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United Effort in Righting Wrong.  
BY BEN TERRELL.

The physician will ascertain what is wrong with his patient before he will prescribe a remedy. If a merchant does not make money he will go to work to learn why. If a factory does not show the gain expected the management will be looked into. In all pursuits when results are not satisfactory, the first action taken by those in charge will be to find out what is wrong. Now, there is something wrong with the producers of this country. What is it? It is not that they do not work enough, for they have produced enough wealth in the last thirty years to enrich other classes until America is able to almost buy the world. No country has ever known so rapid an accumulation of wealth. It is not that they do not economize, for it is a well-known fact that no other class is so poorly clothed and fed. It is not that they are profligate, idle, or criminal, for statistics show them to be in a high degree sober, industrious, and law-abiding. Now, then, what is the matter with the producers?

They are simply producing at a loss. This is evident, for in the same length of time (thirty years), in which other classes have gained so enormously in wealth they have not held their own. At the beginning of this period they owned one-half of the wealth, now they own only one-fourth. While they have fallen behind, other classes have gained from 100 to 1,000 per cent. Now suppose producers could double productions, would that help them? Not at all. Is it not shown that, labor as they may, others get the profit and they the experience? Well, then, if increased production will not help, let the producers go to work like men and find out what will. In discussing this matter we must take producers as a class and not as individuals, because there are exceptions to all rules. Now let us examine the conditions. We are buying on credit at a great loss, because for this credit we pay from 78 to 100 per cent. extra. We are selling everything in the lowest market and buying everything in the highest. We pay from 1 to 2 per cent. for money to handle our crops. We pay double the transportation rate we should to get our produce to market and our supplies back. In addition to this we pay 80 per cent. of the taxes, while owning only 25 per cent. of the wealth of the country. Now, with such conditions, can we hope to accomplish anything? Will not we become poorer each year until our children become the bond men and women of the speculative classes? Hence the imperative necessity of changing these conditions.

What shall we do to be saved? In the first place, we must organize—unify ourselves—for, remember, we must stand or fall as a whole. Let the wisest counsel be had in order that we may decide intelligently upon a line of action. In the next place let us attack the credit system. Let us take the power of credit from the merchants and control it ourselves. We can do that by each Alliance looking after its members and helping them to get cash with which to buy enough supplies to make a crop without mortgaging to the merchants. Be sure to require good security from each member for the amount he wants, these amounts to be agreed upon and approved by the Alliance. Then let a note for the sum of these amounts, signed by every member of the Alliance, be made to a trustee, who will effect a loan on the best possible terms. Now, the advantages to be gained by this can scarcely be estimated. The merchant is forced to compete in prices with others who seek to get your cash trade. You can never do this while you buy on credit, for when you mortgage to a merchant you are his prey for that year, if not for all time to come. You will find that he will charge you enough for

"carrying you," as he calls it. You must stop being carried and be independent. Now some may and will say, "I don't want to be security for another man." Let me remind such a brother that as it now is he pays his share of all the merchant's credit losses. Consider well this step, for I regard it as one of the most important changes to be made in our condition. If you have no Alliance Exchange, go to work with might and main, to establish one, and use your purchasing power to make it the largest buyer in the market. Each member of the Alliance who has taken stock in the Exchange can buy as cheaply as if he owned the whole capital stock and had the purchasing power of all the members. For instance, if you want a wagon, you order through the Exchange, all the members wanting wagons having done the same. The agent buying for all can buy as cheaply as any one buying like amounts, and you get your one wagon at the same rate as if you had bought them all. The same advantage is gained in buying a barrel of flour when your order goes with others to make up a car-load. Now, with such an agent, whose duty it is to look out for your interest, hunting the best markets to sell in, and the best to buy in, you can reverse the present conditions and buy in the cheapest and sell in the highest market the country affords, and by paying the spot cash you can get the best prices. If you take this action, bend your whole energy to change present conditions, and don't make war on anybody or try to pull anybody down. If your merchant can not compete in prices he will not be able to hold his trade. If he can and does, all right—patronize him. You have the option and he must meet the competition. Bulk your cotton, and offer direct to the factory on as good terms as the speculator. As it is, you do not sell your own cotton but only take what the buyer will give you for it. Change these conditions. Step up from dependence to independence. You can do it; you must do it.

In the name of your country, for the sake of your wives and children, do your duty in this matter. You compose 44 per cent. of the voters of this country. Unite to elect men to represent you who will defend your interests. Read, educate yourselves in finance, transportation, taxation, and everything that concerns your welfare. Subscribe for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and inform yourselves upon the subjects of which it treats. You must come to the front. You can not longer evade your public duties without criminality; your responsibility is too great. Exercise your suffrage understandingly, unhampered by prejudice. Do not consider individuals, but select the best men; those who can stand the application of Jefferson's rule: "Is he honest? Is he competent? Will he stand by the people?" Apply this rule and make your choice from the people; not necessarily from your Alliance, but from among good men of all occupations. Know what you want. Make your demands with reason and intelligence and you will be heard. You can thus alter every condition that surrounds you, and it will be your fault if you do not win. Subscribe for and read your papers; help each other; have confidence in each other and in yourselves. Deserve success and you will attain it. Dare to be right, fear to be wrong, and God will bless you and your effort.

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VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1889.

No. 11.

## Cotton vs. Jute.

The cotton planters of America, represented by delegates from their organizations, met in the city of Birmingham, Ala., on the 15th ultimo, and after carefully discussing the advantages and disadvantages of substituting cotton for jute as the substance from which the wrapping for bales of cotton is to be manufactured, they decided by a unanimous vote in favor of the adoption of such substitute for a permanent covering, and as a consequence they have gone to work in earnest to inaugurate the use of the substitute.

It is probable that the press of the country will now teem with arguments representing all sides and views of this question; and should the decision made at Birmingham prove to have been wisely made and therefore capable of standing the test of the most thorough analysis, it will soon be so demonstrated. But it will not do for partisans on the subject to introduce the argument by saying that the "farmers are a lot of fools;" "that the profits on jute bagging will be completely lost by the substitution of cotton;" "that it will entail a great loss to wrap with cotton;" "that a sufficient amount of the cotton substitute can not be obtained;" "that there is an actual profit on the jute bagging to the planter," or "that jute is the better material for the purpose," and a dozen more hackneyed assertions that simply express the sentiments of those presenting them. The farmers at Birmingham had a full and free conference with the cotton-mills of the south. They also gave a fair, full and impartial hearing to the jute men, and received propositions from them based upon the largest cash deal ever offered in this country. They went to work like business men in a business way. They had written contracts and propositions as to supply and price from both the cotton and the jute manufacturers, and taking such data as that and equally accurate information on the subjects of freights, tare, durability, inflammability, insurance, and desirability of the two substances, they applied the whole mass of evidence to the stern arbitration of cold mathematical demonstration. Nothing could be more systematic—nothing could be more certainly correct than conclusions so secured.

## TARE

is a very important consideration in the discussion of the subject, because not only is every cent paid by the planter for bagging and ties an absolute loss that should be charged to his expense account, but clinging to it are many pounds of the fleecy staple. Of the uses made by manufacturers of the bagging and ties no record is made and no report has ever been offered the public; evidently the manufacturers desire them to be regarded as a waste entirely.

## JUTE

Has had complete possession of the field as the standard covering for cotton bales for so long a time that it is no trouble to compile a statement of its merits and demerits. It is made in weights of 1½, 1¾, 2, and 2¼ pounds per yard, and is used in pieces of from 5 to 8 yards in a pattern.

A custom has been established in many places by which the ginner furnishes bagging

A little over two-thirds of the entire American crop of cotton is used by foreign manufacturers, and, consequently, the foreign price governs the home market. Liverpool, being the greatest cotton market in the world, practically controls the cotton markets of the world for the above reason, and for the further reason that there the cotton from all the cotton-producing countries meets in competition. American prices represent just as low a price as the Liverpool market will justify; and whenever American buyers offer only a fraction lower than the shipper can realize by sending his cotton to Liverpool he will ship it there. And American prices must, therefore, represent the Liverpool price less the cost of all expenses that attach to shipping and selling in that market. These expenses can be estimated with great accuracy, and in whichever market the seller can realize the most net money there he will sell. This operates to keep the markets practically equal. In shipping to Liverpool there is freight to be paid, also insurance, commissions, and a tare for bagging, ties, and dirt. These all attach as expenses, and are deducted from the gross proceeds to give the net, or American price. The tare for bagging and ties is variously estimated; some claim that they take off the bagging and ties and weigh the net cotton; others that the ties are taken off and weighed actual, and that the bagging is estimated at 16 pounds and dirt 4 pounds; others that they take a tare of 6 per cent., or about an average of 30 pounds per bale. The latter system is probably almost the universal custom, and for the purpose of this examination the tare will be calculated at 30 pounds per bale, as is the custom in estimating American quotations. The ties actually weigh about 10 pounds, and as we have seen the bagging averages 10½ pounds, the allowance of the 4 pounds claimed for dirt brings the total up to 24½ and leaves the balance of 5½ pounds to represent loose cotton that sticks to the rough bagging when it is removed. Of course that is entirely too much, as probably not over a pound or two does actually stick to the bagging, but it is very troublesome in that particular. Since, then, a tare representing the full amount of the weight of the bagging and ties and about 1 per cent. of the cotton is deducted in the Liverpool market, and since the Liverpool market fixes and regulates the quotations of all other markets, American as well as foreign, let no man be deceived by the assertions of superficial reasoners who claim that no tare is taken on the American market. The tare is allowed for in the quotations of prices, and, therefore, is never

avoided by a single bale. And since it represents all the bagging and ties and 1 per cent. of the cotton, there is exactly that much absolute loss that must be charged to the expense account. To illustrate, suppose a bale of cotton sold weighing 520 $\frac{1}{2}$  pounds; at 8 cents per pound there are 500 pounds of cotton bringing \$40.00, and 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of bagging and ties bringing \$1.64, making a total of \$41.64. It would seem that the bagging and ties, which cost probably 90 cents, had been sold for 74 cents profit, but it should be remembered that 8 cents as the price is based on the English tare, and without that would be 30 pounds, at 8 cents, more on the bale; or \$2.40, being about 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound. Now what is the difference between paying the 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents and deducting the tare, or paying 8 cents and pretending not to?

## COTTON.

The bagging made from cotton is much lighter and is of a uniform weight. This is an advantage, because the weight being always the same it can be accurately estimated; whereas jute being of different weights the tare, as above shown, is based on the heavier weights. The cotton weighs  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pound to the yard, and if the same amount be used as is customary of jute, the crop of 7,600,000 bales will require 45,600,000 yards, which will weigh 34,000,000 pounds, and costing, at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound—the maximum price—\$5,700,000. By allowing 2 per cent. for waste in manufacturing, the gross pounds raw cotton used in making that amount of bagging yearly will be 34,680,000 pounds, or 69,360 bales of 500 pounds each. Cotton is much less inflammable than jute, and in consequence it is claimed will be entitled to a lower rate of insurance. Cotton will weigh from 6 to 8 pounds less than jute per bale, and will have no lint cotton sticking to it, therefore the tare must be reduced 8 pounds upon cotton wrapped in cotton bagging. The planter will be independent of the cash market for his low grades of cotton and can ship them to native Southern cotton-mills to be made into bagging at not over 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per yard; and estimating such low-grade cotton at 6 cents per pound,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pound would cost 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  for the cotton, making 8 cents complete; and at the lowest possible estimate of this added independence of the money power to price of cotton, together with the augmented utility of the low grades and increased demand, with the consequent shortage in total crop produced by this manufacture, the price of the entire cotton crop could not fail to be very materially augmented in price. This is variously estimated at from  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a cent to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound. But say the very lowest, or  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a cent per pound increase on the entire crop. The encouragement of domestic manufactures from domestic raw material will also stimulate the market for domestic food products.

In submitting these facts to figures and comparing proceeds with expenses, a correct conclusion may be reached which will at all times be susceptible of

PROOF.	
Jute-bagging Debit.	
To cost total.....	\$4,332,000
To tare on 30 lbs. @ 8c., total	18,240,000
Total.....	\$22,572,000
Jute contra Credit.	
By proceeds total sale @ 8c., on 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.....	\$12,464,000
Net loss on Jute.....	\$10,108,000
Cotton-bagging Debit.	
To cost total.....	\$5,700,000
To tare on 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. @ 8c.....	8,816,000
Total.....	\$14,516,000
Cotton contra Credit.	
Proceeds total sale 8c., on 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.....	\$8,816,000
Increase price entire crop $\frac{1}{2}$ cent, or 6 cents per bale on 7,600,000 bales.....	4,560,000
Total.....	\$13,376,000
Net loss on cotton.....	1,140,000
	\$14,516,000

Difference in favor of cotton and against jute, \$8,968,000, or about one dollar and five cents per bale on the entire crop.

An important element in this calculation is that there is no element of loss on tare, as the planters have resolved to no longer submit to that; and since it would be no longer just, exchanges and associations are fast recognizing that fact and will not insist upon it.

The great significant fact for monopolists to note in the jute-bagging conflict is that the yoke of oppression arouses a spirit of liberty that will not be subdued. A little too much taxation caused the founders of this great Republic to deny the mother country the right to impose any, and resulted in the establishment of the grandest government on earth. The jute combination, in trying to oppress the patient farmer a little too much, has aroused his unquenchable spirit of liberty and independence to discover a better and a cheaper substitute, the use of which will tend to increase his own prosperity and importance, instead of enriching an unworthy enterprise. The verdict of the jury of intelligent American cotton-planters is against jute and in favor of cotton, and the intelligent manufacturer and observer of the times will fall in with the movement and change his business and machinery, so as to encourage the manufacture of American raw material by American mills.

Organized agriculturists will make a determined fight in favor of this decision; they have burned the bridges behind them; and while they are prepared for a siege of several years before victory shall be complete, they will accomplish much the present season and will allow no man to associate in their organizations who does not take his part in the conflict.

NEITHER science nor Christianity demand the servitude of the many that the few may dwell in demoralizing ease. And history proves the fatal results which follow such conditions in all ages and under all forms of government.

## No Socialism in Labor Organizations.

BY J. D. RANKIN.

I wish to make some comments upon an editorial published in your paper of April 6, 1889.

Nineteen-twentieths of said editorial contained sentiments worthy of the best statesmen, patriots, and philosophers, and no one can bestow too much laudation upon the larger portion of the editorial referred to, but you make some statements in said editorial that are to be as loudly condemned as the others are to be praised. As I am impressed with this belief, I feel it my duty to offer such criticisms upon your editorial as in my judgment is absolutely necessary for the preservation of a reform party, and I wish most positively to say that I do it in that brotherly spirit in which one brother should attempt to correct another, for we both belong to the same industrial organizations. And with this understanding I will attempt to show you what I conceive to be a great error in your production, and at the same time to show you the evil effect of such teaching upon our labor organizations, for it is my deliberate opinion that such views as are expressed in your editorial hang as heavily around the necks of our various industrial organizations as sixty thousand ship-loads of lead.

In order that there may be no mistake about that portion of your editorial to which I object I will quote it, as follows: "Organization is combination, and combination is socialism."

\* \* \* Therefore the farmers and labor organizations are temporary combinations for self-protection, and should not be regarded as permanent, based upon and calculated to carry out the principles of socialism. \* \* \* Under such conditions combinations for owning and speculating in land could not exist, because land being a limited and essential to the existence and life of the citizen, the government must ever control the unused part, and hold a reversionary interest in some in trust for the benefit of the additions to population until all is used. This function of government is not now forced into activity, but it is only a question of time when it will be. No government could stand the strain that would be brought to bear if it should allow the increase of its population pushed into the sea to drown for the lack of standing room on dry land, while part of its people hold thousands of acres unused."

I will now advert to the utter folly of your first proposition, that organization and combination is socialism. Men may organize and combine to establish a church, a Masonic lodge, a political party, a sub-Alliance, or an assembly of Knights of Labor and be as distinct and as exempt from every character of socialism as they would be of murder or any other crime. Socialism and communism are so inseparable that none can draw a line of demarcation between them; they imply the common use of things that God made and not the ownership of such things as God created; they imply the ownership of such things as man himself can make. Men may organize and combine to form churches, Masonic lodges, political parties, sub-Alliances, and assemblies of Knights of Labor and exercise the individual ownership of property of every character as perfectly as though they did not belong to any of said organizations. This being the case, you will see the utter fallacy of charging socialism upon such organizations. I belong to most of the above-named organizations and combinations, and I would as soon be charged with any crime as to be charged with the crime of socialism or communism, which are equivalents of each other. There is nothing more clear to my mind than that all the above-mentioned organizations or combinations are as clear of socialism as Heaven is of Satan. It is also manifest to the mind of any one who will allow himself to think that

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men may organize and combine for any constitutional purpose and be absolutely free from any tincture or charge of socialism.

In your closing remarks you say, "Labor organizations and combinations are temporary socialisms, and are not intended to be permanently continued as such in accordance with the views usually occupied by Socialists." This proposition is false and untenable, as I have already shown. There is not a scintilla of socialism or anything resembling it in the Farmers' Alliance or Knights of Labor; there never was and never will be any in either organization. I challenge any man to show me a single plank in the platform of the Farmers' Alliance or Knights of Labor or the Union Labor party that contains even a hint at anything like socialism. It is such unfounded statements as is contained in your editorial referred to that gives the old party press a foundation for charging all labor organizations with communism, when, in fact, there is not a shadow of truth for such charges. Nothing of the kind can be found in the platform of any of our labor organizations. Notwithstanding there is not the shadow of truth in such charges of socialism and communism, the character of the editorial in your paper, and the loose statements of many of our best workers who have been silly enough to read and adopt the teachings of George's work in favor of socialism, communism, and anarchy, and to give vent to his teaching in writing, speaking, and conversation, the old party press is furnished with millstones that are heavier than ship-loads of lead to hang about our necks, to crush out our energy and life, and prevent our growth as labor organizations. In consequence of this loose writing, speaking, and talking among many of our best workers the world generally, which does not understand the labor organizations, will have been led hastily to the opinion that we, as labor organizations, are mixed up with socialism, communism, and anarchy. I have closely watched the tendency of this course of things for several years, and I have raised my voice in warning against it, and now last, but not least, you, as the editor of a National Farmers' Alliance paper, come out and in plain language say that organization and combination is socialism, and that the labor organizations are temporary socialisms, thus giving the enemy the weapon to hew us down with. As long as our leading papers and workers make use of such expressions, all reform is doomed to defeat, for good men will shun all organizations that are in any way mixed up with socialism, communism, and anarchy. I ask you why these organizations should exist as temporary socialisms? The people have the ballot yet, which is all power, they can and do elect to office whom they please, and what we have is the result of what the people have voted for. Every man who has common reason knows that the cause of all our trouble is that corporations are exercising the functions of the Government, and that all that is necessary to restore prosperity to the people is to exercise the power which they possess in the ballot and elect men to office who will take the functions of the Government out of the hands of corporations and have them exercised by the Government in the interest of the people as a whole. Then why not do this at once, and establish a constitutional Government, in which every citizen will stand alike before the law? If the labor organizations will do this, and denounce socialism, communism, and anarchy at every public meeting they have, National, State, district, and county, we, as industrial organizations, can have growth, prosperity, and success. With such a course we are doomed to oblivion.

I now come to consider what you say in regard to the land. I observe that you speak of the use of the land, and not of the ownership of land, except by monopolies, and you speak of the

population of the country being pushed into the sea for the want of standing room. All this land talk, in which you refer to the use of the land, sounds very much like the language of that National Communist, Socialist, and Anarchist, Henry George. He speaks of the use of the land and not the ownership. What the people want is homes, and they want to own them. The people do not want to use the land as Socialists and Communists. You must know that in all constitutional governments, in making a patent to a piece of government land, that the government reserves the right of eminent domain in said land, and, under this reserved right, she can condemn any portion of said land in favor of any of her population who might be in danger of being pushed into the sea for want of standing room. A constitutional government could, and would, if her population required it, condemn portions of the soil owned by others and sell it to those who were in danger of being pushed into the sea for the want of standing room. In all cases where the government finds it proper and right to condemn any portion of the soil for the public good she pays the party who owned the property condemned. She does not confiscate and rob the citizen of his property "without injustice or compensation," as George proposes. When all constitutional governments are clothed with full constitutional power to provide any portion of her homeless people with homes, and when the Union Labor party proposes to do this in her platform, why do you talk about the use of land? Why do you not speak of the ownership of land by the laboring class of people? To speak of the use of land by the working people sounds very much like George when commenting on this subject in his work on National communism, socialism, and anarchy, misnamed "Poverty and Progress." I think that every man should know that socialism and communism are one and the same, and it takes a fine-haired man to distinguish anarchy from either one of them. Now, for the purpose of opening the eyes of your readers to what socialism is, I will quote two planks from the platform of that party, as follows: "The basis of co-operative society stipulates the public ownership for private ownership of land, instruments of labor (machines, factories, etc.); and with a co-operative production and a guarantee of a share in the product in accordance with the services rendered by the individual to society."

"2d. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and temperance laws."

The first plank demands that the land and all instruments of labor, which would include everything that a laboring man or woman works with—from a needle up to a steam-engine—should be owned publicly; or, in other words, it should be used in common by the socialism. Does any man know of a more red-handed socialism than that? Let us examine the proposition of this socialism and see what it means. The whole community are to use everything in common, and obtain shares of the products in proportion to the services rendered. Well, well, just think of it—such a conglomerate, motley crew. The honest and virtuous man and woman working side by side on terms of social equality with the horse and cow thief, the purveyor, the raper, the house burner, the gambler, the prostitute, the murderer, and criminals of every character. Can the labor organizations stand this? Can they allow themselves to be called Socialists, communism, and anarchy at every public meeting they have, National, State, district, and county, we, as industrial organizations, can have growth, prosperity, and success. With such a course we are doomed to oblivion.

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any tincture or charge of socialism.

In your closing remarks you say, "Labor organizations and combinations are temporary socialisms, and are not intended to be permanently continued as such in accordance with the views usually occupied by Socialists." This proposition is false and untenable, as I have already shown. There is not a scintilla of socialism or anything resembling it in the Farmers' Alliance or Knights of Labor; there never was and never will be any in either organization.

I will repeat that in consequence of the folly of some of our best workers using loose language in regard to socialism and communism, that it has become the imperative duty of all labor organizations in all their meetings, National, State, district, and county, to pass resolutions denouncing socialism, communism, and anarchy, and declare themselves in favor of constitutional government.

I wish you and your readers to most distinctly understand that I fully and heartily indorse the principal part of the editorial referred to; it is only the associating the industrial organizations with communism that I object to. In doing this you have done the cause of reform a damage you can hardly ever restore.

The above communication is published in full because it is believed to utter a sentiment that is entertained by many readers, and treating upon the same subject in another column of this issue will be found an editorial entitled "Modern Political Isms," in which the peculiar characteristics of anarchism (both ancient and modern), socialism as advocated by the avowed socialist, and communism as contended for by those desirous of devoting their lives to that system of government, are fully set forth and explained, thereby showing the distinctive features and presenting to the mind of the reader the differences between communism, socialism, and anarchy.

"Had our able correspondent entertained the views expressed in said editorial he would not probably have taken the position he does in the above communication; but since he avows that anarchism, socialism, and communism are identically the same thing in principle, practice, and effect, he claims to have good reason to place strictures upon the Economist for making the assertion in a former number that

organization is socialism and thinks that such assertions do great harm to the cause. While the definitions given in the editorial referred to in this issue represent a faithful portrayal of the differences between recognized and acknowledged socialism, communism, and anarchy, they are by no means sufficient to define the general uses of the word socialism as applied to politics, economics, and legislation at the present time.

In the careful examination of the development of material progress during the past one hundred years, which represent the inauguration and growth of the commercial influence in the economic situation of the country, one of the most prominent features to be noted is that in the beginning the individual or competitive system prevailed and that every step in material progress from a commercial standpoint has revealed a tendency to supersede the individual or competitive system by the collectivist plan of operation as developed by the division of labor and co-operation as an antagonistic influence to competition. So clearly defined and well marked is this tendency on the part of manufacturers and commerce to supersede the

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

individual or competitive system by the collective or co-operative plan, the key-note of which is combination, that it is not now denied, and the growth of these ideas and tendencies in connection with material progress has had so great an effect upon political economists that at the present time there are very few who still adhere to the old landmarks of the earlier political economists who almost based their creed on the individualistic theory that competition was the great regulator of all commercial problems. The combination that would remove railroads from individual ownership and place them in charge of society at large is a strong illustration of this principle that none will deny is socialism pure and simple. The same may be said of telegraph lines, telephones, water-works and gas-works, and the laws requiring compulsory education; also the celebrated Blair education bill, now advocated by respectable followings in all parties, can not hide the unmistakable ear-marks of the modern socialistic tendency of economic teachings. Every step toward vesting any legislative power whatever is to that extent socialistic in its tendency. If, then, the tendency is for the individual to yield rights and powers to the General Government it follows that to that extent the tendency is socialistic. It was in this broad sense that the expression was used in the original article which is criticised by our correspondent. The position of the ECONOMIST has already been clearly defined on this subject and sustains a happy medium between the two extremes; that is, between the teaching of the earlier political economists who advocated an inflexible law of competition as the remedy of all commercial problems, and the teachings of the most modern self-styled political economists, who, running off after strange gods, would concentrate all power in the General Government to the utter extinguishment of all personality. The basis, the unit, of American social institutions must be the home. The benign and elevating influence of home must ever stimulate the citizen to the performance of the arduous and exalted duties of life for the purpose of gratifying his own ambition and blessing his loved ones. This will ever prove a solid foundation on which the country may depend for fealty, patriotism, and undaunted courage on the part of its citizens that will protect it from invasion from without and supply it with revenues from within. To such individual enterprises must be guaranteed such individual powers, duties, and responsibilities as may be secured by free and untrammeled competition; but in such lines of commercial effort as are by their very nature susceptible of being monopolized, and therefore capable of destroying and controlling any individual competition that might be brought to bear against them, other conditions must apply and other restraints be invoked to the end that the rights of the individual be protected. A fair illustration of a business susceptible of monopoly is a gas-works in a city; there can be no competition. And when a company or corporation secures the franchise from the community, through the municipal government, of supplying the community with gas, it is practically a monopoly which their extortions are only limited by

## A REVIEW OF MODERN POLITICAL ISMS.

## Anarchism, Socialism, and Communism.

The recognized inequality between the various classes which compose the social organisms of the various nations throughout the civilized world, and especially the marked and wide contrast between the classes which represent the two extremes, has excited throughout the world an intense interest in the discovery of some means by which this glaring inequality may be reduced, or if possible be entirely destroyed. Under every form of civil government the evil seems to exist to an equal extent, from despotic Russia to republican America. Society is convulsed by agitation and the unceasing search for some means of relief. In Europe the agitation has developed into incipient revolution, in certain instances has resulted in much bloodshed, and in all in a vast amount of physical suffering and national anxiety, accompanied by serious danger to the social peace and happiness of the people.

In reply to the stricture upon the position that it was hoped that the labor organizations of to-day were not a permanent factor based upon the principles on which organization depends, it is only necessary to say that the terms were used in a general sense and in illustration of the idea that the Government should be the only organization necessary upon earth to divide a man's patriotism, fealty, and devotion with his family. The greater the number of organizations to which the individual owes allegiance the less must be the amount of allegiance bestowed on each; this is incontrovertible, and if the Government were so constructed and managed that it would fulfill all the duties incumbent upon it and leave no unjust conditions bearing upon the citizen for which he could not apply for redress, then there would be no necessity for organization. It is to such an abolition of organization that reference was made, and may God speed the day when organization on the part of individual trades or classes will be abolished in order to participate in the blessings of a perfect government.

ELSEWHERE will be found a full report of the proceedings of the Birmingham conference of the Farmers Alliance and Agricultural Wheel, May 15th and 16th. In the advance sheet sent out by the ECONOMIST to the newspapers of the cotton States the price of cotton-bagging was given as 12 cents a yard. This was a mistake; the price is 12½ cents. It will be noticed that we omit the report of the committee on school-books and stationery. We deem it best for the interest of the Alliance to do so, and would advise other journals who have received the advance sheet to do the same.

THE policy of a Nation which develops legislation that promotes or connives at the unequal distribution of the values created by industry and the building up of special privileges for a class is not only false and unjust, but fatal to progress and even continued National existence.

Not only among the uneducated masses is this

discontent prevalent, but among the most intelligent there is a wide-spread dissatisfaction with, not to say disgust at, our political and social system. The prevalent distrust of our legislative bodies and protest against their support of class interests find utterance in every periodical; and every State constitution shows evidences of the endeavor of the people to protect themselves against this dishonesty. These are conditions which can not be denied; they are plain, homely, undeniable facts. With similar conditions existing throughout the civilized world, we repeat, is it strange that in the search for some means of relief the more impulsive and the more ignorant should be led astray by what to them appear plausible means suggested by extremists and fanatics?

Among the various systems or plans devised for ameliorating existing conditions are the theories of the Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists, or the isms, i. e., anarchism, socialism, and communism. Into one or the other of these isms an impulsive and enthusiastic man is likely to fall without knowing it; as the subject with which he is wrestling is so complicated and apparently incapable of rational solution; that he is liable to throw up the seemingly impossible puzzle and cut the Gordian knot by an utter destruction of existing institutions, and trust to luck to construct a better condition on the ruins. This is the aggregate result of all these isms; and lest some may, in desperation and ignorance of the principles claimed by them, virtually but unintentionally lend them his support, it is proposed to give a brief outline of their theories and teachings.

Although we hear through the public journals so much of these isms, yet it is true that really a small proportion of our people know the distinctions which separate them, and use the term interchangeably and very loosely; while it is a common thing for politicians to whip back an independent reformer and thinker into the party traces by shouting Anarchist, or Communist, when he is neither the one nor the other but his horror at being so classed will close his lips or cause him to make no farther investigation and quietly submit to evils as dangerous as those taught by either. The truth is that anarchism is the extreme antithesis of both communism and socialism. They are as wide apart as the antipodes; as imperialism and republicanism.

Anarchy is democracy gone ast. Socialism is the crystallization of imperialism. The one deifies the individual, the other utterly annihilates him. The one is a chaos of atoms; the other their petrifaction in one solid whole. Both are impracticable and visionary extremes.

Both anarchism and socialism have two phases. One phase of anarchism, that taught by Proudhon, may be termed scientific anarchism, and is worthy of investigation. The other, or communistic anarchism, is little better than political lunacy. It is worse than savagery, and is not even considered except by desperate fanatics and irrational pessimists, little better than the Goths and Vandals of history. It is beneath the contempt of rational men, and not likely to become dangerous, except locally, where large bodies of ignorant and depraved

men are herded, plied with vile liquor and fired by savage fury. This phase of anarchy is nothing more than the giving way to a pent-up frenzy by the fierce, ignorant, and bitterly prejudiced, who have not reason or intelligence sufficient to hope for a rational relief from the wrongs they complain of, and so resort to brute force and the dictates of despair to bring all down in one red ruin, utterly blind as to the future, or trusting to blind fate for the resurrection.

But to define the claims of the individual Anarchist. He is first of all an extreme individualist. He would abolish all forms of government and leave the individual absolutely free from all restraint. He holds that the revolt against authority, which began in the field of religion with the Protestant Reformation, and which extended into the field of politics by the revolutionary movement of the last century, will end only when carried to its logical and necessary issue in the abolition of all government, human and divine. According to Proudhon, the great high priest of scientific anarchism, private property is the root of all evil; from it spring all the inequalities which curse human society, and all the evils entailed upon it. He was opposed to an established money circulation, but his theories were too prolix even to be stated in so short an article as this must be. He declares that the division of labor is a prime condition—without it labor would be sterile, and neither wealth nor equality could exist. But the principle, when followed out to its natural consequences, becomes a most prolific source of misery. The realization of justice in the economic sphere, which is "to give equal wealth to each on condition of equal labor," is prevented. Hours of labor are increased; the conditions under which the work is done grow worse, and the laborer suffers mentally, morally, and physically. He tends downwards to the condition of a serf, while his master becomes a moneyed aristocrat. The gulf between the two grows even wider, and association, education, or other schemes of improvement popular with economists can not bridge it. It would seem that the introduction of machines might check the growing inequality, because through them the forces of nature are made the servants of man. They both increase and cheapen production. They diminish the amount of labor necessary to accomplish a given result. The world can not do without them, but they are gradually eliminating the laborer, reducing his wages, making useless the trade which he had learned and upon which he had depended, causing overproduction of products, disease and death. This is the way Proudhon deals with the simpler economic phenomena.

His ideas on competition, monopoly, and credit were similar, and the conclusion he reached was that we are living in state of social anarchy or disorder and confusion. In his search for the root of all this evil, the cause of inequality, and hence of misery and decay, he found it not in man himself, not in the individual, but in society; the wrong was in the social organization; some evil had been allowed to creep in, the elimination of which would cleanse the whole system. This devil that was

destroying society and the peace of man, as has been said, he decided to be the absolutely unlimited right of private property as established by the Roman law. Property, he said, is not a natural right, but is guaranteed and upheld by the state. Property and the state are correlative terms. The two institutions are dependent the one upon the other. According to Proudhon the essence of property was not the thing possessed nor the act of possession, but the privileges, the powers, the possibility of gain—of obtaining rent, profit, or interest—which accompanied it. He considered property to be the embodiment of inequality, and declared "property is robbery." He declared the laborer, the result of whose work is embodied in material form, to be the only producer. The proprietor, whether he be landlord or capitalist, he declared an unproductive consumer, a parasite; because he does nothing but consume—receives without rendering an equivalent; but owning the means of production, he can appropriate a share of the laborer's products. Because of the inequality thus developed the inequality constantly increases. The laborer falls in debt and becomes more and more dependent upon his employer. The tenant pays for his land or house many times over, but never becomes its owner. The commodities produced by the workman make his employer rich. The interest paid by the borrower exceeds the capital, but the debt is never paid. The proprietor virtually exercises the rights which of old belonged to the lord over his vassal, to the master over his slave. The state, which is organized force, legalizes rent, profit, interest, and protects property owners while they plunder society. Hence arises poverty to which the masses of men are condemned, and poverty is the mother of every form of crime. Society appears thus to be ever consuming itself.

Proudhon wrote during the frenzy of the revolution of 1848, and his investigations and opinions were, of course, affected by the fiery enthusiasm of the times which, probably, led him to greater extremes than he might otherwise have gone in charging up responsibilities and devising remedies. He was a revolutionist, and taught the theory of revolution as a permanent factor in social life.

According to him the revolution of 1789 was not a revolution, but only an important step of progress. It was an attempt to establish justice; but it failed; because it only substituted one form of government for another. The work of revolution was only half done; parliamentary government merely took the place of the old absoluteism. The reign of force was not ended, but merely took another form. Now the contest is financial instead of military. Monopoly, supported by force, is as triumphant as ever; the corrupting influence of wealth is seen in all the departments of social life; hence the work of agitation must go on until political government in every form is abolished. He says:

"Experience proves that everywhere, and always, government, however popular it may be in its origin, has taken sides with the rich and more intelligent classes against the poorer and more numerous; that after having for a time

shown itself liberal, it has little by little become exclusive and partial; finally, that, instead of maintaining liberty and equality among all, it has, because of its natural inclination towards privilege, labored obstinately to destroy them." He claims that contract is the only bond which can unite individuals into a society. Proudhon's social ideal was that of perfect individual liberty; he believed that if the state in all its departments were abolished, if authority were eradicated from society, every form of social evil would disappear. He believed that men were wicked and ignorant because directly or indirectly they were forced to be, and that their natural inclinations were towards right and justice.

It is impossible in an article of this character to fully detail the theories and opinions of so voluminous a writer, but sufficient has been said to very fairly show that his investigations had been searching, and that sufficient reason exists for his serious charges, while there is much of truth in many of them. The evil and danger to be apprehended from the followers of Proudhon lies not in the estimate they hold of the evils they define, but in the fanatical and irrational remedy they seek to apply, which would recklessly place society at the mercy of the vicious and ignorant with nothing to defend it from any savagery or vandalism they might choose to perpetrate, but the utopian hope that liberty might transform them miraculously into angels of mercy and justice. The idea of such a remedy is simply preposterous. History teaches that all the progress the race has made from barbarism to the degree of enlightenment now enjoyed has been made under various forms of political government, and during the intervals when those governments were nearest pure and most beneficent; that the evils complained of have recurred from time to time, but have been remedied to a greater or less extent by palliative reforms. True, these reforms have always been superficial, but we have advanced, step by step, protected by organized government from the frenzy of vice and ignorance, and at intervals from the oppression of wealth and monopoly, until we have reached a degree of enlightenment which will surely enable us to devise means of reform and protection which will avoid the necessity for National suicide. For, like the suicide, the Anarchist would have us, in order to escape the ills we bear, fly to others we know not of.

The individual Anarchists, who are the disciples of Proudhon, do not believe in bringing about the results they desire by force, but rely upon personal agitation, a neglect on the part of the individual to observe the requirements of law where possible, until the growing volume of the friends of their plan will have sufficient weight to nullify law by passive resistance; then the masses of men, tired of the old system, will quietly fall into the new. Then, when it is impossible to enforce the law, people will meet in conventions, organize upon the principles of voluntary associations, and choose their natural leaders. These leaders, however, it must be remembered, could exercise no authority, but only use persuasion. Those who

do not choose to follow could only be allowed to go their way. This might possibly be a bearable condition were all men saints and their human natures perfect, but what a horrible state to conceive of, composed of men as they are really constituted. It is useless to attempt to picture the conditions really to be anticipated, and yet this is the only phase of anarchism worthy of any consideration whatever. What, then, can be said of the maniacs of anarchy, or, as they call themselves,

#### THE INTERNATIONALS.

This branch is composed of the desperate characters, fanatic, lunatics of anarchism, and they propose to reform society by murder, revolution, arson, and all the terrors of savagery and butchery. After having given loose reign to the vilest instincts of their brutal natures, and deluged the world in blood and crime, they expect to rise, purified from the red ruin they have wrought, and build up a new Jerusalem in which they, sanctified by crime, may enjoy a millennium of brotherly love, peace, and plenty.

This class of Anarchists borrow their analysis of existing social conditions from Marx or from the "communistic manifesto," issued by Marx and Engels in 1847. These prophets of anarchism were expelled, with Bakunine and his associates, from the old International Workingman's Association in 1872. Later the Socialists proper, the followers of Marx, disbanded, and the International since 1883 in this country has been controlled entirely by Anarchists. The ideas of such a remedy is simply preposterous. History teaches that all the progress the race has made from barbarism to the degree of enlightenment now enjoyed has been made under various forms of political government, and during the intervals when those governments were nearest pure and most beneficent; that the evils complained of have recurred from time to time, but have been remedied to a greater or less extent by palliative reforms. True, these reforms have always been superficial, but we have advanced, step by step, protected by organized government from the frenzy of vice and ignorance, and at intervals from the oppression of wealth and monopoly, until we have reached a degree of enlightenment which will surely enable us to devise means of reform and protection which will avoid the necessity for National suicide. For, like the suicide, the Anarchist would have us, in order to escape the ills we bear, fly to others we know not of.

Next to this order of Anarchists come the COMMUNISTS, who, after having brought about the ruin the Internationals preach, and by the same means, propose to reconstruct society upon the plan of communes or the Russian plan of the *mir*, or primitive village community, they would carry the principle of local self-government to an extreme. They would have all property held in common, and the results of all labor held for the benefit of the community and enjoyed by all equally. The individual would be lost in the commune, and the village or city would represent one entity; there would be no

centralized control beyond the village or city. The property or business of the community would be managed and enjoyed jointly; private property would not exist, and in fact the individual would become the slave of the community, with no power to act of his own free will but only by decree of the commune. It is really the quintessence of slavery. The only commerce possible would be an exchange of products in kind between communes, no individual transactions whatever. There could be no citizenship as we understand the word, but each individual would be only a fraction of the whole, a cog in the wheel of the small society. The rapacity of the individual would be controlled, but at the expense of individual liberty of all. The commune would become the one monopolist.

#### SOCIALISTS

are merely the advocates of communism who go farther than the primitive community and extend the system generally until it becomes universal; but making the commune the unit upon which universal socialism is to be founded. Intercourse would be entirely between the organized societies and not individuals; nationalities would be destroyed, and with them private property. Only communities would be recognized, and no one of these would have authority over any other. Disputes, should they ever arise among these perfect men, would be settled by arbitration. The declaration of the Socialists is as follows: "We desire no property. All that exists upon the earth must serve for the satisfaction of the needs of all. The appropriation of these things—of lands, mines, machines, and in general of all instruments which contribute toward producing the necessities of mankind, which should serve the community, and which can be produced only by conspiracy, and, as soon as possible, by the co-operative efforts of all humanity—the appropriation of these things as the property of individuals or of certain groups is the retaining of them to the exclusion of their rightful possessor, the community—is robbery committed against the latter. We would see it abolished." And yet socialism would only replace one master by another; the monopolist by the community, substitute one slavery for another. All the systems of anarchy and socialism are based upon a supposed quality innate in man, which his history from the earliest moment of his existence has disproved. He has lived certainly for six thousand years upon the earth, and yet his inner nature remains unchanged. Conditions did not make man what he is, but man made the conditions through the imperfections of his nature. How fallacious to expect that, freed from all restraint, his nature would become suddenly purified. Is it not more probable that the same or worse conditions would arise were he given unbridled license? Man has the animal instincts and qualities as well as the spiritual. He needs food, shelter, and rest, and, besides, is cursed with a great amount of selfishness. Would it not be natural, in the struggle for the commodities which supply these, for him to attempt to monopolize as far as his shrewdness or strength would allow? In this imperfection and beastly characteristic of man this dangerous inequality

has its origin, and only power can control this cause, protect the weak from its unjust exercise. It is simply in the direction of this power that our protection lies, and when it is misused it is only necessary to reform, purify, and reconstruct it. This is the power which we know as the state.

Man has reached a very high order of development. Throughout the ages of his progress he has been capable of protecting himself until he has reached his present high pinnacle. Surely now, in the height of his enlightenment and progress, he is capable of discovering the evils which afflict him and of providing a remedy, instead of demolishing the beautiful structure of civilization in a fit of savage rage, and blindly hoping that accident might develop better conditions, or that the human heart might be miraculously regenerated. Rational men will not look upon these fatalisms except out of curiosity to see what depth of folly the human mind is capable of descending to, but will faithfully study the problems without passion or bias, and earnestly endeavor to find the most reasonable plan of reform; which being found, he will act upon determinedly and with the true interest of his country and its people at heart. What society most requires is that the greed, avarice, and conscienceless selfishness of unscrupulous men be restrained, and that the industrious, the weak, and less shrewd be protected from their rapacity; that the laws governing society be so devised as to protect the masses and the weak from the oppression and robbery of the strong and shrewd, and at the same time leave to each individual as great a portion of his natural liberty as is consistent with the safety and comfort of all. The tendency of law is now to strengthen the hand of the exploiter of industry. This tendency must be checked and the effect of law be to protect the masses instead of the property and usurped advantages of the few. To accomplish this no serious or violent measures are necessary, but merely a clear understanding of what is required and a firm demand and united action by the people at the polls and in the legislative bodies, throughout the land.

So long as the volume of the currency keeps pace with the increase of population and the requirements of that population for necessary comfort, so long will the Nation prosper, while danger, discontent, and suffering among the masses will increase in proportion as the volume of the currency is reduced. Just in proportion to this decrease of volume the interests of the people are diminished and this diminution added to the power and advantage of the few who control the currency.

INTEREST is like a prairie fire; it begins with a small spark consuming only a few dry leaves and a little dead grass, but it goes on growing and consuming as it spreads until it becomes a great conflagration destroying all before it, then dies into nothing, leaving only desolation as a record.

On May 2d three thousand miners quit work in Brazil, Ind., because of a reduction of wages.

#### The National Department of Agriculture.

BY M. G. H.

By patient, persistent, long agitation the National Department of Agriculture is placed finally upon a footing creditable to a great Nation and worthy of the vast interests, to foster which it is especially designed. Not merely those directly employed in agriculture, but all the people are to be congratulated upon this result. If not the first, certainly one among the earliest to publicly advocate this measure, the present writer was frequently called on to write and speak in its behalf, and in reply to objections brought forward against it. In the earlier stages of the agitation those who were hostile opposed to it ridicule. They sought to make it appear the idle scheme of a few mild cranks meddling with matters they did not understand, and which ought to be left to the great Constitutional lawyers of Congress. It will be interesting, therefore, to recall that the Constitutional objection put forward by one of the foremost of these legal lights was this, viz.: "The word 'agriculture' is not in the Constitution." The simple and sufficient answer to an objection so devoid of force was, "No more is the word 'postmaster' there;" nor for the matter of that the word "lawyer," and how comes it, therefore, that 95 per cent. of the members of the two Houses of Congress are lawyers at this very time? The same great lawyer urged that if the farmers have a Secretary, the next thing we shall have a call for a Shoemaker-General. Can it be thought worth while to answer this sort of thing? Is the Secretary of Agriculture the farmer's Secretary? Is the Postmaster General the mail-carrier's Secretary? But, said some, "The President don't want any more Constitutional advisers." Perhaps he does not want those the Constitution already provides, and this may constitute the very best reason why he ought to have them. The President is a person of very temporary consequence. The office overshadows the man temporarily designated by the people to administer its duties. It is not for him to say what the people will do with the office. His personal wishes are of not the least consequence, and he has not proposed objections in behalf of the people against an additional member of the Cabinet. Again it was urged, "of what use would be a Secretary of Agriculture?" "Why multiply offices and increase salaries to no good purpose?" "This is merely an agitation set on foot by the Commissioner, whose ambition it is to be a member of the Cabinet." On the contrary, precisely the reverse of all this is true. Except General Le Duc, each Commissioner down to and including Mr. Colman was opposed to what he considered would be a measure to legislate him out of office. The personal interests of the Commissioner for the time being could not constitute a factor in this question at all, and they were very properly wholly ignored by its advocates. Instead of increasing salaries and multiplying officers, the reverse is the case. We shall now have a responsible Secretary in place of having all sorts of bureaus and commissions with salaries and per diems, and friends with axes to grind, and funds to disburse, and the rest of it, indefinitely expanded and accompanied by the fungoid growth of offensive officialism always ready to show "how not to do it." Such is your bureaucracy, strongly marked by every character most distinctive of the "flunkey species"; to his superiors a fawning sycophant, to his inferiors a savage tyrant puffed up with arrogant presumption; revengeful for the personal degradation of his self-abasement—the less of him the better. There is absolutely no valid objection to this Department from the legal or Constitutional standpoint.

Its establishment was a question of legislative expediency, and it could not be made a con-

stitutional or legal question. It was shown that it would greatly simplify and facilitate the transaction of a large accumulation of public business in that *omnium gatherum*, the Department of the Interior. That Department, as the receptacle for all odds and ends, has become utterly overloaded with a promiscuous mass of incongruities, which no Secretary could fathom or see through, or comprehend. He could not even be aware of the very existence of much of it. The man was never born who could understand the affairs of the long and much-neglected Land Office, for example. Thus, through incapacity or connivance, that office became the instrument of a mass of frauds upon the people so gigantic as to baffle computation. It would have been worth while to add to the Cabinet a new Secretary to take charge of the business of the Land Office alone in the interests of the remnants of the public domain. Independently, moreover, of existing branches of the public business which will have to be transferred to it, our new Department will by no means consist of a Secretary and his assistants with salaries and without functions. The great affairs of agriculture will give ample scope for the activities of the ablest of statesmen. Executive and legislative questions arising out of the stupendous interstate commerce of the country, and the disturbance of it through the police powers of the several States, will give the Secretary of Agriculture ample scope for all his energies and all his talents, however great.

It is not proposed to enter here upon criticisms of the present Secretary or of his policy, which would be premature and consequently out of place. All that is known to the public of this gentleman is favorable, and he, of course, expects to be judged by the record he makes. Those of us who are politically opposed to the party of the present administration ought not to permit ourselves to embarrass the organization of our new Department by unjustifiable hostile criticism. Neither ought we to damn it with faint praise, but to render cordial and hearty aid and comfort to it, in all legitimate work, and help to make it equal in importance and in dignity to any other Department, as it ought to be, and will in the end most certainly come to be, whether any of us see fit to help or to hinder it. The writer hopes to be understood. He is a Southern man and a Democrat and he differs from the Republican party as widely as the North pole is separated from the South pole, as he understands the position of that party on the great business questions which most nearly affect the well-being of the whole people. Yet he does not admit that every Republican is a knave or a fool, nor by any means that every knave and every fool is a Republican. He stands ready and willing to defend his doxy for all he is worth, against any man's doxy, on every proper occasion. He feels well satisfied, moreover, that his well-beloved South has before it an assured future, so far surpassing its own glorious past in material grandeur and power that no Southern man need give himself trouble on that score. Hear ye not, good friends, on every hand about you, the hum of mighty workings? Instead of engaging in the small business of pouring out our wrath on all who differ with us it is ours to help to build up our new Department on broad, National foundations.

OWING to the pressure upon our columns this week we are compelled to leave out our regular Washington article. It will appear as usual next week, and the series will continue, as heretofore, to be an interesting feature of THE ECONOMIST.

THE United States produces 30 per cent. of the grain of the world.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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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.

SINCE March 4th last, over 3,000 changes  
have been made in the railway postal service of  
the United States.

AN equilibrium of manufacture, agriculture,  
and commerce should be maintained by a harmonious  
development of all. Special advantage to one can not be given without doing injustice  
to the others; injustice is tyranny, and tyranny  
and liberty can not exist together.

THE press might be ever so free and every  
man able to read, but unless the press is pure  
and devoted to unvarnished truth, and the people  
who read think and digest what they read,  
there might as well be no press and the people  
might as well remain ignorant. Not only a  
fearless utterance of truth, but a perfect comprehensions  
of it, is necessary to protect the  
Nation's weal.

THE ECONOMIST of last week contained a  
circular setting forth the objects and purposes  
of the Farmers Alliance, describing its progress  
and giving a copy of its constitution. This  
information will be of material benefit to  
organizers and others who desire to assist in  
spreading the order. Copies will be mailed  
from this office to any list of addresses at one  
and three-quarter cents each, or they will be  
sent to one address at \$1.50 per hundred, or  
\$14 per thousand.

THE farmers are to a great extent to blame  
for their own financial misfortunes. Existing  
evils could not have been brought about without  
their acquiescence. Of course this acquiescence  
was gained through misrepresentation,  
deceit, and the betrayal of confidence bestowed  
in ignorance; but now that they begin to understand  
the situation in all its native ugliness,  
it rests upon them to retrieve the loss they have  
suffered and correct the evils that they may  
not descend to their children. The farmers  
are the power of the land. United they may  
decree what they will within the bounds of  
justice. Let them use this vast power wisely,  
but firmly, determinedly.

SECRETARY TRACEY has awarded to the Union  
Iron Works of San Francisco the contract for  
constructing ten great armored coast defense  
vessels at a cost of \$1,628,000.

THE craze for organizing stock companies  
has reached such a pitch in Germany as to be  
virtually a national epidemic. "Scarcely a  
week passes," it is said, "without two or three  
factories being converted from private prop-  
erties into stock companies." The thing  
has reached such a state that a kind of finan-  
cial bureau has been opened in Berlin that  
devotes itself to organizing stock companies.  
This is truly the age of trusts, and they seem to  
be afflicting the whole civilized world. Is it to  
be the era of universal conflict which is to pre-  
cede the Millennium?

THE sacredness of the rights of property is  
capable of being viewed from more than one  
point of view, but as a rule it is not common to  
hear of it except from the class who have  
amassed vast amounts by speculation or other-  
wise and want their vested rights protected at  
the expense of smaller amounts in the hands of  
the industry which has created or earned it.  
While discussing this sacred right of property  
it would be well first to examine whether the  
protection asked would not be given at the cost  
of invasion of equal rights in smaller amounts,  
which in the aggregate exceed the values for  
which such fear is entertained?

THE true development to be aimed at by any  
people is the progress and improvement of the  
entire body as a whole. The advance made in  
any direction by a class through the means of  
special advantages and opportunities obtained  
at the expense of the great body is not pro-  
gress at all, but the advance of the few is more  
than overbalanced by the retrograde of the  
many. The masses can not possibly, under  
such circumstances, reach the plane occupied  
by the few, but the few can, by sudden social  
convulsion, be reduced to the level of the many,  
and this is the danger which always accom-  
panies uneven development among the people  
of a nation.

THE copper conference in Paris, during the  
first week of May, was a decided failure.  
Colonel Livermore, of the American committee,  
drew up a proposition which the Bank of  
France directors recommended for acceptance.  
It proposed that the selling price of copper be  
fixed at £45 per ton, and provided for the ap-  
pointment of a committee to determine what

THE total amount of silver in the Treasury  
by the report of 1887 was \$221,897,045; in  
National banks, \$6,343,213; in circulation and  
other banks, \$49,205,508. From this it seems  
that about the only use for silver is to see how  
big a pile can be gathered in the Treasury.  
This may be a very entertaining sight, but then  
so few can enjoy the pleasure of gazing on it  
that a majority of the people can not appreciate  
the result accomplished.

THE Standard Oil Company has purchased  
all the available oil-producing territory in  
Ohio, and in addition to constructing a pipe  
line to connect this field with that of Pennsyl-  
vania, which they already monopolize, it is  
also the intention to construct a pipe line to  
St. Louis to supply the Southwestern States  
and there to construct a refinery; also other  
refineries at various other points in order to sup-  
ply the entire West and Southwest. This is to  
do away not only with the small producers, but  
the middle-men at the same time. The Standard  
Oil Company has now a perfect monopoly of  
that class of business, even to the transpor-  
tation of their product. The field is closed  
entirely against all enterprise except such as  
is owned by them. The oil trade of the United  
States is a miniature empire and autocracy, and  
all its employes mere subjects of its will. The  
Government is to those who subsist by this  
trade merely something of which they read  
and hear, but which in no way affects their con-  
dition. The Oil Company is king.

THERE is one clause contained in the first  
inaugural address of Washington which should  
be painted in sharply-defined letters upon the  
wall of every public office in the Nation, and  
every self-styled patriot who applies to the  
Government for pecuniary recognition of his  
services should be furnished with a copy in  
convenient form to be carried about his person.  
The patriotism that is bought and paid for by  
the Nation is not strong enough to stand any  
great temptation, and certainly is not of the  
kind which fired the noble hearts which gained  
our liberties and established our institutions.  
The modern patriotism that is estimated at so  
many dollars a month is dearly paid for at any  
price; indeed it is a commodity which should  
be ruled out of the market as a fraud and  
contemptible counterfeit of the true article. The  
clause of the first inaugural is this and it is com-  
mended to the careful and prayerful study of  
modern patriots for profit.

To the preceding observations I have one to  
add, which will be more properly addressed to  
the House of Representatives. It concerns myself,  
and I will, therefore, be as brief as possible.  
When I was first honored with a call into the  
services of my country, then on the eve of an  
arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in  
which I contemplated my duty required that I  
should renounce every pecuniary compensation.  
From this resolution I have in no instance de-  
parted. And, being still under the impressions  
which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable  
to myself, any share in the personal emoluments  
which may be indispensably included in a  
permanent provision for the Executive Depart-  
ment; and must accordingly pray that the  
pecuniary estimates for the station in which I  
am placed may, during my continuance in it,  
be limited to such actual expenditures as the  
public good may be thought to require.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## RAILWAYS;

## Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITU-  
TIONS AND PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 4.

## FAVORITISM IN FREIGHT RATES.

Against the vast importance already argued  
of rigidly preserving, in the operation of the  
great railway corporations, that essential of  
democratic society—equal rights and equal op-  
portunities—let us see what has been done.  
With the principle recognized at the outset, it is  
instructive to note the departures from it, either  
by ignorance of the law or failure to perceive  
the necessity of enforcing it.

Of all the methods by which the railways  
have been used to avert the equality and free-  
dom of commerce none involve a more direct  
and wanton disregard of their legal duty or  
have done more to demoralize the integrity  
and independence of trade than the use of the  
power to give lower rates to one shipper than  
another. In other words, the power to fix  
rates of transportation being confined to the  
railway corporations, the abuse of that power  
has followed by fixing rates to favored shippers  
so low that their rivals are at a disadvantage in  
competing with them; and its extent in some  
interests has practically nullified all our theo-  
ries of equal rights. In this case, as in some  
of the preceding points, we are going over  
points now practically conceded, but the vital  
and fundamental nature of those points renders  
it imperative that they should be thoroughly  
understood. It is not necessary at this stage  
of the subject to examine into all the details of  
preferential rates, but to show the magnitude of  
the evil and its danger to free institutions we  
will take only a couple of illustrations.

Section 1 makes combination of any form  
for the regulation of the price of production  
of any article manufactured, mined, or sold in  
the State illegal, and the parties thereto shall  
be deemed guilty of a conspiracy to defraud,  
and be subject to indictment and punishment.

Section 2 provides that it shall not be lawful  
for any corporation to issue or own trust certifi-  
cates, or for any corporation or its representa-  
tives to become a party to a trust. For viola-  
tion of this act a fine of not less than 1 per  
cent. of the capital stock or amount invested,  
and not to exceed 20 per cent., shall be im-  
posed; and for infraction of the first section by  
any corporation, firm, or member of either, a  
fine of not less than \$500, nor more than  
\$5,000, will attach, in addition to which im-  
prisonment in the county jail not to exceed one  
year may be ordered. Sections 4 and 5 make  
all contracts in violation of preceding sections  
null and void, and the purchaser of a combi-  
nation article not liable for the price. By other  
sections violations of the law work a forfeiture  
of corporate rights, franchises, and existence,  
and corporations already identified with trusts,  
pools, or combinations are compelled to withdraw  
in thirty days, or forfeit their charters.  
To ascertain the facts in each case for the  
State, corporations must reply to inquiries ad-  
dressed to them by the secretary of State, or  
be proceeded against.

