

The Center for Research Libraries scans to provide digital delivery of its holdings. In some cases problems with the quality of the original document or microfilm reproduction may result in a lower quality scan, but it will be legible. In some cases pages may be damaged or missing. Files include OCR (machine searchable text) when the quality of the scan and the language or format of the text allows.

If preferred, you may request a loan by contacting Center for Research Libraries through your Interlibrary Loan Office.

Rights and usage

Materials digitized by the Center for Research Libraries are intended for the personal educational and research use of students, scholars, and other researchers of the CRL member community. Copyrighted images and texts are not to be reproduced, displayed, distributed, broadcast, or downloaded for other purposes without the expressed, written permission of the copyright owner.

Center for Research Libraries

Scan Date: March 02, 2012

Identifier: s-n-000059-n7

DIRECTORY.

Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

President Evan Jones, of Texas.
Vice-President Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas.
Secretary A. E. Gardner, of Tennessee.
Treasurer Linn Tanner, of Louisiana.

National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

C. W. Macune President, Washington, D. C.
L. L. Polk 1st Vice-President.
E. B. Warren Secretary.
H. C. Saffell Deputy Secretary, 1015 G street, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer.

Ben Terrell Lecturer.

T. J. Bounds Doorkeeper.

J. A. Tette Committee on Secret Work.

TEXAS.

President Evan Jones, Dublin.
Secretary H. G. Moore, Fort Worth.

TENNESSEE.

President Hon. J. P. Buchanan, Murfreesboro.
Secretary J. H. McDowell, Nashville.

KENTUCKY.

President J. E. Quirkell, Ezel.
Secretary B. F. Davis, Ezel.

NORTH CAROLINA.

President S. B. Alexander, Charlotte.
Secretary L. L. Polk, Raleigh.

MISSOURI.

President J. M. Anthony, Fredericktown.
Secretary Geo. W. Registrar, Poplar Bluff.

MISSISSIPPI.

President R. T. Love, Chester.
Secretary C. T. Smithson, Newport.

ALABAMA.

President S. M. Adams, Randolph.
Secretary J. W. Brown, New Hope.

GEORGIA.

President L. F. Livingstone, Franklin.
Secretary R. L. Burk, Chipley.

FLORIDA.

President R. F. Rogers, Live Oak.
Secretary A. P. Boskin, Anthony.

VIRGINIA.

President G. T. Barbee, Bridgewater.
Secretary J. J. Silvey, Amisville.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

President E. T. Stackhouse, Little Rock.
Secretary J. W. Reid, Reidsville.

KANSAS.

President B. H. Clover, Cambridge.
Secretary J. B. French, Burton.

NEW MEXICO.

President J. N. Coe, Lincoln.
Secretary W. L. Breece, Nogal.

Officers of Louisiana Union.

President J. M. Stallings, Vienna.
Secretary O. M. Wright, Unionville.

National Agricultural Wheel.

President Isaac McCracken, Ozone, Ark.
Secretary A. E. Gardner, Dresden, Tenn.

ARKANSAS.

President L. P. Featherstone, Forest City.
Secretary R. H. Morehead, Hazen.

TENNESSEE.

President J. R. Miles, Ralston.
Secretary W. T. Davis, Gleason.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

President C. E. Hotchkiss, Caddo.
Secretary M. McGough, Pauls Valley.

MISSOURI.

President H. W. Hickman, Puxico.
Secretary J. W. Rogers, Puxico.

MISSISSIPPI.

President C. B. Martin, Rienzi.
Secretary F. M. Blunt, Highland.

National Farmers Alliance.

President J. Burrows, Filley, Neb.
Secretary August Post, Moulton, Iowa.

NEBRASKA.

President J. H. Powers, Cornell.
Vice-President Jas. Clark, Wabash.

Secretary J. M. Thompson, Underwood.

Lecturer M. M. Chase, Creighton.

IOWA.

President A. L. Stuntz, State Center.
Secretary August Post, Moulton.

DAKOTA.

President H. L. Loucks, Clear Lake, So.-Dak.
Secretary C. A. Soderberg, Hartford.

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.

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

ALONZO WARDALL, President.
S. D. COOLEY, Secretary,
Huron, South Dakota.

