of this; that in the end it all comes out of the hard-earned fruits of labor, nothing could stand in the way of an immediate and thorough reformation.

MORE FINANCIAL JUGGLERY.

Congress in April, 1876, added a section to a bill providing for a deficiency in the Bureau of Engraving that authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to sell United States bonds bearing 5 per cent interest, and with the proceeds purchase silver to be coined into small money and used to retire the fractional paper currency then in circulation. About \$20,000,000 of bonds were disposed of for that purpose. Now, if those bonds are drawing interest at the present time, and continue until 1907, when the 4 per cent bonds must be declared due, this transaction, put through Congress without proper debate or sufficient understanding, will have cost the wealth producers of this nation fully \$80,000,000. Imagine the patriotism and duty to the people that would entail an expense of \$80,000,000 to retire the best small currency we ever had, and against which no complaint was ever made.

THE cotton and seed-oil trust appears to have had some internal trouble the past few weeks. The president and treasurer are said to have lost \$527,000 in speculative efforts to boom the stock certificates, but to have made good \$250,000 of the loss out of their own pockets. The treasurer reported the capital stock of this concern at \$42,185,228, the profits the past year at \$1,655,884. It appears that the trust owns the entire capital stock of 95 concerns, including oil mills, refineries, gineries, compresses, fertilizer factories, soap factories, and lard plants. Of these 21 are kept idle. It holds a majority of the stock in 23 oil mills, 7 refineries, 1

IN ITS RELATION TO PUBLIC MORALS.

In the public considerations involved in the disposition of production throughout the localities which are best suited to the economical production and marketing of their respective staples, as might be done under a normal adjustment of transportation as imagined in the last article, a very grave phase of discrimination between localities, in its most threatening aspects, presents itself in the social and moral effect of the concentration of population in the great cities, and the proportionate decay and retrogression of a large share of the agricultural sections of the country.

It would be natural to suppose that if any part of the railroad question could be held to be utterly devoid of moral character, it would be this of the adjustment of rates between

competitive and non-competitive points. That the practice of favoritism as between shippers involves a most decided offense against public morals, appears very plainly when we understand the nature of the practice. The policy of erecting a privileged class, either by suspending competition in favor of a certain class of investors or by securing freight monopolies in the hands of favored shippers, plainly involves an issue of public morals; and the modified devices for obtaining money under false pretences by stock-watering, construction companies and the issue of bogus bonds, is as clear an issue of honesty and dishonesty as could well be presented. But on the surface of it, and as affecting the character of each railroad official who has to decide the question of relative rates between one section or city and another, the question of morals does not appear. The railroad manager who is enabled to levy a certain rate upon the traffic of the locality in which the railroad has no competition, and who has, as a contrast to that state of affairs, to decide at competitive points whether he will reduce the rate or permit the traffic to take some other route, certainly has no question of morals to settle affecting his personal character. It is, as we shall see in the future, if the mere statement of the fact has not already made it plain, simply a decision of what shall be done, in view of the presence of competition on the traffic of one section and the absence of it in another locality. Every consideration which can be brought to bear directly upon the decision, in any given case, of the differences which may be charged between competitive and non-competitive traffic, is entirely apart and distinct from the issues of moral obligation, and they must be decided solely upon the consideration of

public and corporate policy and expediency. Yet, when we come to consider the inevitable result of the decisions which have been enforced by the prevailing methods of railroad operations, the gravest and most vital of the moral results, and the most decided and lasting injury that can be imagined is in the demoralization of our social welfare.

Something over two years ago, the attention of moral reformers was arrested by statements showing the hopeless and degraded conditions of life in the tenement-house quarters of the larger cities. The condition of affairs, with reference to the cultivation of moral qualities and the intellectual qualities of citizenship, shown by the reports of those whose work rendered them familiar with life in the tenement houses, was enough to appall every thoughtful person who has any care either for the welfare of human beings or for the future of his country. It was asserted by the most undoubted medical authorities that the sanitary condition of the vast majority of the tenement houses is such that, for the people living there, and especially for children struggling up from infancy to life in the undrained, ill-smelling, and unventilated quarters of the great cities, physical health was almost a natural impossibility. People crowded together in overflowing tenement houses, living in rooms where the light of the sun never penetrates, sleeping in apartments where fresh air is unknown, with the smell of the sewers pervading the entire inner atmosphere, and with filth sometimes flooding the halls and stairways of the noisy and packed rookeries, have, as the public was assured by eminent physicians who studied those sanitary conditions, no reason to expect either escape from epidemics for themselves or a healthy physical development for their poorly-nourished and half-clad children.