This has the right ring and shows that the  
people of Missouri are awake to the impositions  
being put upon them, and are determined to  
crush this arrogant assumption in the bud.  
Missouri and Texas are in the vanguard against  
trusts and combinations.

Does any one suppose that the process will  
stop with the extinction of the unfavored ship-

pers? Will the grain buyer who, by the favor  
of the railroad, is placed in a monopoly of the  
grain trade at that point, be satisfied with the  
moderate margin which he has to take under  
competition? Those who think so do not  
know human nature. When the people of that  
section can sell their grain to but one grain  
buyer he will improve his opportunity to make  
a fortune instead of a moderate living, by levying  
5, 10, 15, or even 25 cents a bushel profit  
on the grain that must pass through his hands,  
in place of the moderate profits allowed him by  
the competition of dealers under equal circum-  
stances. His increased margins may call new  
competition into existence; but the new com-  
petition can be stamped out by the same dis-  
crimination that removed his rivals in the first  
instance. So long as the railroad continues  
such a discrimination as that, or even one of  
less degree, the rule is established that no man  
can live in the grain trade of that section, ex-  
cept the one who is favored and maintained by  
the railroad power.

Now estimate for a moment the injury inflict-  
ed upon the public by that misuse of the  
power which was placed in the hands of the  
railroad corporation for the public benefit. It  
is not difficult to see that the grain-shippers  
who were frozen out of business were injured,  
or their natural rights abridged. Their equality  
before the agencies created by legislation  
was taken away; their right to earn an honest  
living in any legitimate field of employment,  
on equal terms with any one else, was denied  
and abolished. It is easy to see, too, that the  
producers of grain have an unjust tax laid upon  
them, for the benefit of the favored shipper.  
They are not only denied the privilege of ship-  
ping their own grain, but they are forbidden  
the advantage which comes from the competi-  
tion of many buyers of grain. To the exact  
amount by which the price of their grain is  
lowered through the monopoly of the buyer,  
established by the favor of the railroad, the  
producers of grain are subjected to an illegal tax,  
levied by means of the railroad power.

These are the direct and material wrongs  
inflicted by the injury of preferential rates.  
While they may be so vital as to create a mo-  
nopoly at every point where the discrimina-  
tions are enforced, they are really small be-  
sides the incalculable injury which the wrong  
inflicts in its moral and social aspects. The  
right of every man to engage in any honest  
business on equal terms with his rivals before  
the law, and to reap its legitimate rewards, is  
abridged or nullified. The business virtues are  
palsied and rendered nugatory. Against such  
an advantage as is here imagined the man who  
conducts this business on the basis of honesty  
and integrity, who strives to give those from  
whom he buys grain the full value of their prod-  
uct, or those to whom he sells, a legitimate re-  
turn for their money, may earn the approval  
of his conscience, but he can not reap business  
success. So long as his rival has that constant  
advantage in freight rates that gives him a  
profit while the other must suffer a loss, all the  
business virtues will not save the disfavored  
shipper from extinction. I am not belittling  
the inherent value of virtue. Even in failure,

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

the man who clings to integrity and industry should find virtue its own reward. But the public evil appears in the fact that when the business virtues can not command success in trade, the business virtues must disappear from trade. Those who serve the purposes of the railroad power, or may be connected by private ties with its officials, are likely to be the recipients of their favors; and against them the ability, virtue, and honesty of the ordinary competitor are exerted in vain. Wherever this device of absorbing the profits of any trade by preferential rates is put into effect it deprives its victims of their right, takes the earnings of the many for the benefit of the few, nullifies the democracy of commerce, vitiates the independence and integrity of traders and shippers, and builds up a privileged class in commerce at the expense of the people.

If any one regards this as a purely imaginary case let him turn to the report of the Pacific Railroad commission and read the following extracts:

"If rates were uniform, certain and permanent, a shipper knew that skill and ability and enterprise would help him on; but when the question became one of favor with the railroad manager, then capital was paralyzed. Farmers complained (see p. 1527) that they could not get rates for shipment to Chicago within 5 or 8 cents of the figure which the elevator men obtained. The firm of Himebaugh & Merriam, of Omaha, owns 32 elevators along the Union Pacific system, and when the farmers at Marysville, Kan., tried to ship directly to market they found they could not compete with that firm (p. 182)."

"The firm of Himebaugh & Merriam, at Omaha, which owns 32 elevators on the Union Pacific system, stated (see p. 1301) that it had no competitors on the line of the Union Pacific except the Union Elevator Company at Council Bluffs. The elevators at Omaha and Council Bluffs have been allowed 1 cent as a terminal charge for transfer through their elevators, and 2 cents additional at times to meet competition. The testimony developed the fact that farmers were forced to sell to Himebaugh & Merriam, or, at least, that they could not compete with that firm in shipments (p. 183)."

As a supplement to a case of limited discrimination, it is impossible to avoid referring here to that most gigantic instance of monopolistic wealth which forces itself by its very existence into every discussion of the abuses of commerce. It may be necessary in the future course of these articles to refer in detail to the circumstances which produced that monopoly of the petroleum trade, the Standard Oil Trust. It is sufficient at present to refer to one fact which makes it a pertinent example in this connection. Most people know that the Standard Oil Company is the most remarkable example of rapidly heaped-up wealth known in the present day. The majority have a general idea that it holds a practical monopoly of the petroleum business, and that its methods of maintaining that monopoly are remorseless and unscrupulous. But the fact of which there is a very wide ignorance, and which is carefully clouded by the representations of interested parties, is that the source of its wealth and the root of its monopoly lies in exactly the practice just described, namely, that of giving it rates in the transportation of petroleum so much

lower than those of its rivals that it could always sell at a profit when they must lose money. How far I am justified in occupying space in proving this assertion, I am not certain. But the allegation clearly needs to be made and substantiated. For it is a fact that such a prominent speaker on social problems as Mr. Henry George, when asked a couple of years ago what he thought of the effect of this monopoly in lowering the prices of petroleum, was not sufficiently informed to make the obvious answer that the Standard Oil Company could only sell petroleum cheaper than its rivals because the railroads afforded it a lower cost of transportation; and that it only does sell cheaper so long as it is necessary to crowd its rivals out of business. This has been the unvarying fact disclosed by every investigation up to a very recent date in the history of the Standard Oil Company. Hardly any proof can be more conclusive than that which comes up in connection with one of its denials. One of the prominent magnates of the Standard Oil Company, before an investigation in New York last year, indignantly denounced the accusation of the particular favors given to the Standard by the railroads as "malignant mendacity;" but the gentleman who applied that term to the opponents of the Standard's monopoly was totally unable to remember previous suit in the courts of Pennsylvania in which he himself was an unwilling witness; and after having been called to the stand on three separate occasions, was finally induced to produce his books, showing that on the single branch of his business, a mere fourteenth of the whole traffic of the Standard, he had been given an advantage in his freight rates exceeding \$225,000 a year. When a man is unable to remember a discrimination which yields him such a fortune in a single year, the inference that such things are merely ordinary matters to him and his associates is rather astounding.

No more striking evidence of the result which can be obtained by the persistent policy of preferential rates is needed than is afforded by the facts now made public with regard to the Standard.

A list presented to the Pennsylvania legislature two years ago shows that 250 independent concerns in the petroleum trade have been either swallowed up or crowded out of business by this process. Before the investigation conducted by the House committee, by Mr. F. P. Gowen it was proved that the par valuation of the Standard Oil Trust is \$90,000,000; but its market value as shown by the premium at which its shares have been sold is \$145,000,000. This latter enormous sum represents, not to the value of the property owned by the Standard Oil Trust, but mainly the market valuation or earning power of its monopoly. The stock valuation of the concerns consolidated within the Standard trust does not exceed \$50,000,000; but their profits obtained through the exclusive privileges procured to them through the process just described amounts to over \$10,000,000 annually. A year ago the solicitor of the Standard Oil Trust publicly denied after a silence of ten years the long-standing assertion that the discriminations given to the Standard

by the trunk lines was shown by Mr. Cassatt's testimony to be \$10,000,000 in sixteen months. He asserted that Mr. Cassatt never testified to that fact, which was textually correct; but what he left carefully in the shade was this: Mr. Cassatt testified to certain rates of rebate or reductions from the regular rates given by the Pennsylvania Railroad to the Standard Oil Trust; that Mr. Cassatt further testified that the reason why his railroad gave these rebates was that their competitors were giving as great, or greater reductions. Figuring these reductions on the total shipments during the period in question, from 1877 to 1879, the gross advantage secured to the Standard exceeded \$10,000,000; so that while the Standard Oil Company's lawyer was able to deny that Mr. Cassatt testified directly to this fact, he was also careful to conceal the fact that the evidence given by that railroad official justified the assertion that the gross advantage secured by the railroad to the Standard during the first sixteen months of its complete monopoly exceeded \$10,000,000. This denial was scarcely made before Mr. F. P. Gowen brought out another assertion which is as yet undisputed. Taking the same method of reasoning, showing the special rates given to the Standard through a series of years, Mr. Gowen furnishes the figures for an estimate that during the thirteen years of the Standard monopoly its gross advantage secured by the railroad solely upon its transportation amounts to over \$100,000,000. These are startling figures by which to measure the terrible power of railway favoritism. One hundred million dollars in favors given to a single corporation in a department of trade which is not by any means the most commanding of our industries! The value of that monopoly is expressed by its own members at another hundred million dollars, simply as the worth of excluding competition from that trade.

Such startling figures as these afford a striking measure, not only of the immense wrong that has been done, but of the possibility of greater ones. The injury that has been done to the two hundred and fifty firms who were excluded from the business of trading and refining in oil; to the producers who have been taxed and burdened by the presence of but a single buyer for practical purposes, and of the consumers who have had to pay an advance on the staple of illumination are counted by the millions and tens of millions. But this is by no means the most grave aspect of the case. The truth of what has already been said about the demoralization and loss of public character and independence, whenever the fundamental laws of justice and right are violated, needs no better evidence than is furnished by the effect of the Standard Oil monopoly upon the petroleum trade. When the first attempt at this monopoly was made public, the entire producing interests in the oil region rose in arms against it, and the protest was so imperative that the open project of monopoly had to be abandoned, and it was pursued in secrecy for some years. The influence of the monopoly, and the practical enforcement of the lesson for some years, that no one can prosper in the petroleum trade except by the favor of the Standard

is supported by the railroads, has been that now it is the practical avowal of the producing interests that people who are obnoxious to the Standard had better get out of their trade or keep their individual rights very quiet. Only within the last few months it has been even asserted in the public press that the presence of a producer who pursues the obnoxious policy of refining his own product and shipping it to market in defiance of the Standard, is an injury to the entire petroleum interest. It was actually published in the trade report as a matter deserving the attention of the trade that "the Standard would not permit the market to advance while Craig was so prominent a producer," and the conclusion was, not the obvious one that the trade should unite against a monopoly which could exert so obnoxious a control on the market, but that the offensive producer who managed his own business on an independent basis should be urged to relieve the subservient producers of his obnoxious and injurious independence!

Can any better evidence be asked of the terrible destruction of every principle of democratic equality and individual right than is afforded by this instance? The favors of the railroad have built up a power by which not only fortune in the petroleum trade is granted to its favorites, but under which the sycophants and dependents of the monopoly are expected to discourage and oppose the independence and uprightness of others. Wherever the influence of the Standard has reached, it has substituted for the virtues of independence, integrity, and respect for public right the wildest speculation, the most utter subserviency, and even the most glaring and unblushing political corruption.

Between the enormous example of favoritism afforded by the Standard Oil Co. and the comparatively petty example of discrimination at a local station previously cited, there is a vast range of interests in which the same process may be repeated, varying, indeed, in the amounts which the favoritism can secure, but in every case involving the same disregard of public equality and justice. It is impossible at present to attempt to go over all of these examples, but it is sufficient to give two indications of their extent. A prominent railroad official, at the time of the passage of the interstate commerce law, said that "when the people found that the effect of the abolition of special rates was, practically, to advance freight charges 10 or 15 per cent., they might not be so much in favor of that measure." This was a practical admission that the special rates granted under the old system were 10 or 15 per cent. of the gross amount of freight charges. That indicates a total favor to the recipients of the special rates ranging from \$90,000,000 to \$135,000,000 annually. It is true that the result of such enormous favoritism is somewhat broken up by the fact that the different railroads had different favorites to whom they granted these special favors, and that the competition of these favorites in the open market reduced, to a certain extent, the effect of the wrong upon the country. But when we take the fact that a favorite class in commerce are the recip-

ients of special advantages from the railroad to the extent of from \$90,000,000 to \$130,000,000 annually, and suppose that favoritism to be extended over a term of ten or twenty years, the gross amount of the advantage, counted by the thousands of millions, leaves no wonder that immense fortunes are heaped up in few hands at the cost of the general public. Place side by side with this the calculation which a friend of mine made upon a report of the Pennsylvania Railroad a couple of years ago. The total tonnage of the road, as shown in this report calculated upon its open and public rates, should have yielded a revenue of \$21,000,000. The actual revenue from freight earnings shown by the report for the same year was \$12,000,000. There is no charge that the difference was pocketed by the officers of the road; but the inference is very strong that the advantage given by the officers of the road to favorite shippers with whom they may, or may not, have been in silent partnership was represented in that single year of its business by the difference of \$9,000,000.

It is necessary to recognize the fact that this class of discrimination is now forbidden by the interstate commerce law; but it is cogent to balance against that the no less vital fact that it was forbidden from the inception of the railroad era, by the common laws which constituted the railway system. The original common law of the Nation was ignored and overridden, and it is still an open question whether the statute which makes it the present law will not be made equally a dead letter. It is that thought to which we now call attention, that the railroads have a power, the secret and illegal exercise of which can utterly destroy the equality and freedom of trade. The mere existence of such a power in a system of transportation established by legislation can not be reconciled to the spirit of free institutions. Whether the railroad managers pay more attention to present statutes than they have to the long-standing obligations of their charters, or nullify the one as they did the other, the fact that they have in their control the power which, secretly and insidiously used, controls the course of fortunes and builds up monopolies in trade, is a threat to the freedom of internal commerce. Leave that power restrained only by the frail barrier of a statute, after charter obligations and constitutional requirements have been unable to control it, and the impartiality of the legislation which creates the possibility of such a wrong is impeached.

In actual violation of the principle of equality and in the injury of creating great advantages in the acquisition of fortune at the expense of the public, this practice of favoritism between shippers wholly outweighs the evils of discriminations between localities. As we shall see when we come to study the latter abuse more closely, it comprises a great public injury. But the single class of abuses which we have cited here is enough for the present purpose of showing how the abuse of the railway power of making rates can nullify and fundamental principles of our Government. It can build up a privileged and wealthy class more rapidly than abuses in taxation can; it can exercise the

power of creating monopolies, which has been forbidden to enlightened governments for centuries. Is it too much to say that right here is an abuse, the very possibility of which must be abolished, if we are to maintain our system of popular government on its only possible foundation of popular prosperity and equal chances in the opportunities and rewards of production?

## A Hint to Advertisers.

The following unsolicited testimony as to the worth of the *Economist* as an advertising medium comes to us in a letter from Arthur Arrington, 24 Houston street, Atlanta Ga., under date of May 12th:

"As general manager of the Marshall Planter and Fertilizer Distributor Company, and also of the company owning the 'Newell Process of Preparing Cotton Seed for Planting,' and being desirous of bringing our business favorably and extensively before the agricultural world, I determined, upon reading your prospectus early in March, to advertise in your columns. Less than two months' experience have fully demonstrated to me from a strictly business standpoint the wisdom of my decision. That simple four-inch advertisement, the charges for which I thought were very reasonable, has brought me letters of inquiry from ten Southern States, and my correspondence has become so heavy I have been obliged to reply by means of a printed circular. I can heartily recommend *THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST* as a most excellent medium through which to advertise any business that interests the farmers. I may add that I do not own a dollar's worth of stock in this journal, and have only a slight acquaintance with its management, but I am an ardent Alliance man, and having found a good thing myself in the *Economist*, I deem it both a privilege and a duty to commend it to the brotherhood and to the out-side business-world as the telephone through which they may communicate with each other. Your sanctum, Mr. Editor, if you will allow me to carry out the figure, is the central National office, where thousands of imaginary wires converge, over which the farmers on one side and the commercial men and manufacturers on the other can readily converse. Be it ever your high province to guard each of these classes from swindlers in the other by refusing for favor or reward to advertise anything that is not meritorious and worthy of patronage."

ACCORDING TO their own showing, the product of value per hand over the cost of material to the manufacturers was, in 1850, \$485, and in 1880, \$720. Does the condition of this class of laborers show a corresponding improvement? They have doubled the amount of value they produce. Is their condition twice as good? Are they twice as comfortable? Do they get twice as much pay? Are they laying away annually a surplus to support them in age and sickness? If these things are not true, where is the vast increase in the values they have created in the past forty years?

THE financial policy which enriches a few unproductive drones, at the expense of the great hive of human industry, is not only unjust but criminal, and surely fatal to National progress and even National life.

DAKOTA has made a good start toward a rule of the people. Both branches of the legislature have a majority of farmers,

## History and Government.

No. 11.

The overthrow of the government of Solon by Pisistratus was the introduction of a new era in Athenian politics, and although many, indeed a majority, of Solon's institutions were preserved and continued in force for ages after the overthrow of his government, yet his system of relief had proved ineffectual, in fact had proved no relief at all, as it not only left the inequalities of which the people complained still in existence, but had established them as a necessary accompaniment to government; had left the sources from which these inequalities sprung still untouched, and strengthened the hands of the favored classes (for it must be borne in mind that the great authority of the assemblies, referred to in the last article, was not attained until after several revolutions later on; all of which will be taken up in proper time).

The two political establishments which have so far been the subject of review are in the highest degree worthy of the space and attention given them, for various important reasons.

First, they were the natural outgrowth of the sentiment of a people thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty, who had developed without foreign interference from a state of nature, exhibiting, as they advanced, mental qualities of the highest order, and a dignity of character and capacity for advancement far beyond that ever before shown by any nation or race that had preceded them.

Next, this development was in a direction exactly opposite to that taken by the Oriental despotisms by which they were surrounded, and from which alone they could imbibe ideas and instruction. Their ideas of individual liberty, of general equality, of personal worth, and the rights of citizenship were, in the age at which they declared and established them, new, original, and directly contrary to the teachings and experiences of former ages and preceding people. Next, because the principles and political institutions declared and established by these two representative states developed into the power which finally overthrew the despotic institutions which had, prior to their time, dominated the world; made slaves of all peoples, and cast its shadow over all antiquity. It was from this little germ sown in the soil of Athens and Sparta that the grand civilization which has gone on advancing even to the present day grew, until even now our Government and people are but a counterpart, in all the great essentials of spirit and character, of those grand people who then were but in the infancy of an enlightenment which has gone on advancing the race, until the great possibilities attainable are beyond the capacity of the human mind to comprehend.

Ambition, tyranny, avarice, military power, barbarism, cunning, deceit, every power of evil has been brought to bear from age to age to crush and destroy this spirit of individual liberty and equality, but it has survived every form of opposition and rises strengthened and purified from every contest. Time and again it has apparently been crushed and the despot

has triumphed. Through ages of ignorance and opposition it has slept, apparently the sleep of annihilation, but when despotism seemed seated most firmly on the throne of power, when the masses seemed to be sunk into the greatest depths of oppression, the immortal spirit of liberty has burst into a flame which has swept all before it, and lighted the people through the darkness of despondency and slavery into the bright sunlight of political independence and social happiness.

These two little states present to the philanthropist of to-day a most inspiring spectacle, standing as they did upon the very threshold of enlightenment, the advance-guard of civilization and progress. Around them on every side was a world wrapped in ignorance and groveling in bondage; despots reveling in splendor and nations groaning in slavery; the darkness of the age lighted only by the gleams from the sword of the conqueror or the jewels of the autocrat as they reflected the splendor that blazed in the courts into the hovels, where cringed and wept and prayed the miserable people whose lives were one unending woe.

The Oriental world had at that time grown old in despotism. The foot of the autocrat was upon the necks of the prostrate people of Asia and Egypt. In the breasts of those people hope was dead; courage, manhood, pride in self, and love of family, all were crushed into a dogged and sullen submission to a condition almost beyond endurance, but against which none ever dared to make resistance or even expect deliverance. The light of hope was gone out; there only remained the miserable present and death. The race of such a people was run; from them progress had nothing to hope. Among them civilization and liberty could find no champion; and so it was that liberty, the genius of modern progress, built her altar among the brave and aspiring Greeks, beside those of the Athenian Minerva and the Lacedemonian Mars. Thus were exalted aspirations, intelligence, and martial courage united in a new race, which was to develop and sustain the characteristics which were to regenerate the world and place mankind upon the high plane along which it was decreed that the race should advance.

What a grand station in the history of human progress these people occupy, and how nobly they guarded their trust when the world of absolutism hurled its armed millions against their undaunted few, hoping to overwhelm, but only to meet utter discomfiture and final destruction, as they did in the demolition of the Persian power. There is no instance in history which can compare in startling results with the resistance of the Greek states to the overwhelming invasions of Darius and Xerxes, and the utter rout and destruction of their colossal armies by this little band of heroes, devoted so faithfully to patriotism and liberty. It does seem that the achievements of this little nation were superhuman, and that they were inspired by an Allwise Providence, that they might be an evidence, through all time, of the power of liberty to elevate her children to a state so far above that of the victims of despotism that they seem a higher order of beings and truly invincible—the instruments, in the hands of Omnipotent justice, to establish its decrees and redeem a world.

The old civilization was dead, had died of its corruption and rottenness. The race was exhausted, and with the Greek states a new race entered upon a new experiment of sentiments and policies. There was no mingling of the old with the new, no gradual development of a better from an earlier state; but Liberty sprang full-armed from the breast of the

young giant just awakened in Europe and began a reign untrammeled by ancient prejudices or sentiments. A new era dawned with a new race as its vanguard, and fresh peoples to draw its sustenance from.

What the Greeks achieved under the leadership of Athens and Sparta remains for us to review in detail. The development of these two states up to the point when they began to attract the attention of the Oriental world—we have already traced with a certain degree of minuteness. It may now be well to recapitulate a little, and compare, before going farther into the events which went to prove the superiority of the institutions and sentiments which characterized this people over any political or social growth known up to that time. It may be a source of encouragement to our people to-day to recognize the fact that this great people, whose characteristics were so strikingly similar to our own, did not progress evenly and uninterruptedly to the final exalted station they occupied, but that they met the same misfortunes, oppositions, treachery, and discouragements that we are and have been meeting; yet the final result was that they achieved the grandest triumph the world has ever witnessed, not only in the greatness, culture, prosperity, and happiness of their people, but they changed, as it were, the nature of the race. They overthrew the older despots, throttled despotic power, inspired the people of Europe with new hopes and aspirations, implanted sentiments which grew and flourished, not only at home, but spread and gained new vigor as they spread; choked out entirely the poisonous weeds of Orientalism, and made the grandeur of Rome possible, and the enlightenment of the outside barbarians a work which was to develop the possibilities of a modern Europe, and through it the creation of a free America.

After the founding of the Greek states Asiatic power waned. The little republics of Greece stood as a rampart between them and European conquest. Thus, hedged in by an impassable barrier, despotism languished and died, as had the energies and ambitions and hopes of their people, and the fresh races of Europe were not contaminated by the loathsome political diseases it generates, but drew their inspiration and social and political sentiments from the pure fountains which had their source in the free hills of Attica and Lacedemon.

From this fact it will be readily recognized that the building up of the Greek republics forms one of the most important epochs in the history of human government. With the creation of these states the old ideas died. Autocratic power became a thing of the past, of the old world. Liberty, equality, and democratic institutions became the characterizing distinction between the old world of Asia and the new world of Europe. The differences between the governments and peoples were sharp and distinctive.

The old civilization was dead, had died of its corruption and rottenness. The race was exhausted, and with the Greek states a new race entered upon a new experiment of sentiments and policies. There was no mingling of the old with the new, no gradual development of a better from an earlier state; but Liberty sprang full-armed from the breast of the

young giant just awakened in Europe and began a reign untrammeled by ancient prejudices or sentiments. A new era dawned with a new race as its vanguard, and fresh peoples to draw its sustenance from.

When the Greek sentiment and character are analyzed it will be surprising to note how perfectly they correspond with those of the founders of our own institutions and Government; and, when the development of the institutions growing out of them are carefully noted, it will be no less astonishing how perfectly the parallel continues with our growth and development, even to the character of the evils which threatened and befel.

First, their idea of government was that it received its power from the consent of the governed; that there was no power superior to the people; that government was of their creation, and not established by any divine decree or superhuman power delegated to a favored one or few.

Not only did the Greeks believe that government derived its existence from the people, but they considered that all were entitled, not only to equal political rights, but to equal advantages for gaining a livelihood or maintaining a family in comfort. They especially claimed that every man was entitled to free and untrammeled access to land, which was their only means of support.

Nor did they regard the lands of the state as the community property of all, but demanded an equal distribution according to the necessities of each individual, and that such individual should hold this in his own right, free from any obligation whatever to any other, and that it should descend to his children; thus, as the very basic idea of their system, opposing the monopolization of the land, either by the state or by individual acquisition.

They demanded that all laws should bear equally upon all, and that no special privileges should be conferred or special favors granted to any. All owed, according to their idea, the same obligation to the state; and none could be relieved from this obligation except by the consent of all. The government, instead of overshadowing and owning the people, as the despots of Asia did, was but the creation of the people and subject to their will.

They considered that taxes were levied for the benefit of all, and therefore should bear equally upon all; that public officers were merely public servants, and should be changed frequently, lest they should come to believe that the Government and people owed them special recognition and honor; therefore Archons were chosen annually. Their conception of government was that of the purest democracy, and corresponds perfectly with the ideas of the founders of our Government.

The people were brave, intelligent, and jealous of their liberties. They stamped out political ambition in those who aspired to rule early in their history, and consequently had little to fear from political or military aspirations of ambitious leaders. The first era of their existence was wonderfully prosperous, until wealth began to accumulate and the power it gave its possessors began to develop and oppress the masses, when they immediately recog-

nized that this class of oppression was as great and severe and accompanied with as great evils and hardships as those which characterized military or political oppression. Just so has it been in the history of our Nation.

The development of the Greeks was slower, and consequently many more years were required to bring about the same results than with us; for instance, from the time of the founding of Sparta to the time Lycurgus discovered the necessity for his reforms was more than six hundred years, and from the founding of Athens to the time of Solon, when the assumptions of wealth made relief for the masses necessary, was nearly nine hundred years; but it must be borne in mind that this was a development from a state of semi-barbarism to a condition of great enlightenment, indeed to a state of mental development equal in many respects to that of which we boast to-day.

Now, the general condition of both Sparta and Athens was, at the time referred to, very prosperous financially; that is to say, there was a large accumulation of wealth, but the distribution was such that the masses of the people were in a most deplorable condition. There had then been a long era of great prosperity in which this great amount of value had been produced. Just so it was in the development of our country for the first fifty years. While the people had access to a vast domain of free land, there was wonderful development of values, and a general distribution of these values, so that the people were not only prosperous but contented and happy. The general progress of science and enlightenment was such as to enable our people to accomplish even more in fifty years than the Greeks had been able to do in more than five hundred. Development was going on at a rate ten times greater than it had done with the Greeks, and five centuries of their experience, indeed we may say a thousand years, up to the time of Solon, was lived by our ancestors in little more than fifty years; and yet, with their experience before us, we have come upon the same evils, springing from the same sources. The Greeks, as has before been said, found themselves in possession of the lands they cultivated, each citizen looking only to his land and industry for the support of himself and those dependent on him. They could not therefore conceive of any higher claim to land than that of the citizen who depended on it for support, and that such citizen should pay tribute to another for the privilege of using land was beyond their comprehension. Land to them was only a source from which to draw support, and they could not conceive of it as an article of commerce; consequently the holdings were small and generally distributed among the people. Every man owned a home and from him it descended to his children. Landlordism was unknown and would not have been tolerated under the first era of Greek development. Therefore the people were independent and contented.

The conditions among the founders of our Republic were very similar, and the sentiment of the people on this subject in perfect accord with that of the early Greeks. Our ancestors had suffered from landlordism and the monop-

olizing of great estates, and the tenor of all their enactments on this subject was to secure the widest subdivision of the lands and relieve each holder from any claim of tribute or return for use to any other. This is evident from the steps taken in relation to land tenure from time to time. The rights of primogeniture were first curtailed and then abolished. The property was all freehold. The system of long trusts, leases, and entailments prevalent in England were abolished. The lands were placed in the hands of Government merely as a convenient way of distributing it to the citizens for homesteads, and provision was made by law to have it so distributed. The whole tenor of legal enactments, prior to the late corporate era, was to secure a wide distribution of the lands as homes, and this was the idea of the Greeks.

The principles declared and defended by Jefferson were but a reiteration of the sentiment which prevailed among the masses of Greece at the time of the establishment of the republics. He bitterly opposed aristocracy in every form, as in conflict with natural rights. He declared that all men are born free and equal, that government derives its power from the consent of the governed. He advocated the repeal of the law of entailment and primogeniture, and a general distribution of the land as homesteads. He opposed the accumulation of vast estates and great wealth in favored families. He struggled to overthrow the domination of favored classes and raise the people. He saw the injustice of centralized power and its oppression of the people. He recognized that such conditions only advanced the interests of the favored classes at the expense of the people. He recognized the people, and not a few pampered favorites of fortune, as the reliance of the Government in time of trouble.

These ideas of Jefferson were in harmony with the sentiment of the people, and though bitterly opposed by an ambitious faction of aspiring speculators, they prevailed and for over fifty years the Nation went on prospering, creating values to enormous amounts, just as the Greeks did for five hundred years during the era of development, up to the time of Lycurgus in Sparta, and even longer in Athens.

The last grand consolidation of capital was effected during the first week in May. The new colossal corporation is called the Illinois Steel Company, and constitutes the largest steel combination in America. It is formed by the consolidation of three of the largest steel manufacturing corporations in Illinois, and the capital is \$25,000,000. This combination has also in view the development and monopolization of the manufacture of tin-plate.

PRESIDENT BURROWS, of the Farmers National Alliance, is pushing the good work with great vigor. He will soon have State Alliances organized in Indiana and Ohio, and will visit all the States of the North and East, establishing the work and taking such steps as will insure the speedy and perfect organization of the balance of the United States.

All communications should be addressed to J. Burrows, Filley, Nebraska.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE, FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND AGRICULTURAL WHEEL.

Meeting of Delegates from State Alliances, Wheels, and Unions, held in the City of Birmingham, Ala., May 15th and 16th.

The National Conference of the Farmers Alliance and Agricultural Wheel met in Sublett's Hall, at 10 o'clock, pursuant to call, with President C. W. Macune in the chair. By consent of the house, the president appointed the following committee on credentials: Adams of Alabama, Livingston of Georgia, and Buchanan of Tennessee, who reported as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Your committee on credentials beg to submit the following partial report; to wit: We find the following delegates present and entitled to seats in this convention.

S. M. ADAMS,  
J. D. BUCHANAN,  
L. F. LIVINGSTON,  
*Committee.*

ALABAMA.—S. M. Adams, W. H. Lawson, R. A. Lee, Dr. H. P. Bone, Dr. J. S. Byrd, J. M. Robinson.

ARKANSAS.—L. P. Featherstone.

FLORIDA.—Joe M. Massey.

GEORGIA.—L. F. Livingston, W. J. Northern, Felix Corput.

KENTUCKY.—J. H. Payne.

LOUISIANA.—T. A. Clayton, O. M. Wright, Linn Tanner.

MISSISSIPPI.—J. H. Beeman, R. C. Patty, D. L. Smythe, W. R. Lacey.

NORTH CAROLINA.—L. L. Polk, E. Carr, W. A. Darden, J. F. Payne.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—M. L. Donaldson, Lucas Mcintosh.

TENNESSEE.—J. P. Buchanan, T. O. Abernathy, J. F. Block, W. F. Grant, Wheel, G. A. Gowan, W. R. Tucker, A. E. Gardner, J. W. Zelner.

TEXAS.—Evan Jones, S. D. A. Duncan, R. J. Sledge, T. P. Rush, Dr. J. M. Lewis, E. S. Thayer.

On motion, it was decided to seat all members of the Alliance in good standing who were present, but that no State should be entitled to more than its proper number of votes according to the call made for the meeting.

On motion, report was received and committee continued.

On motion, S. M. Adams, of Alabama, was elected permanent chairman of the convention. On motion, E. B. Warren and A. E. Gardner were elected permanent secretaries.

The house was opened in due form, with prayer by Brother T. M. Barbour, of Alabama.

T. A. Clayton, from committee on bagging, made report.

Motion prevailed that a committee of one from each State be appointed to consider report of committee on bagging, said committee to report to the house as soon as possible. Committee appointed was Duncan, of Texas; H. P. Bone, of Alabama; L. P. Featherstone, of Arkansas; J. M. Massey, of Florida; Livingston, of Georgia; Payne, of Kentucky; Clayton, of Louisiana; J. H. Beeman, of Mississippi; E. Carr, of North Carolina; L. McIntosh, of South Carolina; G. A. Gowan, of Tennessee.

L. L. Polk, from committee to confer with bagging manufacturers, made report, which was referred to committee on bagging.

Resolution made by Maxwell, of Alabama, referred to bagging committee.

The president appointed the following committee to arrange a programme of business: Abernathy, Polk, Lee of Alabama.

House adjourned until 2.30 P. M.

House convened at 2.30 o'clock with open doors, when the delegates were tendered a public welcome by the city of Birmingham. An address of welcome was delivered by Col. J. F. Johnston, and re-

sponded to by Col. L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, whose eloquence brought tears to the eyes of many and elicited prolonged applause.

Report of committee on programme was read and adopted.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed to confer with the representatives from publishing companies: Polk, Lane, Thair, Lacey, Tucker.

Adjourned until 7.30 P. M.

Evening session, President Adams in the chair.

Motion that the thanks of the house be tendered Messrs. Hubbard & Price for information furnished the body. Letter of Hubbard & Price referred to committee on bagging.

Pending report of bagging committee, the house was entertained by pleasant little speeches, from President Macune and President Evan Jones. J. W. Rogers, delegate from Missouri State Wheel, was seated as a delegate from Missouri.

Committee on bagging reported resolutions, which on motion were taken up *serially*, for adoption.

Partial report:

1. Resolved, That we, from all lights before us, recommend this body to insist upon the permanent use of cotton bagging as a covering for cotton.

2. Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose actual expenses are to be paid from the treasury of the National organization, whose duty it shall be to secure from purchasers and manufacturers an allowance of at least eight pounds on each bale wrapped in cotton at the market price of cotton when sold.

3. Resolved, That in the event of any cotton buyer refusing to grant the allowance above asked for we advise the membership not to sell until such concession is allowed.

Resolution No. 1 was adopted unanimously. Resolution No. 2 adopted. Resolution No. 3 adopted.

Report adopted as a whole. Motion prevailed that the secretary be instructed to furnish this report to the associated press.

On motion, the following committee was appointed to draft plan of carrying out report on committee on bagging: Livingston, Macune, Duncan, Carr, Abernathy, Polk, Lewis.

Adjourned until 8 o'clock A. M.

House met at 8 o'clock. President Adams in the chair. The chair announced the following committee to confer with publishers:

J. P. Oliver, Alabama; L. P. Featherstone, Georgia; J. W. Rogers, Missouri; L. L. Polk, North Carolina; Lucas McIntosh, South Carolina; R. C. Patty, Mississippi; R. W. Tucker, Tennessee; S. D. A. Duncan, Texas; J. H. Payne, Kentucky; O. M. Wright, Louisiana.

(Report omitted.)

By resolution, a committee of one from each State was appointed to consider and report to this body the best and most profitable methods of utilizing cotton-seed and its products.

Committee: A. B. Brassell, Alabama; Linn Tanner, Louisiana; E. B. Warren, Texas; W. A. Darden, North Carolina; W. R. Lacey, Mississippi; B. M. Hord, Tennessee; L. P. Featherstone.

They reported as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: We, your committee to whom the above resolution was referred, beg leave to report that, in view of the great intrinsic value which is known to exist in cotton-seed as a fertilizer, as well as for the commercial value which it at present maintains as a manufacturing product, would hereby recommend to the members of the Agricultural Wheel, the Alliance, and the Farmers Union throughout the cotton-producing sections of the United States:

1st. That we deem it injurious to the prosperity of cotton farmers to sell their cotton-seed, unless it be at such prices as will be at all times equal to, if not greater than, what has been demonstrated and proved to be their real agricultural value as a fertilizer.

L. F. LIVINGSTON,  
C. W. MACUNE,  
L. L. POLK,  
S. D. A. DUNCAN,  
E. CARR,  
W. H. LAWTON,  
T. O. ABERNATHY.

2d. That we believe it should be always within the province of the producer to place the price upon such products as are produced by the labors of himself, and that the allowing of purchasers totally unconnected with the farm to further dictate the prices of farm products, as has heretofore been allowed if not sanctioned, is a surrendering of a right and privilege which has proven injurious and depressing in prices, in so far as the sale of cotton-seed is concerned, and has heretofore been conducive to the building up of what has been known as a cotton-seed oil monopoly.

In order, then, to counteract the evils alluded to, we hereby most respectfully recommend that the members of our order will take such steps in every State as will secure such prices as will fully reimburse them, and that moneys so acquired shall be expended in purchasing fertilizers which tend to the building up their soils and putting it in the highest state of agricultural fertility.

3d. We would recommend that all members of our order fix the price of their cotton-seed for the present crop at not less than twenty cents a bushel, and if such prices can not be obtained that they refuse to sell, and that the seed be returned to the land as a fertilizer.

And we further recommend that the president of each State Alliance, State Agricultural Wheel, and Farmers State Union be requested to appoint a committee of three whose duty it shall be to gather and disseminate such information bearing upon this matter as they shall deem of interest and importance to the order.

Above report was adopted.

Report of committee to draft plans for carrying out the work read and adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your committee submit the following report:

We recommend that a circular letter be issued by the secretary of the National Alliance containing the resolutions adopted touching cotton bagging, and asking each State, county, and Farmers Alliance to endorse and enforce the same: We advise that, either through State agents, county agents, or such other agencies as may be available—such as Alliance stores, Alliance warehouses, or mercantile firms—that each Farmers Alliance estimate and place an order as soon as possible, with such security as the manufacturers may require, for all bagging needed, specifying time and place of delivery, and that the bagging be paid for on delivery or at such other time as may be agreed upon, the cost of same not to be more than 12½ cents per yard F. O. B., and the bagging to be at least thirty-seven inches wide, and weighing twelve ounces per yard.

Your committee further recommend that all manufacturers intending or willing to fill orders for cotton bagging advertise the same, and on what terms and conditions.

And, in conclusion, your committee most earnestly entreat every Allianceman growing cotton to steadfastly and cheerfully place himself in harmony with, and support of, the action of this body, assuring them of the fact that for the present they can not lose one dollar by so doing, and in the future will enhance the price of cotton and stimulate and build up home industries, retaining the large sum now expended and sent abroad for jute bagging to enrich our own beloved South; and, that this matter may be at once brought before those interested, we recommend the following:

Resolved, That C. W. Macune and Isaac McCracken be, and they are hereby, requested to join our president, S. M. Adams, in a proclamation asking each county Alliance and county Wheel in the United States to meet on the second Tuesday of June, 1889, to ratify and take steps to carry out the action of this body.

L. F. LIVINGSTON,  
C. W. MACUNE,  
L. L. POLK,  
S. D. A. DUNCAN,  
E. CARR,  
W. H. LAWTON,  
T. O. ABERNATHY.

Resolution read by Tanner, of Louisiana, referred to special committee composed of Linn Tanner, R. A. Lee, Alabama; Abernathy, of Tennessee. Reported as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: Your committee, to whom was referred the resolution relating to small cotton bales, respectfully report as follows:

3d. The work intrusted to your committee is of the utmost importance to the farmers of this country, and, in the judgment of the committee, is susceptible of successful execution if the requisite funds are provided therefor; and your committee desire to go on record as expressing the opinion that the continued suspension of this work will work detriment to the order.

4th. Your committee would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

LINN TANNER, Chairman,  
ROBERT A. LEE.

T. O. ABERNATHY.

Report of bagging committee received and committee continued.

The chair appointed the following committee to secure a reduction of tare on cotton: W. H. Lawson, Alabama; T. A. Clayton, Louisiana; L. F. Livingston, Georgia.

Committee to issue circular letter setting forth the plans of committee on ways and means: Polk, Livingston, and Warren.

House adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock by Chairman Adams.

The committee on bagging having reported that Messrs. Murdock and Donovan had appeared before said committee and submitted a proposition to supply 2,000,000 yards of jute bagging in car-load lots at Charleston, S. C., and from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 yards F. O. B. in car-load lots at St. Louis, Mo., in four equal monthly quantities deliverable on August 1st, September 1st, October 1st, and November 1st, at the following prices:

For delivery August 1st, eight and three-quarter cents for one and a half pound bagging, and nine and one-fourth cents for one and three-quarter pound bagging, and ten cents for two pound bagging, and ten and three-quarter cents per yard for two and one-fourth pound bagging.

For delivery on September 1st, one-eighth of one cent per yard advance on above prices.

For delivery on October 1st, one-eighth of one cent per yard advance on September 1st.

For delivery on November 1st one-eighth of one cent per yard advance on October prices.

Any contract to be secured by bankers' guarantees from the purchasers.

The convention having considered above report, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

Resolved, That this convention having adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That we, from all lights before us, recommend to this body the permanent use of cotton bagging as a covering for cotton," therefore we most respectfully decline the proposition of Messrs. Murdock & Donovan to furnish jute bagging.

Report of the committee on cotton from the National Farmers and Laborers Union was read and adopted as follows:

To the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America:

Your committee on cotton crops, appointed at the last session of the National Alliance, held in the city of Meridian, on the 5th day of December, 1888, respectfully report as follows:

1st. That after the organization of the committee, a circular letter was issued to the cotton-growers of the United States, in accordance with the plan of said work, which said circular is hereto attached and is asked to be taken as a part of this report.

2d. That thereafter this committee was officially notified by the secretary and treasurer of the National Alliance that the treasury was exhausted, and that there were no funds on hand for the further prosecution of this work, for the reason the blanks

for crop reports have not been printed, and the committee has been forced to suspend its work. That your committee is now advised that the National treasury is entirely depleted and that there will be no funds in the treasury from any source which can be applied to the work of your committee.

3d. The work intrusted to your committee is of the utmost importance to the farmers of this country, and, in the judgment of the committee, is susceptible of successful execution if the requisite funds are provided therefor; and your committee desire to go on record as expressing the opinion that the continued suspension of this work will work detriment to the order.

4th. Your committee would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the president of the National Alliance be authorized to appoint a committee of one from each State, upon whom shall devolve the execution of this work; and said committee be empowered to prepare all necessary plans for the work and to execute the same.

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. PAYNE.  
R. J. SLEDGE.  
ROBERT PATTY.

Resolution of J. H. Beeman, of Mississippi, adopted:

Whereas, it has come to the knowledge of this body that in the State of Mississippi measures have been inaugurated and plans adopted by which a covering for cotton is to be manufactured temporarily from jute butts, but with the declared intention of the projectors and managers to change as early as possible to pine-leaf fiber as a material out of which to make said covering, and if this should be found to be impracticable, then it is their intention to use cotton for making said covering; therefore,

After a short address by President Adams the convention adjourned.

S. M. ADAMS,

*President Birmingham National Conference.*

Attest.

E. B. WARREN,  
A. E. GARDNER,

*Secretaries.*

COTTON COMMITTEE.

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the cotton committee, composed of one from each State and representing both the Alliance and the Wheel, which had been appointed by the president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, met in committee room on the call of their chairman, R. J. Sledge, of Texas.

This committee superseded the cotton committee of three that was provided for by the National Alliance at Meridian in December last and appointed by the president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America during the Birmingham meeting, giving a statement of what they had accomplished and showing the difficulties that would hinder them from further action, and asked that a committee of one from each State be appointed to carry out the work. It was shown that that committee had done all that possibly could have been done and that they deserve great thanks for their labors, and therefore the Birmingham meeting passed a unanimous resolution endorsing their recommendation in favor of having the president of the N. F. A. and C. U. of A. appoint one from each State on the new committee.

R. J. Sledge, chairman, called the committee to order. The following members were present:

Sledge of Texas, Featherstone of Arkansas, Hord of Tennessee, Payne of Kentucky, Lacy of Mississippi, Kolb of Alabama, Donaldson of South Carolina.

After a general consultation it was decided to elect an executive committee of three to take the active work of the committee in hand and devise ways and means of carrying out the work with vigor. Sledge of Texas, Kolb of Alabama, and Hord of Tennessee were chosen as the executive committee, and authorized to proceed at once with the business, and given full power to act, in order that some definite instructions may be given to the called meetings of the county Alliances in June.

## ALLIANCE AID ASSOCIATION.

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— NATIONAL —

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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.

Price, 12½ cents net cash f. o. b. New Orleans.

On orders over 25,000 yards 2 per cent. allowance.

Orders to be placed on or before June 8, 1889.

Orders once placed are irrevocable, and no cancellation will be accepted under any circumstances.

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Orders to state when Bagging is to be shipped. All shipments to be paid for against sight drafts, bill of lading attached.

We shall begin manufacturing as soon as we have booked 2,000,000 yards.

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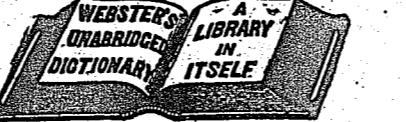
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This is a benefit association connected with the Farmers Alliance, under and subject to their control. We issue three grades of life policies—one for \$1,000, one for \$500, and one for \$250.

We wish to correspond with State officers of the Alliances with a view of forming a State board of directors in each State, and, where fully organized, place the same under National authority.

Correspondence solicited from county business agent, secretary, or lecturer, to terms and territory.

Address J. M. LEWIS, General Manager, Farmers Exchange Building, Dallas, Texas, or Mexia, Limestone Co., Texas.

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## The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE, AGRICULTURAL WHEEL, AND FARMERS UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY, FIVE CENTS }

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1889.

No. 12.

## Reforms.

of crops as a means of making farming prosperous have simply been encouraging them to stick straws in the worm holes of the barrel to stop the leaking while the “bunghole was wide open. Economy and diversity of crops are splendid incentives to individual prosperity, but they do not reach the evils that afflict the class. They will not increase the volume of money and thereby assist the farmers as a class to get out of debt. They will not cheapen railroad transportation, neither will they stop the encroachments of syndicates of speculators from absorbing the homes of the producer and thereby enslaving his posterity.

The agricultural population of to-day is becoming rapidly aroused to the fact that agriculture, as a class, can only be rendered prosperous by radical changes in the laws governing money, transportation, and land, and this fact once realized, and then, by the great farmers' organizations demanded of the General Government, of the Republican, Democratic, Greenback, Labor, Prohibition, and all other parties, will secure the adoption of the needed reforms. A land reform must be demanded, because a large per cent. of the lands of the country is now owned by foreign and domestic syndicates, and the greater part of all the balance of the whole volume of the land is under mortgage to corporations and speculators; and, as statistics and records show that the number and amount of such mortgages is constantly increasing, and as a consequence the title to the lands is gradually passing from the producer who lives upon them to the speculator, it is only a question of time when a point will be reached where the masses must submit to slavery or call a halt.

Self-interest rules the masses, and it should rule them. Any reform worthy the name should be of such a nature that it will conform to this fact before it deserves success.

This enhanced prosperity of city pursuits which induces city growth at the expense of the country must have a limit.

It is bound to butt up against a stone wall somewhere.

It certainly portends a crisis, which, if it does not

come before, will certainly be developed when the rural districts become so depopulated that

it is impossible for them to produce sufficient

food and clothing to sustain and protect the

immense population of cities of the land.

Then, at all events, a reaction must set in favor of

agricultural pursuits. But it is hoped and be-

lieved that the reaction will come much sooner

than that; in fact there is good reason for be-

lieving that a grand reaction is already com-

mencing and that it is largely due to the better

understanding between agriculturists, brought

about by means of the great farmers' organiza-

tions which now flourish. The Farmers Alli-

ance, the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers

Union, the Grange, the Farmers Mutual Bene-

fit Association, and others—these have been

the educators that have developed thought and

research until the agriculturists of this whole

land are beginning to realize that agricultural

and other papers that have for twenty years

been preaching to them economy and diversity

stronger reason for money reform is that the volume under the present system is inflexible, and that for this reason those who control large amounts can at will produce a corner in the money market, and by doing so at a season of the year when the producer is compelled to market his produce he is frequently forced to part with some for half, the equivalent he should receive in money. After thus securing all the produce of the country at less than the cost of production, such combinations, having the power, raise the price to the highest point it will bear from the consumer, and use the power given them by controlling a given per cent. of the gross amount of an inflexible volume of money to secure a monopoly of the various necessary articles of consumption. The power thus possessed by those capable of controlling a considerable per cent. of the total amount of money is fully equal, and perhaps superior, to those who would control the lands, because the land being taxed by the Government creates a necessity on the part of the land-owners to have money, and to get it he may have to sell some land. A flexible volume of money that can be made as plentiful during the season of marketing the crops as at any other time, and which will be ever ready to adjust itself to times of necessity, must be secured in order to neutralize the power for evil possessed by the speculative element.

A railway reform must be demanded because the discriminations of the railways in favor of persons and places has been one of the most active factors in promoting city growth at the expense of the country. Ambitious cities a couple of hundred miles apart, connected by rail will raise the cry of the necessity of another road to create competition, and the whole country will take it up, farmers and all, and indorse the move to get a competing line, when perhaps there is scarcely enough business to keep one line half busy. The result is that donations are made all along the line sufficient to build the new road, and the looked-for competition cheapens the rates, it is true, but at the two terminal cities only; and to make up for the reduction at those points the rates are advanced at all the stations along each line. Could a more perfect system be devised for

making the country pay tribute to the city? Implicit confidence may be had in the future in spite of these threatening signs, because the farmers, the great conservative element that comprises a majority of this great country, have been organizing and consulting in their slow, cool, quiet way, and are becoming aroused to the necessity of a land reform. They will accept nothing hasty, rash, or wrong, and in demanding reform will brush aside all fanatics and accept only sensible and business ideas. Again, as always in the past, the destiny of the country must be worked out by them.

A money reform must be demanded because the contracted volume of money is unjust to the great body of the producers of the country who, in good faith, contracted debts—when the volume of money was greater—for the purpose of making improvements upon the public lands, and the sooner farmers quit making fools of themselves by advocating a competition between railroads that benefit cities only, and that at the farmers' expense, the better. If competition can be secured all along the line, that will indeed be a remedy worthy adoption, but com-

petition that will benefit the farmer never has and never will be secured between different lines of road.

It is time, and there is abundant evidence, to show that farmers are beginning to realize that they have been used as a cat's paw by the shrewd city manipulators in crying competition between roads and that they had better say, Let the roads combine if they wish, it matters not; we are determined to demand a control that will absolutely stop discriminations against or in favor of persons or places.

When these reforms are demanded in earnest by the organized farmers of America, the reaction in favor of rural growth and prosperity will no longer be looked for in vain.

#### Why Cotton Bales Should Be Covered with Cotton Fabric.

BY R. M. BROWN, FORT GAINES, GA.

I submit an estimated statement giving reasons for the exclusive use of cotton fabric for baled-cotton covering.

I think it necessary that our planters have their attention called to the advantages of cotton baling to offset the sophistry now being assiduously circulated in open-letter form by brokers and others who are interested in jute bagging.

Would say that I have the spinners as authority for the statement that cotton baling after having served as baled-cotton covering is worth half value of the cotton that compose it; and, further, that jute baling after being taken from the bales of cotton is valued at nominally "o."

And have the underwriters for the 50 per cent. difference in fire insurance, while the actions of the Southern Manufacturing Association in their convention in Augusta on the 1st inst., speaks for the 10 cents per hundred pounds as difference in tare over heavier baling stuffs.

I think the publication of the statement might do good; as we, as a class, are to a considerable extent led by the opinions of the press.

I think the statements in essentials correct, yet admit that hair-splitting logic could slightly change, but not materially alter, the results.

It requires on an average of 7 yards jute-bagging per bale, at 12½ cents \$6,125,000. It requires on an average of 8 yards cotton-bagging per bale, at 12½ cents 7,000,000.

Placing jute-bagging apparently ahead by \$875,000.

Which, however, rapidly disappears by the application of the credit belonging legitimately to the cotton-bagging, to wit:

By conceded and adopted difference in tare, as established by the Southern Manufacturing Association, of 10 cents per 100 pounds, or 45 cents on a 450-pound bale, amounting to \$3,150,000.

By freight on difference in weights of covering, 6 pounds per bale, estimating aggregate freight at 4 cent. 215,000.

By 50 per cent. advantage in insurance over jute, placing cotton at \$40 per bale, would be a saving of 15 cents per bale. 1,050,000.

By difference in the value of cotton-bagging after having served the purpose of bale-covering is worth half as much as it was before being spun—say 3 cents per pound, or 18 cents per bale. 1,200,000.

\$5,675,000 By interest on \$6,125,000 at 8 per cent. 400,000.

This gives, as offset to the \$875,000, apparent advantage of jute. \$6,165,000.

The item of interest is not error, from the fact that it would have gone abroad in payment for jute-bagging, whereas it now remains

with us and increases exchange circulation to that extent, and currency, wherever circulated, certainly benefits to the extent of local rate of interest.

By utilizing stains to the extent of 124,000 bales, relieving the market of the same, and at the same time reducing the surplus, this can not be estimated in dollars, nevertheless par value. If this statement be true, it is plain that we could not afford to use jute-bagging as a gratuity.

One other reason why every planter should use cotton-bagging is that the cotton States, in convention at Birmingham, Ala., indorsed and adopted cotton as our future cotton-bale covering.

#### Thoughts and Comments.

T. D. BINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

"Pat," asked a gentleman of a son of the Emerald Isle, "isn't one man just as good as another?" "Faith," replied Pat, "yis, and betther too." Pat not only stood up straight in his belief in the equality of all men, but his prejudice, on the point involved in the question, was so intense that it leaned him backward. But as funny as the unconscious exhibition of the power of prejudice which prompted Pat's bull was, do we not see in the practical every-day application of the affairs of this intensely democratic people a literal illustration of the power of prejudice as betrayed in the unconscious hyperbole exhibited by Pat?

There is no country on earth whose citizens are so unanimously of the opinion that "one man is just as good as another and betther too," as are the citizens of this country. There is no country on earth whose citizens so unanimously deny the right of "one man power," the right of any one man, however intelligent and virtuous he may be, to rule the people, or any part of the people, for his benefit, as do our citizens. There is no country on earth where, if a portion of the people, a class or caste, should openly arrogate to itself the privilege of ruling the remainder, the mass of the people, by an immense majority, would so proudly and majestically and withal so gravely and thoughtfully and speedily proceed to chop off their presumptuous heads as the people of this country would. In fact, the sun in its course lights no race of people, no clan nor sect, among whom the right of absolute equality is so punctiliously contended for as it does in this country, and yet there is no nation on earth as young as this where the vast majority of the people are more completely and effectually compelled to work daily and hourly unremittingly and unceasingly, through rain and shine, heat and cold, for the benefit of a few uncrowned autocrats as the people of this country are.

There is no country on earth where the power of one man to rule in his interests a nation of people has received more striking exhibition than it has in this. There is no country on earth where all the evidences of striking inequality of the people are more manifest than they are in this.

There is no country on earth where a class or caste is so completely the ruler of the remainder of the people as a class or caste is the ruler of the remainder of the people of this country. In fact, the sun in its course lights no race of people, no clan nor sect, who so punctiliously contend for a substance, and who are so placidly content with the thinnest of shadows as it does when it sends its warming rays among the liberty-loving citizens of this glorious country. The humblest American-born citizen, though clothed in rags, and with no knowledge as to where his next meal was to come from, if seriously told that he was not the equal of others, not in every respect as good as others, would repel the insinuation as an insult, and, if persisted in, would, no doubt, doff his

rags and prepare to defend his honor (?) as a freeman and the equal of anybody that walks. And yet we have thousands, aye, hundreds of thousands, of just such "free" citizens who are utterly unable to command a next meal; and other citizens we have who toil not, who spin not, who produce absolutely nothing, yet who nevertheless possess the ability to indulge in any and every luxury their extravagant tastes may suggest. And some citizens we have, a half-dozen, perhaps, either of whom has it in his power to speak a word which will block the wheels of commerce, stop all trade, and produce such crisis as no man on earth possessing power short of absolutism could create. Equality! Wherein consists the equality of men whose powers to command the resources of nature, so essential to the sustenance of life, are so widely different? Read below two scraps of the history which this country has made in the last few years, and then explain, upon any theory of the "equality of men," if it can be done, why things are so.

During the summer of 1862, while our country was in the throes of a fearful civil war; while its brawn and sinew were bravely and fearlessly, but oh, so stupidly, killing each other in shoals, a bill was passed through Congress, granting a certain company an empire of land and the credit of the Government to the extent of \$64,000,000 to aid it in the construction of a railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The land was an absolute, outright gift. The money, the company agreed to pay back with interest. Twenty-six long years have passed since that bill became a law. Twenty years have come and gone since the completion of the road which it provided for and not a dollar of the debt, either principal or interest, has been paid, and the aggregate of the debt is to-day over \$150,000,000.

The sequel of the transaction proves that while hundreds of thousands of our best-intentioned citizens, North and South, were engaged in fighting, as they believed, for principle, these men, these Congressional manipulators, were scheming with ghoulish greed to skin the wealth-creators of this Nation out of hundreds of millions of dollars, and right nobly and thoughtfully and speedily proceed to chop off their presumptuous heads as the people of this country would. In fact, the sun in its course lights no race of people, no clan nor sect, among whom the right of absolute equality is so punctiliously contended for as it does in this country, and yet there is no nation on earth as young as this where the vast majority of the people are more completely and effectually compelled to work daily and hourly unremittingly and unceasingly, through rain and shine, heat and cold, for the benefit of a few uncrowned autocrats as the people of this country are.