11tf

\$160 FARMER'S SAW MILL, ENGINES, WOOD PLANERS. Also, Heg's Improved Saw Mill, with Universal Log Beam, Rectilinear Simultaneous Set Work and Double Eccentric friction Feed. Manufactured by the SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.

SUBSCRIBE FOR

THE STANDARD EXPOSITOR,

A GOSPEL MONTHLY.

Devoted to the discussion of Bible doctrines. The editors, four prominent Baptist preachers, are aided by a number of good writers. Price,

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Send for sample copies. A first-class ADVERTISING MEDIUM. Present circulation, 6,000.

Editors:

REDDIN ANDREWS,
E. R. CARSWELL, JR.,
A. B. VAUGHAN, JR.,
M. T. MARTIN.

Office, 47 S. Broad St., Atlanta, Ga.

19-m3



Established 1868.

JAMES L. NORRIS,

PATENT ATTORNEY,

Corner Fifth and F Streets,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Procures Patents for Inventions in United States and Foreign Countries.

Book of Information Sent Free on Request.

Refers to your United States Senators and Representatives or to any of the National Banks of Washington, D. C.

WANTED,

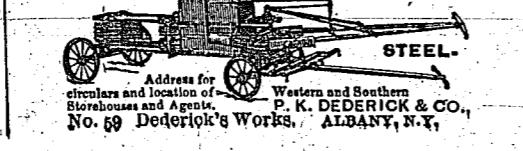
A purchaser for my FARM of 720 acres; 300 acres fenced, 150 acres in cultivation. Good dwelling-house, with ten rooms; good barn; lasting water; 150 acres in timber, balanced prairie; grass and soil good; corn, cotton, wheat, and oats are the principal crops. No better location for a fine stock farm or a mule ranch. Everything new and first class. For further information call on or address J. W. DUNN, Boaz P. O., Coryell County, Texas.

17-9t

DEDERICK'S HAY PRESSES. Made of steel, lighter, stronger, cheaper, more power, everlasting and competition distanced. For proof order on trial, to keep the best and get any other alongside if you can. Reversible Bell Presses, all sizes.

13-m3

The Tar Heel Planers and Matchers, With Five Feed-rollers, manufactured by the SALEM IRON WORKS, Salem, N. C., are the best good cheap machine. Fully warranted. Write for circulars and prices.



Address for circulars and location of Western and Southern K. DEDERICK & CO., ALBANY, N.Y.

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

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1889.

NO. 25.

Good Men and True.

"Sir King, thou seest sixty thousand good men and true who have sworn to do my bidding." Thus said Wat Tyler five hundred years ago, and the story of that incident is the first account of an effort upon the part of the producers of England to free themselves from a system of taxation which left to the laborer enough for only the most degraded existence. When the small farmers and artisans of the kingdom became aware that the exactions of king and feudal lord would only be limited by their ability to pay, discontent became universal, and it needed slight cause to fan the feeling into a rage. Just at this inopportune time a tax collector visited Wat's hovel and demanded a poll-tax upon Wat's daughter, claiming that she was fifteen years old and subject to it. Wat's wife denied this, and the collector insisted upon subjecting the girl to the indignity of an examination, that he might himself decide. Wat was working near by, and the noisy resistance of the women caused him to come in, and finding the official rudely endeavoring to enforce his demand, he struck the intruder dead. Realizing that he was now an outlaw, Wat called on his neighbors to defend him. Thousands flocked to his aid, and with the instinct of genius, he grouped them into some sort of organization and marched on London, determined to effect a settlement by which to secure immunity for himself and relief for his class. The story of his murder in the King's presence when under protection of a truce, and the disbandment of his now headless army, with the barbarous work of gibbet and hangman which followed, well illustrate the excesses of power without responsibility.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice a month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain. We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

THE LANE MILLS,
New Orleans.

11-tf

SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

If you want the best SCHOOL DESKS, the best "Aids to School Discipline," Slated Paper, or any other style of Black Boards, or any other "Tools to Work With" in the school-room, such as Maps, Globes, Charts or Black Boards, the best thing to do is to write the J. B. MERWIN SCHOOL SUPPLY CO., ST. LOUIS, MO., for SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY PRICES on these articles. This firm furnishes the best goods at the lowest prices, and will take pleasure in answering all inquiries. Address the

J. B. MERWIN SCHOOL SUPPLY CO.,

1104 Pine Street,

St. Louis, Mo.