Concerning the same subject, earnest and devoted missionaries, who have given their lives to efforts toward alleviating these pitiable conditions, and to endeavoring to instill in the unfortunate classes of the great cities some knowledge of the laws of morality, and some effort to struggle toward that higher life which is the most remote thing that can be imagined from their circumstances, also testified that for children growing up in such quarters, moral life and moral development was an utter impossibility. It was shown, almost with the certainty of a mathematical demonstration, that the young girls whose education for the condition of womanhood is made up of life in these quarters where there is no privacy; of daily contact with the most abandoned and wanton elements of city life; of the ready education of the streets, as the only education that they can obtain, are without hope of reaching any other goal than a womanhood of vice and shame. The boys of those tenement houses, we are told by the same authority, forced into the streets to earn their bread by fair means or foul, brought up in contact with the thieves and confidence men of the great cities, and taught by the

very environment of their youth to look up to and rely upon the leaders of the gangs of pick-pockets and bullies, are predestined robbers, confidence men, drunkards and loafers. Here is a condition of things which should arouse every thinking mind to apprehension and dismay, and in which every man must acknowledge that the highest and most vital questions of public morals are involved.

At the same time that this terrible question of morality was under discussion in the magazines and newspapers, commercial and corporate interests were discussing the long and short haul section of the interstate commerce law. That enactment, as most of the readers of these articles are very well aware, dealt only with the most violent and grotesque examples of discrimination between competitive and non-competitive railroad traffic; and only placed the restraint upon certain discriminations of enacting that a railroad shall not make an actually greater charge for a transportation over a portion of the long haul, than it makes for the full and longer haul itself. The equity and inequity of this enactment were discussed both in behalf of the railroads and against them, pro and con, in all its different phases, for a long while. Some of the points under discussion we have already noticed; others still remain to be considered. In the present connection it is not worth while to consider the cogency or conclusiveness of the considerations of policy and commercial interests which were urged on both sides. Grant that there are two sides to the question, and let the relative merits of each side remain for future settlement. The point to which I desire to call the attention of all thinking readers of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST in the present article, is that while this question of placing a slight restraint on the most extreme local discriminations was discussed, side by side, and in the same magazines as the great moral question of life in the tenement-houses of the city, no one saw the intimate connection of the two questions. The fact that the one bears to the other the relation of cause and effect has, after years of debate upon both, remained entirely unrecognized.

What is it that packs the thousands of unfortunate wretches in the tenement-houses of the great cities, where physical health is an impossibility, and moral development would be little short of a miracle? People talk of the attractions of city life, and the ability to enjoy the benefits of libraries, theatres and galleries, and cultured society, as an explanation of the tendency of population to concentrate in the cities. This may be true of the fortunate classes who have the means to enjoy these advantages; but when it concerns the struggling thousands whose utmost efforts can scarcely pay the rent for their wretched garrets, and keep soul and body together, talk of the attractions of art galleries and operas, as an explanation for their swarms of suffering humanity in the tenement-houses, is little better than mockery.

Is there any force which is mightier in

jamming these hives of humanity with their destitute thousands than the condition of the transportation system, which forces the railroad to make actually less charge for the shipments of the industries that are located at the competitive points than they would do on the same industries if located at local points along the line of their railroads? Such a practice inevitably forces the location of the industries which employ the workmen who fill the tenement houses and whose children are thus placed in those academies of vice and crime. The normal conditions of commerce, the location of natural routes of transportation in the water-courses and harbors of the country make a normal concentration of population at the points where distribution and shipment would inevitably be carried on. But for such a normal population of the centres of industry and commerce it is only legitimate to expect that decent wages and respectable homes could be provided for the employes. When we find the condition of things which forces the location in cities of industries that might naturally be located in the country districts, by the rule of methods which refuses to the intermediate and rural shipper rates of transportation approximating those of the city shipper the result is inevitable that an unnatural concentration of population is formed. The city life is congested, and the necessity of bearing the cost of the wasted effort in the longer hauls, which are performed at less charges than those levied on the shorter ones, finds its revenge in the destitute and degraded state of the tenement-house population of the great cities. If a condition of transportation could be established in which manufacturing industries, located throughout the rural districts, could obtain the exact advantage in transportation due to their location the employes of those industries would have a chance of life in the country; fresh air, food for their children, possibly vegetables and food from their own gardens, and an acquaintance with the face of God's own nature. I am not blaming the railroad interests for this state of affairs. Grant that under their present conditions they can take no other course; concede that the railroad managers, confronted with the choice as to whether he shall take competitive freight at less than he must charge the non-competitive freight, has no other course open to him than to accept the lower rate. Still, when we see the vice and hopelessness of tenement-house life, as the inevitable result of the conditions of transportation which creates this necessity, is there any thinking man who can fail to recognize that there is a vast and most vital moral bearing to this question?