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temporizing methods which it still keeps up. The people once in awhile get up on their hind legs and demand that something be done. It is usually the case, though, when the people become importunate about anything, for the corporation attorneys and jack-legged lawyers whom the dear people delight to elect to Congress to appoint an investigating committee. That committee will go gallivanting over the country spending the people's money like lords and living like gentlemen (?), gather a little testimony here and there, and when Congress next meets the committee reports, sometimes, for effect, and to keep the dear people divided on party lines it files a majority and a minority report. The report is filed or pigeon-holed and that is the last of the matter.

"Mr. Weaver, junior member of the firm of Yatch, Connor & Weaver, the Des Moines attorneys for the Litchfield river-land estate, was in the city yesterday, completing arrangements for the eviction of settlers on his client's lands. Mr. Weaver said that Litchfield had 700 judgments for possession of lands in Webster, Hamilton, and Boone Counties against 400 persons, and that during the first week of March every one of them will be served and evictions made. The selection of this early date is to keep settlers from putting in crops and having a lien on the property. The Litchfield lands form the largest estate of river lands, numbering thousands of acres of the finest lands in the counties named, on which the settlers have prosperous farms. \* \* \* Mr. Weaver says the threatened passage of the river-land bill over the President's veto hurries up evictions, and it has made them determined to regain entire possession of their lands before that can take place."

The other dispatch is as follows: "Washington, D. C., March 1.—Mr. Holmes (Iowa) called up the Des Moines river-land bill in the House, and urged that it be passed over the President's veto. He declared that the bill only sought to allow the settlers to go into court and inquire whether the Des Moines Navigation Company had complied with the terms of the grant. \* \* \*

"Mr. Gear (Iowa) said that the settlers had gone on the lands in good faith in their young manhood, and to-day in their old age they were liable to be evicted under the decision of a court, gained, in his judgment, by a clear case of collusion. \* \* \*

Mr. Payson (Illinois) sent to the clerk's desk and had read a telegram saying that 700 evictions are threatened in three counties of Iowa. He spoke, he said, in behalf of men whose property was being taken from them by legislative robbery. Who spoke for the millionaires, for the men holding the navigation company's title? The paid attorneys and lobbyists of the navigation company had been heard around corruption and bribery of men in high places, and it may be that our august tribunal knew if Leland Stanford had been compelled to tell all he knew in regard to Pacific Railway matters, that men high in official position would stand pilloried before the world as consummate scoundrels and lying hypocrites, and, knowing this, it may be that the Supreme Court concluded to ease matters down by virtually deciding that Leland Stanford, Jay Gould, or anybody else might buy just as many Congressmen as their money would pay for. And the people? Why, in the expressive but rather indecent words of bluff old Vanderbilt, "the people be damned."

Whatever motive prompted the decision of the Court, the fact is patent to all, that Leland Stanford is the master and driver of more free (?) people than any other man on earth whose power is not acknowledged as absolute. But let us hasten to the sequel of that "special committee's" work. It made a strong, double-barreled report. President Cleveland sent a "strong" special message to Congress in regard to the matter. Attorney-General Garland, and, no doubt, several other attorneys, expressed "strong" legal opinions of the matter, and—well, Leland Stanford paid \$500 for the use of an upper window an hour or two, from which to view the late inaugural procession, and indulges in any other little extravagance that pleases his fancy. And the people? Why, the people just hump themselves to pay his bills.

The other scrap of history is told in a couple of dispatches to the Chicago Daily News—

one under date February 26, 1889, from Fort Dodge, Iowa; the other from Washington, D. C., under date of March 1st. The first says:

"Mr. Weaver, junior member of the firm of Yatch, Connor & Weaver, the Des Moines attorneys for the Litchfield river-land estate, was in the city yesterday, completing arrangements for the eviction of settlers on his client's lands. Mr. Weaver said that Litchfield had 700 judgments for possession of lands in Webster, Hamilton, and Boone Counties against 400 persons, and that during the first week of March every one of them will be served and evictions made. The selection of this early date is to keep settlers from putting in crops and having a lien on the property. The Litchfield lands form the largest estate of river lands, numbering thousands of acres of the finest lands in the counties named, on which the settlers have prosperous farms. \* \* \* Mr. Weaver says the threatened passage of the river-land bill over the President's veto hurries up evictions, and it has made them determined to regain entire possession of their lands before that can take place."

Well, in accordance with this custom, Congress, two years ago, appointed a special committee to investigate the affairs of the Pacific Railway. The committee was, of course, empowered to send for persons and papers and to go through the books of the company. Among other items recorded in the books they found a considerable sum charged to "contingent expenses." Among other witnesses they had before them was Leland Stanford. Among other questions, they asked Mr. Stanford what the enormous sums charged as "contingent expenses" had been used for. My Lord Stanford refused to tell. The question whether his lordship should be forced to tell or not was submitted to the United States Supreme Court. The decision of that Court, handed down by Chief Justice Field, who, by the way, wanted the Democrats to nominate him for the Presidency four years ago, was that his Republican highness Leland Stanford, duke of California and king of the Pacific Railway, didn't have to tell. It may be that Chief Justice Field and the other judges, each of whom, very likely, has a Presidential bee buzzing in his judicial bonnet, read upon the political tombstone of old, Allen G. Thurman, "Here lies the political remains of one who dared to make himself obnoxious to the Pacific Railway," and wisely concluded to stand from under. Or it may be that the Supreme Court knew, what is generally notorious, that the "contingent-expenses" account was caused by the wholesale

advantages to certain parties.

Come up here, John Suffragan, and let Harry Hinton take your measure and see how big a freeman you are in this great, grand Nation of the whole globe of the world. He has a tape-line with figures on it, which will give your dimensions precisely. Does every one in the Government help support the Government according to ability? This is your height as a freeman. Are the just and equal laws administered justly, equally, and speedily without unnecessary exposure? This is your measure around the waist. Are all the laws just and righteous and a plenty of them, none of which gives especial advantages to certain parties? This is your measure around the loins. How far does the law meet the aim and purpose of law to protect the weaker against the stronger in person and property? This is the measure around your throat. So, by continuing to measure yourself by the law and the administration thereof you can find your whole dimensions in every particular. Thus we find freedom and the freeman.

Down South the negroes call it freedom; up North the Anti-Prohibts call it liberty; in the East the dudes call it franchises and privileges; out West the Hoosiers call it rights. But it matters not by what name, so you have the genuine article. Harry Hinton can make a machine to shove in a ticket drunk or sober, white or black, rascal or saint. And he has known drunkards, whoremongers, and thieves elected to office. So the privilege of voting and aspiring to office is no part of freedom itself, but they are the instruments, the birthrights, and trusts bequeathed to us by our noble forefathers to enable us to defend and preserve our freedom. Cursed be the man who will sell his birthright for a drink of whisky or for the money of tyrants. It is scarcely allowable for a freeman to waive this high trust for the benefit of a friend or of one's own party, much less for the whisky and the money of our lords.

Harry Hinton has read all there is in American politics, and finds them often rotten and deceiving; but when political truth and philosophy come so strong and convincing as they do through THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, he feels that a new era is dawning upon the history of our race. Forward, is the cry. Tell the friends of freedom that the very sort of men who first pronounced the word is coming—coming as a mighty host to rescue the ark our fathers set up from the hand of the despoiler. Let those who love truth, justice, and fair dealing rest in peace; but for those who have fattened on falsehood, oppression, and treachery, let them learn better manners.

Harry Hinton wishes to inform the ECONOMIST of one thing, of which it has perhaps never thought. It is this, its enemies will never endeavor to controvert the leading political truths and principles it advocates. For they are so strong it would prove fatal to their cause. Their strong fort is in "practical politics" and the machinery, and to wait, if possible, till all these clinching facts and principles waste their sweetness on the desert air. But this will not avail them. The depths are being stirred.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

demagogues have lied and transformed freedom into various shapes in order to dupe the voter. They have told him that voting and running for office was freedom itself. They have erected a bronze image far out at sea with a flambeau in her hand and call it "Liberty." They have stamped a million of little goddesses on silver, which you may love as you love money. But Harry Hinton worships no image Nebuchednezzar sets up, for this is all calculated to distract attention from the truth. "If the truth make you free, you shall be free indeed."

## A Striking Simile.

The following extract is taken from Hon. Thomas M. Norwood's new story, "Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery." The simile given here is certainly one of the most striking, affecting, and expressive that one could well conceive. Short as it is, it contains a world of truth, and is a fair example of the sentiment, elegance, and powerful use of language which characterize the entire work.

"Mr. Smiling stood by a window, looking down in Wall street. It was the hour when the inmates of that bedlam, who have yelled and screamed like maniacs for five hours of shifting fortunes, rush into New, Broad, and Wall streets to transfer to day-books and ledgers the memoranda of the day's trading, and to report to speculators the results of their ventures: \* \* \*

"Snow had been falling since 1 o'clock, and was, on a level, near six inches deep. The wind rose and fell, now sweeping past with the wild, weird whistle which, heard by children at night, revives the horrors of ghost stories and tales of lost spirits; and now lulling into the sobbing moan that follows the first convulsive screams of a soul overwhelmed by a sudden overwhelming grief.

"Big flakes of snow swirled, sank a little, then rose, paused, flew to the window, paused again, patterning against the panes, then rushed away through the air—the cold, cold air that had helped to make them, and then did not, would not, give them support.

"Now they whirl round and round, seeking in every direction for shelter and safety, but the cruel wind—the blast—seemed to be saying:

"There's no help for you—move on; go down.

They rush again and again to the window of Mr. Smiling and rap on the glass to be let in,

to be sheltered from the cold, from the cruel wind that was beating them to the ground, into the mud, and mire.

"We are falling, Mr. Smiling. We are sinking! We try to bear up;

we try to rise. We are pure—see how white we are. We are the children of the sky, so pure, so beautiful, but we are sinking to the earth. Save us, for mercy's sake, save us!

If we have no help we must fall, yes, fall, to be trodden on by feet of men, coarse, vulgar,

brutal, sensual, unfeeling men. At the first step upon us we will utter one crunching cry—all our purity, our loveliness will be gone forever.

Then as foot after foot tramples upon us we will become hard, then dangerous to every wayfarer man; not only, not simply to the first who heard not our cry when crushed under his feet, but to all who pass our way. And then we shall be shoveled out of the walks of men, shoveled into the gutter, mixed with mud and all uncleanness, and at last be carted away, no one knows, no one cares, where.

"While Mr. Smiling sat facing the windows, and saw the flakes of snow \* \* did he think of anything else that they were like? Did their purity, whiteness, beauty; their passing along Wall street (perhaps no other street in any city on earth could have suggested such reflections so well as Wall), passing door after door, win-

dow after window, building after building, but driven on, on with no pause, no rest, except for a moment in an eddy, or when trying to rise—did all that suggest any resemblance or parallel in human life?

"Did he dream that what he was doing at that moment have any possible relation to any pure, white-souled, beautiful beings? that he was just then engaged in driving hundreds, thousands, millions, of pure beautiful girls into the streets to beg for work, driving them from door to door, window to window, building to building, driving them on as they pause, beating them down, down to the earth, down in the street, down on the pavement to be trodden on by brutal men until they are disfigured in soul, hardened in sin, slippery and dangerous, imperiling the safety and the life of every one who goes their way?

"Did he think, or reflect, that every million dollars gathered without labor makes a hundred families poor, installs hunger in their homes, which in time drives them out, ejects them like a heartless landlord; turns poor girls on the street, first begging for work, then for bread, then for shelter, then falling to be trampled on, then to be shoveled out and carted away to the Potter's field?"

This is a strong simile but is only one of many Mr. Norwood draws in his vivid picturing of the effects of present mercenary tone prevailing with our people.

## Resolution of the New York Cotton Exchange.

At a meeting of the board of managers held May 22d the following report of committee on trade was adopted and ordered posted on the bulletin:

"The committee on trade, after due consideration of the matter referred to in letter from joint committee of Farmers National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, dated New Orleans, April 12, 1889, beg to report—

"1st. That they consider the suggestion made, to have a uniform size for baling-boxes for gin-presses, an excellent one, and they would recommend that the bales would be made as nearly as possible 500 pounds, thereby enabling the exporter or spinner to calculate within a few pounds the quantity he is buying when giving an order.

"2d. That they consider the universal use of cotton bagging for covering the bales would be a great benefit to the cotton interests of the country—first, in making a market for lower grades which at present are almost unsalable, and bring a very low price; and, secondly, in starting a new manufacturing industry which would give employment to thousands, thereby benefiting the community at large.

"3d. That while fully appreciating the benefits to be derived from the introduction of the above. Your committee do not see how this Exchange can legally pass any by-law or order putting a premium on cotton-covered bales, but they are of the opinion that the improved demand for the lower grades and the better prices paid by exporters on account of the actual tare being much less than covered with gunny bagging will more than compensate the planters for the apparent loss which they make on the cotton-covered bales.

"Finally, your committee recommend that a special committee be appointed to confer with the other committees to arrive at a uniform understanding on these matters.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. W. HILL,  
Chairman of Trade Committee."

The committee on trade was continued as a special committee on the subject.

## Development of Postal Facilities.

The wonderful advance made in our facilities for communication through the postal arrangements of the United States is a matter of no little wonder, and a short review of the growth of this department may be of considerable interest to all. In "Scribner's Statistical Atlas" will be found a detailed history of this wonderful growth, and from that source the following facts are gleaned.

The first provision made in this country for the public transmission of mails was by the colonies individually. As early as 1639 Massachusetts established a mail service within her limits, and Virginia made a similar provision in 1657. Other colonies followed, and in 1672 there was a regular monthly mail between New York and Boston.

In 1692, under royal patent, a colonial post-office system was established. It was necessarily of a very imperfect and limited character, owing to the scattered condition of the population.

Under this system, says Bancroft, letters could be forwarded eight times a year from Philadelphia to Virginia. In 1710, under a general act of Parliament for establishing a postal system throughout the Dominion of Great Britain, a postal service was inaugurated, extending along the coast from Maine to Philadelphia and thence southward into Virginia and the Carolinas. The mail service, especially in the South, was extremely scanty and poor.

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General for America, and held this office until 1774.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain, in 1775, the colonies were thrown upon their own resources for the maintenance of communication. In that year the Continental Congress appointed Franklin Postmaster-General, and provided for a line of mail transportation from Falmouth, Me., to Sayannah, Ga., with certain cross-lines. No statistics relating to the Post-Office under the Continental Congress have been preserved, and the earliest authentic information regarding this branch of the Government bears date 1790.

The service had been organized as a department of the United States Government on September 22d of the year preceding.

The department during the first year of its existence comprised 75 post-offices and carried on 1,875 miles of post-routes. The revenue was \$37,935, and the expenditures \$32,140, of which \$22,081 was paid for transportation of mails and \$8,198 for salaries of postmasters.

The postal revenue was, on an average, barely 1 cent for each man, woman, and child of the population. In 1880 the postal service had developed until at that time the number of post-offices had reached 42,989; mail was carried over 343,888 miles of post-routes; the receipts were \$33,315,479; and the expenditures \$36,542,804, of which \$22,255,984 was for transmission of mails and \$11,701,418 for salaries of postmasters. The receipts per capita of the population had increased to 66.4 per cent. The census of 1890 will show still greater development.

ON May 1st the cash in the Treasury amounted to \$619,990,915.15.

## History and Government.

## No 12.

Now comes the second stage of progress in both the Greek and our own development. Industry had created enormous values, commerce had greatly developed, speculation had begun to demoralize the people. Lands had become first a pledge of security for debt, then an article of commerce, then a subject of speculation. The homes of the people were speculated in with as little sentiment, or regard to oppressive results to families and helpless children, as corn or hogs, or indeed any commercial commodity. Weak men were induced by shrewd and unscrupulous speculators to undertake obligations which they could never meet, and pledge their lands, the homes that sheltered their children; thus voluntarily subjecting themselves and those dependent on them to the power of unscrupulous individuals who could at will turn them shelterless upon the world. In Greece the creditor had the power to sell the debtor into slavery, but this was a merely formal transaction, for is not the man who holds his home merely at the will of another and subject to his demands as much a slave to that man as though he had bought and paid for him? Has he not sold his liberty, obligated his conduct, pledged the shelter of his children, given the control of his labor to his creditor? What more can a master claim?

The wedge having made entrance, lands having become the subject of trade security and speculation, in an amazingly short time they were monopolized by the speculative element and through them the people were controlled, dictated to, oppressed, and enslaved just as effectually as other peoples had been by arms, an established aristocracy, or hereditary despotism. Indeed, an aristocracy had built itself up upon this single license and privilege, and the people found themselves burdened by just as severe tribute to this aristocracy as other nations were by theirs.

This statement applies to our own Nation as well as to the Greeks; the parallel is perfect. This speculation in land, its being made an article of commerce and security, was the basis on which this power was founded; by no other means could speculation control the people so perfectly. By controlling the lands a penalty could be held over the debtor for failure to comply with the demands of the speculator. Ejection from their homes and suffering to families were a very sword of Damocles hanging always over the unfortunate citizen.

The domain was exhausted and in the control of the speculative class. Ejected from his home, the unfortunate debtor and his little ones became vagrants, outcasts, tramps, without recourse or hope. They must submit or suffer. And the government itself, established by the people for their protection, was made the power to enforce the demands of the oppressor, and it was through its decrees that the punishment was inflicted and so the government became merely the executioner for the usurper. The people had declared that the lands were for homes, for the people, that all men were free and equal, and yet through speculation these

lands had been used as shackles to bind the freemen of the nation and the government itself had been made the tool by which obedience had been enforced.

This control of lands had been secured by first amassing money, and by means of this money the people were placed under obligation and control of the lands secured. Without control of the lands and homes, this money obligation would not have been so dangerous, as the homes and lands would have been a refuge; but these in the power of the oppressor, where could the unfortunate flee? His own government had become a power for his oppression.

And this aristocratic class had gained the dangerous power it possessed by apparent aid to the government in time of its trials, when the duty of every citizen was to sacrifice all, even life itself, in its defense, and yet this government had placed itself in the power of a class merely for the use of its money, when it could have demanded its use as it demanded the lives of its less wealthy citizens in its defense. Is the parallel not perfect; are the results not identical? Have the twenty-five centuries brought us any wisdom? Surely the poet was inspired when he wrote—

"What fools these mortals be."

It is evident, then, that our character as a Nation is almost exactly that of the Greeks; that we have undertaken the same line of development, inspired by the same sentiments, and under exactly similar institutions in all their vital points; that up to this time we have gone through the same course of development, arriving at the same point in our progress with exactly the same results and from the same causes. It has been seen what means of relief were resorted to by the two leading states from which all the others modeled their institutions. We have seen that these means were exactly opposite the one to the other. One has been shown to have been effective for over three hundred years, and the people under it to have

were resorted to by the two leading states from which all the others modeled their institutions. We have seen that these means were exactly opposite the one to the other. One has been shown to have been effective for over three hundred years, and the people under it to have reached the greatest eminence among the people of the world, and to have been at the time the acknowledged leaders of the Greek people. The other had scarcely a beginning before internal dissension and discord brought about its overthrow and the erection of a tyranny. It is especially worthy of note that the land system was the most marked point of difference, as there was really great similarity in all the minor enactments.

This statement applies to our own Nation as well as to the Greeks; the parallel is perfect. This speculation in land, its being made an article of commerce and security, was the basis on which this power was founded; by no other means could speculation control the people so perfectly. By controlling the lands a penalty could be held over the debtor for failure to comply with the demands of the speculator. Ejection from their homes and suffering to families were a very sword of Damocles hanging always over the unfortunate citizen. The domain was exhausted and in the control of the speculative class. Ejected from his home, the unfortunate debtor and his little ones became vagrants, outcasts, tramps, without recourse or hope. They must submit or suffer. And the government itself, established by the people for their protection, was made the power to enforce the demands of the oppressor, and it was through its decrees that the punishment was inflicted and so the government became merely the executioner for the usurper. The people had declared that the lands were for homes, for the people, that all men were free and equal, and yet through speculation these

means by which the aristocracy can increase their already colossal wealth and augment their power.

It becomes evident, then, that the principal source of danger to republican governments is in vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few, the pauperizing of the masses and the building up of a power within the government which is likely to corrupt it, and eventually so pervert it that it becomes rather a source of oppression to the people than a protection. That by this means the people are estranged from the government, patriotism is destroyed, and the people, instead of being a reliance, become a source of danger to the very institutions claimed to have been established by them for their own benefit and advantage. It further becomes evident that the monopolization and controlling of the lands is the source from which this power springs, because without it the people could not be driven to destitution and pauperism.

It now remains to be shown how the abolition of land speculation in Sparta saved that people from tyranny and developed them to the splendid state to which they rose, and how the neglect to abolish this class of speculation and security resulted in the overthrow of the Athenian state and erection of a tyranny in little more than thirty years.

The first great object accomplished by the institutions of Lycurgus was the rendering of the people individually independent; the relieving of the citizen of any and all dependence on, or obligations to, another, either through financial pressure, the necessity for food and shelter, or indeed any of the requirements of life. It was, under this system, impossible for any individual either to advance or hinder the private interests of another. No man could, either through his position or superior wealth, dictate to another how he should employ himself, what he should receive for his labor, or in what degree of comfort he should live. No one could induce another to assume obligations, pledge the comfort and independence of his family for their fulfilment and so become subject to the dictation of that other through fear of suffering to be inflicted on himself and those dear to and dependent upon him. Every man was secure in a shelter for his family, his home was secure from seizure, and he knew that his labor would bring him sufficient return to supply its needs. The confidence thus implanted in the breasts of all gave the people courage, fostered their manhood and independence of character, made them defiant of interference in their private affairs, and developed an enthusiastic patriotism and devotion to the government, which had not only given them this independence but defended them against every species of encroachment or oppression. Every man was secure in a shelter for his family, his home was secure from seizure, and he knew that his labor would bring him sufficient return to supply its needs. The confidence thus implanted in the breasts of all gave the people courage, fostered their manhood and independence of character, made them defiant of interference in their private affairs, and developed an enthusiastic patriotism and devotion to the government, which had not only given them this independence but defended them against every species of encroachment or oppression.

It is also evident from the history of these two states, as well as our own, that unrestricted speculation, especially with land included as an article of trade and security, can not go on for any great length of time without establishing a dangerous power, which in the end gains control of government, turns it as a weapon against the people and establishes an aristocracy. That this aristocracy in time absorbs all values, reduces the people to a state of inferiority, and in the end has the power to pervert the government or set it aside. That it may organize one better suited to its interests and tastes, regardless of the people, who have been reduced to a state of dependence on it, and who are only considered as a

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Lycurgus evidently appreciated clearly the fact that as much oppression and hardship can be visited upon the masses through private transactions sustained by unjust legislation as can be brought to bear by direct governmental action. Indeed he seems to have recognized the fact that the worst evils are those to the infliction of which the government is but a secondary party; that they originate in oppression practiced by private individuals, who have shrewdly perverted the power of government and turned it into a mere means by which they can enforce their outrageous requirements. He recognized clearly the fact that wealth was the most potent agency which could be brought to bear in order to give one class a dangerous advantage over another, and he recognized the fact that this class was utterly reckless as to the degree to which they pushed this oppressive advantage; that as long as the conditions continued to exist from which this inequality sprung the differences would grow, until the oppression of the dominant class would reach a point where they would become unbearable, and then would result revolution, bloodshed, anarchy, utter ruin and the overthrow of the state.

He readily saw that the superior shrewdness of the few, and the leisure they had to plan and conspire against the masses (whose ignorance and continued application to industrial pursuits rendered them easily deceived) would always result in the same evils, so long as the conditions existed through which they could gain this advantage. He therefore made his first object the securing to each citizen a home which would be inaccessible to the shrewd scheming of the speculative class, and where the citizen might apply his labor with the certainty that his industry would bring him a support.

He appreciated the fact that where the accumulation of wealth is the sole aim of a people there must be great inequality; that this inequality generates envy and discontent on the one hand, and haughty arrogance and overbearing insolence on the other; that under such conditions there could not exist harmony and content or the necessary unanimity to secure uninterrupted peace. He evidently recognized the fact that where great amounts of wealth are amassed there must be a corresponding amount of misery, for human industry is not capable of producing a very great surplus above the requirements of life; that unnatural aggregations of surplus must be taken from great numbers, and that where one reveled in luxury it was upon the earnings taken from hundreds. He did not consider that wealth was the object of life, or that it was necessary to the happiness of the individual or the nation. He considered that contentment and comfort were the true supports of happiness, and readily saw that this could not be the lot of all where many were stripped that one might be arrayed in purple. It was evident to him then, as it is to any one now, that among a commercial people, where gain is the great aim of life, these inequalities must necessarily exist to greater or less extent. The masses of the people had reached only a very limited degree of enlightenment and were not fitted to con-

test with the shrewd few who had superior advantages.

It was not possible to advance the masses to an equal position with those few, therefore it was necessary to strike a balance in order that all might be placed on equal terms; and so he returned the lands to the people from whom they had been secured by commercial tricks, and in order that the same results might not develop again through the same cause he abolished money, or reduced it to such small value that no one had a desire to accumulate it. The object was evidently to teach the people to depend on their own country and its labor alone for support, to teach them that true happiness was not dependent on nor could it be secured by wealth, but that every man was given by nature the means of securing his happiness if protected against the machinations of the shrewd robber class, who appropriated by false teachings what was justly his.

Lycurgus also appreciated the fact that man requires some employment through which he may exercise his natural energy, and that if this energy is not beneficially occupied and expended it exhausts itself in some way detrimental to the individual and the community.

He therefore devised a division of labor, in order that the entire population could be profitably employed, not for the accumulating of values, but for the supplying of all necessities and furthering the general welfare.

Many writers speak of Sparta as a commune, others as a socialistic state. It was neither the one nor the other and differed from both as much as it did from a monarchy. First, the lands were not held in common, but each citizen held his own in fee and they descended to his children. Next, the products of the labor were not the common property of the community, but each held his own; and such traffic as was carried on was by individuals.

The food supplied at the common tables was not from a common stock, but each furnished from his own production a stipulated quantity and, also a certain amount of money for the purchase of such articles as it was necessary to buy from time to time. Each family possessed its own home, where all dwelt together until the children were old enough to be placed in the schools which were to train them for their duties as citizens. The common table was a means of education as well as a provision against indulgence in luxury, which would have created discontent and envy, but they were especially of advantage in giving the old men an opportunity of instructing the younger and imparting wisdom gained through experience.

There was one feature of the Spartan system to which we have not yet referred, but which properly comes under the head of the division of labor, and, as that subject is now to be considered, its place is here.

The Spartans, like all people of antiquity, recognized slavery as an institution. In the earlier ages of the state the Lacedemonians had been at war with the inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia, and, having conquered this people, reduced them to perpetual slavery, and from these all slaves were called

Helots. The Spartans held a large number of these slaves, and on them devolved the bulk of the necessary labor. It will be borne in mind that this was an age of violence, and that military skill and valor were a prime necessity to a state. If not aggressive themselves, all peoples were liable to the aggressions of neighboring states, and the necessary labor of producing subsistence was seriously interrupted by the men being kept under arms for long periods at a time. From this cause arose the fact that the citizens of all states were, first of all, soldiers. Indeed it was often the case that they had very little time to give to any other occupation. The necessary labor, therefore, fell almost entirely to the slaves, who never bore arms.

Lycurgus, in making his distribution of labor, assigned all mechanical and agricultural labor to the Helots and made the free citizens soldiers. It can not be denied that the soldier was as necessary to the state of that day as the agriculturist, or that his labor was not far greater and more trying, to say nothing of the risk he took.

The Helots were not exposed to the dangers of war, and, as the laws of the Spartans compelled the most frugal habits, the masters enjoyed no more luxury than the Helots, and endured all the risks and hardships of war to protect this class in the peaceful pursuit of their labors; so that, although this is termed slavery, it appears to have been a very fair division of labor; and while the soldiers were thus assured a support for themselves and families while engaged in defending the state, the Helots were also assured of being protected while pursuing their labors. Nor would the state suffer at any time, for the skilled and practiced soldiers were always ready to rush to arms, and the necessary labor could go on without interruption.

Thus, even the slaves were benefited by the wise provision, and there was neither communism, socialism, or military despotism, but an ideal democracy. Each class thus had its field assigned, and there was no possible means by which one could secure the returns due another. The free citizens in time of peace, which was ordinarily of short duration, occupied themselves in martial exercises in order to better qualify themselves to discharge their duty to the state; in informing themselves on economic questions and matters of statesmanship; in making and improving various kinds of arms, and practicing their use. Thus the people, as all had duties relating directly to the welfare of the state, became closely allied to and attached to the government. The common welfare was the study of all, all selfish greed was destroyed and the common weal was the ambition of every individual.

By this wise division of labor and responsibility the energies of the whole people were fully developed, each in its particular channel, thus gaining the full power of which they were capable and directing all to the accomplishment of one grand aim, the prosperity of the whole and the advancement of the state.

The social organism under this arrangement resembled a vast and faultless machine operating

in the most perfect harmony, each part complete and entire in itself, no one interfering with another, but all working harmoniously for one grand end.

The great law-giver also recognized another important truth, and that was that the ambition of men must have some great aim in view, the accomplishment of which constitutes the grand stimulant to all endeavor. He saw that man is naturally selfish, and that if left unbridled, his ambition aims at the furthering of selfish motives and the aggrandizement of self entirely; that it grows more and more conscienceless and inclined to disregard the interests and rights of others, until it becomes tyrannical and insolently aggressive; that those who suffer from this aggression finally are driven to violent resistance, and that if allowed to go on untrammeled the final overthrow of the state and, in fact, any social system is merely a question of time. He recognized, at the same time, that men are merely creatures of education, and that by wise precautions and training this dangerous characteristic, ambition, could be so directed that it could be made the strongest bulwark of the state instead of a source of danger. He saw that when directed in a selfish, and especially a mercenary, channel, it was particularly dangerous and difficult of restraint. He therefore destroyed the possibility of its growth in a mercenary way, and adopted a means of directing it to the building up of society and government.

Being cut off from following speculative pursuits, and the accomplishment of purely selfish ends, men were ready to accept the most attractive path to the gratification of their natural ambition. By wise appeals and various judicious means their minds were directed to the upbuilding of a grand and perfect state, a virtuous and elevated social system, the construction of a government which should be the wonder of the world and themselves the heroes of a grand achievement. Thus their ambition could be gratified to the great benefit of all, while none would be oppressed by unjust impositions.

Virtue, honor, liberty, and the common good took the place of selfish gain and mercenary profit and became the grand aim of all. Being once started in the new path of virtue they pursued it as enthusiastically as they had the old beaten road that leads to certain ruin in every society.

Having experienced the happiness of security and the contentment arising from such a state, as well as the exaltation of liberty, they gradually forgot self and became enthusiastically devoted to the state and the maintenance of a social system under which all enjoyed the bounties of nature without fear of interference or imposition, and which made them envied by the people of every nation.

The Spartans thus became enthusiastically devoted to liberty, and their government became to them a very idol. Nor did the great foresight of Lycurgus stop at the generation he had reformed, but he provided that coming generations should grow in their devotion to their country and their enthusiasm for liberty and equality. To accomplish this he established his system of education, and from in-

fancy the children were imbued with a love of virtue, a contempt for wealth, an abhorrence of selfishness and greed, and a devotion to the common weal.

They were taught to love liberty and to die cheerfully in its defense; to devote themselves to the support of the state, which was the guardian of equality, liberty, and justice; to utterly disregard self and make any sacrifice cheerfully and willingly for their fellow-citizens and their country; to scorn all danger and dare anything in the defense of right. Besides military training, the study of social and political science was a special feature of the education of youth; all were taught to feel that what concerned the state concerned them personally, and all took as great an interest in public affairs as in those of a private nature.

Thus the people became closely allied to the state, and its welfare was paramount with them. There was no drifting away into idle and thoughtless listlessness, leaving state affairs in the hands of a few to manipulate to their personal advantage, and thus Sparta grew in greatness and gloriously held her high position through centuries, without wealth, without even money, but at the same time her people free from poverty, and destitution unknown; virtue enthroned within her borders, her sons the grandest type of manhood the world has ever known, and her daughters worthy to be the mothers of such sons.

Sparta, then, presents herself as the only state in history which had a perfect conception of the requirements necessary for a stable and enduring government, because her government stood unimpaired and unshaken for centuries so long as these institutions existed, and it was not until they were abolished and her people became contaminated by foreign commerce and the demoralization of wealth that the state fell into decay. The enervating influence of wealth and the inequalities it generates, in a short time overthrew a state which had for centuries defied the combined power in arms of the despots of the world, and this proves that the insidious power of unequally distributed wealth and the demoralizing effects of avarice are more to be feared by organized societies than any other power known to man.

The experience of the Lacedemonian people proves, then, that wealth is not the means by which a state may reach the highest degree of prosperity, but that great fortunes are an indication of inequality among the people composing it. That not only is it unnecessary to the accomplishment of the grandest attainments, but that it is a certain source of discord, and, like an insidious poison, results finally in death.

That the cultivation of the selfish impulses necessary to the accomplishment of great financial success destroys a proper and necessary interest in and willingness to make sacrifices for the common good, and either destroys all interest in public affairs or tends to the endeavor to pervert governmental power to selfish ends. That where a people are absorbed in amassing private fortunes the public good is entirely overlooked or is sacrificed to personal gain. That as fortunes accumulate the people are

divided into two great classes, the rich and the poor, between which the deadliest feud is certain in time to develop, which will result in most serious conflict. That as great fortunes grow in bulk, unnatural power and advantages accompany them, which increase the oppression exercised against the masses and necessitates a centralization of unjust power in order that they may be defended, thus perverting the government from a source of protection to one of oppression. It proves that the soul of a state, the surest guarantee of stability, is equality. That this can only be assured by a just distribution of the proceeds of labor. That the first step toward this dangerous inequality is the monopolization of land, and that the evils develop rapidly after this has been accomplished.

It proves that it is possible to concentrate the energies, ambitions, and popular desire in one direction, and that the proper direction to be given to the national energy is to the building up of the general welfare and the national standing rather than the increasing of personal advantage.

That the masses of a people are capable of being influenced in this direction, as is proved not only by the history of the Spartans, but by the firing of public sentiment in time of war in every nation, and that the selfish speculation of a few necessitates the following of the masses for their own protection. That it would be wiser and more in the way of justice to curb the avarice of this few, than subject the nation to the untold misery which must follow as the result of their acts and evil desires. It proves that the surest means of gaining to government the cheerful support and devotion of its people is to bring the people and the government close together, to make the citizen feel that he individually is interested in every act of the state, and that he must make state policy a study, and that interest in public affairs is a duty which he can not neglect. It proves that security in a home and a just return for labor are the most certain means of interesting the citizen in maintaining the conditions which generate these blessings. That it is dangerous for any power to come between the citizen and the state.

It proves that it is just as easy to direct the national sentiment toward the admiration and emulation of virtue and the advancement of the national good as it is to allow it to degenerate into selfish greed and mercenary chicanery.

It proves that education of youth is powerful means toward so directing public sentiment, and that by education this great moral evil, mercenary greed, may be destroyed. That is the education of children social and political science should hold a marked and important place; that children should be taught their relation to the state and that of the state to them, and the duties due reciprocally from one to the other; they will thus grow up with a proper estimate of themselves, and be better fitted to judge when their rights are invaded and unjust indignities put upon them, and be better qualified to guard and protect those rights and the true interests of the state.

Volumes could not teach plainer the danger to a nation from the evils growing out of a purely mercenary development than the short history of Sparta and Athens just reviewed, and the necessity in all reforms for the removal of the source from which inequality has its rise, and yet a further review will make still more clear that necessity.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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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.*

*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 are 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, 1880.*

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.

THE new cotton committee has gone to work in earnest, and will soon be in communication with the officers of all county organizations.

A COPY each of numbers 11 and 12 of the ECONOMIST is sent to the county secretaries of all the Alliance, Wheels, and Unions, so that the proceedings of the Birmingham meeting, and the report of the committee on memorial may be read at the county meetings to be held on the 11th of June.

THE true aim of civilization is the advancement of the race, the progress of the whole people. The tendency of capitalism, just as despotism, is to degrade the masses and pander to the baser instincts of a few. Therefore capitalism is in conflict with civilization, and its tendency is to retard rather than advance it.

THE cotton-bagging fight now begins to wax warm and the opposition are filling every ear that will listen to them with poison, which they hope will produce dissension in the ranks. That is their chief, and in fact their only, chance of success—dissension in the ranks. Moral: if you have any dissenters, chop their heads off—metaphorically of course, but effectually.

WHEN the speculator is charged with the cruelty and suffering brought about by his mercenary operations he answers, "You can not mix philanthropy and mercantile affairs; sentiment is the weakness of simpletons, it has no place in practical life, it is not business." Then, such being the case, what the age most requires is less business and more humanity, less profit and more justice.

WITH President McCracken in Arkansas, Adams in Alabama, and Macune in Washington, it has been impossible to get out a joint proclamation from them in time to be of service in calling the county meetings for June 11th. But as the proceedings have been published and freely circulated it is expected that the county meetings will be held even if the membership do not receive the proclamation calling them till after the meetings.

It is estimated that if, under more careful tillage, all the cotton lands of Mississippi were utilized, the full crop of that State alone would equal the largest crop ever produced in the whole United States.

A. C. GREEN, of Douglasville, Ga., writes endorsing the suggestions of J. W. Creighton and others in regard to organization of reading clubs for the purpose of discussing questions in political economy and other subjects of that character.

SHOULD a wrong be perpetuated to all time simply because of the inconvenience or discomfit which the righting of it would entail upon the generation which corrected it? Does responsibility extend to no greater length of time than a man's natural life? Has he the right to leave burdens for posterity to bear?

ANY system, social or political, must rest upon an ethical basis or it must fall; nature decrees it. The expediency of a thing is never its justification; and the decrees of justice are unalterable and as sure of their accomplishment as the stars are to follow their destined course.

The time in which these decrees must be accomplished may be beyond the calculation of man, but the result is sure.

HARRY HINTON'S "perfectly square" stone:

Freedom is  
obedience to  
just and  
rightful law,

tendered for a place in the modern edifice of political truth, is worth a position in the grand arch of the superstructure.

THE New Orleans Cotton Exchange has taken a decided step in favor of recognizing the justice of the action taken at the Birmingham meeting, and have submitted a proposition to the cotton exchanges of the country calling for an expression as to their willingness to allow the difference of eight pounds at market price in favor of cotton wrapped in cotton. New Orleans is the greatest American spot market, and as it decides so the others will agree.

CAPITALISM when asked to define the respective rights of labor and capital goes no further than the statutory laws. It refuses to look farther to the grand principles of equity and natural right upon which all laws must rest. Nature and justice are eternal, and law itself must conform to their decrees or fall before their condemnation. Red tape and discriminating laws are a foundation of sand, resting upon which alone, no claim is firmly fixed; but based upon the firm foundations of nature and justice legal systems and claims may defy every assault, their position is impregnable. Technical laws may resist for a time the assaults of reason, but as these assaults gather force after each repulse, it is only a question of time as to when the fragile bulwark must give way and the conqueror establish his right. Only laws resting upon the firm foundation of the eternal principles of justice can endure.

OUR modern economic system knows too little of ethics. It has too great a proportion of technical law for the quantum of equity. The capitalistic system has so confounded the two terms that it has come to consider them identical or rather to have expunged the term equity from the legal vocabulary, so that the Irishman's definition of the difference between law and equity is most expressive of our present condition. When asked to define this difference, he said "that equity is what we ought to have, and law is what we get."

THE president of the National Alliance has received a beautiful regalia badge, presented by J. B. Dines, 317 Olive street, St. Louis, Mo., business agent for the State Alliance of Missouri. It consists of the usual five-pointed star, containing the monogram "F. A.", and pendant from the two points at the bottom is a bar from which is suspended a shield containing bale of cotton, anvil, bale of hay, and sheaf of grain, and the motto, "In things essential unity, and in all things charity." Back of this is suspended a scarlet ribbon with white edge, with a bunch of tassels of gold at the bottom. A blue bar across the center contains the word "President," below which, on a red background, are the words, in gold, "National Alliance of America." It is a beautiful badge, and artistically executed. Mr. Dines issues a circular containing prices of officers' and members' badges, official badges, seals, and pins.

HERE is a remarkable case, and yet it is not remarkable, because the facts and conditions apply to all cases of the same character. The case is in progress in Iowa, and is this: The defendant desires and believes it possible to show that he has been imprisoned without due process of law and in violation of the Constitution; but it will take \$500 to cover the necessary expenses. These expenses consist of marshal's fees, witnesses' fees, costs, etc., and the case can not be brought before the court until that amount of money is ready or security for the amount given. There is no question of sentiment here, no necessity for a discussion of the probability of his being able to prove what is claimed, but the fact exists that this man is denied access to a court of justice because he is not able to pay the price demanded for the privilege of defending his liberty of which he is deprived. Is this impartial justice? Is this not fixing a price for the privilege of proving that oppression is exercised? Is it not giving money the power to imprison and convict even the innocent? Is it possible that a citizen of a free country can be imprisoned and then not allowed even to bring his defense before the courts of his country unless he can pay a fixed amount of money, and if not able to pay this must submit to be immured in a felon's cell without hearing, and yet, in the Iowa Tribune, published in Des Moines, there is an appeal to the charity of the people to raise \$500 to enable a defendant to get a hearing before a court of justice. What is the natural sentiment excited on reading such an appeal, and what the tendency of such a condition? Are our courts not free and open to every appeal for justice?

Send a copy of that letter to your State agent, or State Exchange, or to the president of your State Alliance where you have no State agent or Exchange.

One person who will act should then be appointed in each subordinate organization to take written orders from every member for cotton-bagging to be delivered about August 1st and October 1st, or oftener if desired. He

## IMPORTANT.

To Be Read in County Alliances.

The Birmingham meeting provided for a committee to prepare a memorial to the entire body of organized farmers, calling upon them to take certain action at once in order to properly carry out the position taken at that meeting on the bagging question. It was the intention that such memorial would be sent to all of the coming county meetings. The ECONOMIST has been informed by wire by the chairman of the committee that the memorial had been sent promptly.

It has not, however, been received and has probably been lost in the mail. It will not therefore be published until after the called meetings.

The points it will set forth and insist upon are about as follows: Take a vote and make a record and report of same in every county and subordinate organization. This vote should, 1st, obligate all members of the order not to use jute-bagging; 2nd, show a determination to advocate and use cotton permanently for the future; 3d, sell to no man who will not allow eight pounds more for cotton wrapping than jute; 4th, stick to cotton if jute prices are reduced to any amount; 5th, expel any members who belong to the ranks of the enemy.

It has been demonstrated that it would be cheaper for the planters of America to wrap this crop with cotton if it does not cost over 12½ cents per yard than it would be to wrap it with jute if the jute was a free gift, because the effect of a raise in price of the 500 pounds of cotton that each bale contains will be sufficient to pay for the cotton and jute both. This is no talk, it is fact susceptible of mathematical demonstration. But much of the cotton-bagging has yet to be made; and it is a new industry. Cotton is certainly going up, and mills are not justified in making the bagging without some guarantee that it will be used. Therefore the great pressing necessity is to get the entire order to act *at once*. It has been the custom for farmers to wait till they need bagging before they buy. But they can not do that now, or they will be short when they need it. The orders must be placed *immediately* so that the bagging can be made. Therefore, in addition to above resolutions, county Alliances should take action similar to the following:

The best estimate possible as to the number of yards of cotton-bagging that will be used in the county should be made, and some one instructed to write the mills, in behalf of your county Alliance, that you will probably use that amount, and that you have provided for getting actual orders from all the members at once; that these orders will be consolidated in the county.

Send a copy of that letter to your State agent, or State Exchange, or to the president of your State Alliance where you have no State agent or Exchange.

The registered bonds of the United States are held almost entirely in this country, only \$27,894,350 out of the total amount of \$1,737,490,250, or 2.4 per cent., being held abroad at the dates for which the investigation was made.

## RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 5.

## THE DELUSION OF INVESTORS.

Separate from the rights of the shipping public in many respects, but closely interwoven in the details of the whole subject, are the rights and interests of the investors in the railroads. It is altogether too common a practice to regard the agitation of corporate questions as a conflict of interest between that part of the public which has to pay for the transportation of freight and that portion which invests its savings in the roads. That is an extremely superficial view.

The true state of the case, as to whose interests conflict and whose are in common, may appear when we see that the great capitalists profit by corporate abuses at the expense of the small investors, just as great shippers profit by discriminations at the cost of small shippers, and both at the expense of producers and consumers. The interests of the small investors are identical with those of the rest of the people in reforming the abuses that prejudice the rights and peril the existence of both; and I shall be doing both an excellent service if I can make it clear how corporate abuses that injure the one are as great as those that infringe upon the rights of others.

As a measure of the difference between what ought to be, and what really is, in corporate management, affecting the rights of ordinary investors, let us draw an imaginary picture of the ideal operation of a railway corporation. Suppose a railway corporation running through a section of country which furnishes a large quantity of agricultural and mineral freights. Place the legitimate and honest cost of the road at \$10,000,000, and suppose that amount to be subscribed by the people. A popular subscription induces 100,000 of the shopkeepers, artisans, farmers, and miners of that section to invest their savings at an average of \$100 apiece in this enterprise. These owners of the road place its management in the hands of men who conduct it solely in the interest of the stockholders. Neither in the construction or the operation of the road do its managers permit themselves to practice devices for the profit of themselves or their friends at the cost of the stockholders. Under this policy the road yields net earnings of 6 per cent. on the capitalization, and every cent of these earnings is distributed among the shareholders. Let this imaginary and ideal policy of corporate management extend over a term of twenty years, without the application of any devices by which those inside the management secure any advantage over the common public, and then estimate the results.

Under the development of the capitalistic policy of the age, right and wrong, justice and injustice have no practical existence; they are merely qualities which have only a relation to selfish profit. The capitalistic sentiment was expressed by Napoleon when he said: "With the armies of France at my back I shall always be right." Combined capital says: "With the powers of government behind us (no matter what means secured) we will always be right." In both cases it is the doctrine of force. Under the capitalistic system ethics has no place in politics, interest and advantage are the sole guides and aim.

COULD the exact relation of the two great political parties to the Government be better described than by Carlyle in the following sentence, used in speaking of the politics of his time: "To both parties it (the Government) is emphatically a machine; to the discontented a taxing machine, to the contented a machine for securing property."

Every one can see that such a policy, if strictly adhered to, would be an unalloyed public benefit. The wealth earned by the corporate enterprise would be distributed among the greatest number of people. The man who put

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

\$100 of his savings into the enterprise would, in twenty years, receive \$120 in return, and have his original investment intact. The enterprises in mining or agriculture produced by the railways would be one great benefit, but it would be equally balanced by the incentive to industry and saving afforded by the knowledge that whoever put his earnings into this investment would get the full returns from its prosperity. In two words, this fancy sketch of corporate management would secure ideal cooperation. In this case the one great and democratic purpose of distributing the wealth created by the enterprise among the greatest possible number would be attained; the industrious and frugal would secure the legitimate result of their earnings, and the small investors and shippers would have equal chances with the great ones. For such results as these the extraordinary acts of government which have created and maintained the railways are fully justified. Place corporate management on a basis in which this ideal respect for the rights of the public can be enforced upon all, and it will be the greatest blessing and aid to the common people that can be imagined.

But place side by side with this picture another, in which the demands upon the imagination need not be quite so exacting. Imagine another railroad running parallel with the first, doing the same business, earning the same profits, costing the same amount, and with the same capital subscribed by the people. The point of departure commences with the men who are given control of its management. Instead of building the road at its honest cost of \$10,000,000, suppose that they, as directors of the railroad, contract with themselves as members of a construction company, to build the road for \$20,000,000, and pay themselves the \$10,000,000 cash subscribed by the stockholders, and, in addition, \$10,000,000 more of first-mortgage bonds, which are a lien upon the earnings and property of the company. By this single operation they have transferred the property of the stockholders to their own pockets. Then they can let the property go into bankruptcy and foreclose it by the liens which they have obtained through their course of manipulation.

The possibilities of vast fortune to be gained by operating the railway corporations for the interest, neither of the public nor of the small investors, but of the cliques which control them, is of vital importance. It should be seen that the evil does not stop simply with the fact that the small investors of one corporation have been manipulated out of their property which should belong to them. That is bad enough, but there is more to follow. The honest railroad directors of one line, after twenty years of legitimate management, have distributed all the profits among the people, retaining, as they should do, nothing but their salaries and their honor. The dishonest ones, after twenty years, have ruined their corporations; but they themselves have obtained the wealth by which they can, if they choose, buy out the honestly managed corporations; and when they have secured a majority of its stock they can repeat in its management the career of plunder which gave them their wealth in the past instance.

This is the source of the greatest demoralization. In ordinary business transactions, morality and honesty in trade are maintained by the fact that the man who cheats those with whom he deals and betrays those who trust to him loses by it in the end. The limited gain that can be secured by greed and dishonesty in the every-day branches of trade is not so great as the loss of confidence and the penalty of distrust which must follow such acts. But if the prizes of unscrupulous corporate management are so vast as to override those penalties, the protection to corporate management is

broken down. With such odds unscrupulousness is powerful and integrity is weak. Dishonesty, and not honesty, becomes the best policy for securing worldly fortune. It ought not to be necessary to inquire the extent to which such practices have actually been carried. Their mere possibility should be enough. It is not attacking corporations, but it is defending them against ruin and demoralization, to protest against the methods, in the operation of the pivotal department of commerce and industry, involving thousands of millions of capital, by which systematic and ingenious dishonesty can defeat and extinguish the elements of honor, integrity, and conscientiousness.

In the illustration of dishonest capitalization in the construction of a railroad it was supposed that the stockholders who are thus cheated subscribed to the stock of the road in advance of its construction. To conform to the more usual practice, let us suppose that the men who contract with themselves to do work at a figure two or three times its true worth, and then pay themselves for the construction of a ten-million-dollar road, say \$10,000,000 in first-mortgage bonds, \$5,000,000 in second-mortgages, and \$10,000,000 in shares, own, at the time, all the stock of the corporation. It has been gravely asserted that in cheating the corporation of which they are the sole owners by such means they do not transgress the law. But what is the object of this operation if the injury is not to go beyond those who knowingly go through the jugglery of cheating themselves? The purpose clearly is to enable the manipulators to sell the inflated securities to the public.

In that case the form of the wrong may be changed from a breach of trust to that of obtaining money by false pretenses; but its effect is exactly the same—that of a fraud upon the common investors. The fraud is increased by giving it a variety of forms and extending it to various classes of investors. First-mortgage bonds are sold to investors which have not the security they pretend to. Second-mortgage bonds are floated which are actually without any security. The stock, at whatever price it is palmed off by the showing of temporary prosperity, and perhaps by dishonest dividends, is a glaring cheat and snare.

So far I have been content to present these practices as merely imaginary cases; but every one of the devices described for loading railway properties with a vast burden of dishonest securities, with scores of variations, can be illustrated by notorious and glaring instances. Prominent examples of dishonest capitalization in the construction of railroads are furnished by the two Pacific Railroads, the Nickel Plate, the West Shore, and the South Penn while it was under the Vanderbilt control. In these five railroads alone the amount of inflation is nearly \$400,000,000. Add to it that vast group of Western railroads, which, on the authority of Mr. William Walter Phelps, the leading champion of railroad practices in Congress during the interstate-commerce debates, were capitalized at the rate of \$3 in securities for \$1 of cash paid in, and the existence of the practice on an

enormous scale is indubitably established. The practice of selling to a railroad corporation property of the directors is strikingly exemplified by the famous Hocking Valley Railroad case, in which the eminent financiers controlling that corporation bought of themselves as individuals mining property that cost them less than \$1,500,000 for \$8,000,000 in the securities of the company. That of selling branch lines to the main stem at many times their cost is illustrated by cases whose name is legion; but their most successful practice is shown by the financing triumphs of Mr. Jay Gould in his manipulation of the Wabash and the Union Pacific properties. Examples of divisions of corporate wealth to the pockets of the directors in the negotiation of bonds are also too numerous to specify; but there is a good deal of cogency on the subject of popular investments in the great corporations in one case. A prominent millionaire some time ago published a magazine article urging the good policy on the working classes of investing their savings in railway stocks, and this very capitalist was charged some ten or fifteen years before, by his associates in the management of a Western railroad, with having, in the negotiation of a loan of \$6,000,000 for the corporation, made a neat little profit by first selling the bonds to himself for 80 per cent. of their full value, and then selling them to London bankers for 90 per cent., putting the difference of \$600,000 in his own pocket!

A notable measure of the extent to which these practices have been carried was afforded only a few years ago. The result of these devices is invariably to burden the corporation with fictitious and excessive capitalization. In other words, these practices, with a hundred variations, are the methods of stock-watering. Stocks may be watered in other ways not involving actual frauds upon the public; but the vastness of watered stocks proceeds from exactly such dishonest devices as these. As to the extent of stock-watering, Mr. H. V. Poor, whose expert authority can not be questioned by the railroad side, declared, in 1884, that one-half of the railroad capitalization of the country was purely fictitious. This declaration was based on the stated fact that the actual cost of the railroads of the country did not exceed \$30,000 per mile, while their stocks and bonds were nearly \$60,000 per mile. As the capitalization of new railroads during the ensuing five years is as great as then, it follows, by Mr. Poor's authority, that the actual volume of the fictitious securities on the railway system of the country exceeds \$4,500,000,000.

Here, then, is the second great abuse which has sprung up in the corporate age. By it not only are the rules of justice violated and the foundation principles of our Government set at naught, but a premium is set upon unscrupulousness and fraud. When great fortunes are to be obtained by palming off fictitious securities on the public under the pretense that they are real; by devices for transferring the property of the corporation to its managers through construction companies, deals in branch lines or tributary property; or by manipulations of the stocks in which officers holding positions of

trust make use of their places, now to buy their stockholders' shares at less than their value, or later to boom the shares and unload them upon the public at more than they are worth, the whole system of railway finance becomes infected with fraud and false pretenses. The question as to whether plutocratic tendencies are at work in this country has lately been discussed. But all dispute as to the fact is settled by this one example. When these practices can be carried on with impunity it must create not only a plutocracy, but a plutocracy which founds its wealth on successful cheating of the public and betrayal of trusts.

In considering this abuse in its primary effects, we call attention only to the wrong which it inflicts upon the ordinary investor.

In the next article I shall take up its secondary injury to the commercial and productive interests. But it is a matter of vital cogency to remember that the same practices which prejudice the rights of the farmer, the manufacturer, and the shipper are also the means of imposing upon the actual investors, and transferring their savings to the great manipulators. Instead of this question being one in which the interests of industry and capital are antagonistic, the interest of the producers in reforming such evils ought to be identical with those of the real investor.

Indeed, the small shipper or farmer, and the actual investor—the man who puts his few hundreds of savings into stocks—ought to be identical in person. There can be no greater proof of the abuse and perversion of the corporate methods than the fact that the very form of organization which ought to make farmers and mechanics partners in corporate enterprises has been used to so impose upon the small investors, in vast numbers of cases, as to delude them out of their savings and transfer their aggregate wealth to the great millionaires.

**Resolved,** That as the services of our legislators heretofore have been of so little importance to the laboring classes, especially the farmer, of the United States, we demand a reduction of salaries of all our public officers, rather than an increase of said salaries. We earnestly beg of the Alliance, Wheelers, Grange, Patrons of Industry, and all other farmer's organizations to assist us in trying to put in force these resolutions.

(Signed).

W. T. STILLWELL, President.  
HENRY STEELMAN, Secretary.  
W. J. COX, Ass. Sec. and Treas.

CAPITALISM asks pompously, as though it were putting an unanswerable question, "Can a man not do as he pleases with his own?" Before answering this question it is necessary to know what is a man's own and how he came by it. The mere assertion of a claim does not prove its equity, and sometimes unjust laws defend inequitable claims while the manner of acquisition has much to do with the integrity of an assumed title. Ethics is becoming a more important factor in modern economics than it has heretofore been.

By far the most threatening development of modern civilization is the system of capitalism which casts a dark shadow upon the otherwise bright page of the future. It seems to be a modern proof of the ancient doctrine of mental psychoscopy, and that the soul of Oriental despotism is rehabilitated in the system of modern capitalism. If nations have souls, then such is their destiny, for certainly in this we have a proof. Ancient despotism and modern capitalism are identical in all important characteristics.

For the sake of simplicity in the illustration,

these depressing evils by appropriate legislation, with such penalties attached as will effectively prohibit said gambling in futures, with an emergency clause attached thereto, that will make such legislation effective at the earliest date possible; and your memorialists will ever urge, and persistently insist upon such action. And we further respectfully request the Farmers Alliance, the Grange, the Farmers and Laborers Union, and all kinds of farmers' organizations to join in and concur with us in demanding of their representatives in Congress such legislation as is indicated above; and that these resolutions be published and copied by the various farm journals of the country, and kept before the people in the most effective manner; and as a last resort, should others fail, we will use in concert that most powerful weapon ever held by a free and independent people, the ballot; also.

Whereas, This is a day of trusts, pools, and combines, and as the weight of all the rails in the fence rest upon the bottom rail, so the injury done the world by these curses rests upon the producers and consumers; be it

**Resolved,** By the State Provisional Assembly of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, of Indiana, in session at Princeton, Ind., April 5th and 6th, and comprising a membership of 75,000 citizen farmers, that we emphatically demand that Congress take immediate action to completely annihilate all combines, trusts, and pools now in existence in the United States of America. Be it further

**Resolved,** That we demand of our legislators to take action in accordance with the above resolution—or resign. And we have pledged ourselves not to vote for any legislator that will not favor and vote for such legislation as we have asked for. Be it further

**Resolved,** That as the services of our legislators heretofore have been of so little importance to the laboring classes, especially the farmer, of the United States, we demand a reduction of salaries of all our public officers, rather than an increase of said salaries. We earnestly beg of the Alliance, Wheelers, Grange, Patrons of Industry, and all other farmer's organizations to assist us in trying to put in force these resolutions.