QUEEN OF THE SOUTH
PORTABLE
FARM MILLS
For Stock Feed or Meal
for Family Use.
10,000 IN USE.
Write for Descriptive Circular.
STRAUB MACHINERY CO.,
CINCINNATI, O.

The Tar Heel Planers and Matchers, With Five Feed-rollers, manufactured by the SALEM IRON WORKS, Salem, N. C., are the best good cheap machine. Fully warranted. Write for circulars and prices.



under her flag when Wat Tyler made his protest. The strange anomaly is, that while wealth has increased a hundred-fold, and population four-fold, the laborers upon whom depend the commerce of the metropolis of the world are even more dependent than in times of Wat the Tyler, who owned his home, as probably did a large proportion of his co-operators. Five hundred years ago the worker traced his oppression directly to government, and needed no acute system of logic to understand that the excesses and profligacy of his feudal superiors fell as a tax upon his productive powers. Now an ingenious system of farming out taxing powers has removed government from apparent connection with the laborer's condition, and private corporations have come to represent the source of oppression as seen by him. Hence we now see no such threats to government as was shown when Wat and his sixty thousand good men and true sent a thrill of terror through the English establishment.

But are not the causes the same? Is not the relief demanded the same? If Wat desired that more of his production be left him by the establishment, in what did his complaint differ from that of the dock laborer who demands that his wage shall increase until his necessities be supplied therefrom? With all the change of time and circumstance, this latest labor demonstration is but a slight variation from the first of which English history gives an account. With the multiplication of machinery and increase in productive capacity a change for the better has come to the English laborer, but slowly and grudgingly has the paramount commercial system been forced to permit even this. The real improvement in the condition of the English laborer has come through the earnest endeavors of the trades unions of that country, and almost wholly within the last sixty years. Up to that time supply and demand had been the sole factors in the labor question, and the commercial idea prevailed unchecked by any counter force. With increased capacity for production came diminished value for his individual service, and the condition of the laborer was constantly more dependent. But for the discovery of America, which opened up opportunity for relief by emigration, the blackest night of barbarism would probably have been averted only by the growth of new systems planted in social chaos and watered with blood.

Strange indeed, that, despite the current boast of writers and orators, five hundred years show so little advance in the condition of the laborer. There have been vast improvements in his surroundings. His work is done with appliances which have made his labor five times as effective as then. The shipping in dock in London awaiting adjustment of the strike to commence unloading comprise more tonnage than England could boast as floating to the starving idle, help not a whit toward de-

termining the final result. He who would aid in settling this grave question which vexes mankind should look to causes. The multiplication of systems and the passage of statutes whereby temporary relief may come, but postpone the end for which all should strive. The freedom of industry from unnecessary taxes is an imperative duty. Whether by enabling the worker to engage to a fuller extent where now natural opportunity is taxed, or by any more just system of distribution, some remedy must be devised by which he who produces shall enjoy. Whether the centuries have brought the solution nearer is yet to be seen. By consent of enlightened nations, this is the mastering problem of the age. It confronts social organization like a Sphinx, threatening to devour who cannot answer. The remedy must come, else civilization fails of its purpose, the happiness of man.

[Official]
THE NATIONAL COTTON COMMITTEE
Meets and Passes Important Resolutions—Hold Your Cotton.

The National cotton committee of the Farmers' Alliance send greetings and important advice to the farmers of the South.

Hold your cotton!
That is the substance of it.

The committee held a quiet meeting at the Kimball House, Atlanta, Ga., the result of which was the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. That the National cotton committee recommend that the farmers of the South shall sell no cotton during the month of September, except what may be absolutely necessary to meet the obligations which are past due.

2. That the National cotton committee instruct the president of each primary Alliance, Wheel, or Union, or some person appointed by him, to meet the president and secretary of his county Alliance, Wheel, or Union, on Saturday, the 28th of September, at the county site, for the purpose of receiving further instructions from the National cotton committee.