Take another phase of the same subject. One of the most serious and threatening tendencies of the day, one of the gravest dangers to the national future as an intelligent and self-governing nation, is the creation of large elements in our population, which have neither interest in the stability of government, intelligence to fitly discharge the

duties of citizenship, or moral qualities enough to care whether the government is conducted upon the highest and most wise basis of policy. It is an obvious and flagrant fact that the creation of this dangerous and undesirable class is most rapidly carried on in the overcrowded quarters of the great cities. Indeed it is inevitable that such a class should be created there by the conditions of life already described. The wonder is not that the tenement-house quarters of the great cities should produce citizens who are reckless alike of personal morality and public welfare, but that under the circumstances which prevail there any of the youth can grow up to manhood, which shall include a life of honesty and any of the qualities of good citizenship. Right here we see produced the conditions of things alluded to in the opening article of the series. If the mass of the population find that the prevailing influences in society give them no just share of its rewards, afford them no decent opportunity to obtain the advantages of education, bring themselves and their children to a degraded and probably vicious and servile condition, what hope is there that they can cultivate the virtues of patriotism or become inspired with the readiness and desire to serve the best interests of their country? Is it possible for the man whose utmost efforts can earn for himself and family only a share of the vice and penury of the tenement houses, who finds that the meaning of society to him is hard labor, a squalid home, and an almost inevitable future of ignorance, vice, and crime for his children, to discover in the nation as a whole and in the support of the government as a duty of patriotism anything but the impersonation of the powers which assign these hard and repulsive conditions to himself?

I can not regard it as singular that the population of the great cities where these conditions prevail, are the easiest prey of corrupt politicians. I can hardly blame the voters to whom the phrases of Government and politics assume no other meaning than these abject and degraded conditions of life, for being ready to turn over their vote to the first man who shows enough interest in them to alleviate their poor lives by treating them to an occasional drink or paying them a few dollars. In their life, society means nothing to them but the organisms that care little for their moral existence, nothing at all for their financial prosperity, and scarcely more for their sanitary welfare. The forces which hold them together in cities give them no possible opportunity for the acquisition of small properties of their own. They can have no stake in the stability or honesty of Government, and the only thing which politics can mean to them is the chance of drawing from the excitement of a political canvass the dividend of a few drinks of whisky or a few dollars surreptitiously obtained for their votes.

Hereditary Rule Ends.

With the deposition of Dom Pedro, of Brazil, the abolition of the Empire and the establishment of a republic, as announced in the press dispatches this week, ends direct imperial rule upon the American continent. Three dependent colonies or European monarchies still remain in North, Central and South America as a menace and an eyesore to popular government. A few two-cent sovereigns, dubbed kings—through courtesy by outsiders and through superstitious loyalty, or abject fear by their subjects—still vegetate in the isles of the Pacific. With these exceptions the people of the Western Hemisphere are at least nominally self-governing. It must be admitted that imperial rule in Brazil was as liberal and progressive as the kind-hearted and sensible Dom Pedro could personally direct and control a false system. But the imperial system of hereditary government under any form, no matter who the figure-head, is radically vicious in its influence and tendencies; it is absolutely out of place on the American continent. It foists an expensive royal family with all their pauper kindred and dependents upon the public bounty; it generates an idle and hence vicious aristocracy to prey as useless parasites upon the industrial people; it demoralizes by its example and degrades by its exactions. The morals of hereditary idlers of the palace are usually more depraved than those of the professional idlers and vagabonds of the slums. Late dispatches from England announce that about eighty prominent aristocrats, many of them alleged nobles and lords, have just fled from that country in order to escape arrest and prosecution for the practice of a loathsome and unmentionable crime. Count Herbert Bismarck must have had this worthless class in view when he cynically said: "The only advantage of better society is that its morality is worse." But what better can be expected from men who do nothing but spend in luxury the wealth which other and inferior mortals have earned by hard labor? Says Carlyle: "A day is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the solar system." That day is coming the world over; it is to be hoped that it will soon arrive in this country. The professional idler, the professional parasite must go. There is too much work to be done in this world; too much poverty to be wiped out for able-bodied parasites to be longer permitted to live upon the labors of others. In the past hereditary idleness was deemed a badge of honor; in the near future professional idleness will be considered as dishonorable, as it is always dishonest. Then millionaire monopolists will not be held up as social exemplars, nor will American young women scour the European capitals for pauper princes, conscienceless counts, and depraved dukes in order to prostitute themselves and the sanctity of marriage for the sake of a title. Then character and conscience, manhood and morals will count for more than depraved idleness, gilded repose, and elegant idiocy. In as far as the revolution in Brazil abolishes hereditary rule, class privileges and caste distinctions it is a movement in the right direction, and will be hailed with delight by every lover of liberty on the continent.

If you want the most compact and useful manual of parliamentary rules and usages, get THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST ALMANAC and hand-book of useful information. Every secretary is requested to act as agent, and send in a club. It makes parliamentary usage so plain and simple that any person can readily understand it.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy,
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

THE SPEED OF TROTTING HORSES.