## Interest and its Power.

It is evident, from the tone of the correspondence published by the papers devoted to the interests of the masses, that the people have at last awakened to the vital importance of the question of interest, its real character and influence on the financial prosperity of the people. Interest has from the very beginning of commercial transactions been a hidden mystery, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, and even the most intelligent have failed to comprehend its wonderful accumulative power.

It has for generations been recognized as an established system of return for the use of capital, and been paid without studying its real nature and dangerous power. At last the masses have begun to realize what an unsatiable monster they have been for ages attempting to feed, and at last have been led to comprehend that beyond a certain limit it is impossible for labor to supply the ever-increasing demands of this colossal glutton. That paying interest is like pouring water into the burrow of a prairie dog, when the whole surface for miles is honeycombed with subterranean chambers and galleries; no human power could ever pour in enough to fill the apparently insignificant opening. Interest is like the rolling of a snow-ball, small and easily controlled at the beginning, but as it rolls it gathers volume and weight until finally it would defy the power of all the men who could gather about it to move it, and its capacity to increase is only limited by the amount of material available. In time it would gather all to itself.

Some conception of the accumulative power of interest, and its effect upon the producing industry of the Nation, may be had from the following calculation. Not only does this example show the burden put upon the people through interest, but also the enormous gains to the National banks through their control of the currency, and makes clear the reason of the growing poverty of the industrious masses and the enormous accumulation of wealth in the hands of the speculative few.

This estimate is made from the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1887, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

This document, on page 29, reports the total number of National banks on October 5, 1887, to be 3,049, and that these banks had out on loan at that time \$1,580,000,000.

For banks which discount paper, make short

loans, and take all the advantages interest gives, 10 per cent. is not an unreasonable rate.

The amount they are officially reported to have out on loan, with interest calculated at 10 per cent., and compounded only every ten years,

would yield in fifty years an aggregate of \$50,560,000,000; which amount is far in excess of the total valuation of the entire property of the whole Nation, such total valuation being \$43,642,000,000.

In one hundred years (which is as nothing in the life of a nation), by compounding only every ten years, the aggregate would reach the incomprehensible amount of \$1,617,920,000,

or nearly forty times the total of all present values—an amount beyond the possibility of any race of people being able to pay or create in a hundred times that length of time.

This amount seems too vast for human comprehension, and yet it falls far short of the real amount that would accumulate from this source alone; because the interest has only been compounded every ten years, while in fact this interest is collected every year and reloaned, which is really compounding it every year, and should the calculation be made in that way the aggregate would reach an amount truly incomprehensible.

This amount of accumulation is only on a comparatively small proportion of the aggregate of capital on loan, and drawing 10 per cent. There must be added to it the amounts belonging to mortgage and loan companies, to insurance companies, private banks, and individual capitalists; then the interest on the stock of railroads, mines, manufacturing companies, and all speculative enterprises. When this interest is all computed can not even the most obtuse readily comprehend that it is a mathematical impossibility for labor to create sufficient values even to pay a small part of the enormous demand after reaching a given point of increase; that up to a certain point the demand may be met, and from that point debt must go on accumulating until it reaches fabulous amounts, beyond the possibility of human industry, ingenuity, and capacity to reach?

What school-boy is not familiar with the problem of shoeing a horse, paying a cent for the first nail and doubling every time a nail is driven until the horse is shod all around and thirty-two nails driven, when the amount would aggregate millions of dollars, and yet how many have realized that this problem is actually an experience he is living, that he is actually trying to do this very thing? We have, as a nation, been paying for the shoeing of this capitalistic horse at the rate of many dollars for the first nail and doubling every time, until we have now reached the twenty-fifth nail, and are just beginning to realize the folly of the undertaking.

Who has not observed an ant endeavor to pass an obstacle? It will attempt the ascent, fall back, attempt the same path again and again, always failing and certain of failure in that direction, when a slight deviation from its course would have carried it safely around the obstruction. Surely nations ought to be wiser than ants, and yet they are not; for do they not, from age to age, go on attempting to force a passage to stability by a beaten course that has ever and always led to failure and disappointment? Is it not evident that interest is an impassable barrier no nation can cross; that all peoples may expect to find it in their path to stability at a given point; that can be calculated as certainly as the mariner can calculate the location of a dangerous rock or reef in the wide ocean? Are people less than fools who refuse to guard against this known and certain danger? Do they deserve less than shipwreck and ruin when they rush heedlessly on, with full knowledge of their danger? And yet we are doing this very thing.

There is a lesson to be gathered from this illustration that can not be learned too soon, and should ever be borne in mind by all true patriots. It is this:

With the element of interest as one of the factors of the governmental problem, it is mathematically certain that no form of government can pass a given point, and that that point is fixed nearer or farther from any given time in proportion as the aggregate of capital is great or small.

This is true because the compounding of interest on the aggregated capital goes faster than the industry of a nation can create values, and in

a certain time it will absorb all created values and go on increasing in geometrical progression until the time will come when the surplus values will not only be absorbed, but all the annual creations of values.

The people will be drained of their substance and placed face to face with an aggregate of debt mathematically and physically impossible to meet. There is only, then, two alternatives. One is to wipe out the growing accumulation of the demands of interest and begin anew at the lowest point, until the same routine is repeated and the same point arrived at again, or abolish a system so unjust and unreasonable and begin under different conditions.

Interest can be paid in the beginning just as the shoeing of the horse can be; but every year makes the burden heavier, until the point is reached where human capabilities can not meet the demand, and that point is as sure to be reached as the years are sure to roll around. Death may relieve one generation after another, but the load continues growing steadily which descends to the shoulders of new generations, until finally it becomes so great that it crushes the victims upon whom it rests; they find only destitution and obligation to fortune's favorites, and then come revolt, riot, war, and destruction—a wiping out of all values, general exhaustion and poverty, then a return to former conditions, a slow, laborious era of creation of values, a certain and sure absorption of interest, and, finally, a repetition of the experience of former generations. And so history repeats itself.

Who has not observed an ant endeavor to pass an obstacle? It will attempt the ascent, fall back, attempt the same path again and again, always failing and certain of failure in that direction, when a slight deviation from its course would have carried it safely around the obstruction. Surely nations ought to be wiser than ants, and yet they are not; for do they not, from age to age, go on attempting to force a passage to stability by a beaten course that has ever and always led to failure and disappointment? Is it not evident that interest is an impassable barrier no nation can cross; that all peoples may expect to find it in their path to stability at a given point; that can be calculated as certainly as the mariner can calculate the location of a dangerous rock or reef in the wide ocean? Are people less than fools who refuse to guard against this known and certain danger? Do they deserve less than shipwreck and ruin when they rush heedlessly on, with full knowledge of their danger? And yet we are doing this very thing.

It has been the endeavor of man since the dawn of civilization to devise some system of government which would be enduring, under which the people could progress morally, socially, and financially, secure from oppressive interference, and yet we find that no nation has ever existed beyond a short number of years, and even these few years of existence have been constantly interrupted by internecine troubles, to say nothing of foreign complications. All

have advanced to a period of vast accumulations of wealth, which its possessors termed prosperity; but, without exception, this period

I believe you will when you reflect upon the conditions surrounding the producers.

The subject is one of facts, figures, and dry details; but let us investigate it. What, then, are the conditions which the farmers of Georgia have organized to change? Debt, buying on credit, and, consequently, occupying a dependent position; laboring hard all the year to produce a crop and being forced to place it upon the market without regard to price or profit to them. What other class does this? Will the merchant continue to sell goods without regard to profit, or will he allow others to price his wares for him at less than they cost? You will say that he would be foolish to do so, and I agree with you. Will the railroad have freight or carry passengers at a loss? Will physicians, lawyers, bankers, or anybody else continue their business at an actual loss? How foolish to ask such questions, and yet, my friends, the farmers of Georgia have been doing this for twenty-five years, hoping against hope that their condition would improve. But it has not improved, and now don't you think it time for them to call a halt and counsel with each other as to what can be done to change such conditions as are surely bringing them to poverty and will inevitably result in the enslavement of the producing to the speculating classes? Now, what more intelligent action can the farmers take than organization? The only wonder is that a solid and complete organization was not effected long ago. Some affect to fear that the action of the farmers will be hurtful to the interests of others. I conscientiously believe that if the farmers will take such action as will benefit themselves they can not help benefiting everybody else to some extent. I believe they will not do anything that is not intelligent, conservative, and right.

History also shows that in the earlier eras of all governments there is little discontent among the masses, that it is rarely the case that force is necessary to preserve order, and that as time progresses and wealth concentrates the people become more and more turbulent and restive; that power is gradually centralized in a ratio equivalent to that at which wealth is centralized, and that finally force and a strongly centralized government become a necessity for the preservation of a national life. Without this centralization of values, but with their general distribution, armed power would never be a necessary resort. Interest being the means by which this accumulation of values is accomplished, and finally a resort to military or imperial power rendered necessary, it follows that by abolishing the cause these evils would never afflict a nation; that without this accumulation going on by geometrical progression the fatal limit would never be reached, or would be removed so far into the future that human development might make such strides as to place the masses above the possibility of being so outrageously duped. There is a wide field for thought in this subject.

## Ben Terrell's Speech

The following is a short abstract of a speech recently delivered at Dawson, Georgia, by Ben Terrell, lecturer of the National Farmers Alliance:

I am glad to meet so many of you to-day, because it shows that you are interested in the subject I am here to discuss. You will find by reading the Alliance declaration of purposes that its aim is to benefit the condition of its members socially, mentally, morally, and financially. I am sure the hearty good wishes of every man and woman present are enlisted in behalf of the efforts to accomplish such results. I take the position that agriculture is of prime importance in your State, and any hurt to it will be felt by every interest you have; and, inversely, any help, any building up, any means by which we can make the farmer more intelligent, more social, and improve his pecuniary status, will be a benefit and a blessing to all. You can but assent to the correctness of this proposition. It follows that to the Alliance, *per se*, there can be no reasonable objection. It would seem to me that all good citizens would give their assistance to the measure, and

ECONOMIST. Do your duty as citizens. Do right, and, above all, have confidence in yourselves and each other. Remember that there is no excellence without labor. Let each man feel and act as if success depended upon him. The man who says you won't stick insults you. He might as well say that you do not possess the intelligence and manliness to attend to your own business. Be men, and so acquire yourselves as never to bring the blush of shame to the face of the wife, mother, sister, or daughter you love so well. Remember the motto, "In things essential, unity, and in all things charity." Press on, determined to succeed. Do not be afraid of capital. If you have no money, you have numbers, and that is better for your purpose now. Lay aside every weight, prejudice, want of confidence, selfishness, personal ambition—everything that would hinder you. Fight the good fight with faith and patience, for in the success of your effort to check the present tendency of the times, to better the condition of the farmers of Georgia and the whole country, depends, in my humble opinion, the stability of republican government. As we are now going, so have all republics gone. The wealth of the country controlled by the few; the few the masters of the many, until the poor, beggared and driven to despair, turn upon the wealthy and the torch of liberty is extinguished in blood. Thus perished *la belle France*, imperial Rome, and all the grand republics of antiquity. In every nation where this condition has attained—the few very rich, the many very poor—the same results have followed, and why should we prove an exception? All the conditions tend toward concentration in wealth as in government.

Let us look for a moment and see where we have drifted since 1865. Then, although we had just emerged from a terrible war, the people were out of debt. No mortgages on farms, no tramps, wages good, little capital in combination, few millionaires, and \$52 per capita in circulation. How is it now? In 1888 the people of your State are in debt \$40,000,000 and their farms mortgaged. There are in the Nation 15,000 men worth each a million or more, and some controlling wealth to the enormous amount of \$100,000,000. Labor is unemployed, wages poor and on the decline, tramps plenty, and only \$5 per capita in circulation. The money out of the hands of the people and in those of the speculators who dole it out on usurious and ruinous terms. In this short space of time the farmers have fallen in condition from owning half the wealth of the country to that of owning only one-fourth. This in the face of the fact that they have produced enough cotton alone to have paid the National debt. In the same time National banks have increased over 1,000 per cent. Railroads have made more millionaires than all other agencies. They have watered their stock until their interest-bearing debt is double the actual cost and the producers of the country made to pay the interest. Am I not right in asking you to join with us in an intelligent effort to check the tendency of the times by altering the conditions that surround the wealth-producers? This can not be accomplished without organization, therefore the Alliance is a necessity.

THE amount of butter made in 1880 reached the enormous total of 806,672,071 pounds, and an average of nearly 16 pounds for every man, woman, and child in the country. The value of this product almost equals that of the entire cotton crop.

HARRY HINTON discusses "Freedom" with his usual good, solid, farmer, horse sense in this issue. Read it!

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## WASHINGTON.

## Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 10.

Leaving the rotunda by the south corridor, which leads to the wing occupied by the House of Representatives, we pass into what is known as the National Statuary Hall.

This is the hall formerly occupied by the House of Representatives, and is in what was the south wing of the original Capitol. It was designed by Latrobe after the ancient theater at Athens, and is a perfect example of classic symmetry. Its form is semicircular, 95 feet in length, with a height of 57 feet. The ceiling is concave and elaborately frescoed in deep panels, separated by arabesque designs. One side of the hall is taken up by a grand arch, supported by heavy marble pillars, and around the other side is a colonnade of twenty-six columns, consisting of shafts of highly-polished, variegated marble, surmounted by elegantly-carved Corinthian capitals of pure white marble, sculptured in Italy, with the most exquisite finish.

On these splendid columns rest the architrave and cornice from which springs the domed ceiling. The floor is of marble, in squares of black and white. Crowning the arch is a statue of Liberty, and also a sculptured eagle with wings outspread.

Seven years after the House of Representatives had moved to its new hall in the new south wing the old hall was dedicated to its present use. Congress authorized the President, in 1864, to invite each State to send statues of two of her chosen sons, in marble or in bronze, to be placed permanently in this hall.

Up to this time there have been sent twenty-six statues of statesmen and soldiers, and these are now arranged in place. They all are fine works of art, but more portraits than artistic, therefore description is not necessary and would be monotonous.

Passing through the western entrance of the rotunda and around the head of the staircase leading out of the building, the visitor enters the great library of Congress. This great library contains over 550,000 books and about 200,000 pamphlets, and ranks as fifth among the great libraries of the world.

It was originally intended as a library of reference for Congress and the high officials of the Government, but it grew in size and value until now it might be properly called the National public library, as every one is allowed free use of its rare and extensive collections, and its rooms are filled daily with people of both sexes from every part of the United States consulting books which can be found nowhere else in the country. There is no other library in the United States half as complete, and in some of its departments it is fully equal to any of the great libraries of Europe. Its historical collections are especially complete, and are particularly comprehensive in everything relating to America. In general literature the collections are remarkably full and valuable.

In 1824 the present main hall of the library of Congress was finished and occupied. It was constructed by Charles Bulfinch after designs by Latrobe. After having been located in its new quarters, the library developed rapidly; indeed, it grew so fast that in 1851 it contained 60,000 books. Its elegant and pleasant hall, commanding an extended view from its large windows, became a favorite resort of the literary people of Washington, and ladies and gentlemen resorted here to discuss literary matters and social events.

One of the first and most earnest supporters was John Randolph, who took especial care to secure liberal appropriations for it, and always had a great deal to do with the selection of its books.

When the British took the Capitol, in 1814, they used the books and papers of the library to kindle the fire which destroyed the building. Everything in the library was destroyed, including a great many Government records stored there.

Thomas Jefferson had at that time a very valuable private library at his home in Virginia. This collection of books he had made during his long residence in Europe, and, as

at the time of the burning of the Congressional Library he was in great financial difficulty, he offered to sell his books to the Government as nucleus for a new library for Congress. He made the proposition in September, 1814, and after considerable discussion of the matter the library was purchased by Congress for \$23,950. The action of the Government toward Jefferson at this time of his trouble and distress is a lasting disgrace; when the priceless services he had rendered are considered, and it seems still more pusillanimous when its liberality to men whose services seem contemptible when compared to his is considered. In the Jefferson library there were 6,000 volumes, including many rare works of history and philosophy, and also many religious works. When the library left Monticello for Washington it is said that Jefferson shed tears. These books were to him cherished companions of years; from them he had gleaned information that had been a shield to the Nation in time of danger; from them he had learned the misfortunes which had befallen other peoples, and thus been guided in the way to ward off like evils from his own land.

To them he had gone in times of mental depression and gathered strength, among them he had sought relief from the cares and worry of public life. To him they had been safe advisors, sympathizing friends, and congenial companions; and now, in his old age, the cold hand of poverty was laid upon him, and he was compelled to part with these companions of a lifetime of service to a Nation which failed to come to his aid in his affliction, but like a faithless child turned coldly from him and left him to battle singly and alone against the adversity that shadowed the even- ing of his life. But such is to a great extent the experience of the great unselfish patriots of history; a thankless country has allowed them to close their lives in poverty and neglect, while the mercenary and selfish are showered with abundance. No one man ever did more for this Nation, and probably no one man ever received less from it.

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On December 24, 1851, a fire, caused by a defective flue, swept through the halls and destroyed over 30,000 books, besides some valuable paintings.

The hall was reconstructed in 1852, by Thomas U. Walter, and two new halls added. Nearly \$300,000 were expended to make the accommodations for the library ample, convenient, and elegant. Congress made liberal appropriations from year to year, and the three great halls were soon again crowded with volumes.

In 1866 the scientific works of the Smith-

sonian Institution, amounting to 40,000 volumes, were deposited in the library of Congress, which has since continued to be the depository of all the publications received by the Smithsonian Institution from learned societies throughout the world.

In 1867 Congress purchased for \$100,000 the collection of rare historical books and pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, engravings, etc., accumulated by Peter Force, of Washington, during thirty years of antiquarian research. The Force collection now forms a very valuable department of the library.

From 1829 to 1861 the librarian was John S. Meehan, of New York; and from 1861 to 1864, John G. Stephenson, of Indiana. In 1864, Ainsworth R. Spofford, of Ohio, was appointed to the place, and he still continues to occupy the position.

In 1876 the library contained 293,000 volumes, and in 1879 more than 352,000. Since then the yearly increase has been very large, and the library rooms are so crowded that a number of rooms in the basement of the Capitol are used for storing books. The growth of the library has been so great that it is found impossible to find room in the Capitol for it, and a new and magnificent building is in course of construction to receive it. This building is being erected just east of the Capitol, and will be one of the most splendid of the public buildings; it will have shelf-room for a million and a half of volumes, and will cost \$3,000,000. This building will be exclusively for the use of

## Book Notice.

"PLUTOCRACY; or, American White Slavery," is the title of a new publication from the pen of Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, who was a United States Senator from Georgia from 1871 to 1877, then was elected to the House of Representatives, where he has continued to represent his State.

Mr. Norwood is an enthusiastic, able, and eloquent defender of the cause of the people, and his new book is one of the most thrilling illustrations of the dangerously demoralized condition of our society.

The work is intended to point out the political wrongs, mercantile evils, and social follies growing at such a rapid rate in our Republic. It is a politico-social novel, and all the evils which so seriously afflict our people are woven into a most thrilling story of social life under present conditions. The great extremes are contrasted with startling effect, which does not fail to chain the interest undiminished to the end. The book is the most vivid picture of the wrongs perpetrated upon the industrial classes, and the vice and conscienceless arrogance developing so rapidly among the rich ever presented to the world.

Mr. Norwood is a master at description, and has a most wonderful command of language, as well as a thorough understanding of his subject, while his earnest and deep sympathy with the suffering masses lends an eloquence in his description of their sufferings truly remarkable as well as thrillingly affecting. No man or woman interested in the cause of justice or the regenera-

tion of our country should fail to read this admirable work. There is knowledge to be gained, as well as the most delightful entertainment. Mr. Norwood deserves the gratitude of the industrial masses for his noble and eloquent appeal for them.

THE CROP OF OATS IN 1880 WAS 407,858,999 bushels, raised on 16,144,593 acres, an average of a little over 25 bushels per acre. The increase between 1870 and 1880 was 45 percent.

THE LARGEST COTTON CROP EVER RAISED UP TO THE LAST CENSUS YEAR, 1880, WAS THE CROP OF 1879, WHICH WAS REPORTED AS 5,755,359 BALES, HAVING AN AVERAGE WEIGHT OF 475 POUNDS, AND ROUGHLY ESTIMATED TO BE WORTH \$300,000,000.

THE TOTAL VALUE OF FARMING TOOLS AND MACHINERY, AS SHOWN BY THE CENSUS OF 1850, WAS \$151,587,638. IN 1880 IT HAD RISEN TO \$406,520,055, A SUM SUFFICIENT TO MAKE ALL THE MANUFACTURERS OF FARM IMPLEMENTS RICH.

THE PRODUCTION OF CORN IS INCREASING AT A MOST ASTONISHING RATE. IN 1850 THERE WAS PRODUCED 592,071,104 BUSHELS; THIS AMOUNT IN 1880 HAD GROWN TO 1,754,591,076 BUSHELS, AND THE NEXT CENSUS WILL SHOW A STILL GREATER PROPORTIONATE INCREASE ON ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE WEST AND NORTHEAST.

## Clubbing Rates.

THE REGULAR SUBSCRIPTION PRICE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST IS \$1 PER YEAR. BUT CLUBBING RATES HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON WITH THE FOLLOWING PAPERS, WHEREBY BOTH CAN BE SECURED AT REDUCED RATES. OTHER PAPERS WILL FROM TIME TO TIME BE ADDED TO THE LIST:

REGULAR CLUB-PRICE  
PRICE OF BOTH.

"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1.00	\$1.75
"Tolier," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1.00	1.65
"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak.	1.00	1.25
"The Forum"	5.00	5.00
"Memphis Appeal"	1.00	1.50
"Georgia Farmer"	50	1.10
St. Louis "Home Circle"	50	1.10
"Sunday Democrat," Vicksburg, Miss.	2.00	2.50
McKlinburg, N. C. "Times"	1.50	1.85
Shelby, Ga., "Sentinel"	1.50	1.60
New Orleans "Times Democrat"	1.50	1.75
"Alabama Enquirer"	1.00	1.60
"Alliance Advocate," Montezuma, Ga.	1.00	1.75
Chicago "Express"	1.00	1.60
Westville, Miss., "News"	1.00	1.75
"American Swineherd," Alexandria, So. Dakota	50	1.10
Chicago "Western Rural"	1.65	2.15

## TO THE FARMERS.

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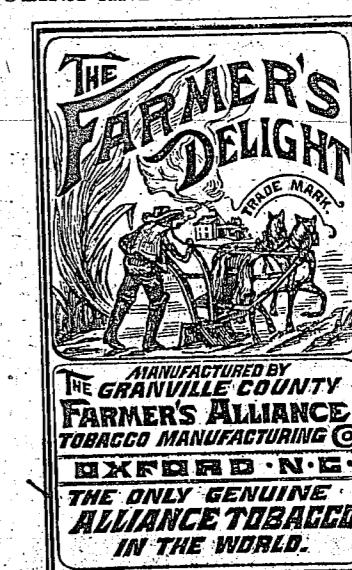
Butter, Eggs, Cheese,  
Live Poultry and Dressed Game,  
Fruits and Nuts, Meats and Stocks,  
Potatoes, Vegetables, Flour, Meal,  
Feed, Grain, Provisions,  
Beans and Peas, Dried Fruits,

Hay, Straw, Tallow, Hops,  
Beeswax, Seeds, Ginseng,  
Feathers, Furs, Skins, Apples, Wool.

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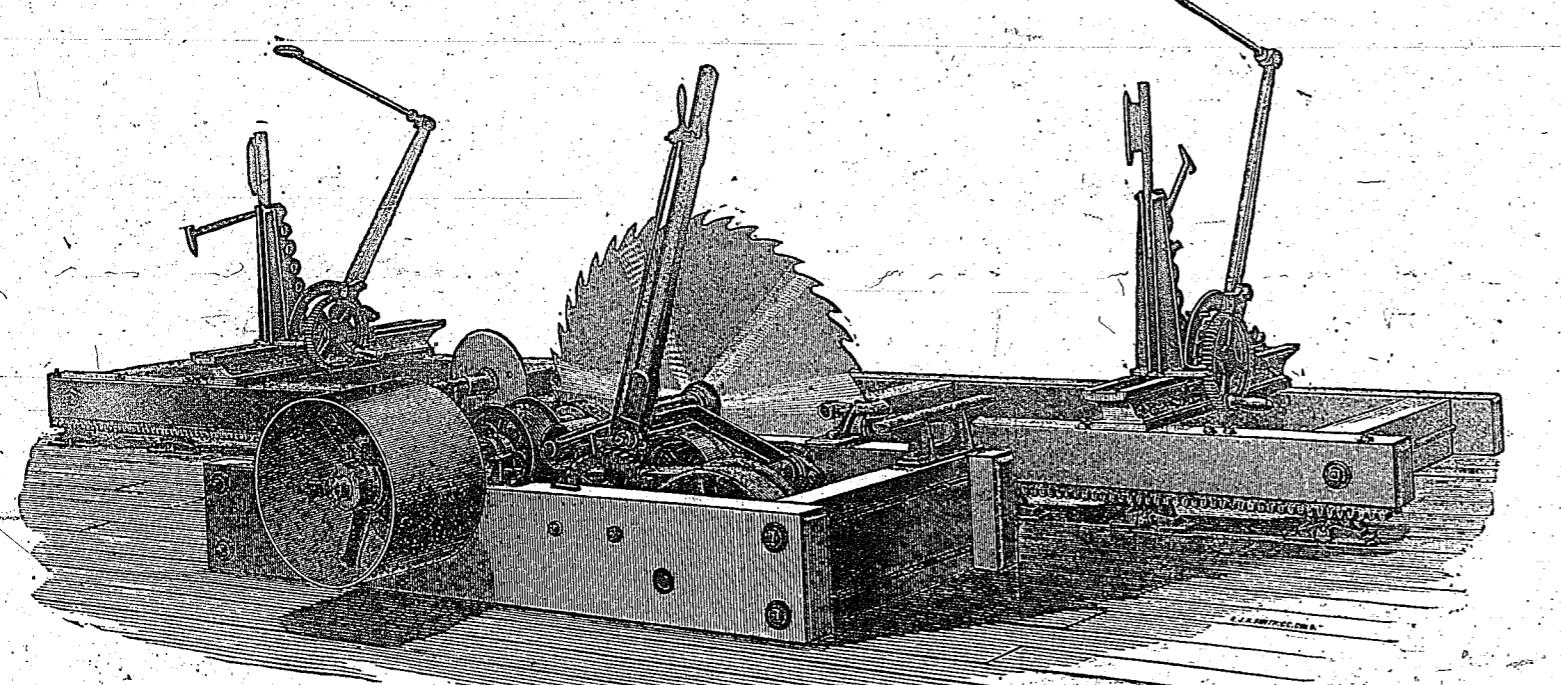
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Waynesboro, Franklin Co., Pa.

WANT AGENTS.

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We are well aware that the low price at which this mill is sold is calculated to cause suspicion; but we are willing for our work to stand on its own merit, of course it is not intended for doing a large lumbering business, or for sawing large and long logs, but for such as want a good, cheap mill for their own use, not caring to saw logs over 3 feet in diameter or 18 feet in length.

The Saw Frame is made of seasoned long-leaf pine, 4 inches thick by 12 inches deep, well seasoned and bolted together, and is 8 feet wide and 61 feet long, has Mandrel 24 inches in diameter by 44 feet long. The Cone Pulley gives the changes of feed, one-quarter, one-half, and one inch to each revolution of the Saw, as may be required to suit the power.

The Carriage is 37 inches wide and 18 feet long, also made of seasoned long-leaf pine, tenoned and bolted together, having four cross-pieces in each 18 feet carriage. The timber is 4 inches thick and 61 inches deep. The Head Blocks are 3½ feet long. The Knees are 19 inches high and open 30 inches from the Saw. The Head Blocks and Knees weigh about 150 pounds each. This mill will carry any size saw up to 48 inches in diameter, and a good 6 to 10 H. P.

The Engine and Boiler will furnish enough power to do a reasonable amount of sawing.

For a general lumber business we manufacture the HEGE IMPROVED SAW-MILLS, with Universal Log-Beams; Rectilinear, Simultaneous Set Works, and Double Centrifugal Friction-Feed; of which we have sold about 200 in North Carolina alone, and have an extensive sale for them also in over twenty States and Territories in the United States; also in West India Islands, South America, Australia, and Siam. We sold over 50 of these Improved Saw-Mills in New York and Pennsylvania. This shows their superiority. Write for full descriptive circulars and prices to SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.

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NEW ORLEANS.

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# The National Economist

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No. 13.

## The Disposition of Wealth.

Under modern conditions men are enabled in a few years to amass great wealth. The fortunes of to-day surpass in magnitude the wildest dreams of a century ago. This age of steam and electricity, with improved machinery, has increased the productive capacity of man per capita in most lines of manufacture many fold, and it is not now uncommon for a few men to turn out, by means of machinery, a product that a few years ago could not have been as well prepared in the same time by as many thousand men as it requires scores. But the improvements in the art of production, while they are everywhere apparent and seem wonderful, have been more than equaled by the methods of men who have devised ways and means of modifying the distribution of the augmentation in production in such manner that this great gain should accrue to such manipulators instead of the producer. And so successful have they been in this line of effort, that laborers who perform the various acts of production to-day receive less for their entire product than they did prior to the advent of improved machinery, and therefore the whole gain in productive capacity has accrued to these shrewd manipulators.

Writers tainted with plutocratic veneration claim that all this is fair and right; that if one man is dull enough to delve and dig, and another intelligent enough to manage better and by so doing secure the profits that are created by the former, it is all right and is only a reward to greater ability, and is just as legitimate as a reward to greater strength or dexterity.

The truth is that these conditions have been brought about gradually and by such adroit management that the producer as a rule does not realize the force of regulations and customs until he finds himself confronted with the cold fact that the capitalist only intends to allow him a bare subsistence. This has a decidedly awakening effect, and if he submits he will hereafter be entirely to blame and should suffer the consequences.

Passing the principles involved in the system, the fact is prominent that these modifications in the distribution of wealth have presented opportunities for the rapid accumulation of wealth until millionaires are no longer uncommon, and a question of no little concern to them and of some interest to the public is, what they will do with their wealth when they die.

It is impossible for them to take their millions along with them into the next world. Impossible to so tie it up in this world that an heir

can not dissipate it, and, therefore, it can not

permanently found a wealthy family. Bequests

to charitable institutions are frequently the basis of extensive litigation, and when they escape that, are often administered in a manner entirely different from the original design. As a rule a great fortune is the greatest curse a man can leave his family. There seems to be but three prominent channels for a wealthy man to dispose of his fortune: either to leave it to his children, donate it to charitable purposes at his death, or to administer it himself. When he has sufficient philanthropy to pursue the latter course, he will bless humanity and reap a sure and happy reward. When he pursues the second plan it is safe to let him alone, as his course can do no harm, and may do great good; but when he proposes to bestow his millions upon his children the policy of allowing him to so curse them, and probably society, may be questioned.

On this subject Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in the North American Review for June, publishes an article entitled "Wealth," in which he takes an advanced and commendable position. His doctrine is that there should be a limit to the amount of property a father could bequeath to his children; that the limit should be ample, and that the surplus should go to the government, where it would benefit the whole people.

While it is true that the power and influence of the millionaire are seldom perpetuated by his offspring, and that they usually dissipate his fortune rapidly, so that it is almost proverbial that by the second generation they will be as poor as anybody, the methods employed by them must be regarded as anything but a benefit to society. The dissipation of a large fortune by debauchery, extravagance, waste, and bad management must have a tendency to demoralize all interests that have secured undue gains, and have a bad effect in general upon all legitimate interests and occupations. Therefore an important object in adopting Mr. Carnegie's plan is not to avoid or escape the power of young men in possession of large fortunes inherited by them, but to protect them and society from the demoralizing effects of extravagance and the intoxicating effects of great loss and gain, which cast such a blight upon slower but surer and more commendable methods.

Since this suggestion comes from one of the wealthiest men in America, all classes will probably agree that a correct conclusion is that such a limitation is both just and desirable; that it would be both right and expedient. But the true friend to the people will not be content to stop here. He will inquire whether this is not simply a palliative measure thrown out to interest those who are clamoring for reform, and calculated to distract their attention from measures that strike at the root of the evil, and are, therefore, not palliative, but curative. He will

inquire whether it is best to bestow effort to correct the evil effect of conditions that tend to create a nation of millionaires and paupers, or whether it would be better to bestow effort toward correcting the conditions, and thereby establishing a tendency for all effort to receive a just reward, and, as a consequence, the augmentation of the ranks of the great middle class of society. He will inquire, why should laws be tolerated that assist and protect a man, under certain conditions, to extort millions from the necessities of his fellow-men, when every millionaire he so amasses converts eighty thousand men from the ranks of the middle class into paupers.

There is evidently a necessity for a limitation of the amount of wealth a father may bequeath to a son, and for the confiscation of the balance of the estate of the father. This will assist in neutralizing the bad effects of past and present conditions that have facilitated the accumulation of large fortunes, but there is a much greater necessity to provide against the necessity for such action in the future by completely abrogating conditions which have so baneful a tendency.

The tendency of the times seems to be to drive all those engaged in the same calling into organization for mutual protection against dangerous aggression from combinations of capital. The retail grocers of New Jersey are discussing a co-operative scheme by which they hope to cut off the wholesalers and deal directly with the manufacturers. The present condition looks like an illustration of the meeting of extremes; the tendency is more and more in the way of bringing the producer and consumer directly together and grinding up the middlemen between them. There seems to be an all-around contest going on. Wholesalers are fighting trusts and manufacturers, retailers fighting wholesalers, consumers fighting retailers, and producers fighting all hands. Altogether, it does not appear that human nature is in one of its amiable moods.

IN 1866 five-eighths of the people owned their homes, and only three-eighths were the prey of landlordism. In 1886 only three-eighths owned their own homes and five-eighths were reduced to the rank of tenants. Since that time the confiscation of homes by the money power has gone on in an increased ratio, and it can not be a great while before the final result will be reached, and the entire industrial population become homeless and landless.

It is estimated that there are six and one-half millions acres of land cultivated by irrigation in the United States.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Political Economy.

No. 8.

Land, labor, and capital being essential to every act of production, and production being the only source of wealth a nation can have, it follows that the incentive to the use of land, labor, and capital for productive purposes is the basis of all true prosperity.

Man is a social being, and traces much of his progress to the promptings of his social nature. It was this that probably first induced him to make sounds as a substitute for signs, and the same wants and desires caused him gradually to develop the sounds into language. Everywhere that human beings are found with any degree of intelligence the tendency may be observed of associating into families, and in all civilized countries the family is the unit of citizenship. This division or classification of humanity has the divine sanction and is found to harmonize and accord with all the interests and desires of man. The male is the larger, the stronger, the more vigorous, brave, and active; he performs most of the productive labor, fights the battles for the protection of the female and their offspring, builds their shelter and provides in a general way for their wants and development. He is the aggressive factor on whom the responsibilities of the intercourse with fellow-man depends. The female, while smaller and weaker, possesses finer and purer traits, which are calculated to form and mold the character of the young and have a soothing and purifying effect upon man's nature, and thereby neutralize the harsher effects produced by conflict with the rest of the world. The physical force of the female is not exhausted like the male in the conflict with the world; her life-blood goes out into the home circle and her force is expended in reproduction. She in her God-given sphere is as essential as man, but it requires both, together with their progeny, to make a perfect unit of citizenship. Man can not be regarded as having arrived at full development in citizenship and manhood until he has secured his mate, and until their union has been fruitful. Man's devotion to his own family is usually equal and frequently greater than his devotion to himself, and therefore it commands his services of mind and body in preference to every other call. The very strength of government must depend upon the devotion of men to their families; this will induce them to pay taxes willingly to a government that benefits the family, it will induce them to fight for a government that protects the home. A government, to secure his fealty and devotion, must pursue methods calculated to render the family happy and prosperous.

If the government desires, therefore, to increase its wealth by inducing its citizens to employ their land, labor, and capital in the various processes of production, it can strike no more responsive chord in the heart of man than to guarantee him the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the fruits of his labor. Under such a guarantee he will not cease his labors with a bare subsistence, but will exert every resource at his command to produce a surplus for the benefit of his family. Such exertion de-

velops his muscle, his brain, his heart, and his general usefulness. To bring out the higher attributes of man he should always have something to emulate. The great incentive to the employment of the citizen in productive pursuits is a guarantee that the laborer shall receive and enjoy the fruits of his labor.

The possession and enjoyment of the fruits of labor may be guaranteed to every citizen by the genius of the laws of a country, as in the United States to-day, and, at the same time, laws and regulations be in vogue that completely nullify the force and effect of such guarantee. A forcible illustration of such a condition is found in the following facts: The total volume of the money in circulation bears so small a proportion to the total wealth of the country that probably a half-dozen different syndicates could be formed any day composed entirely of speculators, the wealth of either one of which syndicates would be equal to the entire volume of money in actual circulation in the country. The agricultural industries produce a volume of products which is sold on the market yearly, equal in value to four times the total volume of money in circulation. Fully one-half of the agricultural products of the country are sold by the producers during the last four months of the year. This is compulsory, because that is the season immediately following the harvest, and the producers, as a rule, have not sufficient capital to enable them to hold their products. Under such circumstances the right to secure and enjoy the fruits of one's labor is a hollow mockery to those agricultural producers, and does not exist, because speculators are enabled to control so large a percentage of the inflexible total volume of the money of the country as to produce an abnormal scarcity in the agricultural districts at the very season that there is the greatest demand for money in exchange for the crop; that the necessities of the producer compel him to sacrifice the fruits of his labor in many cases for less than cost. This is the reason why it is proverbial that grain always goes very low immediately after harvest; this is the reason that the cotton planters received on an average not over 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  cents for their cotton last year, when the mills paid on an average 11 cents, with an average freight rate of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  of a cent, a difference of about \$10 per bale. Could anything be plainer? Could anything show more conclusively that a contracted and inflexible volume of money completely neutralizes the guarantee that government gives labor to enjoy the fruits of its labors, and by so doing tends to utterly destroy the incentive for the employment of land, labor, and capital in productive pursuits?

A government will reach the acme of prosperity when all of its subjects are employed to the best possible advantage in productive pursuits, and the greatest incentive to the citizen to so employ himself is the certainty that he will receive and enjoy the fruits of his labor. This is the key-note of national prosperity and is the basis of the individual or competitive system of economics. It is the doctrine taught by Adam Smith, Jean Baptiste Say, John Stuart Mill, and all of the older standard political

economists. It recognizes the fact that man needs something to emulate in order to develop the best efforts of mind and body. This doctrine was the basis of the declaration of American independence, and every provision of the Constitution of the United States was framed in harmony and accord with these principles. There are, however, many modern writers upon political economy who advocate entirely different principles and contend for the entire abolition of the individual or competitive system and the substitution of that key-stone of modern socialism, the collectivist system. They would strengthen the government into a centralization of all power, and have it perform parental functions. The individual would be completely merged into the society. The government would feed and clothe everybody and only require enough labor from each to make himself self-sustaining. They would have no accumulation of wealth on the part of the individual, because he would have no use for it and could derive no enjoyment from it. They would shorten the hours of the laborer and make all persons perform sufficient labor for the government to pay for his support, and then the government, which would be the only producer, either agricultural, manufacturing, or otherwise, would support educate, feed, and clothe everybody. It would probably be hard to conceive of a more veritable hell on earth than for an intelligent, healthy, spirited, and devoted man with his family to be so situated that he could not by his exertions be able to add to their pleasures and enjoyments, but that each would have to work for the government for a bare subsistence. Neither could there be a worse place for the lazy man who frequently possesses merit and genius that is developed and brought into usefulness when he has something to stimulate him to exertion. A system that would employ mankind six hours a day, and turn them loose to enjoy or abuse themselves the balance of the time, with nothing to strive for and nothing to stimulate to exertion of any kind, unless man's whole nature be first regenerated, would only produce "crime, hatred, and violence." There is no truer maxim than "An idle brain is the devil's workshop," and such a condition would only be a certain place to illustrate it. There is very little danger of overwork on the part of the average citizen, and no danger at all when work is performed in response to an incentive and not as a compulsory measure. The collectivist doctrine seems to admit that the producers under the individual or competitive system are unable to cope with the great opposite to that system, monopoly. This is a weakness that should not for a moment be tolerated, because the monopolies can be speedily overcome and abolished by the producers whenever they are no longer fostered and protected by the government. The collectivists, in awarding victory to the monopolists in their present effort to undermine existing institutions, present a cause for the introduction of the changes and innovations they propose and which they claim will completely destroy all monopoly. It probably would, but from appearances the remedy would be worse than the disease. Modern agricul-

turists are not crying for shorter hours or less work; they are asking favors from no man. They simply demand justice by contending for the right to take and enjoy the fruits of their labor. If labor received its full reward many men would insist on working more hours, and the prospect of gaining a competence where with to bless the loved ones of the family would make labor a pleasure that would brighten and improve mankind physically, mentally, and morally. The despondency that accompanies labor that is forced by necessity in the face of an utter hopelessness of any reward is one of the great threatening evils of modern times. Monopolies can very easily be controlled by the government, and it will be much easier for the people to demand such control than to adopt a socialistic system of economics on which to completely revolutionize the whole government simply to get rid of the monopolies. It is much easier to drive the crows off the house than to tear the house down for that purpose and build another. Since these collectivist socialist doctrines are a great innovation upon existing conditions, they are violently opposed by all business interests that are flourishing under existing conditions, and as labor generally is not regarded as in a flourishing condition, these doctrines are offered to labor as measures in its behalf, and their efficiency insisted upon because they are opposed by the capitalists and speculators. This is really no argument at all; and as labor has commenced to investigate and think for itself, there need be no apprehension that it will indorse doctrines calculated to destroy all that is dear to man simply for the purpose of abolishing monopoly. Such doctrine may be labeled "Labor Doctrine," or anything else, but in this age of political research and individual political independence it will have to stand or fall on its merits.

## A Farmer on Contraction.

I own a farm worth now \$10,000; assessed for taxation at \$15,000; mortgaged for \$5,000; interest 6 per cent., payable semi-annually. Since, some years ago, I assumed this situation, by contraction of the currency, and through increase of population and the volume of business, the purchasing power of a dollar, as related to general value, has doubled itself. How has this affected me? When I began, half my grain paid my taxes and interest on my mortgage. Now the whole does not sell for that much. The value of my real estate has declined 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., but the assessment remains the same, and the rate is increased. Then the mortgage covered one-third of it, now one-half. Last year it cost me 20 per cent. of the value of my corn crop to send it 24 miles to market by rail and sell it after I delivered it on board the car. The expenses of transportation and sale are as high as ever. When I began, if the mortgage had been foreclosed and all dues paid I would have had left \$10,000. If foreclosed to-day I might have \$2,000 left. If matters go on as now, two years will complete my ruin. One more turn of the screw will wind me up penniless any day in the year. I have farmed successfully; I have produced large crops; I have reared fine animals; I have made every edge cut; I have lived without ostentation or waste, soberly, industriously, rising early and working late, discreetly; but, in spite of every effort, I have felt myself irresistibly sinking by an invisible weight. Now, increase the volume of money until the purchasing power of a dollar

is halved, thus restoring the *status quo* under which I began business, and once more, as then, I would realize a moderate surplus at the end of each year, and in five years would be clear of debt, prosperous and comfortable. Go to, now! ye money mongers, with your theories, your sophistries, and your lies. The truth is, and none know it so well as you, that the whole body of recent legislation, Federal and State, is in behalf of the rich and destructively oppressive to the poor. Remember, also, the goose which produced the golden eggs! Do you think, moreover, that things can long go as they are going? "Take heed, ye foolish and unwise!" How many farmers know of their own experience and knowledge that I tell them here, "an o'er true tale?"

Pessimist? I am not a fool. FARMER.

will not, is a bigot. But he that can reason, and will, is a man."

FARMER C.

## To Purify a Stream, Begin at the Fountain-Head.

BY LINN TANNER, CHENEYVILLE, LA.  
Treasurer Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

The present unanimity and general enthusiasm which is being exhibited by the Farmers' Alliances, Wheels, and Unions in condemning the bagging trust, as well as the efforts to render said trust ineffective in carrying out its aims and purposes, is, to say the least of it, very flattering to the organizations named, in so far as it expresses unity of purpose combined with determination expressive of power. But with every assurance presented to these bodies of success, is there not some doubt as to whether they have taken such precautions as will forever prevent a recurrence of such a combination springing up hereafter?

The monopolies, trusts, and combines which exist in such fearful numbers and proportions, and which tend in every instance to concentrate the wealth of the Nation in the hands of the few, thereby imperiling and putting in jeopardy the very existence of our republican form of government, can be traced directly to former legislation by the people's representatives, who have in many instances either ignorantly or intentionally stood as the framers of laws which have ever been in favor of moneyed powers while oppressive to the wealth producers of our common country.

It is not necessary to call to the attention of your readers the various laws which have proven deleterious to the masses of the people; nor to the individual classes who have had unlimited license to use the money power for driving out honest competition, on which must ever stand a healthy system of trade. Such laws have already been discussed and condemned by all Alliance and labor papers since the people first began to show signs of resenting the insolent aggressiveness of wealthy corporations which showed a desire of monopolizing every necessary of life, and everything else which money could control. It now behoves us, as a people who seek to be relieved of our distresses, to imitate the skillful physician who, having carefully diagnosed the symptoms of the patient and discovered the cause of his suffering, proceeds immediately to remove the cause, relying upon time and careful attention afterward to effect a cure. Just so do I regard the manner in which this cotton jute-bagging trust, and all others, should be treated. The action taken by the different cotton States at the Birmingham convention will serve only as a temporary relief, and may, like some doctors' bills, carry along with it some extra cost, but prompt action was necessary in order to meet the emergency, and in the opinion of your writer a double-bit has been put upon the excessive greed of the jute-bagging combine, which will most thoroughly check it from carrying out its previously concerted plans of fleecing the cotton farmers of untold millions.

As our glutinous patients have been forced to swallow the bitter anodyne we have administered, and may for this season at least be considered in a comatose state, or at least, so far as further danger is concerned, somewhat innocuous, would it not be well for our people to take steps to have all representatives in Congress who depend upon the farmers' and laborers' vote, North, South, East and West, to demand such legislation for the relief of the people as will forever put it out of power within the law to form trusts, pools, combinations, corners, or anything else which is calculated to put a fictitious value, or to depress the price of anything which is used or offered for sale by the people of the United States? Impurities in a stream are much easier removed at the source than at any other place in its course.

If the foregoing be true, what puerile prodigality to buy gold or silver to stamp values on. When Clay, Webster, and Calhoun were in the United States Senate, the members of that body invited Professor Dodd, of Boston, to address them on a subject then engaging the attention of the thoughtful.

The professor began his discourse with this declaration of sentiment: "He that can reason, but reason, is an idiot. He that can reason, but

## History and Government.

No 18.

Having carefully reviewed in detail the various institutions of Lycurgus, with the probable reason for the establishment of each and the resultant effect, it may now be of interest to compare Solon's institutions and their results with them, noting the differences between the two systems of government and the results growing from each. By this means it will be readily seen which of the two systems was best adapted to maintain the stability and prosperity of a nation, and is most worthy of emulation.

The institutions of these two states have been considered at this great length because they are the highest type of democratic establishments history has given us, and the spirit and sentiment of the people closely allied to the spirit and sentiment of ours. Their experience is in the nature of an object-lesson from which we may gather more valuable truths than from any other experience in history.

Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, indeed all the great authorities of antiquity, agree that the object of all government, be its form what it may, is "to endeavor to render those under it happy and just, by obtaining for them, on the one side, safety and tranquillity with the advantages and conveniences of life; and, on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous." Cicero declared that "the greatest and noblest function in the world is to be the author of the happiness of a nation." He it was who uttered the noble and comprehensive declaration, "*Salus populi suprema est lex*," which embodies in those few words the whole scope of government. The welfare of the people, not of an individual, a corporation or a class, but the people, is the supreme law—the great end for which government is instituted.

Plato, throughout his entire works, clearly shows that the most brilliant qualities, the greatest financial success, the highest degree of polite accomplishment are all worthless if they do not tend to promote the two great ends, the virtue and happiness of the people. All the great philosophers of the world agree that the great aim of government is the advancement of the welfare of the whole people, and all equally agree that the Lacedemonian government came nearer to conforming to this great requirement than any other.

From what has been already said, it will readily be seen that Lycurgus, in the founding of his institutions, recognized the fact that an unequal distribution of wealth was the prime source of inequality, injustice, oppression, discontent, and internal dissension; that this unequal distribution arose from the control of the lands by a conscienceless speculative class which absorbed the values it produced, and with this control the control not only of the labor, but the actions, manner of living, comforts, and necessities of those who created these values; that this control caused the great inequality which was the source of discontent, vicious resentment and continual strife among the people, and prevented an even progression of the whole. He therefore destroyed the possibility of speculation in land first, and then the possibility of

making mercenary gain the great object of life, thus making it possible to direct the ambition and aspirations of the entire people in the way of developing the general welfare and the national weal.

Solon, in providing for this especial point, either failed to recognize the true source of evil or felt that he was not powerful enough to undertake the necessary reform; at any rate he failed to strike at the root of the great evil—inequality. It is probable that this is the real state of the case, and that, seeing it would be impossible to loosen the grip of the rich upon the lands without the most serious conflict, involving a vast amount of bloodshed and loss of life, besides all the ensuing evils that war ever brings in its train, he resorted to palliative measures, hoping to bring the masses up to a position of enlightenment and power that would enable them to accomplish the desired results by force of popular will. Depending on the relief which he was able to accomplish to give an impetus to the public spirit and love of liberty, and with the example of Sparta before them, he may have hoped that public sentiment would grow to such a power as to render it practically impossible for the dominant class to successfully resist it, and thus in time the object would be accomplished although impossible then under existing conditions. However this may have been, the fact is that his palliative measures failed and that the evils grew. The failure on the part of Solon to relieve the people from the possibility of financial oppression did not justify his establishment by law of an aristocracy, and worst of all a money aristocracy.

The result proved that his system in this respect was wrong, and that it is unreasonable to expect a healthy development under such a system. The system of Lycurgus gave assurance of justice to the citizen by removal of the possibility of oppression through misfortune or necessity; it developed the manhood, dignity, and pride of the citizen. Solon's left the people a prey to avarice and selfishness, subject to any oppression the more fortunate might please to put upon them; thus the ambitions of the people were destroyed and their aspirations crushed.

The system of Lycurgus prevented the leisure that the rich enjoy, and which gives opportunity for the idle to plan and devise means by which they can absorb the values created by industry. Solon's gave greater opportunity and increased this leisure. In effect, it dignified idleness and degraded industry. By the wise provisions of Lycurgus every citizen became secure in a home; through those of Solon he became the vassal of the rich. The Spartans became devoted to the government, which protected them and their children, while the Athenians grew to feel bitterly against the state, which allowed indignities and hardships to be put upon them by a favored class, or aided that class in seizing and breaking up their homes and turning them shelterless upon the world. Lycurgus appreciated the truth that the home is the foundation of the state; Solon either failed to appreciate this important truth or was willing to allow the homes of the people to remain the prey of heartless specula-

tion to purchase a temporary but burdensome peace, the limit of which was sure to be reached sooner or later.

The Spartan system appreciated the danger in making wealth the sole aim of ambition, and tended to direct that ambition to a higher aim, and to expend the public energy in the attainment of an exalted virtue; which attainment did not necessitate the accumulation of wealth. Thus the people, recognizing the fact that wealth would add nothing to the honor in which they were held, or to the privileges they might enjoy, soon came to regard it with scorn and to so direct their lives that their virtue and integrity would bring them honor and position. In this way all that was accomplished was for the common good and for the advancement of the whole. By leaving property in the relation it did, Solon's institutions had no effect to change the lives of the people, to exalt virtue or check the arrogance of wealth. His relief of debts was merely temporary, and the evils of the old system went on developing just as though no change had taken place. The Spartan system taught the people to depend upon themselves and their industry alone for all of good they might expect. Solon's government taught them that all good came through accumulated wealth; the advancement of the state meant nothing to individuals, because the benefits they enjoyed were secured to them not by the state but by a power foreign to it—money.

The result of the Spartan institutions was to consolidate the energies of the people in one direction—the development of the whole and the advancement of the state—while Solon's created conflicting interests, and thus compelled the people to act in classes, or bodies, composed of those whose interests were identical; or drove each citizen to struggle for an entirely selfish object.

In Sparta, by the wise division of labor, each class worked in perfect harmony with all the others for the same great end, the common welfare; while in Athens this wonderful harmony was lost in an utterly selfish wrangle and struggle.

Even the slaves in Sparta enjoyed a share of the common success, benefited by the wise ordering of affairs, and pursued their labor uninterrupted and free from unjust pressure, because there could be no profit gained by long hours or overstraining tasks, and the general frugality left no room for the squandering of their creations by profligate masters; while in Athens the struggle for wealth was the cause, not only of the greatest cruelty to the slaves, but brought the laboring classes of the free citizens to a condition no better than that of the slaves except in name.

Under the Spartan system the necessary labor was not interrupted by war, as this was the sole business of the soldiery, whose constant training fitted them especially for it. In those days war was almost always being waged, and in Athens this necessitated the calling away from their labors of vast numbers of the people, while their time and the values they might have created were a total loss, to say nothing of the hardships put upon their fam-

ilies. This caused no loss to the rich, as their capital went on gathering interest and value. The more gallant the deeds of the army, the longer the war was protracted, the poorer the people grew, and the harder it was to recuperate after the struggle; for this reason the soldiery had little encouragement to defend the state, and did so more to avoid the horrors of slavery (as all captives in war were reduced to that state by the victors) than from motives of patriotism and genuine love of their country and its institutions.

In the special education of youth Lycurgus laid the foundation for the stability of his institutions and insured their perpetuation, because the pliant mind was molded in the form most beneficial to the common good. The young ambition was directed in the paths of virtue and the vigorous aspirations pointed to lofty attainments. Solon neglected this all-important matter and left the growing intellects to take whatever bent they might, and to be contaminated by avarice, greed, and the selfishness of mercenary speculation.

These are the salient points of difference between the two systems, but the whole may be summed up in a few words. The Spartan had for its object the uniting of the interest of the citizen with the state directly; the perfect union of the two; the removal of all influences which might come between the people and the state; the establishment of a condition of perfect equality; the judicious division of the necessary labor required for the common prosperity; the rendering it impossible that any citizen could be oppressed, by any power beyond the control of the state, and the directing of the ambitions and aims of the people along a high plane of virtue; the development of an exalted admiration for true greatness, and a scorn of whatever might tend to degrade and debase the moral tone necessary to all true progress. Solon's institutions evidently failed in these great objects, as all are sure to do which tend to elevate money above morality, integrity, and unselfish virtue.

The institutions of Lycurgus had existed for three centuries when Solon attempted his reform, and had increased in their beneficial efforts until Sparta had become renowned throughout the world, and, at that time, was the arbiter of all Greece, although her population was only about 40,000, and only 9,000 of these lived in the city. Solon's reforms, even with this bright example to direct him in their conception, were scarcely a temporary relief to the people. His institutions were overthrown within thirty years and the people reduced to a worse condition than that from which they had just emerged.

Could any clearer proof be asked or given of the effect of his example. They had a great admiration for learning and invited many men of letters, philosophers, poets, and musicians to Athens. The tendency of this plan was to distract the minds of the people from their true condition and direct them into other channels, and thus secure quiet submission to their usurpations by distracting the attention of the people from public affairs. They lived in great splendor and elegance, and were prodigal in their liberality toward public improvements, the adornment of

the city, and the amusement of the people, but the people were loaded with unequal taxation to meet these generous outlays and maintain this regal splendor, and were at the same time grievously oppressed by extortionate rents, interest, and other oppressions of a mercenary system. These tyrants finally developed all the arrogance and overbearing insolence which is natural to such state, and their oppressions and impositions became unbearable; but the people were under the hand of a mercenary horde; they were divided among themselves; poor, and without leaders or the means of organization, they were helpless and utterly at the mercy of their tyrants. Lacedemon was still in the height of her prosperity and the dominant state of Greece. At last the Athenians, in their sore distress, appealed earnestly to the valorous Spartans to relieve them from their grievous evils and restore them to liberty. Sparta, strong in her own liberty, generous in her sympathy for the oppressed, rich in the prosperity and happiness of her people, seized the sword she knew so well to wield and called upon her noble sons to rush to the rescue of their oppressed fellow-men. The Spartans heard the call, rallied to their invincible standard, and hurled their unconquerable columns against the stronghold of the tyrant, tore from his trembling hand the scepter of power, broke the shackles that had bound the Athenians for almost a century, and gave to the people the liberty they had lost in their struggle after gold. And thus it was that Athens at last owed to the institutions of Lycurgus the liberty Solon was unable to preserve to them, and which the people themselves were unable to recover after they had lost it.

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her pristine courage; the spirit of the people returned, new ambition was awakened. During the reign of her tyrants she had acted with indolence and indifference, as knowing what she did was not for herself but for their aggrandizement. But after her deliverance from their yoke the vigor and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind, because her labors were for herself. The people were imbued with new life and new spirit. Athens thus, after regaining her liberty, began again to enjoy tranquillity and the sweets of peace. The people gradually assumed the rights which have been described in a former paper, and their power in the assemblies was, as has been described, very great. It was at this time that the condition detailed was reached, and the people enjoyed those high privileges and distinctions we have referred to. Athens entered really upon her career of greatness and distinction, and thus it was that she owed all she achieved to the institutions of Lycurgus, and it would have been well for her had she adopted them entire.