A short time ago the three-year-old filly Sunol trotted a full mile without a break in 2:10. A few days ago Palo Alto started to beat the stallion record of 2:12, but making a bad break on the home-stretch he failed, making a mile in 2:12 1/4. Stamboul also went against the record, and made the mile in 2:12 1/4. There are numerous horses now able to trot a mile better than 2:15, and to be considered a fast trotter now any horse must be able to beat 2:20. It is true, however, that only a small percentage of the standard-bred horses are able to make standard time, viz., 2:30, and to breed one able to go below 2:20 is as yet only a gambling chance. It is certain that the average speed of standard-bred trotters has not increased in anything like the proportion attained by the speediest horses of to-day over the speediest of thirty years ago. Improvements in the tracks, in training, in sulky, in harness, in driving considered, the increase of speed has not been so marvellous as at first flush appears to be true. It must not be forgotten that there are immense amounts of money invested in the breeding of this class of horses to-day, and all the skill and appliances which money can procure are brought to bear upon the point of the highest attainable speed at the trotting gait for a single mile. Stamboul may be regarded as probably the best young stallion living, but it is not to be expected that 5 per cent of his produce from standard mares will ever be able to make standard time—that is to say, the comparatively slow time of a single mile in 2:30. Aside then from the gambler's chance for speed which gamblers may be willing to take, in what direction are we to look for the sustaining demand for standard horses of less than standard speed, which must be found to support the stables of men of moderate means who wish to breed standard-bred trotters? The demand must be from men of moderate means who do not frequent the turf, but who desire a handsome, well-bred, safe, and well-broken business horse. A breeder able and willing to stake and lose a million or two on the chances of breeding a few such horses as Stamboul and Palo Alto or Sunol is able to do as he pleases in the indulgence of his fancy. Nevertheless if a true balance-sheet, exhibiting the outgo against the income of such an establishment, were accessible it would be seen how true it is that all that glitters is not gold. If standard-bred trotters are bred for speed alone they can not possess with any degree of uniformity the qualities desirable in a business horse or gentleman's driving horse. And families of roadsters possessing qualities something like the old Morgans will come into demand for furnishing gentlemen's roadsters and business horses, of which the type is the perfect physician's horse. On account of the lightness of vehicles and the firmness and smoothness of modern streets and roads it is now possible to drive faster horses in business uses than formerly. There is, however, a practical limit to the speed attainable and allowable in business driving. Seldom is a speed of a mile in three minutes allowable in the streets of a city or safely attainable on any ordinary country road. As yet the service of good standard-bred stallions is too costly for the breeder who aims at the production of merely business driving

horses. Standard-bred horses possessing even fashionable crosses are, it is true, multiplying with great rapidity, and the present extravagant prices paid for the fastest can scarcely be maintained. The wise farmer who breeds a few colts to sell, or even supports a horse-breeding establishment of modest pretensions ought, therefore, not to stake everything upon the chances of a fashionable pedigree and phenomenal speed. Good size, good temper, sound constitution, desirable color, stylish action, courage, and endurance are qualities that will sell a slow horse at a good figure. By resorting to the blood of such a stallion as Sam Purdy, with well-selected mares, the chances of speed are as good as the best, and there is a very satisfactory certainty of such temper, size, and style as is desirable in the matched pairs for the family coach, and this class of horses are always sure to command such a price as to make the profits of breeding them very comfortable. In such a line of breeding now and then there will be a fast one which will fetch a good figure, either for track use or for a gentleman's road driving. Many first rate business horses will be produced which will command from \$250 to double that sum, according to their style and driving qualities. But no farmers of reasonably good sense will breed an ordinary mare to a Bell Boy, an Axlet, or a Stamboul at \$500 the season. Nor, on the other hand, will he invest a five-dollar note in the service of a horse merely because he is the son or grandson of such a horse and without considering his own individual fitness for common uses as well as the chances of producing speed.

THE STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF ORGANIC BODIES.

We have in former numbers invited the attention of our readers to a popular view of the natural history and chemical characters of the four great elements, oxygen, nitrogen, carbon and hydrogen. We have suggested that each of these elements exercises in the domain of nature certain great functions which must be found to support the stables of men of moderate means who wish to breed standard-bred trotters. The demand must be from men of moderate means who do not frequent the turf, but who desire a handsome, well-bred, safe, and well-broken business horse. A breeder able and willing to stake and lose a million or two on the chances of breeding a few such horses as Stamboul and Palo Alto or Sunol is able to do as he pleases in the indulgence of his fancy. Nevertheless if a true balance-sheet, exhibiting the outgo against the income of such an establishment,

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THOROUGHBRED.

The imperfection of language is seldom set in a stronger light than by an attempt to define the word thoroughbred. Webster's attempt is little less than ridiculous, viz.: "1. Of the best blood. 2. Hence completely bred or accomplished." And hence, as the surveyors say to the point of beginning, thoroughbred. What, under this definition, is a thoroughbred horse? first, a horse of the best blood; second, a horse completely bred or accomplished. In common usage a thoroughbred horse is simply an English race-horse. Perhaps the most distinguished English race-horse that ever lived was the English Eclipse. Let us see whether that animal was "of the best blood," or whether he was completely bred or accomplished. The blood of Eclipse was in no wise distinguishable from that of other horses. His blood in the figurative, vague and indefinite sense in which it refers to the quality of his ancestors is largely unknown. Hence, whether that great animal was "of the best blood" is unanswerable. In the pedigree of Eclipse, which does not extend beyond the seventh generation in the maternal nor the ninth in the paternal line, there are twelve mares named as "unknown." It is "unknown" therefore whether this paragon of racers was "completely bred." He was, however, both as a race-horse and progenitor of race-horses, greatly "accomplished," and hence, according to Webster, thoroughbred. We do begin to perceive that the word thoroughbred is of the vaguest

application, and the claim to be thoroughbred in any given case can only be sustained by a final appeal to the unknown, as far as a remote ancestry is concerned. The technical restriction of the word to the description of the English race-horse has long since been rendered obsolete by common usage. A thoroughbred Yorkshire pig, or a thoroughbred Devon cow, or a thoroughbred Newfoundland dog, are terms in as common use, as intelligible and as correct, as the term a thoroughbred horse. The adoption of the term "standard-bred" for the newly recognized breed of American trotting horses is a decided advance in nomenclature, for the question of standard-breeding may be at once decided by reference to the standard itself. The time has arrived when the nomenclature of the science of breeding should be reformed in accordance with common usage and practice. A definite standard is required for every breed recognized as distinct, and the term standard-bred would soon substitute itself for the vague, elastic and often misleading term thoroughbred. Then the way will be open for dispensing with the mysticism of the term "blood" as synonymous with inheritance, and the misleading influence of the fractions mathematically dividing and parcelling out the inheritance in equal fragments among the numerous individuals of the known ancestry, as one-half, one-quarter, one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second part bred. In place of this we could have standard-bred animals, and grades of one, two, three or more standard crosses. Instead of saying of a horse that it is fifteen-sixteenths thoroughbred, it would be said he is a race-horse grade with four standard top crosses. If seven standard top crosses admit an animal to the standard, instead of being fifteen-sixteenths thoroughbred he would be four-sevenths standard, or require three more crosses to become standard-bred and admissible to the register of standard-bred race-horses. In that case one standard cross would produce a grade one-seventh standard instead of half-bred; two top crosses would be two-sevenths instead of three-quarter bred. The mathematical symbols in this case would express simple, definite, absolute facts, and would not imply any exact parcelling out of the characters of the individual nor mathematical precision among a numerous ancestry, some one individual among which may exercise an influence upon the offspring greatly preponderant over all the balance, as common observations plainly show. Precision of nomenclature is the first prerequisite to clearness of thought.

THE JOURNAL OF MYCOLOGY.

We are indebted to the Department of Agriculture for No. 3, Vol. IV, of the above-named journal issued by the Department, and edited by B. T. Galloway, chief of the section of vegetable pathology. This journal is devoted to the study of fungi in their relation to the diseases of plants, and is of great practical value to agriculture in general, and especially to fruit growers and horticulturists. The present number contains an account of a suggestive experiment in the preventive treatment of potato rot, by spray of the so-called Bordeaux mixture of lime and sulphate of copper, and also the valuable suggestion that by an addition of London purple the same application may be made effective against the Colorado and other destructive potato bugs. Another practical paper is on wheat and oat smuts; how they spread, and how their spread may be prevented. We have said before, and we say again, that the work of this section has been of very great value already, and promises each year to save more to the agriculture of the country than the cost of the whole department many times over. Carping critics, who from the depths of their ignorance rail at the scientific workers and underestimate the value of scientific work, should be allowed no weight nor influence with the people. In all experimental research much of the work appears to go for nothing, for it is often quite as important to establish a negative as to discover a fact. Moreover, why should there be a niggard parsimony in dealing with this department while a lavish expense prevails, and is countenanced in other and less important Government work?

DISEASE COMMUNICATED BY CATS TO CHILDREN.

In a late issue, the Southern Clinic gives a case in which diphtheria is supposed to have been communicated to children by pet cats. In a late issue of this paper we pointed out the pet nuisance as a source of possible danger to health, and probably in many cases, to life. Enough is now certainly known to justify sensible precaution, without creating false and foolish alarm. A full list of diseases known to be common to men and animals, and to be communicable by the affected animals to man, would astonish most medical men, and probably be received with general popular incredulity. Glanders, hy-

drophobia, tuberculosis, and diphtheria are among deadly diseases which are in point of fact not uncommonly communicated by animals sick of them to man. In another way also, house pets, especially night-prowlers, like cats and dogs, by visiting premises where disease is prevailing in the family, become carriers of the poison to their own home, and fatally inoculate members of the household. No man acquainted with the facts will be found to deny such a possibility. This is a good rule; keep no cats, especially in town. If cats are kept, and one gets sick, kill it. If dogs are kept, kennel them always at night. After handling any sick animal, wash the hands in a disinfecting solution. Never handle any sick animal beyond what is necessary. Never take the breath exhaled by any sick animal directly into the lungs. Never be needlessly afraid and alarmed about anything, but never forget simple and sensible precautions.

The Brazilian Revolution.