Hippias, the dethroned tyrant, fled to the court of Darius, and by his machinations incited that monarch to undertake the invasion of Greece, which is one of the most thrilling passages of history, and brought out so prominently the heroic valor of the Spartans and resulted in the utter destruction of despotic power in Europe. The history of this des-

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

perate struggle seems too wonderful for belief; and yet it is true, and the results proved the vast superiority of a people devoted to liberty and the common good to the overwhelming numbers of the slaves of despotism. The events of the era from the accession of Pisis-tratus to the regaining of their liberties by the Athenians have not been given in detail, because it is not necessary to the object in view that they should be so given; the final result is all that is necessary to state.

We have now arrived at a point where it will be necessary to again note existing conditions closely, as the events were of the most momentous importance to civilization and brought into the most vivid contrast the two extremes of governmental policies. The era was one succession of the most thrilling events and most brilliant results growing out of the newly-developed idea of political liberty. Spartan valor and virtue made a record that has never been equaled in the history of the world and fired all Greece to emulate the example of these more than mortal heroes. It set the mark of human achievement so high that it is pointed to with pride by all people in all ages, and still stands far above the point reached by the most ambitious.

## Louisiana Union Moving.

WILL H. TUNNARD, REPORTER.

Mr. T. J. Guice, State lecturer of the Farmers Union of Louisiana, delivered an eloquent and exhaustive address in the court-house at Natchitoches, La., May 31st, to a large audience of farmers and citizens.

He opened his remarks by deprecating his inability to present such an important subject as agriculture in language sufficiently eloquent and forcible. He would state facts and the unvarnished truth. His life had been devoted to farming and his experience limited in discussing this weighty question. He propounded the direct question, Does farming pay? He asked it of the farmers whose vast interests were at stake. If negatively answered, then make it remunerative. In this era of 1859 the farmers received less returns for their outlay of muscle and means than any other class. Is it on account of an overproduction that induces this state of affairs. The overplus of wheat, corn, cotton, or even beef does not make a reduction in prices, as asserted by those ignorant of the true causes. It is shown that the demand for cotton increases every hour as the human family multiplies. Ought it not be made to pay? How? Producing it was one thing. The land, a plow, seed, and a Spanish pony, united with labor, would raise it. Selling it was quite another thing. Here arose the necessity for co-operation to control it and forcing the demand to make the price.

The Farmers Union began with a movement in England over 200 years ago to secure representation. It was further consummated by a movement which resulted in the establishment of the American colonies, and the preponderance of land-owners to 2 per cent.; to France were they indebted for the grand results. Subsequently was inaugurated the war for independence, which lasted seven years. The colonists battled for liberty; England, for money and income. It was the same old combat waged to-day between muscle and the pocket. England laid an embargo on industry, attempted to enforce unjust taxation and revenues. It was a matter of dollars and cents alone, and not strength, to the British Empire.

The colonists fought for liberty and achieved it through the co-operation of the yeomanry; the blood, muscle, and sinews of the land. England eventually found the struggle cost too much, and proclaimed to the rebellious subjects, "Go your way, your pretended independence is only an experiment." Her statesmen, rulers, and wiseacres predicted that the republic would be short-lived. The war of 1812 was a repetition of the struggle of 1776. England contended for nothing but money—an addition to her coffers, the Americans, for the paramount principle of freedom. In 1776 the same principles prevailed as now exist in 1880. The Farmers' Alliances, Wheels, and Unions do not mean actual war, but liberty in its broadest sense. Let the farmers show that they are not freemen, and they will be reduced to a state of penal servitude. Next, in 1833, the colonists of Texas revolted against the onerous demands of Mexico. These attempts at organization, though not purely agricultural movements, accomplished the purposes contemplated.

The eventual farmers' movement began in Poolville, Texas. It was not formed for financial benefit, but to escape the burdens imposed by the Spanish land grant. They demanded relief from the legislature, or they would send farmer representatives to that body to secure relief. They were not only successful, but the organization spread, until to-day it embraces the best brains in Texas, in statesmanship, science, literature, etc. At Shreveport, two years ago, the great National movement assumed shape, and last December, at Meridian, this grand organization became National in character, and now numbers over 2,000,000 members. This is a farmers' movement solely.

Commerce, railroads, corporations have grown rich and powerful and the producers have retrograded. In Illinois alone \$64,000,000 have been lost in the past ten years, all the product of the muscle and toil of agriculturists. This pursuit is the basis of all National wealth. The soil is the giver of all good, the plethoric cornucopia of the country. The farmers should prosper. They expend their physical manhood and do not reap pecuniary benefits, but yearly become poorer. They claim but a just compensation for their labor. Agriculture now pays 4 per cent. on the capital invested. From 1830 to 1876 it added 130 per cent. to the wealth annually. Where is all this wealth now? Three years ago the Louisiana hill farmers were 70 per cent. in debt. The same condition existed all over the South and West. Mississippi was a cotton-growing State, yet planters were 77 per cent. in debt. The same condition of affairs exists in 1880. This is shown by the statistics of the United States Agricultural Department. This is what represents the muscle, interest, and cash of this class. A bale of cotton is worth from \$200 to \$340 to the world. Yet it nets scarcely two cents per pound to the producer. Will this educate a single boy or girl? Where is the remedy? Organized intelligence and co-operation. There is a complaint of the scarcity of money. Who is responsible? The United States Congress, by their legislation.

The orator reviewed the history of Rome and land ownership; the eventual gravitation of capital into the hands of the few; the tendency of class legislation, whose controlling spirit reduced the centralization of wealth and power ending in ruin and decay. Unless checked, the same spirit will eventually overthrow the American Government and American liberty. In union there is strength. The people are the Government. The farmers are responsible to the country and to God for their use of the ballot. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Vote, then, for principle, protection, and freedom. The Union is treading in the paths once pursued by Rome, Greece, and other free

governments. It is time to call a halt. These sentiments are prompted by the love of a grand and glorious country. A boast is made of the war for independence. English avarice prompted it. The thirst for gold has followed its destinies ever since Macaulay, the English philanthropist, denounced slavery. He fired the Northern people and British gold bought the pulpit and the press. The same fell spirit precipitated the civil war. The bankers held the National purse strings. Jefferson, the great father of Democracy, denounced National banks as dangerous to liberty. But the English found investment for their money.

Mr. Guice next reviewed the establishment of National banks under Lincoln's administration. Treasury notes declined in value and uses, and gold brought a premium. He showed the eventual contraction in circulation. That the capital invested in agriculture in 1865 to 1867 showed a splendid return. No people were happier than the Southern farmers, but the profits steadily declined from that era. Grant and Sherman were elected on the National bank question. The war debt was secured by gold-bearing interest bonds. Belmont, the chairman of the Democratic National executive committee, was the agent of the Rothschilds, who held \$1,500,000 of these bonds. This vast power was brought to bear in the political struggle between Seymour and Grant, and the result was well known.

The income of the farmer to-day is virtually a myth. The Western, as well as Southern, lands were plastered over with mortgages. The farmers own less than 20 per cent. of the lands. In 1865 they controlled 80 per cent.; in 1873, 30 per cent.; and constantly decreasing. There is no such a thing as overproduction. Agricultural success means wealth; its contrary, poverty; and the poor naturally and necessarily become ignorant. In England less than 20,000 persons own the land. In America there are 7,500 millionaires, with 15,000,000 producers reduced to poverty, ruin, and pauperism in twenty-five years. In the same ratio of decadence, another quarter of a century will witness a moneyed aristocracy, the tillers of the soil reduced to serfdom, and American independence collapsed.

The farmers mortgage their best lands to secure money. In Coushatta, a citizen has loaned in that locality alone \$140,000 to farmers this year. They should be the last to borrow means. They ought to be rich, not dependent. Let them meet organization with organization, combination with combination, and fight every corporation with its own tools. Everything is pooled, from matches to steam-engines. Capital dictates not only what price the farmer shall take for his products, but also what he shall pay for everything he buys. The bagging trust must be met with a complete unity of purpose. A few men in these corporations control untold millions. The bagging monopoly gives a powerful lever to three men. The farmers are millions to combat these three men. The same is true as to plows, wagons, stoves, sewing-machines, etc., all controlled by this same power of concentrated capital. It was then shown that true liberty owed no fealty to any particular church or political party. There were two classes of slaves. The chattel slaves, 7,000,000, had been freed to enslave 20,000,000 freemen. Now let the farmers co-operate to meet any combination that dictates the prices of their products. Fight this imperialism with imperialism. Grapple with this question in all its realities. Corporations are soulless. They listen not to the cries of the hungry, naked, or distressed. The farmers are warned that their vital interests are jeopardized and liberty threatened unless they are united. The manufacturers are growing richer, the agriculturists poorer. Let them lay aside all prejudices and not further

elevate the favored class, at the expense of labor. In time they will be reduced to the condition of the English and Irish peasantry. If the rich are to dictate the terms, they will enslave the masses; all history shows it. But recently a New York daily journal advocated the land-ownership and the tenancy system of England. It had possibly been influenced by the great bane of agriculturists is that they do not think enough, but let others think for them. They have journals, the lawyers, doctors, and all classes to aid in building up their property and success. Let them attend to their own business. It is costing them too much for others to do it. The lawyers are men of brains and intelligence. Ninety-three per cent. of the law-makers in Congress are lawyers. They claim too much, and are unfit to attend to everybody's business, particularly the farmers. Send more farmers, more mechanics, more artisans to legislative halls and a marked change will occur. The remedy is unity, the ballot-box, and a determination to fight centralization, class-legislation, and monopolies.

The mortgage system is a delusion and a snare. Companies loan money at low interest on long time. The farmer falls into this scheme and eventually his home is owned by some English landlord. If it is borrowed on easy terms and values decrease, the money is more difficult to secure, and the mortgagor is placed in a bad fix.

The lecturer asserted that a bale of cotton was worth \$300 to the commercial and business world. The farmer looked for prices at the market quotations. Who gave these figures? Cotton-exchanges and organizations regulated the prices. The Liverpool prices it was impossible to learn and could not be told.

In the next twenty-five years a radical change must be effected. It takes all classes to make any project a success. The farmers want the aid of professional men, mechanics, toilers, laborers, hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are all interested in the success of this source of all wealth, prosperity, and happiness. The co-operation of all is needed to secure the greatest good to the greatest number. Class legislation has brought about the present condition of affairs and threatened the destruction of industrial life. The farmers and laborers should be the rulers. *Vox populi, vox Dei.* Congress was bought. The Presidential success was bought and belonged to a Shylock, and he was a British gold-monger. The merchant was as powerless as the farmer. There was no such thing as supply and demand regulating prices. The price of all crops, the manufacture of goods were estimated daily and regulated accordingly by—monopoly, the demon king of the age. No monopoly or monopolist cares who is President. The Louisiana State Lottery Company reeks little who goes to the legislature, so it gets the man, and money is the ruling spirit and power of the age. It is time to place men in Congress and the legislatures who will carry out the will of their constituents. Like slaves, the working classes have been bound in galling chains. They are acting mechanically and without organization. What prospect has the American youth if he has not been born with a golden spoon in his mouth? He is nothing without money. The boys, who are the pride of the country, under this bane will grow poorer and more easily controlled.

The Union is engaged in a great work. They are investing capital in their own manufactures and sustaining the policy of a protective tariff. In Texas alone the Alliance has \$3,000,000 invested in manufactures. They are on the road to success in Alabama and Mississippi and other States. Louisiana is lamentably behind in the grand struggle. This is no time to mix friendship with business or permit prejudices to influence action. It is a death-struggle for dollars and cents. The South's progress, development, happiness, and future greatness depend on a favorable outcome in the struggle. Let the farmers learn to attend to their own business and not permit others to manipulate it for them. There is no overdoing farming. Population is daily increasing. There is an enlarging demand for cotton to clothe them, and food to sustain them. These producers must make their own prices. They must learn the cost of production and receive a living per

cent. for their labor. The men who manufacture goods can well afford to pay 50 cents per pound for cotton. Their sole idea is to control and impoverish the farmer. The aliens are the land-owners. American yeomanry bought it with their blood and lives at Bunker Hill, and now it has gone into the hands of English capitalists. The great bane of agriculturists is that they do not think enough, but let others think for them. They have journals, the lawyers, doctors, and all classes to aid in building up their property and success. Let them attend to their own business. It is costing them too much for others to do it. The lawyers are men of brains and intelligence. Ninety-three per cent. of the law-makers in Congress are lawyers. They claim too much, and are unfit to attend to everybody's business, particularly the farmers. Send more farmers, more mechanics, more artisans to legislative halls and a marked change will occur.

It seems to me the practical solution of this question is to take the actual tare from the cotton in the market where it is first sold. And if this be done it will force every producer of cotton to use cotton bagging. Certainly it is better to take the tare off here under our supervision than have it done in Liverpool. I respectfully ask the press of the entire country to publish this.

W. H. LAWSON.

Harry Tracy.

The gentleman whose name heads this article closed up at Bywy, in this county, last Friday, his round of speech-making after a tour of the entire State. He has made two speeches per day for about ninety days, and as he puts both thought and animation into his work, of course he needs rest. A phlegmatic man could wade along for a year or so, or half a life-time,

and if you gave him plenty of corn-pones, bacon, and collards, he would be promptly on hand as fresh as ever; but to the man of brains and nerves, whose whole life is in his work, rest must be had. He will perhaps make a few more speeches in this State and then go to Alabama. We have heard Harry make over a half-dozen speeches, and no time did he make a failure. His whole being is in his work, and the good he is doing will go on and on long after his body has returned to its mother dust. He left home and loved ones, and without reward, save that which comes from a consciousness of having done his duty, has traveled over the hills and valleys of Mississippi for three months and over. The good he has done, the people know not now, but they shall know. If we think rightly his is the work of the patriot and philanthropist, for we are rapidly approaching a time when not abolition or State rights, but when organized capital and corporations and anarchism, will bring this Government again to the mercy of strife and storm; and his mission and work is to point out the breakers. We wish we could place his entire speech before every Mississippian. It would do them good. It would be an eye-opener. His plea for education is an earnest one, for on the virtue and intelligence of the people depend the stability and perpetuity of republics. Partisan politics, says Mr. Tracy, has been the prime cause of trouble in our country. And well does he ask, "Who ever heard of laboring people declaring war?" Politicians declare the wars, and poor people fight the battles. Mr. Tracy leaves Mississippi with a love for our people equalled only by the love and esteem in which he is held by them. Let not the historian of this State in future fail to make mention of the utterance of Harry Tracy, for they are going to be felt in deciding Mississippi's destiny for weal or for woe. If Harry Tracy had chosen politics he would have been invincible. On the stump he would have been what Sam Jones is in the pulpit. But he is building a monument in the hearts of the people of this country that will be more enduring than any he could have erected in the field of political life. We felt in parting with him that we were parting with a friend, a brother. We wish for him that his days may be many.

Bright be thy setting orb of life,  
Flow'r strown and green thy final sod,  
The future grant you great rewards,  
Beyond the sun and stars with God.

—Choctaw, Miss., Plaindealer.

After deducting cost of bagging and ties.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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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.

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

The Farmers Association that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents as their national official organ now contains 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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SUBSCRIBERS to THE ECONOMIST can have their time commenced with back numbers, by so specifying at the time of subscription. The series of articles by Mr. Hudson, on railways, began with No. 8, and "History and Government" with No. 1.

Back numbers of THE ECONOMIST can be had by application to this office, at 2 cents a copy.

It is worthy of note that the most cruel and sacrilegious theory of political economy was the conception of a man who professed to be a Christian minister, an expounder of the doctrines of brotherly love and human sympathy taught by the meek and humble Jesus; whose mission was to raise the lowly, comfort the afflicted, rebuke the strong, and proclaim justice. Robert Malthus, the originator of the Malthusian theory, was a preacher, and yet his teachings are heathenish, brutal, and more like the conception of a savage than a civilized man.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION has issued a circular letter addressed to the labor organizations of the country soliciting information and discussion upon the question of Federal regulation of safety appliances on railroads. This is a common-sense way to get at practical facts through the best sources from which such information could be gathered. It is, besides, a proper recognition of the qualifications and standing of the class to whom they have applied. Surely the men who use these appliances daily and whose lives depend upon them are the best qualified to give information upon them. Is it not to these very men that the managers of railroads must apply for any knowledge they may gain of such subjects, and why should the Government get its information at second-hand? Besides, the men whose lives are at stake are more likely to tell the truth than those whose money only is involved, and that interest in the direction of avoiding the requirements. This recognition of the labor organizations is in the direction of giving to labor the place it should occupy in relation to government, that of a factor in the composite body of the state and not a mere property and subject of capital.

IN the beginning of the experiences of a family while the children are few and young, the requirements are not burdensome and are very simple, and lax methods suffice to supply comforts and maintain discipline, but as the children multiply and grow the requirements gradually change. What was suitable and efficient for little children and young and vigorous parents is entirely unadapted to the changed conditions. A new adjustment of conditions becomes necessary. Requirements must be altered to suit the development of the individuals comprising the family, just as different clothing must be provided as the children grow. Just so it is with nations. New adjustments of political and social affairs must be made as the nation develops. Institutions fitted for the requirements of an infant nation are as unsuited to its full growth as the clothing of a child is to the same individual after reaching

years of maturity. Social and political conditions must keep pace with the growth of the nation, with the development of intelligence, the requirements of an improved social state, with the increase of population, the progress of science, art, and literature. If this advance is not kept up with, social and political conditions operate to retard, to confine and cramp the natural growth, just as a suit of clothes suited to a youth would confine and hamper the movements of a full-grown man, if it were possible to keep them on him from childhood. It is just as impossible to confine a nation to the fixed social and political institutions suited to it in its infancy as it is to thus confine a growing child to one size and style of garment throughout its life. New adjustments must be made as the people and nation develop. If this were not the case there could be no progress. Apply this illustration to the financial systems common throughout the world. There must be a change suitable to our advanced state.

THE Alliance and Wheel movement is now commencing to make itself known in the commercial world. R. B. Carl Lee, State business agent for Arkansas State Wheel, with headquarters at Nos. 8 and 10 N. Commercial street, St. Louis, Mo., has inaugurated a Branch Farmers and Laborers Union Exchange, and is now prepared to furnish plows, wagons, and all kinds of agricultural implements, at bottom prices. He has also attached a retail department and can furnish clothing, dry goods and groceries. He requests Alliances and Wheels should send for price-list. He is able to offer special inducements on flour in car-load lots, to all Southern points.

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THE Liverpool Cotton-Exchange has declared itself in sympathy with the farmers in their fight against the bagging trust, and agree to accept cotton in cotton covering on the determination of the actual rate.

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ONE of the most entertaining events of the year was Andrew Carnegie's address before the Pennsylvania legislature depicting the evils of monopoly and showing how wrong it was to allow the Pennsylvania railroad to crush his little railroad scheme. It was an authentic case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Now Carnegie & Co.'s Homestead Steel Millat Pittsburgh have posted "a sliding

\$1 per week. This in a land that boasts of the advantages its working people enjoy, and in the commercial metropolis where wealth is gathered in millions and financial gamblers revel in luxury that surpasses that enjoyed by Oriental potentates. Talk of the Apaches' cruelty to their women and then read the above. The civilized savage is far more brutal. His nature is beastly.

THE readers of THE ECONOMIST may expect a new and coming attraction—a rare treat—in the shape of a series of articles promised by Judge H. F. Simrall, of Mississippi, for many years judge of the supreme court of that State. The articles will consist of a review of the acts of National legislation since the war, from a legal and economic standpoint, showing the principles involved and the effects upon the productive industries of the country. Judge Simrall possesses one of the ablest minds of this age, and his conclusions will be of great interest and value.

THE twine and bagging trusts have brought on the opening skirmish between the yeomanry of the land and the speculative element which proposes to levy taxes for their own benefit at will. The cause that fired the patriots of '76 and changed the destiny of the American people was an unjustly levied tax, contemptibly small in amount, but representing the right to tax without representation. The combinations of capital now presuming to dominate the commerce of the Nation have again assumed the same right, and again the American spirit of resistance is aroused. This spirit is invincible, and the conflict now inaugurated can not end except in the establishment of justice and the overthrow of arrogant assumption. The forbearance of the American people is only equalled by their determination; once aroused they will never cease the conflict until their cause is vindicated and their dignity acknowledged.

THERE has come to light a secret circular sent by Pinkerton's National Detective Association to corporations and individuals employing large bodies of workingmen. The circular says:

Corporations or individuals desirous of ascertaining the feelings of their employees and whether they are likely to engage in strikes or are joining any secret labor organization with a view of compelling terms from corporations or employers, can obtain on application to the superintendent of either of the Pinkerton offices a detective suitable to associate with their employees and obtain this information. It is frequently the case that by taking a matter of this kind in hand in time and discovering the ringleaders and dealing promptly with them serious trouble may be avoided in future.

BEFORE the civil war ushered in the era of combines, speculation, corners, and commercial gambling, there were only 2 millionaires in this country; now there are 7,200. Then there were no tramps, now nearly 2,000,000 of men are reduced to the condition of vagabonds and tramp from one end of the land to the other, like the Wandering Jew, outcasts, pariahs, their lives blasted by the curse of combined capital.

Now Carnegie & Co.'s Homestead Steel Millat Pittsburgh have posted "a sliding

## RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 6.

## THE PURPOSE OF POOLING.

Having been made the instrument of perpetrating wholesale frauds on the ordinary investors to the extent of thousands of millions of watered stocks, the corporate idea of doing what is right lies in the policy of robbing the commercial and industrial world to make up the cost of the wrong, and force value into the fictitious securities.

Dishonest railroad construction and fictitious stocks and bonds constitute the source of pooling and agreements to suppress competition, in order that the railways may obtain higher rates of traffic for transporting freight and passengers than they could if each fixed its own rates under the rule of competition.

THE aggregate amount of direct taxes levied for 1880 for State, county, school-district, and municipal purposes was \$312,750,721, an average of \$6.23 per capita of the population.

THE Farmers Alliance is securing a sure and firm foothold in Maryland. Of recent introduction and as yet with organizations in but three counties, it has awakened a spirit of inquiry throughout the greater part of the State, the intensity and enthusiasm of which can only be accounted for by the gravity of the portentous problems which confront the farmer. The farmers of Maryland are the peers of any in intelligence, and hence are not slow to appreciate the fact that if there be a remedy for the evils which have destroyed their prosperity, no agency can perfect and apply it so well as the Farmers Alliance.

THE total indebtedness of States, as reported by the census of 1880, was \$260,179,723, the sinking fund \$25,743,462, making the net indebtedness \$234,436,261.

THE Texas trust law having settled the Traffic Association and reduced the railroad lords to a proper respect for the law, the Attorney-General has begun a campaign against the insurance nobility, and will soon bring them to a proper conception of the dignity of the people. If this law is fully enforced, as it now seems likely that it will be, the plutocratic monopolies will soon begin to realize that the people have an interest in this favored land as well as themselves, and some rights combined capital is bound to respect.

BEFORE the civil war ushered in the era of combines, speculation, corners, and commercial gambling, there were only 2 millionaires in this country; now there are 7,200. Then there were no tramps, now nearly 2,000,000 of men are reduced to the condition of vagabonds and tramp from one end of the land to the other, like the Wandering Jew, outcasts, pariahs, their lives blasted by the curse of combined capital.

The universal plea now is that competition in any form will ruin all corporation investments. It is gravely asserted by the railway managers that if they themselves are left to their own devices, each to manage his own corporation upon the basis of its independent interests, they will ruin and destroy the properties left in their charge. This presents another remarkable contrast to the old-time railroad plea, that no one but the trained and scientific managers of the railroad was qualified to discuss or settle questions arising out of the relations of the railroad to the public. Its real significance is exposed by the recent agreement in which the representatives of the trunk lines of the country established a compact with leading banking firms, having charge of the negotiation of railroad securities, by which the latter agreed that if the former would maintain rates on an arbitrary basis free from competition, they would oppose, and, so far as their business was concerned, refuse the negotiation of the securities of new competing lines!

The united claim of the railroads of the country is that if they, with the splendid advantages of organization, consolidated capital, and scientific management, are exposed to the same force of competition with each other that must govern the prices of the staples produced by the farmer and mechanic and sold by the ordinary merchant, the result will be ruinous to them. In other words, it is asserted that railway capital is distinct and peculiar from the capital invested in farms, houses, stores, and merchandise, in that it will be destroyed and wiped out by competition. The peculiarity of railway capital is undoubted; but whether that affords a just argument for according it a different treatment, securing it freedom from the operation of competition as compared with the great mass of capital in productive industries, may be seen further on. At present it is worth while to examine the specious appearance which is given to this argument by the figures of capitalization and earnings furnished by the railway report. On the surface of it, it must be acknowledged that the figures furnish an apparent support of the claim that competition prevents the earning of full profits upon the capitalization invested in the railroads. The figures furnished in the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission give an illustration which, while not covering the entire railway system as the figures furnished by "Poor's Manual" do, is perhaps superior for our purpose by their official character. These figures include 120,000 miles of railway, or about five-sixths of the entire system of the country. Their capitalization, net earnings, and profits for the year ending June 30, 1888, can therefore be taken as representative of the whole. The result of their operation as shown on the face of the report, therefore, are set forth in the following table:

Stock	\$3,390,672,911
Bonds	3,384,930,213
Floating debt	200,608,032
Total	\$6,976,271,150
Total capitalization per mile	\$58,136
Total earnings	\$867,474,426
Total expenses	507,796,245
Net earnings	\$359,678,181
Fixed charges (for interest on bonds)	\$229,338,165
Profits (available for stockholders)	\$130,340,016

Here, it will be seen, is an apparent justifica-

tion of the railway claim that under competition their business is unprofitable. With net earnings of only a little more than 5 per cent, on the total capitalization, after paying interest on the bonded indebtedness, amounting to 6.8 per cent., only \$130,000,000 is left for dividends to the stockholders upon an alleged investment of \$3,390,000,000, or somewhat less than 4 per cent. This, with the inevitable result that over half of the railway stock received no return at all during the year, appears to give a *prima facie* foundation for the railway claim that this interest can not stand the operation of competition. It seems natural to conclude that there is something peculiar to the capital of the great transportation system of the country, which yields results so much below the percentage of profits of ordinary business, as shown by the rates of interest paid by business men and farmers all over the country.

But if we revise these figures in accordance with the expert authority of Mr. H. V. Poor, that \$30,000 per mile is an ample average capitalization for railroad construction, we may be able to see in what this peculiarity consists. Supposing this cost of \$30,000 per mile to be equally divided between stock and bonds, or \$15,000 per mile of each, and the total amount upon which the real earnings must yield profits would be very much reduced. If the bonded indebtedness of the road were restricted to half of its actual cost, it would be very easy to negotiate such bonds at a rate of interest far below that paid under the existing plan of capitalization as stated above. Bonds secured upon property worth twice their total amount can be, and are, negotiated at rates of interest not exceeding 4 per cent. Bearing these facts in mind, we are able to construct the following table, as a remarkable contrast between the capitalization and earnings of the railroad as they might be, compared with the showing given above of what they are:

Stocks	\$1,800,000,000
Debt	1,800,000,000
	\$3,600,000,000
Net earnings	\$359,678,181
Fixed charges (at 4 per cent. on bonds)	72,000,000

Profits available for stockholders \$287,678,181

Here we have a decidedly different showing of the results as they would be on totally unwatered stocks. The net earnings actually yielded during the year ending June 30, 1888, would be but little under 10 per cent. upon the honest capitalization. Deducting the interest which it would be necessary to pay upon the bonds under such a system, we have the amount of \$287,000,000, available to pay dividends to the stockholders, or make improvements which would increase the value of their stock. In other words, the net profits, after paying the charges, instead of being under 4 per cent., as under the present capitalization, would, upon an honest and uninflated capital, increase the profit to 15.98 per cent. It is hard to perceive any clearer demonstration of the fact that the plea of destructive competition and loss in the railroad business refers exclusively to the fact that watered and fictitious

railroad stocks can not earn profits under competition. The fact is that, if the profits are calculated upon the actual cost of the railroad, the result, as Mr. Poor said in 1885, shows that the success of the railroads "as investments is unparalleled."

The contrast between the profit of 4 per cent. on the apparent investment and of 16 per cent. on the actual honest cost may explain the apparent impossibility of earning full dividends on railroad stocks under the influence of competition. It also shows why, during the period in which the railway managers have been constantly repeating this plea of unprofitable business, the very interests urging that plea have gone on building railroads, and increasing the capital in them at the apparent rate of \$250,000,000 to \$400,000,000 a year. They

have enjoyed the profits of dishonest construction and watered stocks, and the imperfect capitalization thus created has rested in the hands possibly of the deluded investors, and has possibly returned to the ownership of the manipulators themselves. In either case the plea of unprofitable business is made upon the showing of a largely inflated and fictitious capital.

It is true that competition will seriously impair all such bogus values, if it is permitted its free and perfect sway. If the iron industry were capitalized at double its honest cost, the competition in that trade would very soon reduce the actual capitalization to legitimate limits, and prevent the payment of dividends upon the inflation. This was the operation that actually took place between 1873 and 1878. If the farmers should estimate a capital upon their farms of twice or thrice what it cost to bring them into a productive state, the competition not only of other farmers throughout the country, but of the whole world, would very soon utterly destroy the inflation. But the railroad interests, having first secured the profits of dishonest capitalization and inflation, have by partially smothering competition succeeded in maintaining earnings out of inflated capital at a rate shown above to be double the apparent net earnings and working upon a reasonably sound business basis, more than double the profits on stock to be obtained in the ordinary forms of investment.

It is for the purpose of maintaining these profits upon illegitimate capital, and of increasing them, if possible, so as to make the entire bulk of watered stocks yield dividends to their holders, that the railroad policy is now composed of the various contracts, agreements, pools, and railway associations, which comprise nearly the entire railway mileage of the country. These associations may, in many respects, have legitimate purposes for united action, but their main agreement in every case is to prevent each individual road from independently fixing its rates, and therefore competing directly with the other roads. With competition, rates must fall to the level which, upon the whole mass of capital, will yield dividends only upon their actual cost. Without it there is the hope that a larger share, if not all, of the fictitious securities of the railway system may be vitalized and infused with earning power. For this reason, it is the universal railway the-

ory that the law of competition must be repealed in order to force actual values into an amount of fiat securities three times the total of the National debt. For this purpose nearly all the railroad interest is calling for the repeal of that section of the interstate-commerce law forbidding the railroad pools.

For this purpose the leading exponents of railway theories are demanding, not only legislation which will legalize the practice of pooling, but laws prohibiting the construction of new railroads that will compete with the old ones. Finally, for the same object, the railroads are universally organized into associations intended to evade the letter and violate the spirit of the legal prohibition of pooling by the interstate commerce act.

The triumph of such an idea would be private in its rankest form. Its practical assertion of a right to establish classes which shall have superior advantages over the masses in the acquisition of wealth appears in a variety of ways. The most radical forms in which the advantage of one class before another would result may be summed up as follows:

First. It is a universal and well-known rule that when sellers and purchasers of any commodity or service meet on a basis of free competition for both, with equal action of the forces of demand and supply, they stand on equal ground. But if either one of them can obtain an exemption from the action of competition, and prevent the payment of dividends upon the inflation. This was the operation that actually took place between 1873 and 1878. If the farmers should estimate a capital upon their farms of twice or thrice what it cost to bring them into a productive state, the competition not only of other farmers throughout the country, but of the whole world, would very soon utterly destroy the inflation. But the railroad interests, having first secured the profits of dishonest capitalization and inflation, have by partially smothering competition succeeded in maintaining earnings out of inflated capital at a rate shown above to be double the apparent net earnings and working upon a reasonably sound business basis, more than double the profits on stock to be obtained in the ordinary forms of investment.

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The proposal to maintain this extinction of competition in the railway system amounts to a proposition to establish for that great industry an exceptional advantage over all the other fundamental fields of enterprise, by giving it a greater share of the total production than it could obtain under competition.

Third. Experience of pooling has proved that if it be successfully continued over a series of years, it inevitably attracts new capital into the business. The new capital necessarily takes the form of additional and competing lines to divide the fictitious prosperity created by successful pooling. This inevitable result of the artificial enhancement of profits has produced the final assertion of privilege for the corporate interest in the form of a declaration that, in order to prevent the destruction of railway values, the laws must restrict the building of new lines, so that they will not bring in new competition to disturb the artificial profits of the old one. In other words, the claim is made on behalf of the railway interest that the right of all people to engage in any enterprises they choose and to embark in the industry of building new railroads must be abridged; and one class, the present interest, must be given by law the exclusive right to engage in railway enterprises and to enjoy their profits.

This, it must be remembered, is an effort to establish privileges for the preservation of the result of reckless mismanagement and actual dishonesty. Take the railway assertion itself, that the railroads will, if left to the independent actions of their own managers, ruin themselves by reckless cutting of rates. Upon that view the proposition to rescue them from their own recklessness by the device of pooling simply proposes to release them from the penalty of their own misdeeds. In all other departments of industry the penalty of recklessness or dishonesty for all who indulge in it takes the salutary form of extinction; but in the railroad world the plan is to remove the penalty from the offender and place it, not even on the railroad interests as the whole, but on the producers and consumers of the country. Under this theory, the dishonesty of building railroads for double the actual cost is not to be punished, it is to be rewarded. All the abuses of false pretense, stupidity, carelessness, and greed which have created a total of more than \$4,500,000,000 of watered stocks are to be redeemed by imposing upon the producing interests of the Nation the burden of yielding a double profit on railroad investments. The product of those vices to an amount equaling the honest cost of the road is to be made good, not by those who are responsible for them, but by the whole country, and for that end a revenue is to be assessed upon the commerce of the Nation rivaling the total levy of the United States Government for taxation.

This achievement of plutocratic privilege is, it must be remembered, to be obtained through the powers granted by legislation. Without the franchises granted by the Government, without the right of eminent domain used in the construction of the railways, and without the limited monopoly in the local traffic of each road granted to it by legislation, even the

faintest approach to the combinations which dictate rates and suppress competition in transportation would be impossible. All powers of the corporation come from the Government, and especially those powers which enable them to control commerce and secure monopoly. This fact places it beyond dispute that the exercise of those powers so as to grant one great interest an exemption from competition and to place a premium upon the wholesale creation of bogus values would amount to the creation of a privileged class, by the abuse of the powers granted by Government, and to fasten the cost and damage of its financial privileges upon the great mass of the people.

#### The Single Tax Again.

BY JOHN S. WATTERS, OF NEW ORLEANS.

Mr. Hinckley, in his letter appearing in your issue of May 25th, requests that I answer the questions he propounds in his letter in No. 6, complaining that no single-tax man has as yet answered them, and he also finds fault with my logic when discussing the effect of the single tax upon farmers. I desire to put Mr. Hinckley right upon the questions he raises, and also to point out to him that my logic is not at fault.

In the first place, Mr. Hinckley gives a case occurring to himself and three sons. They plant wheat. The wheat comes up nicely in the fall, but the winter is very bitter; finally,

the chinch-bugs come and play havoc with whatever is left of the crop. Mr. Hinckley and his sons get a very small return for their labor. As

an utter demolition of the single-tax theory, the aim of which is to secure to every man who works the full return of his labor, and prevent any man from appropriating wealth which he has not earned, he asks how the single tax would secure to himself and sons the full return of their labor under these conditions. He then goes on to inquire how other farmers and blacksmiths and wagon-makers are to secure the full return of their labor under the single tax when the crop fails.

Does Mr. Hinckley seriously think that any advocate of the single tax claims that when it is in operation, the laws of nature governing the seasons will in any respect be altered? Has he ever heard a single-tax man state or insinuate that under the single tax lightning can not strike a man? Or, if it should, that it would not kill him; so that he might reap and sell his crop he has just finished planting? Or that no man's house can catch fire and burn, so depriving him of the fruit of his labor?

I answer Mr. Hinckley thus:

The single tax

will not prevent cold winters, nor will it change the habits of chinch-bugs. But it will prevent everybody from unwilling suffering during cold winters by leaving them their wages with which to buy coal, and it will materially alter the habits of land speculators. I ask Mr. Hinckley to be fair to the single tax and not try and mislead those who have not studied it by attempting to show that its advocates make such ridiculous claims as he insinuates they do.

Mr. Hinckley accuses me of having one argument for farmers and another diametrically opposite argument for city residents. This fault is mine, he says, in common with other single-tax advocates. This is not the case. Our arguments are the same for the city and the country. They turn upon the law of rent, which applies equally to both city and country, and which I stated in a former letter. Location determines the value of country or farming land more than quality. Location altogether determines the value of city land. The law of rent covers all. It is: The rent of any particular piece of land is the difference

between the return received from the application of a certain amount of labor and capital upon that land, and the return received from the application of the same amount of labor and capital upon the least valuable land in use. I call Mr. Hinckley's attention particularly to the words "in use." Valuable land withheld from use forces labor and capital to land of less value. This withholding from use by diminishing the supply of land raises the value of all land that is in use. This, the withholding from use of land, lowers the margin of cultivation. As the margin of cultivation is thus forced down artificially, rent goes up. Wages and interest go down. The single tax, by preventing any man from withholding valuable land from use, increases the supply of land. It therefore lowers the value of all land. It therefore lowers rent. It raises wages and interest. If we taxed land to its full rental value, converted the money so obtained into wheat, corn, boots, hats, watches, diamonds, coats, trousers, and all manner of things that go to make up the various forms of wealth, and burned the pile, or cast it into the sea, the men in our country who work would be benefited. Their wages would be raised. So would interest. The reason is plain. There would be no valuable land withheld from use. The margin of cultivation would be raised. The rent so collected would be true rent. It would be many millions of dollars less than the speculative rent now wrung from producers of wealth by land owners, and said producers would be richer by the difference.

This is what I meant by saying that the value of land would be less under the single tax than it is now. Rent would go down because of the land thrown into use. Can not Mr. Hinckley see that when a man pays less rent he has more left? Can not he see that when a man has to pay out part of his income to a landowner, as far as the payer is concerned it might as well be burnt or cast into the sea? Can not he see that the single tax will lower rents, and instead of these rents going into private pockets as they do now with a large slice of wages proper, this fund applied to the equal benefit of all will be a good thing for all except the landowner who now pockets it?

What Mr. George is referring to when he says that this fund will be ever increasing is the increase of population and improvements in the methods of industry. Mr. George is quite with me that true rent is very much lower than speculative rent. It savors of malice in Mr. Hinckley to take a quotation from "Progress in Poverty," bearing upon increase of population and improvements in the arts and try to make it seem to bear upon something else.

Now, let me try to make plain to Mr. Hinckley, and to your readers who are interested in this question, how it is that rent under the single tax does not come out of the return to labor and capital.

Let us imagine two farms of the same quality of soil. One is located immediately outside of a large city. The other is five hundred miles from the city. Two farmers of equal ability and industry raise the same number of bushels of grain each upon these two farms. They sell their crops in the city. They sell at the same price. Do both have the same income? Clearly not; for the one who is less advantageously located has to pay the expenses of hauling his crop a much greater distance, of hauling his exchanges that greater distance, and is obliged to pay more for his own transfer and the transfer of his family to and fro. He is far removed from many things the other farmer enjoys. He loses more time than the other.

This advantage of location enjoyed by the farmer nearest the city is by no means due to

anything he does. It is entirely due to the other people present in the city. It is clearly a benefit—dollars in any man's pocket—to get as near the city as he can. The farmer five hundred miles away would gladly move nearer; but, the intervening land being occupied, he can not. There is a factor called land value which attaches to the location of the nearer farm, and puts dollars in the pocket of him who occupies it as compared to him five hundred miles away. Supposing this further farm to be the last—to be on the outskirts of cultivation—our proposition is to tax him who is so disadvantageously located nothing; and to tax all others in exact proportion to the annual value under ordinary conditions their location, due to other people, gives them. We recognize this land value as due to the presence of a community. We ask each person in the community to pay for what he gets from the community. Each gets from the community a value. Each pays to the community the exact amount he gets. This fund is applied to the equal benefit of all. He who is on the margin of cultivation has his full wages, and full interest; he pays no rent. Every one else has left, after paying his tax, just exactly his full wages and interest. This, full wages for his labor on the margin of cultivation where land has no value given it by the community, and full interest upon whatever capital he uses, is all any individual, as an individual, can by any possible right be entitled to. And it must be clear to every one who studies the law of rent, that what we contemplate is to take the rent created by the community for the use of the community, leaving full wages and interest to the individual. Thus each individual will have the same advantages no matter where in the community he lives, and the wealth of each will be the exact measure of his worth. Will Mr. Hinckley contend that this should not be?

#### SINGLE TAX.

Answer to T. L. McCready.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

The issue of THE STANDARD of May 11th contains a well-merited and kindly-worded notice of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST by T. L. McCready, after writing which the author proceeds to notice "two discussions of the single-tax theory—one by President Burrows, of the National Alliance, the other by T. D. Hinckley, of Hoyleton, Illinois," and he thinks it is "evident from the tone of both articles that the writers are really and earnestly searching after the truth," and says: "Such opponents are to be welcomed and rejoiced over. Though we disagree with them, we can not help but honor them. And it is from among just such men that the most enthusiastic and useful recruits are enlisted to the cause of the single-tax reform." For my part, I can say that the evidence of his sense tell him right. I am "really and earnestly searching after the truth, and only need to be convinced of the correctness of the single-tax doctrine to become one of its most 'enthusiastic,' if not 'useful,' recruits." But since Mr. McCready devotes nearly his entire article to replying to President Burrows, and since that gentleman is abundantly able to take care of himself, I will briefly notice only one or two points. Mr. McCready seems to think that it is possible to escape paying taxes upon any given article simply by limiting the production of that article. He says: "If shoemakers are taxed they must make fewer shoes or pay the tax themselves. If sugar is taxed, the refiners must make less sugar or bear the burden as they may. If farmers are taxed, there is no way of escape for them save by raising small crops." I confess that the logic contained in the above is entirely beyond my comprehension. If he were discussing a system

of tax graduated according to income, then I might understand how the shoemaker might escape the tax by making fewer shoes, and the sugar refiner by making less sugar, and the farmer by making smaller crops; but this he is not doing. He is discussing a system under which all property is taxed. The point which he seems to be trying to make is that a limited production of shoes would enable the shoemaker to charge more for the shoes he did make by the amount of his tax. But this would be obviously impossible unless he could sell a given number of his shoes for more than other shoemakers could sell the same number for, or a smaller number for as much as they sold a larger number for. It is not possible for any one shoemaker, or sugar refiner, or farmer, to do that kind of business long, and all of them could not do it at all, for the simple reason that taxes upon property—that is, local taxes—are assessed upon all at a given rate. If the rate be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the shoemaker's production of shoes is worth \$1,000, he will be taxed \$25. Should he make fewer shoes by half than he had for merely done, and if the half, by reason of the curtailed production of all other shoemakers, or for any other reason, was worth as much as the former whole, his tax would still be \$25. All tax, of whatever kind, is in the nature of a fine upon labor, for the one good and sufficient reason that all taxes, as Mr. George has said, are "evidently the production of land and labor."

Since this is true and since land is but a passive factor in production, how is it possible to collect taxes without burdening labor to the full amount of the tax? Since Mr. McCready deems me good material from which to make an "enthusiastic and useful recruit" for the single-tax theory, and since my conversion depends entirely upon the logical answering of this one question, I trust that the enthusiasm which Mr. McCready has shown in the single-tax cause will prompt him to answer this question categorically. He asks President Burrows and myself to consider that the "single tax" would insure that the involuntary co-operation of the community, that produces the wealth in which economic rent is paid, should be exerted to the uttermost." I consider that the only "involuntary co-operation" of the wealth-producing kind will be found in a "community" where each member is incumbered with a ball and chain—in other words, in our penitentiaries; but, for the sake of argument, let it be granted that all our towns and cities and thickly populated districts are filled with inhabitants who are involuntarily co-operating together, is it the "involuntary co-operation" of the citizens which creates the wealth from which "economic rent is paid," or is it just plain work? Remember, Mr. McCready, that Mr. George says (p. 294, "Progress and Poverty"), that "all taxes must evidently come from the produce of land and labor, since there is no other source of wealth than the union of human exertion with the material and forces of nature." If this "involuntary co-operation" of the community that produces the wealth in which economic rent is paid" is not just the plain, every-day "work of the community," or "labor of the community," then do tell me what it is. Or, do you mean that the kind of wealth in which economic rent is paid" is different from that produced by the plain, every-day application of labor to land? Human nature is a strange thing, but its strangest, most incomprehensible freaks will be found in the vagaries of some of our most brilliant-minded and noble-hearted men. Mr. McCready says: "Look around you and see what opportunities are idle and unused. What city is without its vacant lots? What townships has no idle acres?" \* \* \* And then ask yourselves what the owner of that lot or acre would do if he were compelled to pay into the

public treasury, year by year, its full economic rent? How long could he hold it idle then? How long before the factory or dwelling would be rising on the city lot and the plow be breaking furrows on the acre? What men need, gentlemen, is freedom to go to work. Only that and nothing more; and the single tax will give it them." In view of the fact that the object of the single tax is to appropriate rent by taxation, and in view of the fact that no less a personage than Mr. George himself says (p. 326, "Progress and Poverty"), "there would be a great and increasing surplus revenue from the taxation of land values for material progress, which would go on with greatly accelerated rapidity, and would tend constantly to increase rent," it is hard for me to comprehend what opportunity the single tax would afford men "to go to work" that they do not now possess. They only have to pay rent to the landlord now. They would then have to pay rent into the public treasury. I fail, utterly fail, to understand how rent, collected in one way is a curse to all humanity, and the same rent, and even increased rent, collected another way becomes a blessing, beside which all other blessings pale into insignificance. I trust that Mr. McCready will quote the last sentence and explain, for the benefit of one who is "really and earnestly searching after the truth," what, to him, is an absolutely unsolvable paradox. So far as the absolute unquestioned right to private property in land is concerned, it does not and never did exist among civilized nations. A man can not occupy even a rod of land as his own without being obliged to pay tribute to the taxing power of government, but there is no question that the unlimited, unrestricted power to exercise the right to private property in land, even under existing restrictions, is the cause of untold misery in the world.

Any man who, anticipating the wants of his fellow-men and desiring to profit by their necessities, gets into his possession a piece of land, and then does the "dog in the manger" act, which nominal taxes permit, ought to be choked off with just as little ceremony and as little compunction of conscience as Mr. McCready would kill a rattlesnake. But what good would it do the world, what good would it do the laborer, if government would allow him to use the land only upon the same terms the human hog would have done?

#### COTTON BAGGING FOR THE SOUTH.

##### Address of the Committee.

MAY 21, 1889.

To the members of the Alliance, the Wheel, and the Union:

The undersigned were appointed a committee at the meeting recently held at Birmingham, Ala., to present the advantages and necessity of using cotton bagging by cotton producers, and the same convention, composed of delegates representing the organizations above mentioned, adopted the following resolutions, and urged their indorsement by every one interested:

*Resolved*, That we from all the lights before us, recommend to this body the permanent use of cotton bagging as a covering for cotton. We further recommend the appointment of a committee of three, their actual expenses to be paid by the organizations here represented, whose duty it shall be to secure from purchasers and manufacturers of cotton covered in cotton-bagging, an allowance of at least eight pounds on each bale, to be settled for at market price when sold.

And we still further recommend that, in the event of any cotton buyer refusing to grant said premium on such cotton, then we advise the members of the Alliance, Wheel, and

Union not to sell until such concession is made.

This may be thought by many to be not only a bold step, but one of doubtful expediency. Your committee are aware of the serious difficulty in presenting these determinations of the National Alliance to a people used altogether to a different covering for cotton, and a very different method in the securing of that covering. Not only so, but we apprehend that an earnest effort will be made by those whose interests lie in a different direction, to persuade our people that this "much ado" about cotton bagging is simply a sentiment grounded in opposition to an "imaginary bagging trust" and as sensible men they should "stick to business methods and the most economic covering for their cotton jute-bagging." If no bagging combine existed and jute bagging could be bought at one-half the present price, the same reasons would exist then as now, for the exclusive and permanent use of cotton bagging. It is a saying, "that it is an ill wind that blows no one some good," and "that all is well that ends well." So the bagging combine of 1888 may yet prove a "God send" to cotton producers. The abuse of power or privilege always works its own cure. If those controlling jute bagging and its manufacture had displayed the least wisdom or tact in 1888, they could have gradually increased the price of the same for a series of years, and not one single effort, perhaps, would have been made to supply a substitute, but such an uncalled-for and determined effort to force upon the cotton producer jute bagging, at an increase of from six to eight cents per yard in one season, and that in the face of an organization that was increasing rapidly, with the open and avowed purpose of resisting such monopolies, was simply suicidal on their part and has worked, in our opinion, vastly to the benefit of those whom they intended to oppress. This is but an additional demonstration that over all men and their actions there is *One* that is just, and doth His will in the armies of Heaven and among men. It is expected of the committee, doubtless, that we present the economic question involved in this revolution as to bagging for cotton.

Seven yards of jute bagging, weighing  $1\frac{3}{4}$  pounds per yard, will cost at factory 9 cents per yard, making 63 cents. Seven yards of cotton bagging, weighing three-fourths of a pound, will cost  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents per yard at factory, making  $87\frac{1}{2}$  cents, or  $24\frac{1}{2}$  cents more for the covering than jute. In addition to this there is a loss or difference of weight between cotton covered in cotton and jute, per bale, of 7 pounds, and this at 9 cents per pound, is 63 cents. Now this, added to the difference in cost— $24\frac{1}{2}$ —makes  $87\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bale apparent loss. Under the determinations of the National Alliance, and justly so, the producer will get an allowance of 8 pounds per bale on cotton-covered bags; this, at 9 cents per pound, is 72 cents. This taken from the loss of  $87\frac{1}{2}$  cents by the use of cotton, leaves only  $15\frac{1}{2}$  cents yet to be overcome. Now no sane man will dare deny that if 125,000 bales of the lowest grade cotton—just the cotton that all manufacturers do not want, and is always accounted for as comparatively worthless in the fixing of the price for a given season—is consumed in the manufacture of bagging, that the price will not be increased on the remainder of the crop, and for two reasons: First, the demand for the better classes of cotton is constantly increasing, and that number of bales, 125,000, will lessen the supply, for the reason that it takes the same labor and expense to produce the lower grades that it does the better grades; or, in other words, as the lower grades increase in a given crop, the better grades decrease. The lowest estimate possible for this diversion of 125,000 bales of cotton is an increase of one-fourth of a cent per pound, or  $\$1.25$  per

#### THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

bale. Take the loss of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  cents from this and we have a gain of  $\$1.09\frac{1}{2}$  cents in favor of cotton bagging as compared with jute at present prices. But still there is another source of gain in favor of cotton bagging. We are assured by those who control the insurance of cotton that they will not charge more than one-half present rates of insurance on cotton covered in cotton bagging, such as is manufactured by the Lane Mills, of New Orleans. This gives cotton bagging  $22$  cents per bale increase, which, added to  $\$1.09\frac{1}{2}$ , makes  $\$1.31\frac{1}{2}$  total actual gain to the individual producer.

FARMERS, beware of a so-called agricultural paper published in New York city in the interests of the bagging and twine "trusts." Don't be deceived by their pleading about short supply of raw material, etc. "Stand firm, and stand fast!" In the words of Gen. Ethan Allen, "We must all hang together, or we will all hang separately.—Roanoke, N. C., Patron.

THE tobacco raised in Kentucky is 36 per cent. of the total crop of the entire country, and Kentucky and Virginia raise more than one-half of the whole, which in 1880 was 472,661, 157 pounds.

THE legislature of Illinois has fixed the legal rate of interest in that State at 7 per cent. It has heretofore been 8 per cent.

#### DIRECTORY.

##### Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

President	Evan Jones, of Texas.
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Secretary	A. E. Gardner, of Tennessee.
Treasurer	Linn Tanner, of Louisiana.
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J. W. Beck	Chaplain.
J. A. Tetts	Committee on Secret Work.
T. L. Darden	{ Committee on Secret Work.

All papers friendly to our efforts will please copy.

#### Clubbing Rates.

The regular subscription price of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is  $\$1$  per year. But clubbing rates have been agreed upon with the following papers, whereby both can be secured at reduced rates. Other papers will from time to time be added to the list:

	Regular	Club-price
	price	of both.
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1.00	\$1.75
"Toiler," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1.00	1.65
"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak.	1.00	1.25
"The Forum"	5.00	5.00
"Memphis Appeal"	1.00	1.50
"Georgia Farmer"	50	1.10
St. Louis "Home Circle"	50	1.10
"Sunday Democrat," Vicksburg, Miss.	2.00	2.50
McKlinburg, N. C. "Times"	1.50	1.85
Shelby, Ga. "Sentinel"	1.50	1.60
New Orleans "Times Democrat," "Alabama Enquirer," "Alliance Advocate," Montezuma, Ga.	1.00	1.60
Chicago "Express"	1.00	1.60
Westville, Miss. "News"	1.00	1.75
"American Swineherd," Alexandria, So. Dakota	50	1.10

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## WASHINGTON.

## Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 11.

The halls of the library of Congress are constructed of iron and glass, and are elegantly ornamented with gilding and delicate tints most artistically combined and displayed.

The main hall is 91 feet long, 34 feet wide, and 38 feet high; and the two additional halls are nearly the same size. Around the whole extend two galleries, one above the other, giving the advantage of double stories. The lower of these galleries is supported by iron columns with gilded capitals. The margin of this gallery is an elegant molding in gilt and delicate color, which supports the balustrade, of bronze and gilt. Above this balustrade rises another rank of columns, supporting an elaborately carved cornice ornamented in white and gilt, and supporting another balustrade, of similar design to the first. The ornamentation is all elaborate, elegant, and appropriate to place and surroundings.

The librarian is an officer of Congress, and has charge of the copyright business of the Government. His salary is \$4,000 per year, and he has two assistants with salaries of \$2,500, two assistants with salaries of \$1,800, and nineteen assistants and employees with salaries ranging from \$1,400 to \$480. The entire salary list amounts to \$38,320. The library is open from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. every day except Sunday. Members of Congress and certain officials of the Government have the right to take books out of the library, and other persons can secure the privilege by depositing the money value of the books they desire to take. The use of the books in the hall is free to every one.

There is an average of 5,000 books out of the library all the time, and, besides, the vast halls are always well filled with readers, and they are not confined to any class. It is a common thing to see literary men of National reputation seated at a table with workingmen or young clerks, earnestly engaged in the perusal of some interesting or instructive work.

There seems to be no especially defined taste indicated by the character of books applied for, but every class of literature has its students and admirers, from the lightest fiction to the most abstruse treatise on philosophy and science. There is no restriction as to the number of books one can have at a time. The attendants are polite and obliging and cheerfully answer all demands. They will bring to a reader all the works on a subject that have been printed in a hundred years if they are wanted, for it is true that upon many subjects this library has every book that has been printed for a century. Nor are the books confined to English. Every language, ancient and modern, is represented.

The law library of the Government is part of the library of Congress. It contains 60,000 volumes, and is the largest and most complete of its kind on the continent. Since 1859 this library has occupied the old chamber

of the Supreme Court, in the basement of the Capitol.

In 1882 the large private library of Dr. Joseph M. Toner, of Washington, numbering 27,000 volumes, besides nearly as many pamphlets, was donated to the Government by Dr. Toner, who annually adds to his already valuable donation.

The court is in session from the second Monday in October until early in May in each year, and usually sits five days in the week, Saturday being reserved for consultation about cases.

Congress annually appropriates an average of about \$12,000 for additions to the library. From 40,000 to 50,000 books and pamphlets are added each year by purchase, gift, and exchange, and by the operation of the copyright laws. Files of leading American, English, French, and German newspapers are preserved, and the file of ancient periodicals is very large and valuable.

The copyright business was transferred from the Patent Office to this library in 1870, and here all the records of copyrights are preserved. The original term of copyright runs for twenty-eight years. Within six months before the expiration of that time the author or designer, or his widow or children, may secure a renewal for the further term of fourteen years, making forty-two years in all.

Returning from the library to the rotunda, and passing through the exit leading to the Senate wing, the visitor finds himself at the entrance of the chamber where the Supreme Court of the United States holds its sittings. This chamber was originally occupied by the Senate, but when the new Senate chamber was completed this was utilized as a chamber for the court of final appeal, the highest judiciary body of the Nation. This splendid apartment was designed by Latrobe and is in perfect keeping with the character of his other architectural work. It is a pure example of classic architecture and has been declared "the most beautiful small court-chamber in the world."

It is semi-circular in form, and its greatest length is 75 feet, its greatest width and height 45 feet. The ceiling is a portion of the interior of a low dome and is ornamented with deep panels, similar to those of the rotunda. Over the judicial bench is sprung a massive arch, ornamented with raised designs and resting on buttresses ornamented with columns. Back of the judicial bench is a line of massive columns of variegated marble with Ionic capitals of white Italian marble. These columns are similar to those in Statuary Hall, and support a massive molding and cornice of plain Ionic design in keeping with the col-

umns. Justice Miller and Field were appointed by President Lincoln in 1862 and 1863 respectively. Justice Bradley was appointed by President Grant in 1870, and Justice Harland by President Hayes in 1877; Justices Gray and Blatchford were appointed by President Arthur in 1881 and 1882 respectively. Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Lamar were appointed by President Cleveland.

When the Court was first established the justices wore long black silk gowns, knee breeches, silk stockings, and low shoes set off with immense silver buckles; also white wigs with queues, or "pig-tails," after the custom of English judges. This was the official costume, and continued in use for many years. Chief Justice Taney appreciated the absurdity of this custom and was the first justice to give a decision with pantaloons on. At the present time the justices wear black suits, covered by the time-honored black robe of silk, but have laid aside the wigs, knee breeches, silk stockings, buckle, and other antique paraphernalia. The formal

court customs which prevailed in the beginning have also been laid aside, and the customs are now very simple and rational. The clerk of the Court is James H. McKenney, of the District of Columbia; he was appointed in 1880 and has a salary of \$6,000 per annum. Chas. B. Beall is deputy clerk. The marshall is J. M. Wright,

of the early days of our history. At the sides of the chamber are seats upholstered in red velvet for visitors. The Supreme Court began its sessions here in 1860, and the solemn old hall has witnessed many battles between the giants of American intellect.