Last week, without the loss of a single life or any violence, the empire of Brazil was abolished and the republic of the United States of Brazil was established. It was not unexpected; indeed the general belief has been for some years that with the close of Dom Pedro's reign would end imperial rule in the country. It is said that the revolutionary party offered to make Dom Pedro president, but that he refused to accept the presidency under revolutionary agencies. He was then given twenty-four hours to leave the country, and at the same time offered \$2,500,000 in cash and an annual pension of \$450,000. He accepted the proposition, and on Saturday, November 16, left on the steamer Alagoas for Lisbon. Brazil has had an eventful history since the first settlement of the country by Europeans, and some of the incidents of that history are unique. It was the only colony that ever became the seat of government for the mother country. It affords the only instance in which a republic has been established by a revolution and the deposed monarch offered the presidency. It furnishes about the only instance in which a republic has been established for business considerations rather than through the enthusiasm for greater liberty. When Napoleon declared war against Portugal King John fled to Brazil, leaving Portugal under a regency. September 22, 1822, the independence of Brazil was declared, and soon after Dom Pedro I, son of King John, was proclaimed emperor. In 1831 he abdicated in favor of his six-year-old son, Dom Pedro II, who was not, however, crowned until 1840. For almost a half a century Dom Pedro ruled the empire. Brazil is a country of vast area and wonderful resources. Its area is 3,288,000 square miles, or almost as large as the continent of Europe. It has a coast line of 4,000 miles, and the Amazon and its tributaries furnish 30,000 miles of navigable rivers. With a free and progressive republican government there is a grand future for the United States of Brazil.

The November report of the Department of Agriculture puts the fruitage and yield of cotton at about 3 per cent higher than last year.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 29.

The superintendent of the money-order system has assigned to his control the general supervision and management of the postal money-order system, including the domestic money-order business, the postal-note business, and the superintendence of the international money-order correspondence with foreign countries, as well as the preparation of postal conventions for the exchange of money orders, and the conduct of correspondence relating to these subjects. There are six divisions of this bureau:

The Examining Division receives in the first instance the money-order weekly statements of postmasters, and subjects the same to critical examination, that it may be ascertained whether they are in proper form, whether the postmaster has promptly deposited, in accordance with regulation, the surplus money-order funds received by him.

The Blank Division is charged with ordering from contractors supplies of blank books for money-order business, of caring for same, and of filling requisitions therefor for postmasters.

The Duplicate Division disposes of applications for the issue of duplicate money orders and postal notes, and all such duplicates are prepared therein, and after being signed by the superintendent are transmitted to postmasters.

The Division of Domestic Correspondence prepares replies to inquiries from postmasters and the public in cases involving construction of the postal laws and regulations relating to the money-order business, and relating also to disputes between postmasters and the public as to the payment of money orders or postal notes, and to it is assigned the preparation of the annual list of post-offices to be established as money-order and postal-note offices.

The Division of Drafts, Credits, and Transfers prepares for transmittal to postmasters, upon their application, blank drafts to supply them with funds for the payment of money orders and letters of credit upon the postmaster at New York for the same purpose, and keeps a record thereof; it also records all transfers made for a similar purpose by postmasters from their postal funds to their money-order funds.

The International Division conducts correspondence between postmasters and their office and between this office and foreign post-office departments relating to international money-orders; it also issues duplicates of and authorizes repayment of international money-orders.

The number of employees in this bureau is 84; aggregate amount of yearly salaries \$74,500.

The Dead-Letter Office, under the direction of the superintendent, is charged with the treatment of all unavailable and undelivered mail matter which is sent to it for

disposition; the enforcement of the prompt sending of such matter according to regulations; the duty of noting and correcting errors of postmasters connected with the delivery or withholding of mail matter; the investigation, by correspondence, of complaints made with reference thereto; the verification and allowance of claims for credit by postmasters for postage-due stamps affixed to undelivered matter; the examination and forwarding or return of all letters which have failed of delivery; inspection and return to country of origin of undelivered matter; recording and restoration to owner of letters and parcels which contain valuable enclosures; care and disposition of all money, negotiable paper, and other valuable articles found in undelivered matter, and correspondence, both foreign and domestic, relating to these subjects.

The divisions of this office are as follows: Opening Division, Unmailable and Property Division, Money Division, Minor Division, Returning Division, and Foreign Division.

The number of employees is 138 and the aggregate of the salaries is \$152,680.

The foregoing bureaus manage the great operations of this Department, but there are numerous less important bureaus which we have not space to describe in detail. Included in these are the bureau of mail depredations, with 13 employees and aggregate of salaries amounting to \$16,120; the Assistant Attorney-General's office, with 5 employees, whose salaries amount to \$9,100.

Topographer's office, with 25 employees, with salaries of \$31,020. The supply service, with 31 employees and an aggregate of salaries of \$50,500. Inspection service, with 80 employees, salaries aggregating \$131,700. Office of disbursing clerk and superintendent of inspection service, with 80 employees, whose salaries aggregate \$32,180.

The railway-mail service has about 6,014 employees at present; but this force is constantly increasing. The average of the total salaries in this bureau is about \$6,032,400. Six thousand of these employees are clerks, messengers, route agents, etc., and their salaries vary from \$600 to \$14,000 per year. The foregoing list includes only employees of the Department at Washington, and who receive their salaries from this office direct. The number of postmasters, clerks, employees, etc., throughout the United States is enormous. The post-offices are classified as follows: All where the salary of the postmaster amounts to \$3,000 or over are ranked as first class, those of \$2,000 to \$3,000 second class, from \$1,000 to \$2,000 third class, and all under \$1,000 fourth class.

THERE is gathered around the capitol of this nation a gang of pirates who thundered successfully at the doors until they have driven this Government into the most preposterous acts of bad faith and legalized robbery that ever oppressed a free nation since the dawn of history.—O. P. Morton.

The Labette County (Kan.) Statesman says:

Friends and countrymen, let us get together under the banner of "Death to Monopoly." Then we shall redeem Israel and leave to our children a glorious heritage.

The Rural Home (Toisnot, N. C.) says:

If people would cease trying to cultivate each other it would disclose their own needs, which would keep them busy cultivating themselves.

The Climax Advocate (Climax Springs, Mo.)

don't get far out of the way in this!

The present leaders of the two old parties have demonstrated by their every action that they are the most servile tools in the hands of a greedy, soulless money power that is as devoid of mercy and justice as is the infernal region of angels of light. For misery and want this hideous monster cares nothing.

There are about 25,000 mail routes in the United States, and contracts for carrying the mail are let to the lowest bidder.

The force of the Post-Office Department is very flexible, both as to numbers and compensation, therefore it is impossible to give more than an idea of the exact force employed and cost of maintenance.

The aggregate of employees directly in the employ of the Department in Washington is 6,731, and the total salaries is \$6,977,050.

THE general money market, as reported by wire from forty cities to Bradstreet's yesterday, is distinctly tighter than it was one week ago, when New York was apparently beginning to recover from marked stringency of funds. There has been no turn in the current of funds at the west or southwest; on the contrary, Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha banks report money closer, with country demands for accommodation increasing, and thus far no relief from improving mercantile collections. There is a tendency toward noticeable tightness at Cincinnati, Milwaukee and at Boston, while Baltimore reports actual stringency, Philadelphia a closer loan market, and New York a marked scarcity of available funds, with call loan rates yesterday at about 6@12 per cent, as compared with 6 per cent one week ago. This state of affairs constitutes a prolongation of the general tendency to monetary stringency heretofore noted in these columns. At New York November disbursements are in part responsible for this state of affairs, which is regarded as only temporary.

The above extract is taken from Bradstreet's of November 2d. We are careful to note this as it sounds so much like the croakings of reform papers that we fear some of our readers might mistake its origin. When a paper like Bradstreet's, that has always been the tool of Wall street and never fails to aid the banks through its reports, gives the above gloomy review of the situation it is time for every one to begin preparation for the ultimate end of the present financial system.

Subscribers to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST can secure one of our new Almanacs free by sending one new name for the paper at the regular subscription price, \$1.00 per year.

Those who are not subscribers can get the Almanac by sending two new names. The Almanac sells for 15 cents each, or 12½ cents in clubs, and it will contain more information than many books that sell for a dollar.

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Business Failures.

BRADSTREET's report of failures for the third quarter of this year is anything but reassuring. In fact it points with prophetic significance to worse disasters that must surely follow. The business failures for the nine months of 1889 were 1,014 more than for the corresponding months of 1888. The liabilities were \$17,813,527 greater in amount than last year. Coming as this does from the highest authority upon such matters, it furnishes ample food for serious reflection. The question being asked all over this nation is, if we are traveling the high road of prosperity, why do the finger boards all point toward bankruptcy and ruin? If the present policy of government, which has been practically in operation for a quarter of a century, is correct and the only one capable of bringing about an era of peace and plenty, why do we not find some evidences of that character occasionally along the route?

From 1865 to January 1, 1889, there has been 149,061 failures, amounting to \$3,633,102,000. During the year 1888 there were 13,348 failures, amounting to \$247,659,000. According to the report mentioned the present year will increase both number and amount.

It is safe to say that the year 1889 will close with a record of more business disasters than any previous year in the history of this nation. Is this condition fair and just to the people? and have they not a right to complain? The wealth producers of this country never worked harder or economized closer than they have this present year, and now comes the proof that all their efforts have been in vain; that something has stepped in between industry and prosperity. How long this battle against such odds will continue no one can foretell, but the plain proposition that the people are anxiously seeking out the cause no one will dispute.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac will not be out of date when 1890 shall have passed, because it contains valuable information that will never be old and that can be found in no other place.

"Plutocracy, or American White Slavery."

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

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

To secure either of these club premiums it is not necessary to send all of the names at once, but notice of intention to claim the premiums should accompany the first order.

recall to life the sheeted dead as Christ's "Come Forth," at the tomb of Lazarus.

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

2. As to its political merit, my own predilections in the same direction possibly disqualify me for impartial judgment. At least, I may say in a most unimpartial way, that in my biased opinion, "it knocks the black out." And, if you will allow, I will venture to add that in its guise of fiction it will touch the "haslets" of more people, and awaken more thought, and induce deeper conviction than a thousand congressional speeches. To the common mind, the one usually presents facts like Ezekiel's Valley of Dry Bones, which were "very many and very dry." The other, like that same valley when breathed upon by the Spirit, the bones no longer prone and ghastly skeletons, but standing up a great army of living men.