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The Chief Justice has a salary of \$10,500 per year, and the eight associate justices receive \$10,000 each. All the justices are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and hold their positions for life or "during good behavior." When a justice has reached the age of seventy years, if he has been on the bench for ten years, he may retire and his full salary is paid to him during the remainder of his life.

It would seem that such provision should protect the justices from all temptation and insure an earnest and thorough devotion to duty. This court hears all cases appealed from the United States circuit and district courts and gives the final decisions upon them. It also decides finally all Constitutional questions.

The Supreme Court at present consists of Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois, appointed by President Cleveland; Associate Justices Samuel F. Miller, of Iowa; Stephen J. Field, of California; Joseph P. Bradley, of New Jersey; John M. Harland, of Kentucky; Horace Gray, of Massachusetts; Samuel Blatchford, of New York; and L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; one place is vacant by the death of Justice Stanley Matthews, of Ohio, which took place soon after the inauguration of President Harrison.

Justices Miller and Field are senior justices, and they sit on the bench at the right and left of the Chief Justice. They were appointed by President Lincoln in 1862 and 1863 respectively. Justice Bradley was appointed by President Grant in 1870, and Justice Harland by President Hayes in 1877; Justices Gray and Blatchford were appointed by President Arthur in 1881 and 1882 respectively. Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Lamar were appointed by President Cleveland.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## ALLIANCE AID ASSOCIATION.

PURELY MUTUAL

NATIONAL

## LIMITED TO MEMBERS OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Authorized by National Alliance. Organized to assist in upbuilding and perfecting the Farmers Alliance of America. Conducted by each State Alliance as a State department, but under central supervision.

Combines the most successful and economical features of the Masonic, Odd Fellow, United Workmen, and other Benevolent Associations.

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Policies limited to \$2,000.

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## The National Economist

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No. 14.

## Consolidation.

Nothing could more emphasize the fact of a wide-spread system of unjustly operating commercial laws and customs than the contemporaneous formation and growth of the Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers Union, the Farmers National Alliance, and the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association.

These several orders were inspired and stimulated into rapid growth by the general recognition of the fact that the producers of wealth were somehow robbed of the fruits of their labor, and by a general desire to investigate the causes and apply a remedy to the practices by which the looting was effected. That the objects of the organizations have been so similarly stated, notwithstanding the vast distances between the points of origin, carries the conclusion that the evils sought to be abated were the same. That the producers of crops so widely dissimilar and in sections so separated by distance should express themselves in such perfect consonance and resort to such uniformity of method in their purpose to be rid of oppressive conditions, might be considered marvelous were it not that the prevalent discussion of economics has educated the farmers to that point at which characters are molded to higher purposes and more manly aspirations than the drudgery which is rewarded by simple existence.

While the establishment of better systems of equity and the removal of unequal and excessive taxation may be the first, it is not the only object which may be advanced by a consolidation. There is really no proposition advanced by any of the several orders which does not imply advancement through general recognition by the people, and it is impossible to conceive a better plan of propagation than the distribution of earnest men over the entire Republic, each knowing and working for the triumph of the truth. By this means the process of education will be accelerated, and the now rapid advance of thought will sweep unchecked throughout the country.

The great system of State exchanges and county agencies, which are designed to give force to the co-operative features of the orders, would receive a stimulus in proportion as the number of articles come into representation in actual interchange; and in supplying a medium to the growers of cotton, wool, grain, cattle, and the various products of the great territory embraced in the proposed jurisdiction, the trade system will become a factor in commercial competition which will exert a beneficial influence upon the whole.

It is not proper to ignore the question of relative cost of the present and proposed systems. This is left, however, to the reader, who will compare the items as they appear to him, noting here only that one National body

would be less expensive than five, and that reduction of the fees incident to membership is proper action by the orders.

In whatever aspect viewed, the desirability of consolidation and extension of the work of organization is of such importance that progressive members everywhere look forward to its consummation with hope, believing it a long step in the direction the orders must go in the prosecution of the reforms they intend.

Whether consolidation shall stop with the five orders now having the matter in consideration, or shall be made a fixed policy hereafter, can not now be decided; but to a man sanguine of results, and with a broad confidence in the patriotism of the people, it seems feasible to extend the process until all parts of the Union shall be represented, and a co-operation so vast result as to effect peaceably a complete revolution by the dethronement of the power of combined capital. Already the Middle and Eastern States have industrial organizations seeking the end for which the farmers are striving, securing to the producer the result of his labor, and with the growth of education in economy ultimate alliance with these should be easy of accomplishment. The wonderful effect of time upon all human institutions must be awaited, but in this day of broad intelligence and rapid information, results grow as never in the history of man, and philanthropy has ceased to be so much laboring for posterity as alleviation of wrongs which affect the present generation and for the benefit of those who surround us. This is the work of the farmers' organizations of to-day.

FOR years and years the doctrine has been preached that the cotton-planter should diversify his crops, and that it was a ruinous policy for him to buy his bacon; and under existing

conditions that has been good teaching and sound doctrine that should have been heeded much more than it has been. But if the North and South, if all the agriculturists of this country, will co-operate and pull together there is a better remedy.

The true principle of political economy may then be advocated, and that is, to say that if the North can raise meat cheaper than the South, it should be devoted to that, and if the South can raise cotton cheaper than the North, it should be devoted to that. See how this would work when co-operation between the different sections has provided for direct exchange. The farmer of

the South has been getting an average of 8 cents for his cotton, and the farmer of the North has been paying an average of about 31 cents per pound for his cotton goods. The

farmer of the North has been getting about 3 cents for his dressed pork, and the farmer of the South has probably paid an average of 14 cents for his bacon. If the price of freight and

manufacture be deducted and the difference divided—that is to say, if it cost 7 cents a pound for freight and manufacture, the cotton

is selling for 24 cents that was bought at 8, and if the difference be divided between the farmer North and South, the latter would sell his cotton for 16 cents and the former would

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

buy at that figure, plus freight and manufacture; or 23 cents per pound; he would buy 8 cents, or about 25 per cent., cheaper all of his cotton goods, while the cotton-raiser would sell for 8 cents more per pound, or an advance of 100 per cent. on past prices. The same principles affect the bacon, grain, and everything else raised by the one and consumed by the other. If it cost 4 cents per pound for freight and manufacture of bacon, it would show the difference in price from the producer to the consumer to be 7 cents per pound; this divided would give 6½ cents to the farmer for the dressed pork, and make the bacon cost the consumer 10½ on an average, or a saving of 25 per cent. to the latter, and a gain of 100 per cent. to the former.

It is perfect folly for any man to think or imagine that he can achieve much permanent success by farming when general conditions prevail that positively force agriculture as a class to pay a tribute greater than it possibly can produce after feeding itself. He sometimes argues thus: "My neighbors have been getting on an average 8 cents for their cotton, but I have worked hard and got an early crop and will pick it cleaner than they do, and will take extra pains to have it well ginned and wrapped, and will get the buyers to compete for it, and I'll bet I get 8½ or 8¾," and he congratulates himself on being a prosperous farmer. He is a fool, because his cotton is worth 16 cents a pound, and if he would help his neighbor, and both would stand together and co-operate with the farmers of the county, and those of the county with those of the State, and those of the State with all the farmers of all the other States, for the purpose, not of raising the price of cotton or wheat, or lowering the price of commodities, but for the purpose of suppressing the wrongs that are sapping the life-blood of all branches of agriculture, it would make cotton in the South 16 cents per pound, and cotton goods to the Northern farmer 25 per cent. cheaper. Again, just think how silly for any single farmer, or for any county of farmers, or for any State of farmers, to hope or expect to prosper while general causes exist that absolutely force the whole class to yield up every ounce of surplus product, and, in addition, imposes every year an obligation of debt.

CAN any man deny that the evils which now afflict agriculture in America are general? Will any sane man claim that the present depressed and unprofitable condition of agricultural pursuits is due solely to local causes? Surely not. Farmers are suffering from the same evils in Texas and Minnesota, in Nebraska and Virginia. Exactly the same causes that depress the price of cotton depresses the price of grain and stock and produce. Exactly the same causes that make interest high and oppressive in the North make it so in the South, and the same causes that facilitate the increase in price in binder twine in one section increases the price of bagging in another and puts up the price of salt and sugar for all sections alike. The same cause that robs the

farmer of the North by forming a combination capable of using the power that may be wielded by means of a restricted and inadequate volume of money, to produce hard times among the farmers of the North, and thereby compel them to sell their hogs for less than it costs to fatten them, will, by means of the same power to combine and corner an article of prime necessity for consumption, compel the farmer of the South who consumes the bacon to pay five times as much per pound as the farmer of the North received for the same meat. Is any man so blind as not to see that it will positively require the co-operation of both the farmers of the North and the South to crush out this middle robbery?

the South for a farmer in the fall to sell all his surplus corn at 25 cents per bushel, and his adjoining neighbor to sell his surplus pork at 2½ cents per pound, and in the spring only six months afterward, the one who sold the corn will buy bacon for cash at 15 cents a pound and go five or ten miles to town to get it, and the one who sold the meat at 2½ cents will buy corn at \$1 per bushel. Will some school-boy figure what both could have saved by a little co-operation? One has been giving forty pounds of meat for one bushel of corn, and the other has been giving a bushel of corn for one and two-thirds pounds of meat. Is it any wonder that the man who does the "co-operation" for these men gets rich? If it will

pay these neighbors to meet in the sub-Alliance on the 1st of January, and each one report to the secretary what surplus of all kinds he has for sale, and what purchases of all kinds he will be compelled to make, and have the secretary make a record of it, and then tabulate the entire list and notify each man where to go to make exchanges that will be mutually advantageous; it will pay for the representatives of the subordinate organizations to make like reports for like purposes in the county meetings, and it will pay for the counties to co-operate with each other in like manner in the State meetings, and it will pay for the States to co-operate with each other on a National plan. The same principles are involved all the way through, but they do not reach their full development for the greatest good until all are complete, making individual, county, State, and National co-operation. This is what consolidation means.

THE constitutions of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, the National Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers and Laborers Union of America were all published in No. 4 of the ECONOMIST, but as the time has now arrived for action on the subject of ratification, they are again published in this issue. This facilitates a thorough comparison. The question before the various State Wheels is, Will they ratify the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and by so doing substitute it in the place of their present constitution as the supreme organic law of the order? The question before the various State Alliances is, Will they ratify the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and by so doing substitute it in the place of their present constitution as the supreme organic law of the order?

The farmer who expects to prosper when it is absolutely impossible for farmers as a class to prosper is like the fellow who refused to do the one thing needful in this world, on the ground that it was not necessary, because when the gates of heaven were open he thought he could slip in with the crowd; and just as certainly as the Great Judge will have an effective method of detecting and rejecting the unworthy, so the inflexible and unvarying action of present laws and conditions bars farming from the ranks of prosperous pursuits.

If there be no necessity for co-operation between the farmers of all the States, there is no necessity for co-operation between the farmers of any of the States; and if that be true there is no necessity for co-operation between the farmers of the different counties in any of the States, and if that be true there is no necessity for any co-operation between farmers at all. How common it has been in some States in

## Industry and Interest.

In considering the vast accumulations of wealth now existing in our country and its possible final results, the student is startled at the astounding reality, and can scarcely comprehend actual existing conditions.

That such vast accumulations could possibly exist seems almost impossible, and yet he has the naked fact that they do, staring him in the face. Naturally the question suggests itself, how is such a thing made possible? That it can not be done by the personal industry of any individual is patent. The life of man is too short to allow even the most skilled artisan to approach the accomplishment in many times the length of a human life. Then begins a review of the various sources of profit; no one

seems capable of such results except straight out robbery and interest. Either of these two might, but no other one means could accomplish it.

Robbery may be perpetrated in so many ways that it almost defies examination in all its various phases, and really interest might be classed as one of these phases, although it has for generations been recognized as a legitimate return of capital; yet when its returns are compared with the possible returns from industry the difference is appalling. A comparison may serve to set some to thinking.

When Columbus discovered America, in 1492—we will say, for convenience, four hundred years ago—the industry of the Caucasians began to create values in this country, and to these created values others were added from the old countries. At first this industrial force was small indeed, but it grew from year to year, and from century to century, until at last the aggregate has reached about sixty millions of industrial units. Now to the creative capacity of this sixty millions must be added the capacity of the millions who have died during these four centuries, and the total is something beyond comprehension.

Is it not evident from the foregoing that interest is the most powerful means of reducing the masses to subjection by wealth? The sure means of gathering the returns of labor into the coffers of consolidated capital?

And what must be said of a governmental policy which recognizes a demand of 10 per cent. interest, and compels by its authority the

payment of such extortion? Is it wonderful that the possessor of a few thousands can revel in luxury and idleness while his money is consuming the returns of the labor of thousands of his fellow-men; and is it wonderful that the future of the masses grows more and more hopeless, that the possibility of accumulating a small surplus by honest industry is rapidly being extinguished? What has the industry of the country to look forward to but pauperism and destitution in old age, and suffering and want in sickness and affliction? Are we not laying our children in the arms of this Moloch, to be consumed by its fiery breath?

Now suppose that an undying corporation had loaned, on the day of the discovery of the continent, one single dollar in silver at 10 per cent. per annum, and that that interest had been compounded only every ten years until the present time, and what would have been the result? Why, the interest on that one insignificant dollar would have accumulated until the entire aggregate would have reached the inconceivable sum of *ninety-six billions six hundred and eighty-one millions forty thousand eight hundred and ninety-six dollars*, or more than double the entire amount of the profits of the labor of all the millions of people who have toiled here for four hundred years.

There is no question but that this matter of interest is a most serious one, and that industry has been systematically robbed by it for ages. It is now time for the people to begin to think and demand that the profits of capital be adjusted, so that they may more closely correspond to those which labor is capable of creating.

Just think of this! The power of one insignificant dollar made by interest to far excel that

## History and Government.

## No 14.

The crucial test of the endurance and effect of the Greek institutions came in the conflict with Oriental despotism which followed immediately upon the restoration of Athenian liberty.

This brings us to the consideration of an era of Grecian achievement which is the grandest that is recorded in the history of man; a conflict in which a mere handful of heroes, fired with the enthusiasm and superhuman courage that liberty alone can inspire, struggled triumphantly against the trained and armed millions of despotic Asia; a struggle in which the spirit of liberty and the inspiring influence of equality and justice contended against the powers of darkness, and gloriously proved the capacity of man to attain the highest degree of social and political advancement if left free to exercise his powers as his intelligence and natural sense of justice may dictate.

This was the conflict in which the old civilization went down before the newly-risen champions of human rights, and which ushered in the era of progress which has gone on developing the higher qualities of our nature until man has at last reached his present high estate.

In order to fully appreciate the magnitude of this conflict and the mighty results to human development it brought about, it will be necessary to make a short review of the character of civilization which prevailed in Asia, to examine the condition of the people socially and politically, and understand the effects of despotism upon the character and intellectual and moral growth of peoples influenced by it. In this way, it will be easy to infer what results might have been expected to have followed the fixing of such a system upon the newly-awakened intelligence of the people of Europe, and through them have influenced the conditions existing to-day, not only in Europe, but throughout the world.

At the time in which this conflict opened, Oriental despotism had reached the very extreme limit of the development of which it was capable. Its power extended over the entire Oriental world as known to the people of that age. Europe was a new field that was just opened for development; the people of almost the entire continent had not yet awakened from the sleep of barbarism. The sun of enlightenment had but just dawned upon Greece, the extreme outpost of Europe, and this newly-risen sun was threatened with a total eclipse by the dark power of Orientalism embodied in the vast hordes who hovered upon the sparsely settled borders, and the only defense against these millions was the courage of the people of a little land not larger than the State of Georgia, having a total area of only 58,750 square miles,

that could scarcely oppose hundreds in population to millions of the population of Asia.

The entire power of Asia had, by the conquests of Cyrus, been concentrated in the hands of the autocrat of Persia.

His will was law, from the Indus River on the east to the shores of the Mediterranean on the west, and from the Euxine (now the Black Sea),

the Caspian Sea, and the Oxus River on the north to the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the deserts of Arabia on the south; while Egypt sent her tribute from the rich valley of the Nile and the desert sands of Africa. The mighty Babylon and the majestic Nineveh, whose very ruins have been the wonder of the world for ages, were reduced to mere provinces of this all-absorbing power. All Asia cringed before it as a deity; no people even dreamed of resistance to its decrees or dared cherish a hope of even distant relief from its tyranny. Its soldiers were counted by millions, its wealth was beyond calculation, its resources were inexhaustible. Take a map of the world and trace the boundaries of this colossal empire, bearing in mind the fact that this was the land

of wealth and power, the pauperizing of the masses, and the final overthrow of their liberty; the destruction of all sentiment of patriotism, the enforcement of objectionable and unjust law by unwarranted power, and the final reduction of the masses to the condition of mere machines, to be used at the pleasure of centralized values for no other object than to gratify luxurious tastes in those who absorb all the results of industry.

Popular government is a thing that was never known to any people of Asia; yet, under their monarchical institutions, a certain degree of liberty was enjoyed, and individual rights were in a way recognized to a limited extent in the earlier eras of their existence.

Up to the time of Cyrus the Persians were a frugal and industrious people. They lived in where civilization first dawned, where man first learned that labor was a creator; that intelligence and industry combined possessed a power God-like in its scope, and that that power had been exerted for ages in the creation of values, while despotism had for ages been concentrating those values, gathering them to itself, and building up a wall around human industry which seemed impossible of being broken down. Recall the fact that all these millions of working slaves were subject to the will, the supreme direction of one man whose power had no limit, but whose idlest whim was a commanding law which no one dared oppose; that even life itself was subject to this whim.

After tracing the limit of this vast empire, then look at the insignificance of Greece as compared to it. A mere speck upon the surface of the globe; a mere atom that could be lost upon the map of the Persian domain; and yet the mightiest conflict history tells us of was waged between these two opposing forces. When the vast odds are considered, it seems nothing short of miraculous that Greece was not annihilated; and yet she triumphed; not only opposed successfully, but finally overthrew, annihilated this mighty aggregate of despotism which sought her destruction.

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences, and the crime most severely punished among them was ingratitude.

The Persian idea seemed to be that it was better to prevent crime by a wise system of training than to attempt to counteract it by punishment, and they endeavored, by such training, to avoid having any criminals among them.

Until sixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remained in the class of children, and were trained in the use of the bow, the javelin, and other military weapons. After this they were passed into the class of young men. Here they were put under rigid discipline and were closely watched and their habits carefully formed. They guarded the city in regular military style, attended the King in his hunting expeditions, and regularly practiced gymnastic exercises. They remained in this class for ten years. The third class consisted of men grown up, and in this they remained twenty-five years. This class furnished the fighting men, military and state officers. When they had reached the age of fifty they were not compelled to carry arms out of their own country. Besides these there was a fourth class, trained especially in statesmanship and philosophy. From these

were chosen those who formed the public council and presided in the courts of judicature. This class was open to all, but it was generally the case that only the rich, who could support their sons without labor, sent them to be so trained.

This is to some extent similar to the system of the Spartans, and from it grew the vast military superiority of the Persians, which enabled their leaders to extend their dominions throughout the whole of Asia and made them the conquerors of the known world. Cyrus grew up under this system of training while Persia was but a comparatively insignificant power compared with Babylon, Media, or Assyria, and yet under his leadership these vast empires were added to the Persian dominion, which

continued to grow until it extended to the vast limits named in the beginning of this article. As the power of the Persians increased and wealth was gathered the simplicity of their early history was lost, power was centralized in the hands of the King, wealth was massed into enormous fortunes in the hands of the aristocracy. The will of the autocrat came to be the supreme law, the people were degraded into the most cruel and abject servitude, and from a martial and heroic race they degenerated into the most cringing and spiritless slaves. The court and the aristocracy reveled in the most profuse luxury and the masses groveled in the most abject poverty. Toward the close of the reign of Cyrus the magnificence of the Persian court was unparalleled in history and has probably never been equaled, while the condition of the masses had reached as great an extreme in the opposite direction.

From the time that Cyrus first took command of the Persian armies (and began the series of conquests which made Persia the ruler of the world) to the time of his death was only about thirty years, and yet what a vast change was made in the condition of the people in that short time. They had been reduced from a state of comparative liberty to the most degrading slavery, and while they wrecked nations and concentrated power and wealth in the hands of their leaders they, by their own acts, riveted shackles on their own limbs and those of their children. Their country grew to be a colossus, but the people degenerated into pygmies; they were buried under the mountain of wealth they gathered, but were never allowed to enjoy.

When Cyrus was making his conquests he was familiar and affable toward his people, easy of approach, simple in his habits, and on terms of the greatest equality with his subjects; but after his aim was achieved, his ambition had reached the bounds he had set, and he had gathered the wealth and power he had coveted, his character changed, and he assumed all the haughty airs and overbearing tyranny which is always associated with power and riches. His true nature asserted itself after the necessity for dissembling had ceased, and his people found themselves bound hand and foot, mere creatures of his will, who were only regarded as machines to be used to supply the demands of himself and his favorites for the unlimited luxuries in which they reveled. The interests

of the masses were of no concern; only the welfare and pleasure of the favored few were worthy of consideration, and all else, even the lives of the people, were as naught when compared with this. Rollin says, when speaking of the Persians: "When we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his conquests, with what they were afterward and during the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe that they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion."

What made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible was the temperate and frugal life to which they were accustomed, their robust health and freedom

from the enervation luxury always causes; their habits of labor and industry that inured them to fatigue and familiarized them with hardship made them self-reliant and courageous; but after their conquests this frugality gave way to dissipation and luxury, which, in a short time, wrecked bodies as well as the morals. Xenophon says, in speaking of this period:

"This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such excess as was little better than downright madness. The prince and his generals carried all their wives with the army with the most magnificent equipage. They carried their luxury and extravagance with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables to a greater extent, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties must needs be found in whatsoever part of the world they encamped. They had vessels of gold and silver without number; indeed, the most profuse supplies of every description."

When Cambyses invaded Ethiopia and his army, lost in the desert, was starving and reduced to such extremity that they cast lots every day to see which of their companions should be eaten by the soldiers, Cambyses had his train of camels loaded with luxuries, and it is said that his table never lacked for delicate food. It seems improbable that any men would submit to such a condition, and yet the matter is given as historical fact to illustrate the abject submission shown by the Persians to their princes.

Rollin says that "the fatal effects of luxury are not peculiar to the Persian Empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain and indisputable maxim, that whenever luxury prevails it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states, and the experience of all ages and all nations does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim." \* \* The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, which they can no longer be without. These stifle the great motives of ambition, zeal for the common welfare and love of country, render them selfish and treacherous, and ready to

sacrifice any and everything, even honor itself, to secure these selfish gratifications."

The aim of a mercenary system is the amassing of wealth, which is only of value to supply these false desires, the gratification of which is sure to result in moral degradation and final ruin, and yet this, even in this advanced age of the world, is the great aim of life.

Plato says that the abject submission and slavery of the Persians brought about by the massing of wealth in the hands of those in power accomplished the ruin of the empire. Homer says, "From the day a man loseth his liberty he loseth one-half of his ancient virtue;" and Rollin says, "He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien, and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs, to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved." Luxury and wealth had at the time to which we refer reduced the Persians to the most degraded servility. The King was to them not only their sovereign, their absolute master, but a kind of divinity. His subjects, of whatever rank, even his relatives, were looked upon only as slaves, and this haughtiness was continued from rank to rank until the masses were looked upon as no better than brutes. No subject could appear in the King's presence without prostrating himself on the ground, and all values, all property of every description, were his and could be demanded at pleasure, even to the life of the subject. The nobility also had similar authority over their inferiors, so that the King and his favorites controlled the entire wealth and energy of the nation. In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatic nations, and of the Persians more particularly, was servitude and slavery.

The Persian Kings governed only by cruelty and a brutal exercise of unlimited power, and it was this condition to which they desired to reduce the Greeks, and after them all the people of Europe. Their own people had been reduced to the abject condition in which they were by the gradual centralization of wealth and power. The splendor of their court was almost beyond belief, and the people mere puppets in their hands by which they worked their will.

The armies of Persia were like the leaves of the forests, and their numbers were told in millions. Her resources were beyond calculation and were drawn from almost the entire known world, and it was this colossal power that was preparing to hurl itself against the apparently insignificant free states of Greece with only a few thousands of people and no resources except such as they provided by their labor.

It seemed the height of folly for such an insignificant power to dream even of resistance for a moment against this mighty aggregation of the powers of Asia, and yet these pioneers of liberty dared to defy and spurn the demands made by such an enemy.

Had the Persians retained any of their orig-

inal virtues the cause of Greece would have been hopeless; but wealth and luxury had done their work and this vast host was merely a machine, lifeless, without spirit, with no interest in the cause, with nothing to hope from success or dread from defeat. They moved only by will of their tyrant, utterly careless as to results, devoid of patriotism, ambition, pride, and even hope for themselves. They had gathered power and wealth merely that they should be made slaves by it, and so it has ever been with those who make wealth the object of their ambition.

Darius, who was on the Persian throne at this time, was the third who had succeeded Cyrus, and Persia was at the height of her power. Her King was an autocrat, and her millions of people like pliant clay in his hands, absolutely subservient to his will. Having been reduced to the very lowest degradation themselves, they were now to be made the instrument by which the growing spirit of liberty in the Greeks was to be crushed, and the entire world sunk into a vast salage from which it would never have been able to recover. But the sequel proves that the hand of Omnipotence was extended over the infant civilization that was to redeem the race, and the unconquerable spirit which fired the heroes of Sparta and Athens seems to have been the spirit of Deity itself, which humbled the haughty power of despotism, and raised man to the higher plane along which he has since steadily advanced. But let us review the miracles that were wrought by the heroic little republics we have been studying.

THE exportation of beef cattle on the hoof has of late years increased in an immense ratio. Within the decade between 1870 and 1880 it increased thirty times; from a value of \$439,987 in 1870 to \$13,344,195 in 1880. The larger part of this increase has taken place since 1877. The exportation of fresh beef has more than doubled since 1876, and that of preserved beef has increased ten times. Salted or cured meats are not exported as largely as formerly.

IT may be interesting to sheep-raisers to know that the average weight of the fleece has been increased in Iowa from 2.6 pounds in 1860 to 6.5 pounds in 1880, and in Nebraska the average has been raised from 1.4 pounds in 1860 to 6.4 in 1880.

THE number of swine in the country is slightly in excess of the number of population. In Iowa there are four to one, and in Nebraska three to one, and in several of the Northwestern States the number of swine is double that of population.

THE exportation of sheep on the hoof was ten times as great in 1880 as in 1870. The exportation of hogs and their products, except lard, has fallen off on account of prohibitory legislation in many European countries.

THE Missouri legislature has enacted a measure putting the Australian ballot in operation in all cities of that State of over five thousand inhabitants.

## Some Questions Answered.

The following communication is received from Mauch Chunk, Iowa:

Editor ECONOMIST:

Will you be so kind as to explain in the ECONOMIST what is meant by *vested rights* as pleaded by corporations?

Has Congress or a State legislature Constitutional power to grant charters conferring powers or franchises without contingencies and above limitations or control?

What is the real difference between the political and the natural inalienable rights of the citizen and corporations?

Yours truly, L. F. ELLSWORTH.

The ECONOMIST is always pleased to give such information as it is able, and especially to receive letters of such character as the above.

It is an evidence that the people are becoming interested in the important questions of the day, and are seeking information that will enable them to decide intelligently upon such questions.

This is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, because intelligent inquiry will certainly lead to an intelligent solution of the vexing problems and the qualifying of the masses to protect their rights and interests in the future and insure the perpetuity and stability of our institutions.

Ignorance and listlessness are the sources from which the greatest dangers to our liberties arise. General intelligence and enlightenment are our greatest safeguards. A thorough understanding of our institutions and the dangers which threaten them is a sure defense, and when this knowledge is general and a proper interest in public affairs awakened we may safely rely upon the patriotism and sense of justice of the people and rest assured that the highest aims of social organization will be accomplished.

The expression *vested rights* simply means the rights with which the corporation is clothed by the law creating it, or rights that are settled or fixed in the corporation. The word *vested* is derived from the Latin verb *vestio*, which means to clothe, as with a garment; it also means to invest or surround. This word, then, is used to convey the idea that the corporation is clothed or surrounded by certain rights specified by the legislative enactment by which it is created, and that as laws can not have a retroactive effect, any law, which in any way would abridge the rights already vested, or by which the corporation is clothed by former legislative enactment, would be null and void as to the corporation; because such law would be retrospective, or what is termed *ex post facto*. This character of pleading, on the part of corporations, assumes that the act of the law-making power creating such corporation is in the nature of a contract, and that the corporation is *vested* or clothed with certain rights and powers in consideration of its performing certain acts or assuming certain responsibilities specified or understood, and that so long as it complies with its obligations the legislative power of the State can not withdraw its grants.

This is to assume that the legislative power of a State has not the right to revise its action. That if by some possible means it should make a serious mistake which should prove to be of great detriment to the people as a body it is

powerless to rectify or annul such action. That it had already *vested* or fixed certain rights and powers in another body, and could not recall them. Or, if one body of law-makers should convey to a corporate body rights and franchises, which in the course of events should prove of great detriment to the rights and liberties of the people, no future legislative enactment could recall those vested rights to the people.

This is the ultimate result of the argument, and it is evident to any one that it is not only absurd, but were it maintained, would be surely destructive of the liberties of the people; as it would be impossible by legislation to correct mistakes or evils, and the only resort of the people against oppression growing out of an injudicious grant of power would be revolution. Further explanation will be necessary in replying to the third inquiry which will serve to illustrate this point further.

In reply to the second question, the Declaration of Independence defines the powers and object of government in these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." From this clause it is evident that the people have the right to recall any grants of power or franchises if they in any way interfere with the liberty or happiness of the people, and that settles the plea of vested rights. But so far as constitutional authority for the granting of corporate powers is concerned, there is a wide field for discussion. The Constitution of the United States makes no direct investment of such power in Congress, but the authority may be inferred from certain indefinite grants made by the Constitution. Section 8, clause 1, of the Constitution, says: "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." And clause 3 grants power to Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States." Having thus authority by liberal construction of the Constitution to provide for the general welfare and regulate commerce between the States, Congress, it is concluded, may, if in its judgment such action would be for the general welfare, or for the benefit of commerce, create bodies corporate and invest them with certain rights and privileges; but the Constitution provides a limitation, as well as the Declaration of Independence. The very clause of the Constitution which is assumed to give authority for the creation of these bodies, also, under the same kind of construction, provides for the abrogation of such vested authority; because, should it appear that such grant of franchises and powers are detrimental to the general welfare, then Congress must provide for that general welfare by removing the evils which threaten it;

and the Declaration of Independence, in the clause quoted, declares that the people preserve as an inalienable right the power to alter and abolish even a form of government if necessary (consequently to alter any act of that government) should it prove to be destructive to the inalienable rights of the citizen. The welfare of the citizens is of paramount importance and everything must give way before it; because the Declaration of Independence declares that to secure the inalienable rights referred to in it is the object for which governments are founded; hence, if the action of governmental power infringe in any way, or trespass upon any of these rights, the people have retained the power to "abolish or alter it," and consequently to recall or annul any acts of its legislative arm.

This general-welfare clause is a very loosely-constructed expression, and is capable of being translated in such way as to bring serious trouble upon the people. The question as to who is to be the judge as to what is for the general welfare, is a most serious one. If Congress be invested with the power of judging what is for the general welfare, and besides have the power to provide what it considers the proper provision for that welfare, the grant would be equivalent to absolute power, because Congress would be beyond any control, and should it consider that it would be best for the general welfare that the people be subjected to the absolute will of the President, that decree would be effective. But the people have retained to themselves the right to alter any condition which threatens or interferes with their inalienable rights or the pursuit of their best interests. The people, then, and not Congress, are the judges of what is to the interest of the general welfare; and should Congress err, the people have the right to demand that it recall its action; therefore the grant of powers and franchises is always subject to the will of the people, and is limited by that will, which can recall any and all grants when the people in their majesty decide that such grants are an infringement upon their rights as citizens. The granting of corporate rights is also a power exercised by State legislatures, but these legislatures exist under the National Constitution and their acts are controlled by it to a certain extent. Article 14, Section 1, of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizen of the United States." Now, the Declaration of Independence declares life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to be inalienable rights of every citizen. "The pursuit of happiness" includes the right of every citizen to exercise his industry in every field provided by nature from which a return for his labor may be secured. Now, should a legislature or Congress grant to any corporation special privileges which would allow that body to use its combined capital in such a way as to practically monopolize any field of labor and close that field to the individual citizen and prohibit him from exercising his industry in it, such grant would certainly abridge the right of the citizen in "the pursuit of happiness," and would be

contrary to the provision cited above, and consequently unconstitutional. For instance, the grant of power to the Standard Oil Co. gives to that company the right to use its combined capital in such a way that it monopolizes the production and sale of petroleum. An individual owner of oil land can not operate a well he may have sunk, or put its products upon the market, because he can not compete with this great combination of capital, which owes its existence to legislative enactment, without which enactment it could not exist, but by which it monopolizes and controls this entire field of industry, thus abridging the rights of private citizens to employ their industry in that field. Why is not such a grant of power unconstitutional?

The same may be said of coal combinations, and in fact all great combines of capital which in any way abridge the right of the citizen to exercise his industry in any natural field of labor. The idea of any legislative body having power to create a body corporate and invest it with powers beyond its ability to control is simply absurd, and would render government a farce. The Declaration of Independence defines clearly the object of government to be to secure to the citizens their inalienable rights, and it further declares that government derives all its powers from the people, so that all grants of power from legislatures are merely by consent of the people, and should these grants transcend the authority delegated they are null by that fact, and should they be against the will of the people they must be recalled.

As to the difference between the rights as stated in the third question, corporations can have neither political nor natural rights. They have only legal rights. Natural rights are such as originate from our natures and natural necessities; for instance, it is natural that we should live, and to preserve life that we should have the right to supply the necessities that go to sustain life, and that we should be allowed to secure these necessities with as little hindrance as is consistent with the necessities of others. A corporation has no natural existence, it is not a creature of nature, but of law. It is not a provision of nature that it should exist at all, and the course of nature would in no way be interrupted if all such creations were destroyed. It is merely a creature of the law, a fiction, a myth that only lives in a conception of the mind and has no being except by action of law.

Neither have corporations political rights. The exact meaning of the word political involves a connection with the citizen. The word is derived from the Greek noun πολίτης, which means a citizen; this is compounded from πόλις, a city, and from these we have πολιτεία, political, and πολιτεύεσθαι, politics; so that the word is derived from the idea of citizenship, or the relation of the individual to the government. Political rights are, then, the rights of the citizen, and a corporation, not being a citizen, can have no political rights. Having neither natural nor political rights (and political involve natural rights), it remains that the only rights a corporation can have are such as are granted by power of law, hence corporations have no

rights that can not be controlled by law because they are created by law.

Inalienable rights are such as can not be transferred to another. The word is derived from the Latin verb alienatio, which means to transfer to another; not the taking away or the simple renunciation of a thing or right, but the conveying to another, *alius* or *alienus* being the Latin equivalent of "another." The prefix *in* is, in the Latin, a simple indication of a negative, equivalent to the Greek *en*; which represents the English prefix *un*; therefore inalienable is equivalent to unalienable or not alienable that is—not transferable to another. The Declaration of Independence defines some of these rights to be "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These are all natural inalienable rights. Political inalienable rights are such as are granted by power of government but not transferable, as the right of franchise, the right to hold office when elected to it as provided by law, and others of like character. All rights of corporations are inalienable, because the franchises they enjoy are granted to a specified organization created by law, and not to any other organization or person. Individuals composing the body of the organization may change and their individual interests in the rights enjoyed by the corporation may pass from one to another, because the individuals composing the body corporate are not recognized by the law, but only the body as an entity. A citizen possesses both natural and political inalienable rights, while a corporation possesses neither. Natural individual rights may be further defined in this way: Man is a child or a creature of nature. He finds himself upon the earth subject to certain necessities peculiar to his natural organism. He finds also that nature has provided the means by which he can supply these necessities. Such necessities being common to all men, it follows that all men must resort to the means provided by nature for such supply, and this is a natural right all men possess in common. No man can transfer to another his right to supply his natural necessities, neither has any other man a right to hinder him from exercising this natural right. Governments are designed to aid and protect men in securing these natural requirements, and protect them from any undue hindrance; so when government grants powers to any individual or body of individuals which in any way prevents a free and natural exercise of these natural rights, it has failed in its object, gone beyond the power delegated to it, and becomes a source of oppression rather than of protection.

Government has no right to grant to one or several citizens rights and powers not accessible to all or any, or any right to interfere in any manner with the exercise of the natural rights of any individual in the exercise of his industry in the way provided by nature that he should, except he should infringe the natural rights of others.

The tendency of all corporate combinations is to absorb or monopolize the field of industry in which they are engaged, and thus shut out the individual and prevent his exercising his industry in that direction except on such terms as the corporation may choose to grant; thus

placing the corporation between the citizen and the Government and infringing natural as well as political rights. The tendency of the age is toward combinations of capital in this way, and the crowding out of the individual citizen from the various fields of labor, thus eventually, if carried to the final extreme, absorbing or monopolizing all individual rights and rendering the individual citizen subject to the will of combinations and entirely at their mercy. It is folly to say that these fields are open to all alike, because the power of combined capital is great enough to crush any attempt by the individual to compete, or even to exist in competition, and he must abandon the field or surrender himself to the dictation of these usurpers in a field provided by nature from which her creatures may secure the necessities they require.

This question of the invasion of the various fields of industry by corporate combinations of capital is the giant question of the age, and threatens a destruction of present social conditions, an entirely new phase of human development, and the danger to individual liberty is most threatening. The tendency is toward centralization of power, first, by massing the power absorbed from the individuals in various small bodies corporate, and then the absorption of these into trusts and combines; then the massing of these again into still more powerful unification until practical absolutism is arrived at, controlled by centralized capital. This is the only reasonable final outcome of present tendencies, and the pretense that such combinations are necessary to progress is a fraud and a deception.

The final goal is just the one at which every former attempt at government has arrived—despotism and the widest inequality; the subjection of the individual to the values created by his industry and absorbed by a conscienceless and avaricious few. The tendency is toward the ignoring of the individual and his replacement by the body corporate, which is the embodiment of capital, and the result will be that instead of the Government deriving its existence from the people, the people will only be allowed to exist on such terms as the corporations dictate, and the Government will sink into a contemptible nothing, a tool of combines and speculators.

The boasted progress under such conditions is no progress, but a retrogression, so far as the masses are concerned. What interest have the masses in the progress of a few toward a financial condition unparalleled in the world's history, while they are sliding back into poverty, ignorance, servitude, and oppression? The world has had enough of such progress, and the misery it has caused has cursed the race sufficiently. What we want developed is the advancement of the masses, an even and general progress of all the people, the elevation of the standard of the individual citizen, and not the pampering of a few of the most unworthy, by means of unjust and fraudulent grants of special powers and franchises; for such grants are nothing more nor less than a fraudulent taking away of natural privileges belonging to the individual citizen.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

## SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our  
rates are for the nonpareil. Enquiries 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 \$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 organiza-  
tion and consolidation they expect to number two millions  
by January 1, 1890.

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SUBSCRIBERS who desire their papers changed  
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THIS number of the ECONOMIST is sent to  
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think best. It is largely devoted to the subject  
of ratification, and the object is to have it thor-  
oughly distributed and read by the time of the  
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MEMBERS of the order should assist in giving  
this number of the ECONOMIST a wide circula-  
tion, in order that the subject of ratification  
may have a thorough and fair consideration be-  
fore the election of delegates to the State meet-  
ings.

No. 1, Volume 1, of the Kansas *Economist* has  
been received. It is a neatly printed and ably  
edited journal devoted to the "cause of in-  
dustrial organization and co-operation; for  
the purpose of freeing the masses from the ex-  
tortions of trusts and combines." "In main-  
taining the rights of labor we will be fearless  
and fair," is one of its expressions which is to  
be commended. The field is ripe for the har-  
vest, but the (worthy) laborers are few; it is,  
therefore, extended a hearty welcome, and may  
the All-wise bless its efforts in the cause of op-  
pressed humanity.

THE Southern Mercury is the official organ  
of the State Alliance of Texas. It is one of the

pioneers in Alliance literature, has an immense  
circulation, and is always brimming full of in-  
teresting Alliance news and views. It is  
offered at the extremely low price of \$1 per  
year, and has made an arrangement with THE  
ECONOMIST, by which both papers are offered  
for only \$1.60. This is an inducement that  
every member of the order in Texas should  
avail himself of, and lose no time in subscrib-  
ing for the Mercury and the ECONOMIST.

ACCORDING to the statistical abstract of the  
United States for 1887, compiled under the  
direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the  
total amount of National-bank notes in circu-  
lation and in the Treasury and banks aggre-  
gates \$279,217,788; legal-tender certificates,  
\$9,080,000; legal-tender notes, \$346,681,016;  
gold, including bullion in Treasury, \$654,520;  
335: gold certificates, \$121,486,817; silver  
certificates in Treasury, banks and circulation,  
\$145,543,150; silver dollars, 277,445,767; sub-  
sidiary silver \$75,547,799. He estimates the  
total circulation to aggregate \$1,925,259,882.  
Of this amount he shows that \$591,983,526 is  
in the Treasury in bullion and other forms,  
leaving the actual amount in circulation  
\$1,333,276,356. Since that time there has  
been a large increase in the amount in the  
Treasury, besides a great contraction in the  
National-bank circulation, reducing the amount  
greatly.

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ings.

THE increase in the production of wheat has  
kept pace with the great increase in all other  
farm products. In 1840 the total yield was  
84,823,272 bushels. In 1880 the total was  
459,483,137 bushels. The average yield was  
about thirteen bushels per acre. The acreage  
was about 29.7 per cent. of all land cultivated  
in cereals, and the product was about 9.2  
bushels per inhabitant. The per capita in 1840  
was 5 bushels.

MORE than three-fourths of the total popula-  
tion of the United States are engaged in  
industrial pursuits and are dependent on their  
labor for their support. The interest of all  
is to secure the best and fullest returns pos-  
sible for their labor and render the condi-  
tions under which they live as agreeable as  
possible. This being the case, it seems that  
the smallest degree of intelligence would be  
sufficient to teach that a united and harmonious  
action of all would give this body the best re-  
sults toward accomplishing this common aim.

THE great contest of the age has drifted  
beyond mere party lines, mere sectional and  
local differences. It has become a struggle of  
life and death for the life of individual lib-  
erty and a just return for labor on the one side,  
for the death of independence and the absolute  
subjugation of industry on the other. The  
fight is capitalism against industry, and that

ated by all. Why is this the case? Merely  
because the small body acts in perfect harmony  
and under one direction; always the entire  
force is expended in the same direction. Apply  
the same system and plan of action to the  
larger body and what would be the natural  
result? Would not conditions naturally be  
reversed by the preponderance of the greater  
mass? Is this not common sense of the plain-  
est kind? The only reason that the smaller  
body rules is that it shrewdly keeps the larger  
divided into factions, and, by operating against  
one faction at a time with its full force, it al-  
ways comes off victorious. Success for the  
masses in this contest lies in consolidated  
action, a thorough co-operation of the whole.  
Let this be accomplished at once.

THE emblem of authority of the House of  
Representatives is a typical illustration of the  
character of the Nation. It is a bundle of  
small rods bound together by silver bands.  
Separated, these rods are easily destroyed, one  
at a time, but united, they can defy the greatest  
power. How perfectly this also typifies the  
condition of the industrial masses, the rods  
representing the various industrial callings.  
Separately each is easily broken, but united by  
the silver bands of sympathy into a solid whole  
they are indestructible.

IN union there is strength, and in union  
alone can the organized industries of the Nation  
hope to cope against centralized rascality.

"IN this country each lecturer is furnished  
by his Alliance with a copy of the New Farmer,  
Southern Mercury, Progressive Farmer, and  
NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and is required to keep  
them on file and bring them to each meeting  
of his Alliance and call attention to articles of  
general interest."

We find the above in the New Farmer, from  
one of its Mississippi correspondents, and com-  
mend the action of these Mississippi brethren  
to the order at large.

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subjugation of industry on the other. The  
fight is capitalism against industry, and that

means the industry of every section and every  
class. The ultimate aim of capitalism is uni-  
versal empire, and it is the natural enemy of  
every freeman of every section. A united  
opposition is the only hope for the people.

SECTIONAL prejudice is one of the most effect-  
ive means in the hands of the speculative class  
by which they keep the masses of the people  
divided. Let even the agricultural organiza-  
tions of the South and Northwest unite in a  
common struggle for the bettering of the con-  
dition of the agricultural masses, and the  
schemers will have received a blow from which  
recovery will be doubtful, if not impossible.

SECTIONALISM has already worked untold  
misery upon the great mass of the people, and  
even yet selfish and designing men fan the  
smouldering embers that they may plunder  
while the fires of sectional hate rage. Why will  
intelligent men allow their senseless passions to  
betray them into the power of those whose only  
ambition is to further their own mercenary  
schemes? Sectionalism is dead. The live  
issues are not bounded by geographical lines.  
The great cause is the cause of humanity. The  
contests now is for the common good. The  
enemy of liberty, of equality, of justice, is modern  
capitalism, and it knows no North, no South;  
its aim is the conquest of both. Northern and  
Southern industry alike are the objects of its  
conquest. How senseless for the victims to  
waste their strength in useless wrangling while  
the robber preys upon the substance of both.  
United, they could command prosperity to  
smile; divided, they can hope for nothing but  
defeat and servitude. United, they can make  
the grandest Nation the earth has ever pro-  
duced; divided, the heritage of both must fall  
a prey to the common enemy.

IT is an old saying that there is no evil  
without its accompanying good. If the evil of  
capitalistic and corporate corruption and op-  
pression of the industrial masses only result in  
forcing a consolidation and a united action  
for the common good, and thus destroy sec-  
tionalism and restore sympathy and unity of  
sentiment among the people, then the evil they  
have wrought can be forgiven, for then the  
Union will have been truly restored.

THE great contest of the day is in no way  
sectional. The old party lines, which separated  
the people, are obliterated and lost. The  
petty differences as to governmental policies  
are overwhelmed by the terrible danger that  
threatens the entire industrial mass. The modern  
system of capitalism has raised its sable  
banner, and is advancing against the industry  
of the world. It is the tyrant of the age, the  
modern Alexander that is attempting a new  
conquest of the world. Let the people cease  
to regard their petty differences and consoli-  
date in one grand power to resist the awful  
calamity that is threatened. Farmers of the  
North and of the South, yours is a common  
cause; stand shoulder to shoulder in defense.

THE Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural  
Wheel, the Farmers Unions, the Farmers  
Mutual Benefit Association, the Grange, the  
various organizations of the West and North-  
west, the various trade organizations of  
the manufacturing and mining industries,  
are all but regiments of the grand army  
of labor. Acting independently and with-  
out preconcerted plan, their endeavors can  
but be uncertain at the best, if not doomed  
to failure; but, consolidated into one grand,  
harmonious effort, with perfect understanding  
and under wise direction, operating with the  
full power of their numbers, there can be no

result but success. When such federation is  
accomplished the cause of labor is won. There  
is no power on earth that could stand before  
such a combination or would even think of  
opposing it. The silly and childish differences  
that distinguish parties are not worthy of a  
moment's consideration when compared with the  
grand results which are possible of achieve-  
ment under such an organization. The result  
would be the harmonious coming together of  
all the factions and distracted elements among  
the people, a reunion in truth, a re-establish-  
ment of the former friendliness and sympathy  
which characterized our people. Corruption  
and chicanery would flee before it and the  
temple of our liberties be cleansed of the  
filth which has besotted it so long. The op-  
portunity is now offered for the people to  
throw aside the disgraceful prejudices which  
have so long estranged them and unite heartily  
and patriotically in a grand endeavor to restore  
our Nation to the true character our fathers  
hoped to see it develop.

THE agricultural population is so much more  
numerous than any other class that, united and  
acting in harmony, they would be irresistible.  
How foolish to destroy their power by dividing  
their forces when their cause is a common one  
and certain to triumph through harmonious  
action. There are no sectional differences; all  
are equally oppressed. Let them unite under one  
leadership and the Union will be then actually  
restored.

THE lines of battle between American con-  
testants have been entirely changed. The  
division is no longer sectional, but capitalism  
is attacking the industry of every section. A  
federation of all industrial organizations, both  
North and South, will close the era of sectional  
strife and inaugurate a struggle between the  
entire body of American freemen against tyranny  
and unjust usurpation. The time has come to  
prove that American unity is not an empty  
boast.

THE agricultural and industrial population  
by their numbers hold the balance of power.  
Acting in perfect harmony they could dictate  
the policy of the Nation, and yet, by shrewd  
schemes and cunning play upon their prejudices  
and various peculiarities, an unscrupulous few  
keep them so divided that they are powerless  
and fall an easy prey to those who fatten on  
their lost opportunities. When will the people  
learn that their only hope is in united action?

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RAILWAYS;  
Their Uses and Abuses,  
AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITU-  
TIONS AND PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,  
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."  
No. 7.

## THE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.

The course which these articles have taken up  
to the present time has presented the contrast  
between the theories upon which governmental  
power has been exerted in the creation of cor-  
porations, and the practical effect of the abuses  
which have been engrailed upon the corporate  
system. We have now arrived at the point  
where it is cogent to inquire the bearing, not  
only of the constitutional theories of our institu-  
tions, but of the actual principles of law, upon  
the abuses which have just been summarized.

On the one side we have a government whose  
theory and foundation is in favor of the widest  
distribution of wealth, and the most thorough  
equalization of the chances to secure property  
among the masses of the people. This purpose  
has been supreme in all the functions of govern-  
ment bearing upon the distribution of wealth  
prior to the corporate era. The history of the  
country attests that in proportion as its observ-  
ance has been thorough and sincere, in that  
proportion the highest good and the most rapid  
advance of republican institutions has been  
recorded.

On the other hand, we have a corporate sys-  
tem created and encouraged by legislation dur-  
ing the last half-century, which now forms the  
dominant interest in commerce. Founded upon  
strict integrity, and conducted with due respect  
to the public obligations inherent in the char-  
acter of the railway corporation, its effect should  
be for the unqualified public good, not only in  
advancing the growth of industry, but in dis-  
tributing the results of production and the ad-  
vantages of sound investment among the greater  
number.

But, in contrast with this ideal pur-  
pose of the corporation, we find that the practi-  
cal workings of the railway system have infected  
it with abuses which go far toward nullifying  
and reversing the beneficial and democratic  
purposes for which it was created. These  
abuses, so universal in their character as to be  
characteristic of the railway system, as summarized  
in the preceding articles, may be grouped  
under the following heads:

1. The power of discrimination in favor of  
special classes and interests among the shippers,  
and for building up exclusive privileges in com-  
merce at the expense of the commercial public.  
The extent to which this abuse may be carried  
is shown by the existence of a single monopoly  
valued at one hundred million dollars estab-  
lished by that means; and has also been esti-  
mated by railway opinion stating the volume of  
rebate and special rates at from ninety to one  
hundred and thirty million dollars annually.

2. The abuse of stock watering, which rep-  
resents the vices of dishonest construction, and  
all the practices of manipulation by which cor-  
porations are plundered for the enrichment of  
unscrupulous managers at the expense of the

common stockholder. An indication of the extent of this abuse is given in the estimate by the highest railway statistical authority of the total volume of watered railway capitalization at \$4,500,000,000.

3. The effort to impose upon the shipping public of the country the cost of profit upon this volume of fictitious stock by devices to prevent the action of competition upon rates. This includes an assertion for the special privilege for the railway interest, of an exemption from the great law of competition which distributes the rewards of enterprise to all the fundamental branches of commerce, and proposes to impose upon the enterprise of the country a tax amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars annually, for the redemption of these fraudulent securities.

Has the legislation which created corporations ignored and cast aside the original purposes of our democratic system? Have the principles of law regulating the exertion of governmental influence upon commerce nullified the fundamental theory that the exertion of governmental powers must be for the benefit and advantage of the masses? In other words, are we to charge the growth of these abuses in the corporate system to a departure in legislation, and in the judicial conception of the laws, from the basic principle of equal rights and equal chances, and to recognize for the reform of these abuses the necessity of commencing from the foundation, and constructing anew the entire fabric of legislation bearing upon the corporations?

There is some satisfaction in the fact that these questions can be answered in the negative. It is to the credit of our legislation that the principles of law under which the corporations were given their power, as declared by the highest court, would, if carried out in good faith, prevent and abolish these evils. It is a cogent factor in the problem that the practice of these evils has been denounced as illegal and unconstitutional by the highest judicial authorities.

But against that satisfactory aspect of the case, we have the additional gravity lent to the illegality of corporate evils by the fact that they violate not only fundamental theories, but the plainly declared principles and rules of law by which the railways were created. We have on the one hand the grant of corporate power by legislation, which, if properly enforced, would subserve the public interest and protect the public right; on the other, we have the fact that by the neglect of the public and the gradual but steady encroachment of corporate abuses, the creatures of legislation are now systematically and persistently defying the principles of law and violating the underlying conditions of the charters by which they obtain their right to exist. This exaggerates the heinousness of such wrong and it lends importance to the study of the legislation and the decisions of most exalted courts, stating the conditions of impartiality and equity under which the railway system was created.

The legal principles which govern the operations of the railway corporations, while clearly laid down by legislation, by State constitutions, and by judicial declaration, are not generally

understood. It is very common to hear it asked why a railroad has not as much right to charge less rates to one shipper than to another, as a merchant has to charge less for his goods to one customer than he does to another. The latest form of this plea has recently been made in connection with interstate-commerce legislation in the shape of an argument, as the law has restricted the liberty of the railroads in dealing with their shippers, and taken away their freedom of action such as ordinary business men have in the conduct of their business, it should also protect them from injury by direct competition between themselves. To such an argument the answer is easy. The law has taken away no freedom of action among the railways which they possess in common with ordinary business. It has restricted the abuse of power on their part, which the ordinary merchant or manufacturer does not hold. It prevents the infliction of evil upon the general public through their control of powers of which, by their very constitution, the ordinary forms of industry and commerce are destitute. Each railway is at liberty to raise and lower its rates as its own individual circumstances make it see fit. Under the law it will be restrained in the raising and the lowering of such rates by the same influences of competition which govern the farmer or the merchant in raising or reducing the prices of his staples. It is prevented by the law from exerting the power of reducing its rates to one favored class and raising those of the masses, just as it would be necessary to restrain the same power in other departments of enterprise if it existed to the prejudice of the public. If the industry of farming were organized upon such a system that those engaged in it had the power of declaring that one class should pay twice as much for food as another, there would be the same necessity of interference with such a dangerous power by the law as there is in the case of the railroads; but it is very well known that no such power exists outside of the corporate system. Even a merchant of the magnitude of Stewart, Clafin, or Wanamaker is not able to maintain favoritism in the practical operation of his business. If the greatest merchant sell goods to a customer so as to give him an advantage over the public he does it at his own loss; and the result is a virtual equality in all the fundamental operations of trade that are beyond corporate control.

But besides the creation of an especial power in the hands of the great corporations which is entirely absent from the ordinary departments of business, there is another vital difference. Whatever power the merchant, the farmer, and the mechanic have in the disposition of their product or services, is created by their own efforts. They have received no special advantages from government for the establishment of their business. On the other hand the railway corporations receive their powers entirely by acts of legislation. Without the laws which give them corporate existence, and without the exertion of the sovereign acts of power by which their rights of way were secured, none of the railways could have been built. The power of the railway corporation is due solely to the special exertion of govern-

mental power in their behalf, and by the grants of legislation the most bankrupt railway has a power of discrimination. The creation of ordinary forms of business is due to the individual enterprise which has built them up under the legislation which applies equally to the whole people.

These two points of difference between the railway corporation and the masses of industry and commerce which they serve, divide the principles of law governing the operation of the railway under two leading heads: (1) the laws relating to common carriers; and (2) the laws creating and governing the operations of public highways. More attention has recently been given by legislation and the courts to the laws governing the railways in their functions of common carriers. These principles are founded upon the difference first pointed out, between the railway corporation and the ordinary merchant or manufacturer, in the possession of a power which affects the public interest. The law of common carriers is based fundamentally upon the principle that wherever any form of business attains an extent and character that affects the public interest it, in the language of a very old decision, becomes "infected with the public right." Under this principle of law the rules governing the operation of such common carriers as steamboats, stage coaches, and ferry boats, were laid down long before the beginning of the corporate era, and the same rule of public obligation was held by numerous decisions to apply even to public wharves, bridges, warehouses, and other forms of business of a character to affect the public welfare.

It is principally on this function of the railways, and the principles of law affecting them as common carriers, that the interstate-commerce law has been based. On the same phase of the subject the most recent decisions of the courts as to the public duty of impartiality and reasonable rates, and as to the public right of State and National regulation of the railway, have had their foundation.

But there is a character of the railway corporation more fundamental in its character, more broad and universal in its effect, and more thoroughly binding in its obligations than the function which subjects it to the same regulation and rules of law that governed ferry-boats, steamboats, and stage-coaches. That is the function of the railway as a public highway.

The grave nature of the obligation imposed upon the railways as public highways has led to a tendency on the part of the advocates of railway ideas to dispute its real existence. Early in the era of railways the principle that they were public highways was upheld by the railway school for the benefit of the corporations. Later in the same era the same principle is disputed and thrown aside for the sake of freeing the corporation from the obligations and restrictions which that character casts around them. It is necessary, therefore, to study the subject thoroughly; first, with regard to the fact that the very existence of the railways is based upon their character as public highways; and, second, with regard to the fundamental obligations which that character imposes upon them as the condition of their original crea-

tion, and as a fundamental rule of their continued existence.