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

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

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

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

THE Catholic congress, recently in session in Baltimore, put itself on record by an emphatic endorsement of the right of laboring men to organize for the maintenance of their rights and the advancement of their interests.

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

PREMIUMS FOR CLUBS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is now prepared to offer any one of the following articles as premiums, to be sent postage paid from this office, for clubs of subscribers at one dollar per annum.

CLUBS OF FIVE.

One copy of "Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery," by Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, of Georgia, bound in paper.

One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

CLUBS OF SIX.

A copy of Volume I of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in strong paper.

CLUBS OF TEN.

One copy of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price," in cloth.

One year's subscription to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

CLUBS OF FIFTEEN.

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

Yours for the right, ISAAC McCACKEN, Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1889.

W. S. Morgan.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

Every farmer and every man interested in the cause of the farmer should read your book and preserve it in his home library.

Yours fraternally,

C. W. MACUNE.

The book contains 774 large octavo pages, is full cloth bound, lettered in gilt, with gilt side stamp, and is printed on fine plated book paper. In counties where we have no agents the book will be sent postpaid to any address at the low price of \$2.25. Agents wanted in every county.

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AND

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION

By W. S. Morgan.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

The Grandest Book of the Year.

A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

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

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

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

Yours fraternally,

EVAN JONES,

Pres. Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work that I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

Yours for the right, ISAAC McCACKEN, Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1889.

PITTSBURGH SCALE CO.

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NO. 75 THIRD AVENUE,

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Will sell you a 5-ton Wagon Scale, 8x15 Platform, Double Brass Beam, for \$60.00.

Write for Circulars, etc.

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

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

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OF THE
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E. T. Y. & G. R. R. 8 miles from MACON.Imported Shetland Ponies,
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2-2-14

The National Economist

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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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WEEKLY.

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

NO. 12.

Odenheimer Cotton Bagging.

THE LANE MILL IS READY NOW TO RECEIVE ORDERS FOR

ODENHEIMER COTTON BAGGING, 44 inches wide, weighing three-quarters of a pound to the yard, which COVERING was adopted for permanent and exclusive use by the

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND

WHEEL OF AMERICA,

at their meeting at Birmingham, Ala., on May 15 and 16, 1889.

On orders aggregating 25,000 yards during the season 2 per cent allowance.

Orders once placed are irrevocable, and no cancellation will be accepted under any circumstances.

Orders to state where Bagging is to be shipped. All shipments to be paid for against sight drafts, bill of lading attached.

A deposit of 25 per cent must accompany all orders, unless same come through responsible business houses or banks, or else be accompanied by a certificate of bank or responsible business house, stating they will pay our sight draft for the amount of the Bagging when shipped.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice a month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

THE LANE MILLS,
New Orleans.

SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

If you want the best school desks, the best "aids to school discipline," slated paper, or any other style of black boards, or any other "tools to work with" in the school-room, such as maps, globes, charts, or black boards, the best thing to do is to write the J. B. Merwin School Supply Co., St. Louis, Mo., for special introductory prices on these articles. This firm furnishes the best goods at the lowest prices, and will take pleasure in answering all inquiries. Address the J. B. MERWIN SCHOOL SUPPLY CO., 1104 Pine street, St. Louis, Mo.

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

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THE GOLD WORSHIP SUPERSTITION

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

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

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

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

Of all the prophets that ever prophesied in the interests of their fetish the goldites are the most unreliable. Of all the theorists they are the most absurd. That a panic may come is true; even if silver coinage of the present is continued or increased to the maximum, or unlimited silver coinage established. But to stop the coinage of silver would bring a panic certainly and at once. It would be just as sensible to destroy half the food in the country in order to prevent famine among our people as it would be to stop the coinage of silver with a view of preventing a panic—that is a money famine. Were Mr. Spinner restricted as to food to a small piece of meat and a small piece of bread per day and hungry a large part of his time upon the scant allowance, under such circumstances was somebody to advise him to throw away the bread and that then he could live better upon the little piece of meat alone, what would he think of such advice? Yet such a proposition would be on a par with the advice Mr. Spinner gives the American people upon the financial question. Here is a chronic stringency in the money market, with the rate of interest high, with about one thousand recorded business failures and three times that number of smaller unrecorded failures occurring every month, with the indebtedness of the people constantly increasing and their ability to pay constantly decreasing, on account of falling prices; with the cry for more currency everywhere heard, and yet Mr. Spinner coolly proposes to make money still scarcer, prices lower, and the debt burdens relatively greater in order to make the people prosperous. Supposing the balance of trade does turn against this country and gold goes out to settle that balance, is a panic any more liable to come because there is some silver yet left behind? In other words, does Mr. Spinner hold that it would be liable to have no medium of exchange than to have silver money? The assumption that the coinage of silver or the issuing of paper money drives gold out of a country—the dictum of the goldite political economists—has been proven false and unfounded so often by practical experience that the cry of "wolf" by the monometallists attracts but little attention now. When France, at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, issued 2,800,000 francs of legal-tender paper money the goldites predicted dire disaster