The act of governmental power which invests the railways of the country with the character of public highways is the grant to them of the sovereign power of eminent domain, or the right to condemn real estate for their rights of way by legal proceedings without the consent of the owner of the property. The exertion of governmental power for the creation simply of a corporation need not be accompanied by the use of the power of eminent domain. Thousands of other corporations have been created without that power; and, therefore, though subject to the public obligations and conditions of their charters, they are free from the controlling obligations which necessarily attach to the public highways. But it is plain that where the legislative power has authorized the property of the private citizen to be taken without his consent for the use of the corporation, an extraordinary exertion of governmental power has been made, and one which subjects the corporation in whose favor that power has been exerted to peculiarly strong public obligations. If the law should authorize one farmer to condemn by judicial proceedings the farm of another, and to use the land for his own private purposes, it would be simply an act of tyranny. A manufacturer might be a great benefit to a certain locality; but a law authorizing the property of private citizens to be condemned and taken for the purposes of the factory, not at their own valuation, but at the valuation to be given by judicial appraisement, would be, as declared by one of the highest courts early in the corporate era, "a rescript and not a law." If the exertion of this power in behalf of the railways be to give them the right to the land on which to build their tracks and to operate their property simply as private property for the benefit of the stockholders, the same character of illegal and unconstitutional tyranny would apply to such legislation.

The very existence of the railroads and the governmental power which created them are founded on the essential condition that they are to be public highways; and without fulfilling the obligations and duties of that condition their charters and acts under them are illegal and void.

#### Lands Donated and Sold.

A correspondent writes as follows:

"Please state the approximate number of acres of the public domain donated to railroads by the United States Government, and for what purpose. The number sold to foreign syndicates for money. The number disposed of except under the law; the homestead and pre-emption law, etc."

The total amount of lands granted to railroad corporations by the Government aggregate 187,000,000 acres, or 296,000 square miles. This area is greater than the entire State of Texas and five times as great as all the New England States. The total is almost two-thirds as much as the total area of lands under cultivation in the Nation, which includes only 444,955 square miles. This gift to railroad corporations is more than twice as much as has been granted for educational uses, which amounts in the aggregate to 78,659,439 acres, or 123,000 square miles; and still we boast of the great generosity of the Government in the cause of education.

It is well to perceive the basis of this principle in abstract reasoning before progressing to its frequent declaration by the most undoubted judicial authority. "The reason of the law is the life of the law," as Coke declares; and every citizen should perceive the distinctions in reason upon which this principle is based. It would be a violation of the contract between

the citizen and the Government to permit A to take away the property of B by judicial proceeding, for the private advantage and individual use of A. So far as other private interests are concerned, the property holder has the right to fix his own price or absolutely refuse to sell his property at any price. But if the purpose for which A desires the property is a public purpose; if the land so taken is to be devoted to public uses and subjected to public rights, then the propriety of the legislation depends upon the faithfulness with which those obligations are carried out. This sovereign power having been used for the creation of the railways and having been absolutely essential for their successful construction, the supreme and controlling condition of its exertion is that the highways so constituted shall be governed by legal obligations and duties of public highways. This is not necessary, because the condition was so stated in the original charters of the railroads. There is back of that the controlling reason that under our Constitution not even the legislative power can exercise this act of sovereignty in favor of the railways unless they are to be public highways, and the use of that power subjected them to the public duties attaching to that character. In order that this principle may be thoroughly understood we shall devote some space to the consideration of the decisive judicial declarations which have established it. But at the start of that discussion it is well to set forth its vital importance in the following statement:

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credit of the Government was pledged besides to the amount of \$64,000,000. The land was an absolute gift, but the money was to be paid back with interest. Nothing was ever paid, and a bill was surreptitiously squeezed through Congress making this payable out of the net proceeds of the road. The schemers claim that there are no net proceeds, consequently nothing is ever paid and the debt now amounts to \$150,000,000 and the people need never hope to get a dollar of it unless they in their might take steps to recover it. An article by T. D. Hinckley, on page 178 (No. 12) of THE ECONOMIST, will give full information on this matter. This enormous amount of land, as is evident from a comparison of its area with the area of lands now under cultivation, would support the entire population of the United States and would give a homestead of forty acres each to 4,675,000 families, which, estimated at five persons to a family, would give 23,375,000 souls. Nor is this all. The State of Texas when it came into the Union retained its own lands, and consequently the National Government could not dispose of any lands in this State. But the example set by the National Government was contagious and the Texas legislature followed the bad precedent and gave to railroad corporations almost 30,000,000 acres of the State domain. This would add 750,000 homesteads, as estimated above, for 3,750,000 souls. It is impossible in such an article to give the least conception of the disgraceful and outrageous plundering of the people that has been accomplished in this way.

Nor is the granting of lands to railroads the greatest of the evils of this class; other corporations have absorbed enormous amounts and are still engaged in plundering the helpless.

The number of acres held by alien landlords and syndicates is estimated roughly at 30,000,000 of acres, but the amount is far in excess of this and growing daily. This amount is just equal to the Texas grants to railroads, and can be added to the estimate already given. Besides this amount of General Government domain, aliens hold over 4,000,000 of acres in Texas.

Almost all the lands held by aliens and foreign syndicates were secured from the railroads out of the Government grants to them, as they were obliged to go to Europe to find purchasers for their lands, and this granting of lands to railroads was the origin of alien land ownership in America.

The actual acreage held in fee by alien owners is but a fraction of the entire amount controlled by them, as millions of acres are mortgaged to secure money loaned by foreign loan and mortgage companies, and American banks and agents of foreign capitalists. If the full truth were known, only a small proportion of American lands is now in the hands of native American owners free from foreign claims.

This subject is of the greatest importance, and there is a long array of startling and astounding facts that should be kept before the people. THE ECONOMIST will take up the subject in detail at an early day and endeavor to impress the people with the magnitude of this evil, which is virtually equivalent to a foreign invasion and conquest.

## Thoughts and Comments.

T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

"Experience is a dear school, but fools will learn in no other." Word is now going forth to all Granges, Mutual Benefit Associations, Alliances, and Wheels of this great Northwestern wheat-growing section to "do without twine" in order to defeat the object of soft-handed, kid-gloved trust thieves, who have forestalled the market, gobbled up all the twine and the raw material from which twine is made, and now propose to profit enormously by their cunning. The Southern Alliance brethren are also making a desperate effort to do without jute bagging in order to defeat the object of a few gentlemanly plunderers who have potted their pile, bought all the bagging and bagging material in sight, and now propose to divide the swag which they fondly hope will result from their deep-laid plans. Last year word was sent to our various laborers' and farmers' organizations to do without coffee, solely and wholly for the purpose of defeating the thrifty intentions of a lot of philanthropic gentlemen who conceived the brilliant plan of adding to their ability to patronize charity balls and kindergartens by cornering that article of prime comfort. But somehow or other the plan—I mean the plan adopted by the labor organizations—didn't work. Coffee is considerably higher now than it was last year, and is still climbing. Those of us who are patriotically inclined and not so selfish as to care about little particulars, can draw some consolation, perhaps, from the fact that some of the money which we contributed to the coffee trust undoubtedly went to assist in glorifying the centennial celebration of Washington's inaugural. By the way, who was Washington, that so much fuss should be made over his inaugural? That we, away out here in this "boundless West," we, at least, who are patriotically inclined, and not sticklers about trifles, should even rejoice that some of our hard-earned money was spent in the glorification of the fact that one hundred years ago he was inaugurated first President of the United States? Who was he? About twenty-five years before Washington's first inaugural, a number of gentlemen in England, comprising what was commonly called the "British Parliament," being desirous of having a good time generally at the expense of somebody else, formed, not exactly a trust, but a—a—a—yes, it was nothing but a gigantic trust—not upon jute bagging, nor yet upon twine, such articles were not in much demand those times, and a trust to amount to anything must have for its object some article of necessity. Queer, isn't it? Well, it wasn't twine nor jute bagging that the gentlemanly English Parliament "trusted," but it was first one thing and then another, and finally a number of things. All of which they sent to the colonies, expecting the colonists, our forefathers, by the way, to buy them with the trust price added, and that they (the English gentlemen) would be enabled thereby to patronize charity balls, kindergartens, and philanthropic institutions gotten up expressly for the benefit of the poor, without being compelled to draw so heavily upon their rent-rolls as they were formerly forced to do. Well, our forefathers, having in their young days been deprived of the advantages of adequate schooling, or having, as boys will do even now, played "hokey" and gone fishing or hunting or to attend the Indian scalp dance, a species of amusement common in those days, in which the Indians did the scalping and the whites the dancing, but which is now obsolete because of the absence of one of the principal performers, proceeded to take a few lessons in the "dear school of experience," and they commenced boycotting (they didn't call it by that name, then; in fact, Mr. Boycott did not come on the stage until a good many years was. Experience is a dear school; but when

afterward) the "trusted goods" by resolving "to do without" them. They resolved to do without first one thing and then another, and then another, until they had the biggest job of doing without things on their hands that history makes any record of, except in India and China, where occasionally even now people sometimes do without everything so long that they finally get used to it and never need anything on earth again. Well, our respected and revered forefathers continued the doing-without process until it finally became irksome, and until some of their number, having graduated from the school of experience, raised the point of order that their forefathers hadn't breached the dangers of the mighty deep in the leaky tub. Mayflower simply to find a place where they and their descendants might enjoy the liberty of doing without things, but that they were prompted by the much more sensible idea of trying to get more and better things than they had had. This point of order, which we of this generation would have no hesitancy in deciding off-hand as being well taken, was not decided by our forefathers until after mature deliberation—that is to say, until more of them had had a sufficiency of the dear schooling without which some men, even in this day of electric lights and patent bustles, can not come to a conclusion as to what is for their best interests. And so our forefathers deliberated and debated, did without, and continued doing without until one of their number, whose fiery eloquence and peculiar mode of wearing his surname in front of his given name marked him as of Irish origin, fervently and impassionately asked somebody, presumably King George, who was bossing the trust, to give him liberty or give him death. Then our respected progenitors, who had in the preceding twelve or fifteen years been acquiring information in huge chunks in the school of experience, proceeded to take up that impetuous appeal, and in every city, town, village, and hamlet throughout the thirteen colonies was iterated and repeated the modest but soul-stirring request for somebody to furnish them with liberty or death. But George III., who was generally conceded to be the John L. Sullivan of that period, and who believed he knew a soft snap when he saw it, put liberty under one foot and death under the other, and sent word to our respected dads that if they wanted either they knew where he lived. About this time George Washington, who had already gained considerable notoriety by a display of precocious ability to chop and hew, and a modest inclination to own up when the evidence of his ability as a wood-worker was called to his attention, appeared upon the scene, and, after putting George III. through his paces for eight long years, hit him a belt in the gob which knocked him limp and limber, clean out of the ring. George's referee threw up the sponge and acknowledged that our Washington had fairly earned the heavy-weight championship belt of the world. Now, our forefathers, being duly mindful of the excellent services rendered to them in destroying the power of the principal trust engineer of their time by Washington, proceeded, as soon as they could get matters straightened out, to elect him as the first President of the first government instituted among men whose avowed object was to do the greatest good to the greatest number, and he was duly installed in office the first time April 30, 1789, and this is why we, who are now resolving to do without first one article of prime necessity and then another, simply because some men, intrenched behind the laws of our country, have determined to have a good time at our expense, ought to rejoice to think that such a man as Washington, and such an event as his inauguration, was even remembered, much less celebrated, with the pomp and circumstance it was. Experience is a dear school; but when

we have had sufficient instruction from that unfailing fount of knowledge which wise men do not need to patronize, it will dawn upon us that our forefathers did not breast the terrible danger of being devoured by the British lion simply that they might have the liberty of doing without things they needed, but rather that they might enjoy the more of such things; and when we shall have gone so far in our lessons it will be but a step further to a full realization of the source of all our troubles with trust thieves. It will be but a step further to a full realization of the fact that every thieving trust in our midst, yea, every thieving trust in the world, is but another evidence of the advancing power of money, whose octopus-like arms are stretching themselves forth in every direction, slowly, slimily, unrelentingly, and as certainly as fate, winding themselves around the throats of every industry, and threatening to crush the life out of Washington's Government itself. Realizing this, it will require but another lesson to enable us to understand that the source from whence every trust draws the inspiration of its being will be found in the laws which all government institutes among men. And when we, the sons of our fathers, have fully comprehended this fact, we will only need to put this and that together to fully understand that as long as we continue to elect as law-makers Republican lawyers like Jim Blaine, who declares that trusts are "private affairs," and Democratic lawyers like Senator Vest, who says he "knows no remedy for them," just that long will we be the practical slaves of trusts, the unwitting clods we are, whose puny, dehumanizing efforts to do without only provokes the derisive laughter and taunting jibes of our masters, who know their strength and our weakness, and, understanding this, the rest will be easy. Experience is a dear school, but the lessons it inculcates are the kind that stick.

## The Alliance and the Sale of Cotton.

An old and experienced cotton man, who is a member of the Alliance, and deeply interested in the efforts being made by the Alliance to thoroughly handle their own cotton, wrote the following letter to a member of the cotton committee, which expresses such sound sense that it is thought best to publish it:

I see from the proceedings of the Birmingham meeting that you are placed on what I consider the most important committee—"to formulate a plan for handling cotton;" and in doing so, I beg to remind you, my brother, you can't get down to your work any too soon, for it is all important that the plan, when agreed upon by your committee, should go before the August meetings of the various States embraced, to be ratified and co-operated in by all. While we know that, in our present uneducated condition, no plan, however good, will ensure perfect success at first, still we know that great good will be accomplished and hundreds of thousands, yes millions, be added to the value of the crop in the sale of it. In our feeble efforts at cooperation in the sale of cotton in the past two years, we have accomplished a great deal more than a large majority of people are aware of. By our efforts we have not only stopped the downward tendency of cotton in the month of October, and forced an advance by creating a short interest among speculators who always sell before buying, but by education and co-operation among farmers we have been enabled to put at sea completely the calculations of crop statisticians, who had made their figures on comparisons with former years, as instanced by the increased amount of the two past crops that came into sight after the middle of December. The actual advance in cotton during the two past years is equal to \$5 per bale on two of the largest

crops we have ever raised. Now, if you can get the membership in all the States to co-operate in the sale of cotton and always concentrate or bulk for developing the very best management for the sale of it in round lots, I don't care if they can't have the most efficient management in the selling part, they will be largely benefited, for even by the act of bulking or concentrating for sale they will have created a short interest among the speculators who are already selling September, October, and November deliveries out of the growing crop, and when they get short they are not only good buyers, but will be glad to make firm offers for it to any agency. I think your committee should, in your plan, impress upon the membership everywhere the importance of unloading the crop as slowly as possible, instead of as fast as possible, as has been the case the past fifteen years. Nothing but the folly of cotton producers makes it possible for the speculator to sell the crop before it is ready, and buy it in at a big profit. Their knowledge of the condition and the ignorance of the farmer is explained in the difference between the price of August and September cotton futures and November and December futures. Look at the figures and you will see how much it amounts to. Now, if the farmer were co-operating intelligently his cotton would bring as much in November and December as August and September, and with a short crop more. I know you understand how it is. So long as four-fifths of the crop is sold at interior points, and through (mostly) the so-called spinners' buyers, our aim should be to not only get them short early in the season, but to keep them short all the time.

## Party.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Harry Hinton does not belong to any party, for the simple reason the party belongs to him. Some men are born into a party, some are bought into a party, some are sold to a party, but Harry Hinton is neither bought, sold, nor born in any party. Hurrah for our party! for we intend to beat you. Hurrah for our party! for through this, is the door to office, money, and power. Hurrah for our party! for by electing certain men we can have special legislation in our favor. So by ringing the changes upon poor fallen man we find him influenced in his voting by diverse reasons and causes, but the main impulse is to beat. Money! money is the god of the American people. Not to have money is a disgrace. To have money is to be grand and sublime. Money is power. Money is king. These things being so, the parties are subservient to money. Party prejudice is strong, but money is stronger. Whatever of joy, or hope, or happiness, the human heart is susceptible in its most potential impulses, the triumphant victory of party will bring. So will that of a horse-race, or a dog-fight. Superadd the love of money and power, deep-seated prejudice, and perhaps a notion of self-defense, and you have the mainsprings of party activity among a large class of voters. Eliminate these three classes of voters, those who belong to a party simply by accident or birth, those who belong to a party for office or hope of reward, and those who belong to a party in order to procure special legislation, and you have left the hope of America, the conservative thinking patriots of the land. These have been driven to the wall, ignored by all parties as not sufficiently active in party service, beaten back with flails of bossism and braggadocio till they have retired to the more decent and quiet fields of private felicity. Therefore, the active, the self-assertive, the abusive, and the worse elements, now occupy the political field, while the men who love decency, justice, and their country a little more than party lay politically asleep in the camp. It will not always be thus. The many

crowning indignities and spoliations perpetrated upon this class is arousing it to action, and it will come with its bill of demands founded in justice and practicability, and shove it in the face of every political organization, and those who accept will be accepted and those who reject will be rejected, in that day. The bosses may organize and lay on heavily the party lash to bring slaves, the braggarts may boast of party success, the machinists may pour out their silver and gold to corrupt the voter, but America will be the fifty thousand majority cast in the city will be overcome in the country. The grand old party is booming, "Down with the copperheads." What's the news down South, Mr. Democrat? "Why, she's solid. No radical and negro-worship in hers." Let the rads and repubs socialize and sleep with the negro; she never will. So it goes. The whirl is kept whirling and the blaze is kept blazing all along the line by party orators, by the party press, by shows, processions, bells, and canons, till the ordinary man dances and sings in ecstasy measure:

I love my party, yes I do;  
I love my party, yes I do;  
I love my party, yes I do.  
And my party loves me too.

Harry Hinton says every man should help support the burdens of the Government in proportion to his ability.

The following is an extract from a letter received from Isaac McCracken, president of the National Agricultural Wheel:

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST makes its appearance once a week—a paper which I could wish placed in the hands of every farmer, but more especially those who are organized, as it contains, week after week, great slices of solid truths upon economic questions; or, in other words, politics with the partisan left out. As an educator it fills a long felt want, and, as a National organ I most heartily commend it.

I regret my inability to be with you May 16th at Birmingham, but I was then under a doctor's care. The action taken there fulfilled my expectation prior to the meeting. I believed that cotton bagging was the most suitable covering, all things considered; and, if possible, I am firmer in that belief now than I was then. I notice that one of the objections to cotton bagging is that it is not as strong as the jute, and that the hooks of the laborers in handling tear it much worse. I fail to see the necessity of having the cotton handled with a single hook, and when I use the term hook I mean an implement with but a single prong strong enough to catch. I am of the opinion that an implement with three prongs or hooks would handle the cotton with less danger of tearing the cotton bagging than the one-prong hook does now with the jute bagging. One other objection, and it would seem to me the greater of the two, would be the wrapping of the cotton of the country with bagging which would not be an equivalent of the twenty-six pounds tare as established by the cotton-buyers of Liverpool. I feel satisfied that with the proper action on the part of the cotton exchanges of the United States the last objection can be overcome. Fair-minded men should not want something for nothing; and I am satisfied that the time is close at hand when the organized farmers of the United States will cease to give the products of their farms to men of other vocations without a just equivalent in return.

Brother McCracken is right. The second objection has been overcome by the assurance of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange that the tare for cotton bagging will be fixed after tests. The last ECONOMIST published figures which appear conclusive.

THE total net earnings of all the National banks for the six months prior to September 1, 1887, was \$32,808,075, or \$5,468,012.50 per month.

## THE THREE CONSTITUTIONS.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATION-  
AL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND  
CO-OPERATIVE UNION  
OF AMERICA.

## PREAMBLE.

Profoundly impressed that we, the farmers of America, who are united by the strong and faithful ties of financial and home interests, should, when organized into an association, set forth our declaration of intentions. We therefore resolve,

## DECLARATION OF PURPOSES.

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economic government in a strictly non-partisan spirit; and to bring about a more perfect union of all classes.

2. That we demand equal right to all men special favors to none.

3. That we return to the old principle of letting the office seek the man instead of the man seeking the office.

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

5. To develop a better state mentally, morally, socially, and financially.

6. To create a better understanding for training our civil officers in maintaining law and order.

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

8. To suppress personal, local, sectional, and National prejudices, all unhealthful rivalry, and all selfish ambition.

9. The brightest jewels which it garners are tears of widows and orphans and its imperative commands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding; to assuage the sufferings of a brother or sister; bury the dead; care for the widows and educate the orphans; to exercise charity toward offenders; to constitute a safe harbor for the drowning and deeds in them the favorable light, giving honesty of purpose and pure intentions to others, and to protect the principles of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union until death. Its laws are reason and equity, its cardinal doctrines inspire purity of thought and life, its intention is, "Peace on earth and good-will to man."

CONSTITUTION OF THE NA-  
TIONAL AGRICULTURAL  
WHEEL.

## PREAMBLE.

Whereas the general condition of our country imperatively demands unity of action on the part of the laboring classes, reformation in economy and dissemination of principles best calculated to encourage and foster agricultural and mechanical pursuits, encouraging the toiling masses—leading them in the road to prosperity, and providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange for our commodities, and the best means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good. We hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people, and subvert finally overthrown the great principles of individual liberty. We therefore adopt the following as our declaration of principles:

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economic government in a strict non-partisan spirit, and to bring about a more perfect union of all classes.

We hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people, and subvert finally overthrown the great principles of individual liberty. We therefore adopt the following as our declaration of principles:

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## CONSOLIDATION.

## Questions and Answers.

As many letters have been received asking questions in regard to the consolidation that will result, provided three-fourths of the State Alliances and Wheels ratify the constitution proposed by the conference meeting of the National Agricultural Wheel and the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, the questions and answers are published. The questions come from everywhere, the answers are by the editor of this paper.

Question.—Will the ratification of the new constitution, by which the name of the National body is changed to "The Farmers and Laborers Union of America" necessitate a corresponding change in the name of the State, county, and subordinate organizations?

Answer.—It will not. State organizations may be known as Alliances, Wheels, Unions, Granges, or by any other name they choose. Where there are both a State Alliance and a State Wheel in the same State, they should hold a joint meeting and decide what name they will adopt for the consolidated State body; it may be State Wheel, State Alliance, State Farmers and Laborers Union, or anything else they may choose. The name Farmers and Laborers Union simply applies to the National body, according to the proposed constitution, but may be taken by State, county, or subordinate bodies if they choose.

Question.—Will the ratification of the new constitution and the change of name of the National body make it necessary that new charters be issued throughout the entire order?

Answer.—It will not. Provision has been made for amending the National charter so as to show the changed name, but all the other provisions of the old charter remain the same and all bodies chartered under it are full legal bodies under its new name, just as though no change had been made. But should States consolidating two State-bodies and assuming a new name desire a new charter it will cost them but a trifling sum.

Question.—If the constitution be ratified and the new order established, will all the members have to pay a new initiation fee?

Answer.—They will not. There will not be any expense whatever except four rituals for each subordinate body.

Question.—Can a State Alliance ratify part of the new constitution and reject part, or can it make any changes or amendments before ratifying, or can it ratify contingent upon certain events and changes?

Answer.—It can not ratify part and reject part. It can not alter or amend. The constitution must be voted on as a whole without change.

Question.—Is it possible to alter or amend the constitution after it has been ratified?

Answer.—It is possible to alter or amend the constitution after it has been ratified, but it must be done by a two-thirds majority of all the members.

Question.—Is it possible to change the name of the order?

Answer.—It is possible to change the name of the order, but it must be done by a two-thirds majority of all the members.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

ARTICLE III.  
Fees, Dues, and Reports.

Section 1. Dues.—Each State organization under the jurisdiction of this body shall pay at each annual session of the body five per cent. of the gross cash receipts of the State organization.

Section 1. The officers shall be a president, a first vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, a chaplain, one steward, one conductor, one lecturer, one sentinel, and the president shall appoint three trustees annually.

ARTICLE IV.  
Officers.

Section 1. The officers shall be elected at each annual session of the body.

ARTICLE V.  
Elections.

Section 1. The officers shall be elected at each annual session of the body.

ARTICLE VI.  
Organizing Officers.

Section 1. No person shall have power to organize another.

Section 1. The organizing officer shall have power to become an organizer.

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of dollars between 1872 and 1885 was put on the world's supply of gold.

One of the most competent authorities on economic science, especially finance and money, estimated that France, Germany, Italy, and the United States required an "addition" to their gold currency equal to the sum I have just named. Of that sum the United States needed one-half, \$500,000,000.

If the calculations of the present chancellor of the British exchequer are correct, the extraordinary phenomenon is presented: Between 1872 and 1885, a period of twelve years; one billion of gold was called for and applied, in the United States and Europe, to a use to which prior thereto it was not necessary to apply it.

This enormous demand for the precious metal occurred at a time when the output of the mines of the world were steadily declining.

The total production of the world in 1852 was \$180,000,000. From 1852 to 1866 it averaged, per annum, \$128,000,000. In the next five years the average per annum was \$113,750,000.

From 1871 to 1875 the annual average had declined to \$96,000,000. Mr. Del Bar, a very experienced and distinguished mining engineer,

stated in a speech delivered in London, several years ago, before a scientific association, that his opinion was, after a careful personal inspection of the principal mines of North and South America, Europe, and Australia, that the output of gold had reached the maximum,

and that there was little probability of the discovery of new mines to augment materially the product.

It must be kept in view that all the gold bullion does not find its way to the mints. A very considerable portion of it is used in the arts and manufacturing. The Director of the Mint, in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury, and by him transmitted to Congress, states the amount at over \$11,000,000 of gold used in the United States in 1887 in the arts. This must be deducted from the annual total of the mines.

In addition there must be included the consumption of Europe, Asia, and Australia, for the like use. The balance would be the supply from the mines for coinage. To this amount taken from the mines must be added re-coining of old pieces, of old plate, jewelry, etc. The total from this source is purely conjectural. I have before me the tables of the production of the mines of the world for four years, given on page 51 of the report from which I have been quoting:

To 1888	\$95,392,000
1884	101,694,000
1885	103,744,000
1886	99,250,887

It must not be overlooked that the very much larger annual yield of the mines between 1847 and 1873 was absorbed into circulation, without redundancy or inflation, and that those were years of good prices and unusual prosperity; nor should it be forgotten that during those years gold was reinforced by the free coinage of silver in the continental states of Europe and the United States.

I have dwelt so much in figures and detail on this point, to show clearly how it has come to pass that the purchasing power of gold has appreciated and the prices of commodities fallen.

Gold, having become in the United States and Europe the sole measure of values, can not be had in sufficient abundance to maintain prices on the land that existed when we had a bimetallic currency. Naturally and necessarily in this condition of the relation between the standard of values and commodities, prices must decline. The single metal has been made to do the duty of both.

It is a fundamental principle of currency that contraction much below the usual volume is promptly followed by a fall in prices. On the other hand, inflation puts up prices, and if excessive above the needs of the people, it begets extravagance and speculation.

Perhaps the most valuable service which statesmanship can render to the country is to avoid fluctuations, to keep the currency in adequate and healthy supply, and as near stable as possible. The idea is not that it shall be stationary,

but that as population and production increase

and exchanges multiply, so should the circulation proportionally expand.

To keep prices stable its volume ought to increase, *pari passu*, with the enormous growth of population and the phenomenal increase of production. The need of money grows as the years come and go.

The addition to the National wealth, the aggregate of production per annum, is larger in the United States than in any other country. Industry and employment are more universal than elsewhere. It would follow that the demand for money would be greater, and the supply per capita ought also to be larger. France falls far behind the United States in the value of her property and in the fruits of her industries. It would be safe to say that her internal commerce is not half as large. Her foreign commerce is much less. In France wealth is more universally diffused, and her people, take them all in all, are the best off, and have more accumulated surplus than any other in Europe. Yet France, with less need of it, has \$23 per capita more money than the United States; the proportion of the former being \$50.75 to the individual, whilst the proportion of the latter is \$27 to the individual.

The Bland act of 28th of February, 1879, was a step, but a short one, toward the early policy of the Government. It directed the purchase of an adequate amount of silver bullion annually; to coin not exceeding four nor less than two millions of standard dollars, which were made a legal tender. Every administration and every Secretary of the Treasury since the passage of the law have been opposed to full remonetization of silver. What will be the course of President Harrison and Mr. Wilmot has not yet been developed. In the ten years of the law's existence only \$20,000,000 have been coined, \$2,000,000 per annum, the minimum fixed by the law.

If the foregoing views are sound, it follows that the abrupt and extreme change made in our monetary laws in 1872 is responsible chiefly for the decline in values, for the depression in many lines of business, especially agriculture, which began about fifteen years ago and has continued without much abatement ever since.

But the evils have not fallen on all the members of the community alike. Some classes have been benefited, greatly benefited. The rich have become very rich, the poor have sunk deeper in poverty.

It requires no protraction of the argument to show that the holders of bonds and debentures, National, State, municipal and corporate; bankers, capitalists, money-lenders, railroad companies, and telegraph owners—those who have a fixed income from salaries, mortgages, or other permanent investments—have been the gainers, in the aggregate, to the extent of untold millions, while the farmers and planters and laborers in all the avenues of industry have been losers to the extent of the gains of the classes above named. On them, and especially

of American industry,

IN every State in which there are coal or iron mines, British capital is invested and British lords dictate the terms upon which American labor shall employ itself, while the vast wealth produced flows into the pockets of foreign aristocrats to enable them to revel in luxury, idleness, and vice while they plan further robbery

#### History and Government.

##### No. 15.

The time had at last arrived when the despotism of Asia was to make its grand onslaught upon the infant civilization just dawning in Europe. The immediate circumstances which brought on this momentous conflict were as follows:

There were in Asia Minor several Greek colonies, which had been settled on that coast about five hundred years before this time. These colonies were Ionia, Aeolia, and Caria. The people of these states inherited all the natural qualities which characterized the Greeks, but their small numbers had rendered them powerless to resist the invasions of Croesus, King of Lydia, and he had reduced them to subjection to his power. He in his turn was overthrown by Cyrus, in his conquest of Asia Minor, and these colonies had consequently fallen under Persian oppression.

Darius, who was on the Persian throne at the time to which reference is now made, had made an incursion into Scythia, and on his return had added Thrace and Macedonia to his dominions.

The Greek colonies, although they had been so long under Oriental despotism, had not lost their innate love of liberty, and on every opportunity they made some attempt to recover their independence. The Ionians, particularly, let no occasion pass which offered the least hope of throwing off the Persian yoke. The expedition of Darius into Scythia offered an opportunity for revolt, and the Ionians enlisted the other colonies in a common cause. They appealed to Athens for aid and the Athenians sent them a small force of men and ships. The Etruscans and Euboeans also gave some aid. This force entered the Persian frontier at Ephesus and marched by land to Sardis, the capital city of Lydia. This city they burned and a number of the people were slain. The Persian forces, however, soon overwhelmed the little band of Greeks and only a few escaped. The Ionians then determined to make no further attempts by land, where they could be so easily overpowered, but being skillful sailors they decided to make a naval war, in which they hoped to have greater advantages. In this case Persian gold accomplished what their arms could not, and the allies were bought off, leaving the Ionians and the few Athenians at the mercy of the Persians. The town of Miletus, which the Greeks had fortified, was taken and all prisoners captured were sent into Persia as slaves. This ended the Ionian revolt and again subjected the Greek colonies to Persian tyranny.

The action of the Athenians, in aiding this revolt of the Greek colonies, seemed especially to excite the resentment of Darius. It appeared to him an act of unparalleled impudence that an insignificant little state like Athens should dare to defy the combined power of Asia as personified by him, and his resentment seemed especially directed against this unfortunate little-free state. He sent his son-in-law to command throughout the maritime parts of Asia Minor; and particularly to avenge the burning

of Sardis. This offense seemed especially to excite the resentment of the King; and from the time of its occurrence he gave orders for one of his attendants, every time he sat down to table, to cry out: "Remember the Athenians."

He sent Mardonius into Thrace at the head of a large army, from which province he was to pass through Macedonia into Greece. Mardonius, in attempting to double the cape of Mount Athos with his fleet, to gain the Macedonian coast, lost over three hundred vessels and more than twenty thousand men in a storm. His army, which had attempted the overland route, was attacked in the night by the Thracians and cut to pieces; Mardonius himself was wounded, and finding his army unable to keep the field, he returned with the remnant into Persia.

This utter failure of this attempt on Greece excited Darius still more, and he put two generals to command his army of invasion. Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother, who had been governor of Sardis, were chosen. The King now determined to attack Greece with his full power, and especially to wreak his vengeance against Athens.

This extreme bitterness against the Athenians was probably due to a great extent to Hippas, the tyrant who had been expelled from Athens, and who, it will be remembered, had fled to the court of Darius. Hippas used his utmost endeavors to excite his ambition and fire his resentment. He represented to Darius the growing power, wealth, and importance of the Greek states; that their liberal ideas were likely to infect the people of Asia, and thus his power and majesty would be endangered. He represented to Darius that unless the Greeks were subjugated their influence would spread over the people of the West, and Persian supremacy be at an end. Oriental civilization supplanted with new ideas and institutions.

Darius now determined to push his conquest of Greece to the extent of his power. It was the custom of the Persians, when they decided on the conquest of a country, to send heralds who demanded earth and water from the doomed people as a sign of submission. If this demand was refused, those who so refused were considered opposers of the Persian power, and when overcome the most abject slavery was their fate.

Darius, in observance of this custom, sent heralds to the various Grecian states to make this demand for earth and water in the name of the mighty King of Persia. Most of the little states, fearing the terrible consequences which might result from their refusal, complied with the demand, bartered their liberty for safety.

Among those who thus submitted were, the inhabitants of Egin, a little island not far from Athens, the possession of which by the Persians would greatly expose Athens and give the Persians an immense advantage. The Athenians reported this treason of the people of Egin to the Spartans, who immediately compelled them to retract their submission, and took ten of their leading men as hostages to guarantee good faith, and gave these hostages to the Athenians for safe-keeping.

Athens and Sparta were thus left alone to oppose the might of Persia. They had felt the inspiration of liberty and were resolved to defend it to the last. When the heralds of Darius arrived at these gallant little republics, instead of offering them earth and water in token of submission to Persian despotism, the people threw one of the heralds into a well and the other into a deep ditch, telling them to take earth and water from there. This defiance not only cut off any hope of consideration at the hands of Darius in case of defeat, but left them nothing to look forward to but desperate resistance and triumph or death.

Preparations for a desperate struggle now went forward with the greatest spirit on both sides.

Darius sent forward Datis and Artaphernes, the commanders of his army, as he considered, to certain conquest. They were furnished with a fleet of six hundred ships, and the army numbered a hundred and twenty thousand men; their instructions were to give up Athens to be plundered; to burn all the houses and temples and to lead away all the inhabitants into slavery. The country was to be laid waste and the army was provided with a large supply of chains and fetters for binding the conquered nation.

To oppose this mighty array, the Athenians had only their courage, their love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, their dread of slavery, their discipline, and about ten thousand men. They had also the sympathy and support of Sparta and her invincible soldiery; though numbering only about eight thousand men they, in themselves were a reliance that might well give courage, even in the most desperate straits. They were heroes indeed, every man a very demi-god in battle and a host within himself. These men seemed to be the very genius of war incarnate and to revel upon the field of battle as with the most intense delight. They were the petted children of Mars, and to them danger was but pastime, and in the defense of their adored liberty no power of earth or heaven could daunt their unquenchable spirit. In both of these grand little republics every citizen was a soldier and a statesman, and considered himself as one of the bulwarks of his country.

The men who led the councils of state among the Athenians at the time Darius began his invasion were Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. These men were all fully imbued with all those grand qualities which the peculiar social and political conditions under which they lived especially fostered and developed, and which were the source from which all the developments of modern civilization sprang.

Datis and Artaphernes began their advance toward Europe; the very earth trembled under the tread of their thousands and the seas were whitened by the sails of their many ships. Soon all the islands of the Aegean sea had fallen under their power and they turned their forces toward Etruria, a city which had aided the Ionians in their unfortunate revolt. The Etruscans saw no hope of successful resistance and consequently sent back four thousand men that the Athenians had sent to their aid, and resolved to stand a siege, although they did not even entertain a hope of success. For six days the

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Persians assaulted the city without avail, but on the seventh by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, it was betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The inhabitants were put in chains and sent into Persia as trophies of war.

This flattering success at Etruria seemed to indicate an apparently easy conquest of Greece and greatly elated the Persians, while it operated to depress the spirit of the Athenians. Hippas, the expelled tyrant of Athens, accompanied the army of the Persians, and led them by the safest marches into the very heart of the country. At length, flushed with victory and confident of success, because of their uninterrupted march through Greece to the heart of Attica, the Persians encamped on the plains of Marathon, a fertile valley only a few miles from Athens and near the sea-shore. From Marathon the Persian generals sent to summons the Athenians to surrender, and reminded them of the fate of Etruria, where not a single inhabitant had escaped.

The Athenians were not overawed or intimidated because the danger had come immediately to them. They had already determined to die, if necessary, in the defense of their liberties. They had already sent to Sparta for aid, and were looking hourly for the arrival of the heroes on whom they placed their dependence. The Spartans had been delayed in their movements, but were on their way to meet the invader at the time. The Athenians applied also to several other states, but all were so overawed by the enormous power of the Persians that they refused to move even in their own defense. An army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was too great odds for these faint-hearted ones to face. The inhabitants of Platea alone furnished one thousand men, and this was all that came to the defense of Greece outside of Athens and Sparta. The Athenians, driven to the last extremity, armed their slaves, which they had never done before, and then their army all told amounted to only ten thousand men. This army was placed under the command of Miltiades, and in his hands rested the fate of Greece, indeed the fate of the new civilization which has regenerated the world.

Miltiades, like the great general he was, endeavored, by taking advantage of the ground, to make up as much as possible the mighty odds against him. He saw that his only hope lay in massing his forces into a solid body, thus gaining the full power of which they were capable, and by united and concerted action against one point of the enemy's line, prevent his using the full force under his command at any one time. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so that the enemy could not take him in his rear by turning his flank. On each flank the trees were cut down and an impenetrable barricade formed, so that the Persian cavalry could not attack his flanks, as was their custom.

Datis saw the advantage of this disposition, but relying upon the great superiority of his numbers he determined to engage, hoping to overwhelm the Greeks with the weight of his columns. Now was to be fought the first great battle in which the Greeks were ever engaged. It was a battle that was to be fought with the greatest monarch on earth, with the most pow-

erful army that had up to that time been seen in Europe, and what had the Greeks to oppose to it?

This was a conflict upon the result of which depended more momentous consequences than ever depended upon a battle in the history of the world, ancient or modern. It was the struggle that was to decide whether the darkness of Oriental despotism should forever shadow the world and blight the development of the race, or whether the new civilization should burst forth into a brilliancy which should be reflected far into the mists of futurity. This battle was not to decide the liberty of Greece alone, but of the race. Upon the result of this battle depended the character of the civilization which was to stamp its effects upon the fresh peoples of the West; whether they were to sink and deteriorate under the customs and characteristics of their Asiatic conquerors, or go on modeling themselves upon Grecian refinement and progress; whether slavery and degradation was to be the lot of man, or liberty, enlightenment, and the grand development he has up to this time accomplished. It is terrible to contemplate what might have been the result to the world had Persian power triumphed at Marathon; and the civilized world owes to Miltiades a debt of gratitude that can scarcely be realized. This may, therefore, be considered the most important battle ever fought upon the earth. Other battles affected only nations, and their results were limited to localities and eras. The result of this great battle affected the world, the entire human race, and extends as long as time exists or the human race progresses, and Miltiades may be truly denominated the founder of civilization, the redeemer of the race.

The order for attack was no sooner given than the Athenians rushed upon the Persians with a desperation born of despair, utterly reckless of death, but, as it were, frenzied and desperate, intent only on the destruction of the enemy and utterly thoughtless of themselves. The Persians were at first inclined to look upon the Athenians as no better than maniacs, liable to injure themselves as much as the enemy. The Athenians fought only with the short Greek sword, and had no light-armed troops, either archers or slingers. The Persians stood their ground, and the conflict was fierce and obstinate. The Greeks determined to break through the ranks of the Persians or fall in the attempt. The great danger fired their courage, and despair did the rest.

Miltiades had made his flanks strong at the expense of his center, expecting to break the Persian line with his wings and then take them in flank. The Persians, seeing the weakness of the center, made their assault there. Themistocles and Aristides were posted here, and heroically kept their men to the contest. Courage and reckless desperation seemed unable to resist the torrent of the ever-increasing numbers of the Persians, and the center began to lose ground. Just then, the wings broke the line of Persian steel in their front, and just as the center was fainting under the terrible struggle, the wings swung round and gave them relief and time to recover their breath and their

order. The Persians now began to give ground, and finally fled to their ships in utter rout. The disorder and confusion became general and the Athenians followed them to the beach and set many of their ships on fire. Seven ships were taken and more than six thousand Persians were killed, not counting those drowned in the sea or burned in the ships. Hippas, the treacherous tyrant of Athens, was killed in this battle, a fate too good for one capable of such perfidy as he had been guilty of.

After the Persians took to flight, an Athenian soldier named Eucle, covered with blood and wounds, ran to Athens to carry the news of the victory; when he reached the magistrates' house, he had only strength to utter two words, (*Xalpere, Xalpocev*) "Rejoice, we triumph!" and fell dead. The Greek army moved immediately into the city to protect it against any attack the Persians might attempt from the sea. This the Persians did undertake, but found the city well defended and gave up any further operations against it.

The Spartans had started a body of 2,000 men to the aid of the Athenians at the first call for help, and these men marched 150 miles in three days to reach the field, but only arrived after the battle had been fought, and in this way Sparta failed to gather her share of honor upon this glorious field, and yet it was due to some extent to them that the battle was fought when it was; because the Persians engaged at the time they did in order to finish the battle before the Spartans could arrive to succor the Athenians.

This victory taught the Greeks to know their own strength and not to tremble before any power. It taught them through the succeeding ages of their glory to emulate the glorious example of their ancestors and to maintain the high standard of Grecian honor and valor; besides, it prepared the Greeks for the heroic resistance they were yet to make against the overshadowing power of Persian despotism which was not yet broken, but made even more intent upon the conquest of the defiant little states which had so gallantly repelled their first attempt at the conquest of Europe.

The battle of Marathon, although of such vast importance as to mark an epoch in the history of the civilization of the world, was yet not the end of the struggle of the Greeks for liberty and the establishment of popular government among men.

This battle only ushered in the mighty conflict between the Oriental civilization, which had paralyzed the energies of the people of Asia and reduced them to degradation and slavery, and the new institutions, just sprung into existence, which were to regenerate man,

fire the hearts of the fresh peoples of Europe with exalted aspirations and build up mighty nations, develop the genius of the race, and make possible the grand achievements of modern times.

In the conflict which ensued, the soldiery of Sparta and Athens enacted deeds that seem too incredible for belief, and yet the story is true, and the characters of these people were formed through their social and political institutions. Therefore no stronger proof of the perfection

of these institutions could be had than is given in the record of the gigantic conflict which we are now to review and critically observe. This is one of the most important, if not the most important, epoch in the history of man. During this conflict popular institutions and government were put to the most trying tests, and on every occasion proved the fact that the more liberal the institutions, the freer the people, and the closer they were allied to their Government the better they were qualified to maintain their institutions and the more certainly their valor and devotion might be relied on, even in the face of the most extreme danger. The loss of the battle of Marathon was the death-knell to Asiatic despotism and the foundation-stone upon which the Greeks built the grand superstructure of modern civilization.

## Education.

BY HARRY TRACY.

Education, like all other institutions, carries with it the characteristics of the educator; and with the same certainty that the magnet controls the needle, is the motives of the teacher portrayed in the character of the student. Exercise is the law of development, and is the fundamental law of education, because any cause that excites the activity of a power or faculty invigorates, intensifies, and develops that power or faculty to the extent of its nutrition. To illustrate, if a child born of English parents were raised in a German home, surrounded by German influences, it would lose its English characteristics and become Germanized. It is by this law that national characteristics are formed and preserved, and it is also through these influences that nations perpetuate or lose their liberties. This leads us to conclude that the greatest of all duties of the citizen is to guard well the education of the young.

In a republican government all citizens are equal in their political status and all are supposed to provide for their own wants, and to be able to do this each must enjoy the fruits of his own labor. In a government where social relations require equal social qualifications, where duties of citizens are required of all, education must necessarily be universal, and that education must be especially devoted to the preservation of that style of a government. If any other kind of an education be allowed, the status of society, and consequently of government, will change so as to conform to the principles of the prevailing education. In a republican government every citizen is an integral part of the government, and if his education be in harmony with republican government and he be educated to understand the science of republican government, such a government in that country will be permanent. Upon the other hand, if the logical effect of the education of the people in a republican government be antagonistic to that type of government, that government is sure to be overturned and one erected in its stead which conforms to the principles underlying the education of the people.

The fundamental principles that must necessarily be thoroughly understood by the citizens of popular government are social, financial, and political economy, not from a monarchical but from a democratic standpoint. Where these sciences are not well understood by the great body of the people in a republic it is an impossibility to perpetuate popular government. Therefore, if the social, financial, and political institutions of our country be founded upon just principles, the future of our Republic is secure; while, upon the other hand, if they be mal-ad-

justed the liberties of the people are in jeopardy. This adjustment is the result of education.

Does the average man or woman in this country study social or political economy? Not at all. The poor are too much occupied in the struggle to get bread to have the time or inclination to pay any attention whatever to those essential sciences, while to do so is beneath the dignity of the rich and well-off.

What the average man in America is racking his brain seven days in the week to understand is, how to make money. The poor want to buy bread and to gratify the insatiate maw of the landlord, while the well-off want it to become a money king, a railway or cattle king, a land baron, the manager of a syndicate or the creator of a corner. The wives and daughters of the poor are expected to toil in the fields or shops to keep the wolf from the door, while the wives and daughters of the rich are expected not to soil their white hands with any kind of toil, but are expected to dress in the daintiest and to keep up with the latest fad, and in general to do and perform only such acts as will most advertise the wealth of the husbands and fathers. Thus those who labor are educated to be abject slaves and the rich are educated to be tyrannical, presumptuous, and vicious, and thus all the people have been educated to bow submissively at the feet of Mammon and every stratum of society is thoroughly poisoned. Even the religion of our age has been drawn into this vortex and now consists of a few moral maxims, the commandment to be respectable, a few reminiscences of the Bible, and a high regard for the favorite preacher. Thus all fervently worship a god, but that god happens to be Mammon. As a result of such education, the nineteenth century is the most irreligious that has ever been seen.

There is a depth of moral degradation below atheism, below anti-religion. It is the callous indifference to every instinct that does not create wealth. We may have some idea to what depths morality, religion, and manhood have sunk when we remember that the keeper of a whisky shop in California, after he has accumulated millions by despoiling of drunken miners, sees his family become the leaders of fashion in two continents, and universally recognized as the embodiment of Christian virtues, while he dictates peace or war to the greatest of modern governments. The most degrading superstition that ever called itself religion has not stooped so low as to preach such a dogma as this. It falls far, very far, below fetishism, and has produced the universal anarchy in society now so prevalent everywhere.

Is it possible for republican government and a semblance of freedom to survive the rule of such principles? No one who is not blinded by greed or prejudice, or who has any respect for truth, believes it or will assert it. Then, what is to be done? The only remedy visible or possible is to educate the masses upon the sciences of social, financial, and political economy.

To this end THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST was established in the city of Washington by the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, The National Agricultural Wheel, The Farmers and Laborers Mutual Benefit Association, and the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and to the teaching of these indispensable fundamental principles of popular government the management is bending its every effort, with the firm belief that every citizen in the United States who loves freedom, justice, and law will rally to its support, and thereby make it a power in the land.

(A MILLION and a half of men are now the victims of enforced idleness, and the number goes on increasing.)

## Proclamation.

Whereas, delegates from the different State Alliances, Wheels, and Unions assembled in the city of Birmingham, Ala., on the 15th day of May, 1889, did pass a resolution, requesting C. W. Macune, president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, Isaac McCracken, president of the National Agricultural Wheel of America, and S. M. Adams, chairman of said convention of delegates, to issue a proclamation requesting the proper officers in the various State organizations to convene all the county organizations in their respective States on the second Tuesday in June, 1889, for the purpose of taking proper action to carry out and render effective the plans adopted at said Birmingham meeting of delegates from said States;

Now, therefore, we, the undersigned, by the power and authority in us vested, do hereby issue this our official call to the various State Alliances, Wheels, and Unions in all of the States having such organizations, requesting that the county organizations convene on the second Tuesday, being the 11th day of June, 1889, or as soon thereafter as practical, for the purposes above expressed and enumerated.

S. M. ADAMS,  
Chairman of Convention.

C. W. MACUNE,  
Pres. N. F. A. & C. U. of A.  
ISAAC McCRAKEN,  
Pres. N. A. W. of A.

IRELAND has suffered for generations from the oppression of English landlordism, and her people have struggled like heroes to rid themselves of this vampire which has almost sucked away the life of the race. The hold of this deadly monster is at last being loosened on the green sod, but it has seized upon the fresh energy of America, and is steadily fixing its fangs into our social life, until even now thousands of so-called free Americans are as much the vassals of English masters as the most oppressed of Ireland. Millions of acres of American land to-day pay tribute to English lords in rents, and thousands of American workmen labor under terms dictated by English masters in London and Liverpool. Can it be said even now that we have achieved our independence from England?

HERE is an illustration of the difference between the relation of the capitalists to the Government, and that of the producers to the same equitable power. June 20, 1888, the First National Bank of New York published a statement that its circulation was \$423,200. On December 12th of the same year, it published a statement that its circulation was only \$45,000. This was something in the way of contraction. The sworn statement of the bank also states that its capital is \$560,000, and that its profits during the year 1888 amounted to \$1,472,764. At one time this bank had the use of \$23,000,000 of the Government's money. It was charged during the late Presidential campaign that the Treasury surplus was being loaned out to the banks free of interest, and it is a fact that this policy was inaugurated years ago, and there is no change in it up to this time. Whenever the contraction of the banks threatens to create a money panic the surplus is transferred to the banks in the money centers free of interest until the strain is relieved, and in this way is the great surplus used as a power to maintain the present despotic system.

**That "Imaginary Assumption" of Contraction.**  
BY EVAN JONES, DUBLIN, TEXAS,  
President Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

It is with reluctance that I ask space to review my critic, Mr. Watters, because there is little in his criticism but reckless assertion. After concurring in what I said regarding over-production, he says: "But the cause of this inability to purchase is not by any means the lack of a proper quantity of money," but he does not give any other cause. He thinks there is a contradiction in my assertion that a fall in prices and a shrinkage in the volume of money cause inability to purchase, but he fails to show how low produce, cheap and idle labor, and dear money increase the ability of the consumer to purchase the necessities of life. He then asks: "But shrinkage in the volume—what does that mean?" To an intelligent, thinking man it means less money in circulation. I hope the idea is not beyond the grasp of his giant mind.

Money is a representative of wealth, a medium of exchange for property and products; and it must be instituted and its value fixed by law in order to make it a public tender in payment of debt. It has the power of representing and measuring values, of exchanging values, and of accumulating value by interest. Mr. Watters admits that money is a measure of all values, the same as a foot is a measure of length. If money is a representative of wealth, a measure of values, and a necessity as a medium of exchange, a shrinkage in its volume will naturally effect the ability of the consumer to purchase. Money is a combination of legal powers expressed upon metal, paper, or some other substance. Its value is the standard or determiner of the value of all other things, and it serves as a public medium of exchange for land, labor, and all other commodities. (Kellogg). These productions alone constitute wealth. Commerce comprises the modes and methods of distributing the various productions of skill. To accomplish this with least expense to both producer and consumer is the mission of true political economy. A universally-accepted medium of exchange is as essential as safe and cheap transportation. One exchanges ownership; the other, location. Hence, cheap money is as essential to the prosperity of both producer and consumer as cheap transportation. In other words, the distribution of created wealth consists of two parts: the change of place of commodities and the change of title to commodities. What are the agents or implements used in these transactions? For change of place we use wagons, cars, and boats; for change of title we use money. Now if the means of transportation are adequate to the demand this change of place moves on smoothly and normally, but if in the midst of this prosperous condition some unseen hand withdraws one-half of the means of transportation the result is disastrous. Producers can not distribute their produce; the consumer can not receive what is necessary for sustenance, and if the trouble be not removed suffering is the result. What is the remedy? Restore the means of transportation. The same will apply to the change of title. With money adequate to the demand of commerce, buying and selling of commodities will move on smoothly, and commodities will change title in accordance with the necessities of society. Now let some unseen hand withdraw one-half of this volume of money, the result will be the same as the withdrawal of means of transportation. There will be a falling in price of labor and produce, while money will become dear.

Mr. Watters says that money "has nothing to do with the relative prices of commodities. This is regulated entirely by the effectively expended human labor required to produce them. The price of wheat as compared to the price of

hats is dependent upon the labor expended in the production of wheat and hats." This is an assertion which he fails to sustain, and is too absurd to deserve even a passing notice. The farmers of this country well know the fallacy of such statements, and if Mr. Watters knows anything about the subject at all, he knows that the cost of production has nothing to do with prices. He says money is a measure of values, the same as a foot is a measure of length, yet it has nothing to do with prices. If it require three feet to measure a yard, you could not measure it with two feet. If it require \$50 per capita to raise our Nation up to its maximum of prosperity, how can we reach it with only about \$10 per capita? Mr. Watters says that, to his thinking, shrinkage in the volume of money is an imaginary assumption, which has no real existence. He must consider the people very ignorant. Contraction is a stern reality. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized by law of April 12, 1866, to sell five-twenty bonds, and with the proceeds retire United States currency, including greenbacks. We had at that time \$1,803,762,726 in circulation, or \$50.70 per capita. By 1877 this was contracted to \$696,443,384, or \$14.60 per capita. In 1866 there were 632 business failures. In 1867 there were retired, according to the report of Secretary McCulloch, \$211,000,000, and the failures were 2,386, with losses to creditors of \$86,218,000. In 1868, \$473,000,000 were retired, and in 1869 about \$500,000,000, and the failures amounted to 6,608. In 1870 the contraction was about \$67,000,000; in 1871, \$35,000; in 1872, \$12,000,000; in 1873, \$1,609,000, and silver demonetized. In this year wages were greatly reduced and half a million people were thrown out of employment. In 1875 the contraction of the currency amounted to \$40,817,418, the business failures to 7,740, and the losses of creditors to \$201,060,000, and 2,000,000 of laborers were out of employment. Contraction continued until 1878, when the failures were 10,478 and losses to creditors were \$234,383,132. Mr. Watters, how is the above for "imaginary assumption" of contraction and its effect on business and commerce?

During the prosperity of the Roman Empire the circulating medium was about \$1,800,000,000, but by the end of the fifteenth century it was contracted to less than \$200,000,000. What was the result? The silver commissioners, in their report for 1877, answer that question in the following language (see Report, page 50): "During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world. Population dwindled, and commerce, art, wealth, and freedom disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded condition of serfdom and slavery. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of man shivered and disappeared as the volume of money shrunk and as prices fell. The crumbling institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage of money and falling prices."

And again they say that "the first glimmer of light came with the invention of bills of exchange and paper substitutes through which the scanty stock of the precious metals was increased to efficiency."

Again, the decrease in the yield of mines since about 1865, while population and commerce have been advancing, has already produced unmistakable symptoms of the same general distrust, non-employment of labor, and political and social disquiet, which has characterized all former periods of shrinking money." (See page 51.) "It was scarce and dear money, falling prices, and idle labor that cast over the world the pall of the dark ages. It was an increase of money and advancing prices for labor and produce that broke the shackles of feudalism.

Mr. Watters says that money "has nothing to do with the relative prices of commodities. This is regulated entirely by the effectively expended human labor required to produce them. The price of wheat as compared to the price of

prices are falling, the worst effect is upon labor, whom it deprives of employment and consigns to poverty." (See Report of Monetary Commission, page 55.) "An increasing value of money and falling prices have been and are more fruitful of human misery than war, pestilence, or famine. They have wrought more injustice than all the bad laws which were ever enacted." (See Silver Commission's report, page 10.) "Howsoever great the natural resources of a country may be, however genial its climate, fertile its soil, ingenious, enterprising, and industrious its inhabitants, or free its institutions, if the volume of money is shrinking and prices are falling, its merchants will be overwhelmed with bankruptcy, its industries will be paralyzed, and distress and destitution will prevail." (Same, page 56.) "The true and only cause of stagnation in industry and commerce now everywhere felt is the fact now everywhere existing of falling prices caused by a shrinking volume of money." (Monetary Report for 1877.) Senator John Sherman said, in 1869: "The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing thing than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through the process before. It is not possible to take the voyage without the sorest distress to every person except a capitalist out of debt, a salaried officer, or an annuitist. It is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspensions of enterprises, bankruptcy, and disaster." Isaac Buchanan, of Ontario, says: "It is seen that the question of money and the question of labor are one and the same, the solution of one being the solution of the other; plentiful, and therefore cheap, money being a convertible term for plentiful and well-paid employment." Alexander Hamilton, in his report on the mint, in 1791, says: "To annual either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all of the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation." Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton, in 1792, says: "I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals." William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, February 12, 1820, says: "All intelligent writers on currency agree that when it is decreasing in amount—poverty and misery must prevail." The American Review, 1876, says: "Diminishing money and falling prices are not only oppressive upon debtors, of whom in modern times states are greatest, but they cause stagnation in business, reduce production, and enforce idleness." Ricardo, of England, says: "That commodities would rise and fall in price in proportion to the diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible; that such would be the case the most celebrated writers are agreed." The silver commissioners, in their report, 1877, say: "Primarily, then, prices must have been entirely controlled by the volume of money unaffected by credit." There can never occur a universal fall in prices and a general withdrawal of credit without a preceding decrease in the volume of money. As the volume of money shrinks prices fall. When money is decreasing in volume prices have no bottom. In the whole history of the world every great and general fall in price has been preceded by a decrease in the volume of money. Hon. John H. Reagan, in a speech delivered in the Senate, August 16, 1888, says: "It is thus seen that at a time when, as to the rural agricultural parts of the country, at least, there is a scarcity of money which is causing much distress, \$232,517,535.47 is withdrawn from circulation to accommodate the interests of protectionists and bankers and bondholders." Hon. Joe Abbott, Member of Congress from Texas, said: "Between 1883 and 1887, National bank notes amounting to \$146,785,000

had been withdrawn from circulation. We had, in current money, in 1882, \$936,391,081; in 1883, \$916,684,025; in 1884, \$891,285,653; in 1885, \$829,792,777, etc. Mark the contraction during the above-named periods."

I could continue to give the testimony of our greatest statesmen and financiers, but it is not necessary. If my statements are false and founded in ignorance and misconception, I certainly have some very good company. Mr. Watters has the credit of contradicting the statement of these great statesmen on the strength of his own bare assertion. I am a plain, practical farmer. I have given six of the best years of my life to the investigation of the industrial depression, and have, so far, failed to find a time when overproduction, low prices, cheap and idle labor, and hard times are complained of, except during a period of contraction, or when the volume of money had reached a point where it was not adequate to the demands of commerce. I am as much opposed to the monopolization of land as Mr. Watters, but if in his criticism, he gave a single idea how the single land tax can relieve the people from this state of financial oppression, I failed to comprehend it.

THE great question to be solved by modern economics is how the results of the aggregate toil of the masses of the people can be appropriated to the necessities of the entire people instead of to the luxury and ease of the few. It is the welfare of the people that is the end to which the powers of government should be directed and not merely the securing of property rights and the furthering of the interests of combined speculators and a few conscienceless manipulators of money.

THE latest field occupied by capitalistic enterprise is the execution of condemned criminals. Last week a corporation composed of Chicago capitalists was chartered at Springfield, Ill., for the purpose of executing condemned felons. The company proposes to open correspondence with sheriffs throughout the United States and contract to take the most repulsive duty they have to perform off their hands for a stipulated price. The corporation proposes to furnish executioners and all the ghastly accompaniments of their calling. It is not at all singular that the corporation should push its enterprise into the field of official duty, but it is remarkable that it should choose this especial duty to begin its new labors with. Having taken the burden of his office from the shoulders of the sheriff, it is now in order to extend the field of its operations and relieve our Congressmen, governors, judges (and why not the President and Cabinet?) of the onerous labors devolving on them. No doubt all these would be willing to pay a remunerative fee for the relief extended. Here is a fine field for the operation of solid corporations, and the great wonder is that some financial genius had not seen it sooner.

AN exchange says: "There are plenty of labor organizations in New York yet, with many thousand members. But on the whole the wage-workers are at the present time unorganized, hopeless, apathetic." This is too much the case throughout the entire country. There are organizations without number, but they are disconnected, without harmony, with no thor-

oughly digested plan of operation. What is needed is unity, a consolidation of the various scattered organizations under one directing head and with a thoroughly understood plan and a grand aim clearly defined, to the accomplishment of which all may bend their united energies.

Once united, all may advance steadily, step by step, from the accomplishment of one clearly-understood undertaking to another, until all the various needed reforms are accomplished.

THE Southern iron industry is coming prominently and rapidly to the front. One Southern iron company within the past year sold 65,561 tons of iron in the State of Ohio, and 6,777 tons in Pennsylvania. This sale of Southern iron right in the heart of the iron manufacturing regions which have so long practically monopolized the industry has its significance.

THE discontinuance of the ticker service by the New York Stock Exchange seems to be on the order of cornering gambling or forming a gambling trust. The ring gambler (the Stock Exchange) has decided to monopolize gambling, and have provided that when people gamble they must do it through the only recognized channel, the Stock Exchange.

THE following is a memorandum of lands owned in America by English landlords, yet is not a fraction of the aggregate. It will serve to show, however, how rapidly we are drifting into the vassalage from which the founders of the Nation revolted.

	Grains.
legal tender in all amounts.	
Double Eagle.....	516.00
Eagle.....	258.00
Half-eagle.....	129.00
Three-dollar piece.....	77.40
Quarter-eagle.....	64.50
One-dollar piece.....	25.80
Silver which is a legal tender in all amounts not above ten dollars.	
Dollar.....	412.50
Trade dollar...(not a legal tender)	420.00
Half-dollar.....	192.90
Quarter-dollar.....	96.45
Dime.....	38.58
The nickel five-cent piece weighs.....	77.16

Officers of Louisiana Union.  
President J. M. Stallings, Vienna.  
Secretary O. M. Wright, Unionville.  
INDIAN TERRITORY.  
President C. E. Hotchkiss, Caddo.  
Secretary M. McGough, Paul Valley.

#### FARMERS, READ.

Do you wish to see a red-hot Alliance paper? Do you wish to read a paper that is not STRADDLE of the féce? Do you wish to take a paper that does not fear to say what is right about extortions, trusts or any class who by combination of capital are trying to oppress the working class? Then subscribe to the RURAL HOME, an eight-page, thirty-two column journal, published weekly at Toisnor, N. C., and devoted to the upbuilding of our Southern Country Homes, to the diffusion of Alliance principles, and to the defense of the rights of the people to enjoy free suffrage and the fruits of their labor. Terms \$1.00 per year, in advance. Special low rates upon application.

Address, W. S. BARNES, Ed. and Prop., Toisnor, N. C.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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of \$50,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers  
Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all  
subscriptions and other obligations.The Farmers and Laborers Union of America now contain  
a membership of over one million, and by means of organiza-  
tion and consolidation they expect to number two millions  
by January 1, 1890.

Address all remittances or communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,  
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VOL. I, No. 1, of The Alliance, published in Lincoln, Neb., is received. It is the official organ of the State Alliance of Nebraska, and from its able and conservative salutary steps right into a prominent place in the labor literature of the day. Every farmer in Nebraska should take The Alliance, and can well afford to, since the subscription price is only \$1 per year. All subscriptions should be sent to J. M. Thompson, secretary, Lincoln, Neb. The ECONOMIST extends both hands to The Alliance, and with the Alliance grip bids it a hearty welcome to the field of labor. The field is indeed ripe for the harvest.

THE Declaration of Independence proclaims that all men are possessed of certain inalienable rights, and that to secure these, governments are established among men. After reading this clause, look at the character of the legislation which occupies the time and consumes the labor of our legislative bodies. Is not the mass of the legislation directed toward the granting of special rights and franchises to bodies corporate, to the regulating and fixing of special privileges granted to those who control capital? Does it not look as though governments were instituted rather to strengthen the powers and increase the rights of combined capital than to guard the rights of the people from invasion by it? The tendency of capitalism is to destroy the individuality of the citizen, to ignore his claims for the protection, and to the development of money interests controlled by powerful combinations. Combination of capital is combination against the natural rights of the individual citizen when it is allowed to exercise its power exclusively for the profit of the few who control it. The wealth of a nation is the creation of the combined energy of the nation and owes the same duty to the government and the public welfare as the labor of the people does. The more wealth an individual possesses the greater responsibility he bears to the government and the people that he so use his wealth as to add to the general welfare, and not to endanger the stability of our institutions by placing unfair burdens upon the people and securing by trick-

ery the support of governmental authority of unfair or unjust demands. Especially is it right that when this wealth is used in any branch of service to the public, or in handling the necessities of life, that the public interest should be considered even in a greater degree than private gain; equity demands this, and common sense teaches that the safety of government lies that way.

THE proclamation by the presidents of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union and the National Agricultural Wheel and the chairman of the convention of delegates which assembled at Birmingham, Ala., May 15th, will be found in another column. Failure of mail facilities has caused a delay which makes action at the time specified impossible, but it is hoped there will be general obedience to the proclamation as soon as practicable, and that the purpose of the convention may be successfully carried out.

THOUSANDS of American tenants till the soil of their native land and pay onerous tribute to foreign aristocratic landlords for the privilege of thus earning a bare support upon the lands won for them by the blood and valor of their fathers, and yet "the Government of the people" allows this imposition, unheard of in any other nation.

THE greed of the railway managers in Texas is tending to work the cure of the evils it induces. A call has been made for a convention in Dallas, signed by the "Manufacturers' Association of Dallas," which recites that:

The great burden now resting upon the people of Texas is the excessive and enormous rates charged by the combination of railroads now operating in Texas. This powerful combination is now exacting an unjust tax from the people of Texas that is stifling and paralyzing her entire productive interests.

The people begin to realize that after donating 38,000,000 acres of State land, immense quantities of town lots and right of way, to say nothing of immense sums in cash and bonds, the men to whom they were given run the roads with a view to benefiting the section in which they reside and have other interests. The proposed convention looks to State regulation.

SOME idea of the tribute paid by American industry to foreign masters may be gathered from this: A man named Scully, who was driven from Ireland on account of his rack-renting and outrageous oppression of his tenants, and now lives in London, owns 80,000 acres in Kansas and over 100,000 in Illinois. From his Illinois estate alone he has a clear net income in rent of \$200,000 per year. A Scotch company has fraudulently gained possession of timber lands in California on which the timber alone was valued at \$1,750,000, and this same company has monopolized another tract on which the timber is appraised at \$6,400,000. The only tin mines in the United States are owned by English capitalists, who own thirty miles of land where the tin was discovered. George B. Clark & Co., manufacturers of spool-cotton at Newark, N. J., have \$4,000,000 in the business. Alexander Duncan, who once lived in Rhode Island, but now lives in Scotland, owns city real estate in Providence and elsewhere valued at not less than \$3,000,000, all paying high rent. The Coates family own \$2,000,000 of real property in Pawtucket, which pays a handsome income. A great bulk of our railroad property is owned and con-

trolled in England, besides hundreds of millions in manufacturing industries. The truth is that our commercial interests, as well as our lands, are rapidly falling into the hands of English capitalists and monopolists. Is it possible that Americans are again to be made subject to England through the cunning of capitalists and the treachery of her legislators?

LAND monopoly is forcibly illustrated in the island of Samoa. The speculator and the land shark have found their way even into this remote and retired quarter; and the lords of the earth are complaining before the international commission of the trespasses committed on "their lands" by the natives, and the appropriation of "their bread-fruit and bananas." Upon investigation, the fact was developed that three land companies—one English, one German, and one American—had been trading with the natives and exchanging arms and ammunition for land. It also transpired that they had taken deeds in blank as to the amount of land granted by the natives they pretended to trade with, and that they filled in the blanks to suit their convenience and interest. It also transpired, upon further investigation, that these three companies combined claimed over 124,000 acres more land than there is in the island, leaving nothing for the natives to fight on or about—with the arms they had purchased.

Could there be a clearer illustration of the effect of land speculation than this, or the absurdity of such claims as those of the land speculator? Nature had wisely provided in this instance for the support of her simple children. She had tempered the climate to their crude social and economic condition, had supplied them bountifully with natural food, removed them from the proximity of the fiercer and more aggressive races, with oceans to protect them and prevent their interference with others; and yet the spirit of mercenary greed crossed thousands of miles of ocean waste to incite strife and discord, to inaugurate murder and bloodshed; and while the simple natives were engaged in destroying each other, these representatives of civilized nations, of so-called Christian people, set about robbing them of their inheritance, and reducing them to vassalage or starvation. Then they appeal to a tribunal, composed of representatives of the most enlightened nations of the earth, to protect them in what they assert to be their just claim, and which is as just as any claims to a monopoly of the bounty of nature. Here is a perfect illustration of the fact that "He who owns the land owns the people." Not one foot of the lands of these people remains to them. Not a mouthful of food can they gather or produce except by permission of the self-constituted lords of the soil. Their children have no place upon the earth, but must exist only by will of the owners of the land. And what is the right under which these people claim? That because they provided a simple and ignorant savage with a weapon with which to take the life of another equally ignorant savage, they shall have power to dictate the terms upon which his descendants shall exist, and that they and their heirs shall receive perpetual tribute from generations yet unborn,

until the final end shall come. And what return have they given? Probably the value of one hour's labor of some equally wronged civilized man, who himself is paying tribute in the thousandth generation to a master who gained his right to demand it in the same way that this "civilized Christian" claims his power over the simple savage he has robbed. Could there be a more infamous wrong than that attempted to be put upon these unfortunate people? Yet it is simply fixing upon them a system that has cursed civilized man for thousands of years. From the dawn of their existence these children of nature have gathered the food their careful mother provided for them, and which alone has supplied their needs. For generations they have dwelt beneath the waving palms which dropped their ripened fruit to satisfy hunger. They have from their earliest existence roamed at will amid the primitive luxuriance nature provided for them, and now a strange race, unknown to them for ages, invades their solitude and, claiming to be the representatives of a higher state, claim absolute right to all that has sustained this people since nature placed them on the soil—and by what authority? Not by decree of nature, for their presence is unnecessary. Not by act of the people they attempt to wrong, for they were ignorant of the very existence of such a race. By what right then? Certainly by no higher claim than the one the most brutal savage or the fiercest beast asserts—might. And yet these people claim to represent the highest type of Christian development, of enlightened progress. Would not the true spirit of Christianity, of philanthropy, have suggested the bettering of the condition of these unfortunate people rather than their robbery and oppression? This Samoan situation illustrates perfectly the utter selfishness, the cruel greed, the contemptible hypocrisy of our boasted civilization. The brutality, the beastly greed, the sneaking selfishness that characterize it must be eliminated before we can rightly boast of true progress and the high attainments we pretend.

THE ECONOMIST intends always to secure the assistance of the brightest intellects in the lines which it may discuss. In pursuance of this policy, we this week present the first of a series of articles by Judge H. F. Simrall, of Mississippi. Judge Simrall has rendered distinguished services to his State, and as a justice of her supreme court has secured public and professional recognition of the highest kind. With the advantages of a legal training, coupled with broad literary culture, he is recognized as one of the most judicial opinions looking in the same direction" as the assertion by the Pennsylvania jurist, declared that "It is not true in fact, and it is not founded in reason, however plausible it is in theory, and easily evolved from some old principles of law." Mr. Craft's position and intelligence make him one of the most creditable examples of the school which disputes this principle; and therefore it is just to reply to his argument against it as a representative of the class. As he has also recently replied to the criticisms of his first arguments against Judge Black's theory, in "The Railways and the Re-

## 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. 8.

## THE ORIGINAL CONDITION.

The binding force upon the railway of their character and obligations as public highways is shown by the fact that their character was judicially declared in their interest and for their benefit. The declaration that the railways were public highways, having been made at their very inception by the highest court in order that they might be built, it has been repeated in scores and hundreds of cases for the purpose of aiding their construction and extension.

At a comparatively early stage in the movement for the National regulation of railways, Judge Jeremiah F. Black made a full statement of this principle, as showing the Governmental power to reform every abuse which the practical operations of the railways had evolved to the detriment of the public interest. Judge Black's authority as a lawyer was beyond dispute, and yet the statement of the principle was so far opposed to the practical policy of the railways that it was received with almost universal disapproval from the press at large and from the writers attached to the railway school. The people who disputed Judge Black's assertion knew from their own observation of the railways that they were not operated in accordance with the obligations and duties of public highways, and therefore they came to the conclusion that it is impossible that any such legal obligation should attach to their charters. The premise was correct enough, but the conclusion ignores the fact that obligations and duties may be nullified, either willfully or in ignorance, and it entirely begs the question that the character, which in the present decade the railway school has abjured on behalf of the corporation, had been previously fixed upon them, not only by the judicial declarations of the highest courts, but by the statement on behalf of the corporations themselves, of the conditions under which they accepted their charters.

Among the most intelligent and fair-minded of the writers who disputed Judge Black's declaration was Mr. W. A. Craft, who, in an article in Scribner's Monthly, of October, 1877, while conceding that there were "some judicial opinions looking in the same direction" as the assertion by the Pennsylvania jurist, declared that "It is not true in fact, and it is not founded in reason, however plausible it is in theory, and easily evolved from some old principles of law." Mr. Craft's position and intelligence make him one of the most creditable examples of the school which disputes this principle; and therefore it is just to reply to his argument against it as a representative of the class. As he has also recently replied to the criticisms of his first arguments against Judge Black's theory, in "The Railways and the Re-

ALIEN ownership of land is the rock upon which American liberty will surely be wrecked, unless the people in their might stamp out the evil.

THE only profitable business now is money lending and organizing trusts.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

public," he stands as the writer who has most recently denied the controlling character of public highways as obligatory upon the railways. In his later article, in the Atlantic Monthly, he repeated his former assertion: "The necessities of modern progress render the modification of old theories, and even of old principles, inevitable, and, since the introduction of railroads, the idea that private property taken for the purpose of travel in a peculiar manner and under new conditions becomes public highway, as a county road is a highway, is no longer tenable and, in practice, is not recognized." As Mr. Craft lays a good deal of stress upon his exact statement that property taken for the railroad purposes can not "become a public highway as a county road is a highway," it is well to repeat in this connection the principle that it does become a highway, as a county road is a highway, in all the legal obligations of impartiality and public use which attach to it. There are, of course, material differences in the methods of use and the manner of construction, but these do not affect the legal obligations of the public highway, and present no new question in connection with the railway era. Long before the railways were conceived land was taken by eminent domain for the purposes of travel in a peculiar manner and under new conditions, namely, for canals. But, while canals were materially different from county roads, it was thoroughly settled, by the highest authority, that the use of the power of eminent domain in their behalf made them public highways in a legal sense and with the legal obligations attaching to them that attach to the county road. The same was true with regard to turnpikes built by corporations under the same grant, and the same has been true by every principle of law recognized in the construction of the railway system.

Mr. Craft, in his later argument on this subject, goes on to say that the easement granted to the railways in their rights of way under the laws exerting the power of eminent domain in their favor is undoubtedly their private property. He makes the same claim with regard to the capital invested in construction and the rights and privileges in the operations of the road secured by the law-making power.

In all of this Mr. Craft defends what no one has attacked. The property right of the railroads in their easements and construction and rolling stock has never been denied, so long as they are operated and maintained subject to the controlling obligations imposed by the public character of the works. Mr. Craft goes on to admit that "the duties and liabilities of the railroad, imposed also by the law-making power, are what make the railroad to that extent a public highway." This seems like a confession of the principle which, at the start, he asserted to be "not true in fact and not founded in reason." But it is subject to the quibble that the duties and liabilities of public highways have not been imposed by the law-making power. The fact is that they are imposed by something higher and more binding than any act of legislation granting charters to the railroad, viz: The fundamental constitutional principles on which this Government is founded and the strange

position of the Constitution of the United States.

The most complete answer to all denials of the public character and public obligations of the railway system is furnished by the history of the decisions under which the railway system was created. In the early days of railroad construction, the right of the legislature to grant the power of eminent domain to the railways was opposed by those who are opposed to the railroads. Property owners who did not wish their lands cut up by railway tracks went into the courts and, by leading cases, the law under which the railroads were built was declared in a manner that has since then never been disputed by any high judicial authority, and has been repeated and reaffirmed in scores of cases. The earliest, and one of the most interesting of these cases, was that of *Beekman vs. The Saratoga and Schenectady Railroad*, decided in the supreme court of New York by Chancellor Walworth, in 1831. One of its points of interest is furnished by the fact that the arguments which are now used by the supporters of railway theories to prove that railways can not be public highways were advanced in that case by the opponents of the railways for the same purpose. It was declared by the lawyers who desired to prevent the condemnation of the land for railway purposes, that the railway could not be a public highway because farmers and travelers could not use their own vehicles upon it. To this the counsel for the railway contended that it would be a public highway for the vehicles suited to the highway; and the eminent judge who decided the case adopted that view, and laid down the principles which govern the exertion of law for the creation of the railway system, as follows:

1. That railroads are public improvements for which the legislature can authorize the appropriation of land on just compensation to the owner.

2. The privilege of making such a road and taking tolls thereon, when granted to an individual or corporation, is a franchise subject to the public interest and under legislative regulation; and

3. That the sovereign power could not take the property of one citizen and transfer it to another, even upon full compensation, except for public purposes; and an act of the legislature doing so would be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.

It is noticeable that in this conclusion the principle was clearly declared that unless the road to be created by the power of eminent domain was to be of a public character, just as turnpikes and canals are public highways, even the legislative power could not authorize the use of eminent domain for its benefit. It would be "contrary to the Constitution of the United States, as violative of the contract between the citizen and the Government by which the former held his property." But because the road was to be public, in its actual character and subject to all the obligations and duties of the public highway, therefore, the court declared that the exertion of legislative power in its behalf was constitutional and legitimate. Therefore the railway could appropriate the land,

under the exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain, subject to the public duties and the public right of use which attaches to the character of a highway.

The same principle in similar terms but declared, perhaps, with stronger language, was laid down a few years later by the higher authority of the Supreme Court of the United States. In this case the opponent of the railway who sought to prevent the railroad from appropriating a right of way through his land, was no less a person than Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, and brother of the first Emperor of France. His counsel, through a long-fought and ably contested case which has become one of the pivotal cases in railway jurisprudence, contend that the use of the railway to be built under the right of eminent domain would not be public, because it would create a monopoly in transportation over that line for the corporation to which the charter was granted. This principle was assented to in the final decision of the case by Justice Baldwin, of the United States Supreme Court; but the fact was not regarded as settled. In this case it was declared by the highest judicial authority of the land, that a "road or canal is for public use when the public have the right of passage upon paying a stipulated, reasonable, and uniform toll;" but the court went on to assert that unless that public use were free and unquestionable, the public character of the road would be destroyed, in the following language: "If the toll amount to a prohibition it is a monopoly, and the road is not public." And the absolute necessity that the road must be a public highway, not only in name but in fact, was affirmed, with the declaration that, "if the effect of the charter would be to give the exclusive use of the road" for the private benefit of the corporation, the objection would be fatal, "as it is opposed to every Constitutional principle which protects the right of property to take from the lawful owner and appropriate it to the private use of another or a private corporation for its own use."

These are the two leading cases which have been repeated in every decision and in every action of the courts, by which the right to condemn property for the construction of 140,000 miles of railway has been affirmed. What Mr. Craft referred to as "old theories of law" have become the Constitutional principles upon which the right of private property is maintained. Mr. Crafts objects to the public highway theory, in common with other writers, as taking away the property rights of the railway; but the fact is that without this character the railway system would be the most monstrous invasion of private property rights ever known in this country, namely, the use of legislative power to take private property away from the common property holder and give it to a corporation for its private use. This nullification of "every Constitutional principle which protects the right of private property" has not taken place; but that is solely for the reason that the railways were built subject to this public obligation. The reference of Mr. Craft to "some judicial opinions" proves, upon examination, to indicate the declarations of the highest judicial authority at the entrance of the railway era, and the agree-

ment in that declaration of all the courts that have passed upon the innumerable cases of condemnation of rights of way for the railways of the country.

The assertion that these old theories of law have been "modified by the necessities of modern progress" virtually signifies that the railways can obtain their rights of way under the plea that they are to be public in their character, and later deny in practice obligations attaching to that character. As to this inference, two very cogent points can be presented. The first is, that the principle has never been modified "by the necessities of modern progress." It had not been modified in 1869, when Chief Justice Redfield, in his standard work upon the law of railways, reaffirmed and sustained by a host of authorities the principles: First, that railways are public highways; second, that unless they are public highways it would be beyond legislative power to exercise the right of eminent domain in their behalf; and, third, that the railway corporation obtained from the exercise of that right only an easement for the lands condemned for their use. The universality and force of this principle is asserted in "Redfield on Railways," chapter 11, page 329: "that railways are but improved public highways and are of such public use as to justify the right of eminent domain by the sovereign enactment is now almost universally conceded," and the same declaration was made in a late case in the United States Supreme Court, in 1872. That no more recent declaration of the principle has been made is due solely to the fact that no one has ever disputed it in the courts. The further idea that the law can be satisfied by a formal declaration in the charter that the road is to be a public highway, without reference to actual practice, was covered by the decision already quoted of the United States Supreme Court nearly half a century ago: "The declaration in the charter that the Camden and Amboy is to be a public highway, does not make it so, if the effect of the charter is to give the exclusive use to the corporation," says Justice Baldwin. And, in further definition, he stated, "the true criterion is whether the object, uses, and franchises of the incorporation are for public convenience or private emolument, and whether the public can participate in them by right or only by permission." In other words, if the condition of the charter that the road is to be a public highway is not carried out and respected in practice the charter becomes void, and the control of the railroad company over the route obtained by the power of eminent domain is illegal.

This is the first point. The railways obtained their primary right to construct their road upon the controlling and universal condition that they were to be public highways. Without this condition no legislative power could give them the right to condemn land for their purposes. The Constitution of the United States would forbid such a usurpation of power over the property of the private citizen. Their public duties and liabilities are imposed, not as Mr. Crafts would have us infer, "by the law-

them their charters, but, as the United States Supreme Court declares, "by every Constitutional principle which protects the right of private property." If the condition has not been fulfilled, the grant based on it becomes void, and the possession of the railway by the corporation is illegal and a usurpation. This is the fundamental principle upon which the railway system has obtained its very existence, as declared by the highest court of the land and never disputed by any competent judicial authority.

## The Work in Mississippi.

BY HARRY TRACY.

\* \* \* I have visited over three-fourths of the counties in the State and have lectured to over forty thousand people. Up to this good hour, among all my audiences, I have seen but one intoxicated person. Just think of it! I have delivered over one hundred lectures, and saw but one intoxicated person present. What a mighty reformation, what a glorious reformation. Every patriot's heart will leap with joy at this glorious news. Every woman in the land must see herein woman's emancipation. Where soberness rules, the women are free; where drunkenness abounds, women groan in slavery's chains. From whence comes this great reformation? asks every one.

Kind reader, this is but the result of the teachings of the Farmers Alliance. Wherever its teachings are heeded, its members forego the use of intoxicants, and consequently become sober, industrious, kind, and loving fathers, husbands, brothers, or children, and these bring peace on earth, and good-will among mankind. The case of Mississippi is by no means an isolated one; for in Texas, during the five days' meeting of the Farmers State Alliance, held in August, 1888, near the city of Dallas, and upon the Cole fair grounds, a similar experience was had.

A Dallas saloon-keeper rented ground immediately in front of the building in which this meeting was held, agreeing to pay \$105 for the use of it during that meeting. He paid \$52.50 down, and was to pay the other \$52.50 on the third morning thereafter. When the meeting was called to order this saloon-keeper was all ready for business, standing smilingly behind his counter awaiting customers, and there he remained till the second evening. During these two days he actually took in, all told, \$1.80 (\$1 of this amount he had received from the cooks of a branch restaurant that a Dallas party had opened upon the ground), notwithstanding over three hundred and twenty-five delegates and visitors to that meeting were during those two days continually passing and repassing before that tent. On the second evening he folded his tents and quietly stole away to a more congenial clime to minister to the fiery thirsts of the hoodlums of Dallas, and as a matter of course failed to pay the remaining \$52.50 as promised.

I leave the work in the hands of Bro. R. W. Coleman, who is now daily pushing the glorious work. Bro. Coleman is an intellectual athlete, with the heart of a Leonidas, the tongue of a Clay, the brain of a Webster; and, in the days sure to come that will shake our Republic from center to circumference, Bro. Coleman's manly form will be seen in the front of the battle gallantly and ably leading the mighty Alliance host onward to victory and the perpetuation of universal freedom that must be wrung from the cruel grasp of combined greed ere we emancipate the bread-winners of America.

I go to North Carolina to push the battle for the liberties of the people against Mammon's brutal reign that the people have so nobly begun and so heroically maintained.

My fixed purpose is, that as long as I can stand, with the help of God, to battle against tyranny in all shapes in every place, in high or low places, with the hope that we yet can make the United States in fact a government by the people and for the people—a government that recognizes the rights of the people as superior to all rights, and that justice to all people shall be the end and aim of government. Then, when I am old and unable longer to work, if I can behold a country on the high-road to a higher civilization, and I can say of a truth I cast one ounce of weight on liberty's side, I prefer that reflection to all the gold of the Goulds and Vanderbilts.

Mississippi, as in Texas, she is exerting an influence that will perpetuate popular government.

The order in Mississippi is in splendid shape. Perfect harmony prevails in all sections. Her Exchange, under the able management of Bro. W. R. Lacy, is rapidly gaining the confidence of the entire brotherhood. They are earnestly seeking to know every principle involved in this great financial enterprise, and by fall they will be conversant with every detail of this vast business. This, and this alone, will guarantee its success. Few men could have managed this new and untried enterprise as successfully as Bro. Lacy has. The order, by all means, should retain him till it becomes an acknowledged institution, until all the members thoroughly understand its workings, because it is dangerous to swap off a tried horse in the middle of a swift river.

The universal, unstinted hospitality extended me during my stay in Mississippi has never been excelled by any people; every one has freely done all in his power to make my labors as light and pleasant as possible; bright smiles, hearty handshakes, and universal welcome met me everywhere.

When the good-bys had to be spoken, often many eyes glistened with tears that welled up from honest hearts, and one universal "God bless you, Bro. Tracy," nerved me for the arduous duties ahead.

The women of Mississippi, God bless them, have caught the inspiration, and are pouring into the Alliance in every section. This secures its success, for who ever heard of a reformation that benefited and elevated mankind except where women were the moving power? Who ever heard of failure where women pray and labor for a cause? Yes, there are Spartan mothers all over Mississippi, and, through the medium of the Farmers Alliance, they will compel their husbands to assist them in raising and educating Spartan children.

Four months ago I came to Mississippi a stranger to all. During my short stay I have formed friendships in every county that will be green and with pleasure bloom while memory holds her sway. Whatever my future may be, none can give me more pleasure than I have enjoyed. No friendships can be truer, warmer, and more lasting than those formed with the members of the Farmers Alliance in Mississippi.

I leave the work in the hands of Bro. R. W. Coleman, who is now daily pushing the glorious work. Bro. Coleman is an intellectual athlete, with the heart of a Leonidas, the tongue of a Clay, the brain of a Webster; and, in the days sure to come that will shake our Republic from center to circumference, Bro. Coleman's manly form will be seen in the front of the battle gallantly and ably leading the mighty Alliance host onward to victory and the perpetuation of universal freedom that must be wrung from the cruel grasp of combined greed ere we emancipate the bread-winners of America.

I go to North Carolina to push the battle for the liberties of the people against Mammon's brutal reign that the people have so nobly begun and so heroically maintained.

My fixed purpose is, that as long as I can stand, with the help of God, to battle against tyranny in all shapes in every place, in high or low places, with the hope that we yet can make the United States in fact a government by the people and for the people—a government that recognizes the rights of the people as superior to all rights, and that justice to all people shall be the end and aim of government. Then, when I am old and unable longer to work, if I can behold a country on the high-road to a higher civilization, and I can say of a truth I cast one ounce of weight on liberty's side, I prefer that reflection to all the gold of the Goulds and Vanderbilts.

**Agricultural Science.**

Hereafter space will be here devoted to a record of the results of applied science in agriculture and rural economy. To the supervision of this department I have been assigned, and I ask and hope for the co-operation of those engaged in this work. It is proposed to open between these workers and the general public a medium of communication, with the hope of exciting an intelligent interest in and appreciation of their work on the part of those engaged in the great group of productive industries which in the aggregate constitute American agriculture. We hope to be favored with the reports of the experts of the National Department of Agriculture, of the State departments and colleges and their experiment stations, as well as the United States Fish Commission and those of the States, of the National Museum and Zoological Park, etc. The editorial task will consist of selection, condensation, comment, and suggestion, so as to popularize the general results obtained. All matter intended for this department should be forwarded to the address of the undersigned.

M. G. ELZEY, M. D.,  
Woodstock, Md.

**A NATIONAL EXPERIMENT STATION.**

What there was of the National Department of Agriculture when it was a bureau in the Department of the Interior constituted a crudely-organized and partly-equipped National experiment station, very absurdly loaded with certain executive and political functions for which it was, as organized, unfit. These political and executive functions now belong to the Secretary of Agriculture and his Assistant Secretary, and nothing stands in the way of the effective organization of the corps of scientific experts for scientific work, which organization may take the form of a complete National experiment station. The Signal Service should be transferred to it, and the department of experimental culture should be separated from the chemical department and put to work in its own independent sphere at the earliest practicable moment. A general director of the work of all the divisions will be needed, and he ought to be a well-developed, all-around scientific man—such a man as Humboldt or Maury, for example—who should hold his position and do his own proper work independent of politics and politicians. It has been thought that the Assistant Secretary should be a man of this sort and should hold over regardless of change of administration. It seems that this would be a plan essentially bad. This kind of scientific-political miscegenation would produce a mongrel and impotent factotum. In accordance with usage, the Assistant Secretary represents his department in Cabinet during the absence of the Secretary. Now think of a Republican Assistant Secretary at a Democratic Cabinet meeting as one of the possibilities of the future!

That would recall the celebrated cat of a famous Senator, which cat was in a certain bad place, and had no claws. We want a man like the late Professor Henry, or the late Professor Baird, to be the director of a National experiment station under the general auspices of the Department of Agriculture, as the Marine Hospital service, for example, is a separate scientific organization working under the general auspices of the Treasury Department. But the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury would not be fit for the Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital service, nor the very able, experienced, and accomplished present Surgeon-General in

any way qualified for the duties of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Great knowledge and skill in finance are very unapt to be combined in the same individual with great medical skill and knowledge. This is true of all other branches of scientific and political knowledge, and so we think we must have an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and a director of our National experiment station. The Assistant Secretary must go out with the general administration with which he came in, but if the director of the National experiment station is to be of any use he must hold his office during life and good behavior. A comparatively young man in preference to a comparatively old one should be chosen. Thirty-five is old enough, sixty is too old, for any such position, as a new selection, as a very general rule. Much earlier than thirty-five, few men are sufficiently mature. Much after sixty most men cease to be capable of original work. Of the importance and value of the work proper to be done by such a National experiment station, whether called by that or some other name, few can form an adequate conception in advance of the development of results. In general terms it may be suggested that the results of the work are expected to be primarily the betterment of the position of agriculture as a calling; its recognition, among learned scientific pursuits, as a profession in no wise below any other of the learned professions, but rather greater than all of them, as rightly understood it is, of a truth; and by cheapening the cost of producing, and assuring a regular and sufficient food supply for the consumption of the world, upon which the daily life of the world, as all know, depends absolutely, to confer lasting benefits upon all mankind. To be called to the direction of such a work, having in view such results and involving such responsibilities, ought to be held an honor so great that the very best men would seek it, or rather it would seek the very best men. The cheaper the great staples can be produced the cheaper they can be sold, and the greater will be their consumption by the great industrial classes constituting the bulk of mankind. It is true, moreover, that the cost of production added to the marketing expense, is perilously near the selling price of most of the great agricultural productions which are prime necessities of life. It being true, also, that the wages of the skilled laborer are often below the cost of living, it may be clearly seen that often when the cry is "overproduction," the fact is underconsumption. It is certain that a great body of all our urban population are constantly and habitually insufficiently clothed and underfed. They do not perish of exposure and starvation, but they do perish, multitudes of them, of inability to avoid and resist disease which is the direct result of insufficient clothing and lack of sufficient food. Whatever cheapens the prime cost of food supply betters to that extent the hard condition of these people.

This we take to be the appropriate work of the National experiment station—a work which ought to be intelligently seconded by the experiment stations of the several States. It is plainly indicated by the several acts of Congress and enjoined by the spirit of all legislation upon the subject that there shall be such co-operation, and that the director of the National station shall suggest the lines of research which are most important and the modes and methods of experiment to be followed. In that case the whole work would tend to one general result. It ought soon to be the case that any result reached in scientific research after verification, acceptance, and publication of endorsement by the National Department of Agriculture would be generally received as established truth. The service of the best scientific talent in the world ought to be at the disposal of the National Department if such service be obtain-

able for money. The United States is the wealthiest of nations, the most enlightened, the most liberal, the most progressive. Its Capital City ought to be, and is going to be one day, the scientific headquarters of the world. The National Department of Agriculture will be authority on every question which can arise in agricultural science, accepted as such by all, and when a system is devised for the prompt transmission of all important results to the people in forms comprehensible by them, little will be left to be desired. At present a great deal of expensive work is being done, much at random, and without co-operation or plan, and is thus of no value.

**TUBERCULOSIS IN MAN AND ANIMALS.**

One of the definite results of modern scientific methods is the establishment of the cause of tuberculosis, or consumption, in man and animals. It is proven beyond dispute that the tubercles result from the presence of a germ or so-called bacillus. Our vital statistics are indeed most imperfect and unreliable, but they show that 25 per cent. of all adults who die perish of this dread disease. Immense numbers of domestic animals are also tuberculous, and very many of them die. But what is worse, very much of the disease which attacks man is communicated by animals. In the milk of tuberculous cows the living germs are constantly found, and they may be communicated thus to persons, especially children, who drink the milk. It is well known that children are apt to have so-called consumption of the bowels, and when we reflect upon the vast consumption of tuberculous milk by sick children it is not difficult to comprehend this fact. If the milk is boiled before using, the germs will be destroyed; hence condensed milk is, to that extent, safer than fresh milk. Certainly, one-half of all the cows kept in the dairies which supply our urban population are tuberculous, and since the milk supplied the trade is a precarious mixture, it may be said to be a certain fact that all milk sold in the cities carries greater or less quantities of the tubercle-forming germs. This is a very grave and alarming fact. It is a question whether all milk should not be sterilized by boiling before given to children. Perhaps it ought to be said there is no question at all but that it should be. In view, furthermore, of the fact that all butchers' meat may be in like manner the vehicle of the bacillus tuberculosis, the habit of eating rare meat is certainly very dangerous. It should be an inviolable rule to cook all meat thoroughly before it is set on a table as human food. Let none suppose that these are exaggerated statements of an alarmist. They are strictly true beyond all doubt, and made by one who knows perfectly well what he is talking about.

It has been said that consumption is therefore contagious and not inheritable. These statements are not strictly true and are liable to erroneous interpretation. In the present state of knowledge it would be too much to say that a *fetus in utero* may not receive from a tuberculous mother the germs which she carries.

Moreover, the peculiar weakness favorable to the effectual lodgment of the bacilli is beyond all doubt descendible to offspring. It is true likewise that the word contagion is not applicable to the mode of the transmission of this disease from one subject to another. One may live in the same house, eat at the same table, sleep in the same bed for years with a tuberculous patient and entirely escape inoculation.

One may milk tuberculous cows and drive tuberculous oxen and shear tuberculous sheep and not become infected even after many years. It would be better to say the disease is communicable especially to a predisposed subject rather than that it is contagious. It is important to the last degree important—that correct knowledge of all ascertained facts with

regard to a disease chargeable with a human mortality so great should be imparted to the people in such a shape as that they may be able to comprehend them. They are indeed sufficiently simple, and when comprehended by the man of average sense and ordinary prudence enable him to adopt preventive measures as well as the most learned. It is well that this bacillus is unable to maintain its existence or multiply itself by reproduction outside of the living body and exposed to ordinary conditions, else no flesh could be saved from its ravages. It does, however, retain its vitality when thus exposed for a certain time—how long can not be certainly stated—and may upon its reception by man or some animal regain its power for fatal mischief and for the reproduction of its kind. The bacilli exist in great numbers in the sputa and discharges from the diseased lungs, and when these become dry and fall to impalpable dust the dried germs, still endowed with vitality and capable of deadly mischief, cloud the surrounding air and when received into the lungs establish propagating colonies, and their recipient becomes a consumptive. These sputa in their recent fluid state are not dangerous, for it is scarcely possible that, though swarming in such a medium, the bacilli would be thus communicated to another subject. Knowing this, advantage should be taken of the fact by the consumptive patient and his attendants and friends, and all expectorations should be promptly and thoroughly sterilized by proper disinfection under the advice and direction of a competent medical man. Corrosive sublimate of the strength of half a grain to the ounce of solvent will be thoroughly effectual, but it is a deadly poison. If, after the sanitary code of Moses, it be burned with fire, that would be the best and surest of all possible methods of disinfection. If the expectoration as brought up be received into a vessel containing solution of corrosive sublimate, half a grain to the ounce, it will be sterilized beyond peradventure or doubt. It may be hoped that we shall soon have a disinfectant entirely safe, non-odorous, tasteless, which may even be freely used for sterilizing suspicious food, as, for example, milk. An abundant supply of oxygen, and full exposure to light, are obnoxious to all disease germs, which love dampness, darkness, and filth. Hence, cleanliness, always next to godliness as a human virtue; free and constant exercise in the open air, and cooked viands, are things to be recommended to be observed not only by the sick but by the well. With the full comprehension of the life history of these germs of tuberculosis now in possession of the medical profession, and being rapidly popularized and absorbed by the people, the death-rate from consumption should rapidly diminish. It is high time that sanitary science should form a part of the regular education of children, and that ignorance of hygienic principles should be held inexorable in any intelligent man. The daily habits and the ordinary transactions of modern life are full of the grossest violations of the laws of health. In our agricultural colleges the law should require a hygienic course to be thoroughly taught. The hygiene of the country home is a subject which may receive such treatment as to render it beautiful and as attractive and interesting as the best examples of poetry and fiction.

**THE WORK OF THE FISH COMMISSION.**

Up to recent date the distribution of shad fry by the United States Fish Commission amounted to above eighty million of the young fish. The practicability of restocking the Hudson with salmon has been also demonstrated, and nothing is lacking but proper legislation to make of that river one of the finest salmon streams in existence. The immense prices paid for the privilege of fishing a few pools of some

of the Canadian rivers for a few weeks may be taken as an index of the value of a great salmon river. The price of such a privilege amounts often to five or six thousand dollars. The great value and extent of the scientific and practical results of the work of the commission has no popular appreciation, or, at most, a very inadequate appreciation. In a future number it is proposed to present this subject more at large, and it is hoped that valuable official data will be communicated from time to time, which can not fail to prove both interesting and useful. The food fish, the shell fish, and the game fish of American waters are of immense State and National value and importance.

**POISONOUS SNAKES.**

In this country a death from snake-bite is rare. There are only four sorts of poisonous snakes in this part of America—rattlesnake, of which there are numerous species differing more or less from each other but all having a rattle; copperheads, water moccasons, and bead-snakes. It is probably true that the most deadly of these is the venomous water moccasin, or "cotton-mouth;" next in order, rattlers, copperheads, bead-snakes. The last named seldom bites, nor is its bite formidable. The bite of the copperhead is a very painful and serious injury, though very rarely fatal. In about 4 or 5 per cent. of cases the bite of the rattler is fatal, and probably a much greater percentage than that of those bitten by the cotton-mouth die. If the mortal terror occasioned in most individuals by the bite of a snake could be allayed some of those who perish might recover. There is no such thing as an antidote for snake poison, if by an antidote is meant something which can follow the poison in the circulation and overtake and destroy it. To make of the blood itself a chemical solution capable of acting in that manner would be to destroy it as a life supporting fluid, and the remedy would prove worse than the disease. The tendency to death produced by snake poison in the circulation is by collapse and especially paralysis of the respiratory centers, which tendency is to be counteracted by stimulants, especially such as stimulate the respiratory centers. Whisky or brandy, one-third spirit, two-thirds water; half a tumbler at intervals, according to the urgency of the collapse, is the best domestic remedy. Hot poultices to the part, frequently renewed until the physician arrives, will allay pain and tend to retard absorption of the poison. Don't fool with weeds and decoctions and Indian remedies. Keep cool and don't let the person bitten be scared to death by meddlesome bystanders.

**Organization in Iowa.**

BY N. B. ASHLEY, STATE LECTURER.

The work of organizing in Iowa goes bravely forward. We have now about eleven hundred Alliances in Iowa, as against about eight hundred last September. The fight of our Alliances of the North against the combine in binder-twine has been successful to a great degree, though the price of twine is not yet as low as we had confidently expected. Our hearts have been cheered, and our faith in the power of organization upheld, by the success attendant upon the battles of our brothers of the South in the cotton-bagging conflict. When we know our powers, and are willing to employ them vigorously in securing justice, then shall the reformation come, and happiness the child of rightness, sit ruling the land.

This is a very important year for us here in Iowa. To the interests of securing a legislature and governor who will take no backward steps in the measures of railroad control is added the securing the passage of law equalizing taxes so as to relieve real estate of some of the burdens it now bears, and especially relieving the mortgaged class of taxes upon their indebtedness. In affairs distinctively Alliance comes the question of consolidation with our Southern brethren; the question of closer organization, and the question of organizing a central business organization. In all these we hope for success.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## WASHINGTON.

## Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 12.

The Supreme Court was created by act of Congress September 24, 1789, and the Court assembled for its first session in February, 1790. As centennial celebrations are the order of the day, next September will offer the opportunity for one in honor of the establishment of this Court.

President Washington appointed the first Chief Justice, who was the eminent statesman John Jay, of New York, who was at the time of his appointment only forty years old. The five associate judges, at that time constituting the Court, were John Rutledge, of South Carolina; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; John Blair, of Virginia; and James Iredell, of North Carolina.

During the first twenty years of the Court it had very little business, as indeed was the case with almost all other courts. At that time the lives of our people were not wasted in a brutal struggle for gain or in ceaseless wrangles before the courts, to secure unjust advantages given by discriminating laws. From 1820 to 1840 the cases submitted to the Supreme Court averaged only about fifty-five per year. After 1860, when the era of corporations and desperate speculation set in, the docket became crowded, and now it is almost impossible for the Court to pass upon the volume of business. This one fact is an evidence of the tendency of our mercenary inclinations to increase strife and stir up contentions, discord, and ill-will. The docket is at present so crowded that new cases are not likely to reach a hearing for four or five years, and if matters go on in the same way other provisions will have to be made.

Chief Justice Jay was on the bench until 1795. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, was appointed to succeed him, and presided during one term of the court, but his appointment was not confirmed by the Senate. Washington then appointed William Cushing, who was the senior associate justice, but Cushing only retained his commission a few days and never acted as Chief Justice.

In 1796 Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, was appointed, and remained in the position until 1801, when he resigned, and John Marshall, of Virginia, became Chief Justice.

Marshall had been a soldier in the Revolution, a Representative in Congress, Minister to France, and Secretary of State during the last year of John Adams's administration. When he became Chief Justice he was forty-six years old. From 1801 until 1835 he presided over the Court. Probably no American jurist has ever achieved a wider fame, and the name of Chief Justice Marshall is a household word in every home in America. It has been said of Marshall that "it was he who established the power of the Supreme Court as it is recognized to-day. It was he who, more than any other man of his time, carried forward the work of the Constitution in welding the loose league of States into a powerful nationality."

His decisions comprise thirty-two volumes of the Supreme Court Reports, and have given him a high position among the great jurists of the world. Marshall was a man of the people, a true and devoted patriot, above the silly affectations which so often mar the characters of men in high position. His intellect was massive, and his mind grasped readily the most abstruse questions. Honors and position did not affect him in the slightest degree, and his private life was in the plainest and simplest style. When he attended the circuit courts he rode in an old-fashioned one-horse gig, without an attendant, associated familiarly with all he met, and every one who knew "the great Chief Justice," as he was called, had the highest admiration for him.

When in Washington he went daily to the market and bought his family supplies, carrying his own basket. A story is told of him which illustrates his simple and obliging manner. One morning, while getting his marketing, he came across a young dude who was complaining bitterly because he could hire no one to carry home a turkey he had bought. Marshall stepped up and inquired where he lived; learning that they went the same way, he remarked that as it was on his way he would carry the turkey. When they arrived at the house of the young man he inquired, "How much shall I pay you?" "Oh, nothing," replied his obliging acquaintance, "you are welcome." It was in my way and no trouble." "Who was that polite old gentleman who brought my turkey for me?" inquired the young man of a bystander as Marshall stepped away. "That," replied the man, "is John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States."

Nothing honorable was beneath the dignity of this great man, and nothing wrong could stand before his indignation. His name stands at the head of American jurists, and his opinions will always be revered.

After the death of Marshall, in 1835, President Jackson appointed Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to the honorable position. Taney sat on the bench for twenty-eight years, and, like Marshall, made a great reputation. He was an able man and an honor to his people. He occupied the seat for about the same length of time that Marshall had, and died in 1864.

Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, was appointed to succeed Taney. He remained in office a little more than nine years, and died in 1873.

A few months after Chase died Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, was appointed by President Grant. Chief Justice Waite occupied the position until 1888, when he died, and President Cleveland appointed the present Chief Justice.

There have been forty-three associate justices appointed since the establishment of the Court. Joseph Story, one of the most eminent jurists of America, and whose reputation is worldwide, was a member of the Court for thirty-four years; Bushrod Washington, a nephew of General Washington, was on the bench thirty-one years; John Catron served twenty-eight years; John McLean and James M. Wayne served thirty-two years; Samuel Nelson, twenty-seven years; Robert C. Grier and Nathan Clifford, twenty-three years; Noah H. Swayne, twenty years; David Davis, fifteen years; Justice Miller, twenty-seven years, and Justice Field twenty-six years. Both of the latter still retain their positions.

## THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

## The Needs of the Hour.

BY W. HUNT, OF ANCORA, N. J.

To meet the impending crisis we must consider two important questions:

1. The measures of political economy necessary to save us from impending ruin if the wealth of the Nation continue to concentrate in few hands.

2. The best method of educating the people in these essential measures.

The first step in educating the people is to make clear the existing situation—the real social facts. We think it is admitted by intelligent men of all parties that in America wealth is rapidly concentrating in few hands. Many consider this concentration a great and dangerous evil, while others seem to consider it the normal social condition and a blessing. But nearly all agree as to the fact of concentration, however much we may differ as to the cause and final result.

The concentration of wealth in few hands that has taken place in the Old World can be easily traced to laws which permit the monopoly of land and the frequent doubling of money by interest. Similar laws are rapidly producing the same result in America. It is rationally evident that the continued concentration of wealth here, as in Europe, must finally result in the concentration of all political power in the same hands. The few will then have the power, and the many can neither demand work nor arms as a right, but only as a privilege. This is actually the case at the present time, though not so apparent as it would be if all the legal claims of the creditor class were at once enforced.

If the immediate payment of all, or even a fourth part, of the debts and mortgages now due were demanded, it would precipitate a panic that would financially ruin nine-tenths of the debtor class; and, till business was readjusted, a large part of those who are now in affluence would have to depend on charity or starve.

By concerted action a half-dozen or less of our great capitalists have it in their power to precipitate a panic that would ruin nearly all who are in debt, even to the extent of one-tenth of the present value of their property, and the few who have cash capital would absorb it all. There are only two causes that prevent this being done at any time. First, the moral sense of all capitalists who have any conscience. Second, the fear of revolution and general retribution.

But as financial matters are now going, a crisis and crash is inevitable in the near future, without intentional scheming to precipitate it. The direct and most potent cause operating to produce this result is the high interest paid on debts, as compared with the price of products sold to pay the same. The monopoly of land and high interest, of course, result in high taxes, high railroad charges and high rents, all of which, directly or indirectly, producers have to pay. It now requires all the surplus products to pay this interest, to say nothing of the principal.

And under present conditions it becomes more difficult every year to pay it, and will soon become impossible; and mortgages will be foreclosed by wholesale. With so much property thrown on the market, to be measured by money, all property, except money, will become almost worthless, and be easily absorbed by the few who have bonds, mortgages, and ready cash.

Debts in this country, in proportion to wealth and population, are now far greater than ever before, and the cash wealth more concentrated. Hence the debtor class are now more completely in the power of the creditor class, and a financial crash and final settlement of accounts would produce more wide-spread and

general ruin than ever before. The only legitimate means adequate to prevent this result is a greatly reduced rate of interest on money, or a great increase in the general market value of products, or both, so as to enable producers to earn the means to pay debts, and also use a larger share of what they produce. This can be accomplished by two laws. One that shall require government to make loans of money at cost of issue—on land security as now to bankers on bonds. The other imposing a graduated tax on land—in city and country—held by corporations or individuals in excess of a prescribed reasonable amount, the tax being sufficient to make the buying and holding of land for speculation or rent unprofitable.

Another important fact for us to consider and understand is that since our last financial crisis, in 1873, the duties, rights, and relations of labor and capital have been considered and discussed more than in all the previous history of the world.

The result is a general impression or conviction that every human being on earth has a common Father, and in the common brotherhood of humanity, has an inherent right to the use of a portion of the earth, sufficient to afford a reasonable home and normal existence—and in his own country, at least so long as there is unused land and he is able and willing to work. All acknowledge that the possession and use of land may be regulated, limited, guaranteed, and defined, for the common good. But its monopoly and the prevention of its use is robbery, whether done legally or illegally.

Farmers, as well as other producing classes, are waking up and beginning to see that there is something radically wrong, that neither tariff, free-trade nor state political economy can remedy or justify.

Comparatively few are yet able to see clearly the root of the wrong or the whole remedy. But the conviction that something is cruelly wrong, and that a remedy must be found, is wide-spread and general. This vague perception without clear sight, this discontent and irritation without clearly seeing where the responsibility lies, or the remedy can be found, not to care through what channel any good work is done, and we may find that a good thing can come out of Nazareth. The tendency to forbid all to cast out devils who do not walk with us must be overcome if we ever accomplish our task of educating and emancipating the people.

When the people are educated to see where the real trouble lies, they will readily unite in demanding the essential laws requisite to establish justice. And when thus united in demanding specified laws, legislators of all parties will,

< The Knights of Labor have recently set us a good example. They started with the purpose of "establishing industry on a scientific basis."

After a long struggle, they have been educated to the point of seeing and demanding the three essential measures necessary to establish industry on a sound basis, namely: Abolition of land monopoly. Money at cost. Transportation at cost. The Knights of Labor do not require their members to vote with any particular party, but instruct them in the duty of nominating and voting for legislators who are pledged to work and vote for the necessary specified laws.

If the Farmers' Alliances and other industrial organizations will adopt a like wise and liberal policy, and unite with them in voting for men so pledged, without regard to party, the necessary statutes can soon be secured, and the producing and debtor classes be emancipated from the tyranny of capital without real injury to any.

Reducing prices of products by contraction of the currency practically amounts to the same thing as adding an equal portion to all debts, public and private, and a proportionate increase of the rate of interest.

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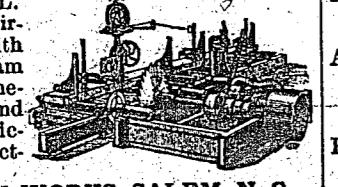
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No. 16.

## The Need of the Hour.

The tendency of the age is toward aggregation of force in the various fields of human occupation; the crowding out of individual enterprise and the replacing of it by the organized and concentrated energy of many.

The struggle for existence has developed from the irregular skirmish of individual enterprise into the systematic warfare of organized bodies into armies of industry and speculation, and these organized and disciplined forces are now arrayed for contest upon the great arena of the world. The conflict is, on the one hand, for gain and power, and upon the other for liberty and the enjoyment of the returns nature gives to labor. On the one hand it is strictly a war of conquest; a crusade for plunder, an organized campaign for robbery. On the other it is a war of defense, a struggle for existence, for life; failure means no less than total ruin, degradation, poverty, slavery, the desolation of homes, and the wreck of families.

Divided and disaffected, the original colonies would have been helpless to resist English oppression; but consolidated, organized, acting in harmony under a wise directing head, they successfully defied the arms of Britain and gave to the world the grandest nation it ever sustained. Little Switzerland, with her people divided, would have fallen a helpless prey to her tyrants, but rallied into a solid body they successfully defied the power of Austria. History is filled with proofs of the power of harmonious action and the fatal results of dissension and disagreement among peoples as well as the necessity for harmony and co-operation to secure success.

The present condition in our own country, the dominance of capital and the subjugation of the masses by it, is proof now and here of the necessity for the rallying of the people under one banner. The time has come when division means ruin to all. The cause is a common one; it is the common defense. It is well and proper that each industry should be organized as such, but there should be a consolidation of all these forces just as the regiments, brigades, and divisions of an army are formed into one grand whole, wielded and directed by one head, so that all act in harmony and to the best advantage. Capital is so organized, and to this organization is attributable its success as much as to the irregular and imperfect resistance brought to bear against it. Force must be met by force, organization by organization. Only in this way can the full power of the masses be brought to bear.

Capital is fully organized in every field of industry; and through its exchanges and its connections, with its central head in Wall street, all these various forces move and operate in harmony and to the best advantage. Labor, really in a solid phalanx and present an impen-

etrable front. Scattered, dissipated, with conflicting aims and plans of resistance, they are certain to be crushed in detail and overwhelmed by the hosts bearing down upon them; united, their numbers could defy the most desperate assaults; but how utterly helpless when divided, scattered, and unprepared.

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Such organization is worse than none, as it tends to give hope of relief to those immediately concerned in any slight attempt at resistance, and the failure they are sure to meet discourages and disgusts the unfortunate ones and leads them to consider their cause hopeless. Thus the people are gradually discouraged and liable to sink with a sullen and dogged submission to what they are led to consider the inevitable.

Organization and consolidation are the great need in the cause of labor. It has the numbers, the energy, the courage, the intelligence, and justice; all that is necessary is perfect organization and harmonious action and the people must triumph. The time has come for this thorough consolidation; let every man exert himself to bring it about and it can be accomplished in an astonishingly short time. Let 1889 be made memorable as the year when labor, by united and intelligent, consolidated action changed the social condition of the race.

THE last clause of the first Democratic platform reads as follows:

11. Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences.

How have our policies really developed since this declaration was written in 1800? The sentiment of the times strongly declared the determination of the people to be independent of all these evil influences; and yet we have to-day not only the power of foreign monopolies brought to bear upon the interests of the people, but we have a home growth of the same evil kind encouraged and protected by legislation, the effect of which is still more dangerous to the liberties and welfare of the people. The effect of foreign influences and institutions is deprecated and declared against and the laws of primogeniture and entailment were repealed and decided to be in conflict with the spirit of free institutions. The law of entailment merely made possible the massing and retaining of great wealth and power in favored families. The feudal system of land tenure merely gave the right of massing great holdings of lands in the hands of the wealthy, thus giving them the right to levy a tax upon

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