3. That each State secretary of every State be charged with the duty of placing these resolutions immediately before the respective county presidents in every county in his State, and charge all expenses of printing and postage to the National Alliance.

4. That every farmer be urged to exercise special care and caution in sheltering and protecting his cotton in bales from damaging weather, and also from lying on the ground.

5. That every newspaper in the South in sympathy with the interests of the farmers, is requested to publish these resolutions.

R. J. Sledge, chairman; Kyle, Texas; A. T. Hatcher, Grand Cané, La.; W. R. Lacy, Winona, Miss.; S. B. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; L. P. Featherstone, Forest City, Ark.; M. L. Donaldson, Greenville, S. C.; W. J. Northen, Sparta, Ga.; R. F. Kolb, Montgomery, Ala.; B. M. Hord, Nashville, Tenn.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

President Jones's Message.

To the Officers and Members of the Farmers State Alliance of Texas:

DEAR BRETHREN: Again we are convened in regular session; and you are called upon to assume the legislative responsibilities of our noble order. Before entering upon the duties of this meeting I feel it my duty to impress upon your minds the grave responsibilities resting upon you as representatives of the intelligent yeomanry of the great State of Texas. You should realize the fact that you represent a people upon whom the perpetuation of our free institutions most largely depend. The membership in selecting you as their representative have reposed special trust and confidence in your integrity and ability.

This is certainly an important meeting; the weal or woe of two hundred thousand trusting agriculturists and laboring people, together with our order and its business enterprises, are dependent upon the wisdom and efficiency of your actions during this meeting. Hoping that you realize the necessity of concert of action and perfect harmony, and that you are fully prepared for the arduous duties that now await you, I therefore enter with confidence upon the regular business of this meeting.

CONSOLIDATION.

Believing that it is only through concentration and united action of the agriculturists of our Nation that we will ever be able to break the shackles that now bind the industries of our country in the iron grasp of corporate monopoly; and whereas, in a joint convention composed of the National Farmers Alliance and Cooperative Union of America, the National Farmers Mutual Benefit Association and the National Agricultural Wheel, held in the city of Meridian, Miss., on December 5, 6, and 7, 1888, a constitution was adopted merging these three National agricultural organizations into one consolidated body known as the Farmers and Laborers Union of America; and whereas, said constitution is submitted to this body for its ratification or its rejection, I therefore recommend it to your serious thought and consideration, believing it to be the most effectual means of restoring peace and prosperity to the now prostrate and impoverished industries of our country.

CO-OPERATION.

It is a well-established fact that in concert of action there is strength. All enterprises and industries which tend to promote the development of the great and many resources of our Nation depend wholly upon association, education, and co-operation. In true co-operation there is strength, power, and influence, and a remedy for many of the evils now afflicting our country, could our people realize the necessity, importance, and power they possess in organization. And whereas the Alliance plan of co-operation is founded upon the true principles of equity and justice, would recommend that you take the necessary steps for a more thorough education of the membership in the principles of the order.

EXCHANGE.

I would call your special attention to the condition of our business enterprise at Dallas. I regard the principles upon which our Exchange is founded as the true principles of co-operation, and the effort as being the greatest ever put forth by any organization for the protection and relief of the laboring classes of our country; but it can never be as powerful, profitable, and effectual as it should be until it is relieved of its present embarrassment and our people inspired with confidence in its stability and management; and, to realize the power and influence sustained by its maintenance and perpetuation, I would urge the necessity of imme-

diate relief from its present embarrassment and a more definite and permanent plan for future operation.

I would recommend for your consideration the following: Whereas the by-laws under which the business was created and chartered provided that the capital stock should be \$500,000, divided into 25 shares of \$20,000 each, to be held as owner in trust for the members of the Farmers Alliance by 25 stockholders, who shall be elected by the Farmers State Alliance; and whereas the first amendment to the by-laws and charter provided for the division of the stock into 5,000 shares of \$100 each, to be subdivided into fractional shares of \$5 each; and whereas the second amendment to the by-laws and charter make each fractional share of \$5 a full share of stock (as it should be), it virtually illegalizes and renders unnecessary the 25 stockholders, as the ownership of the stock is now vested in the Farmers Alliance and individual members; therefore I would recommend the abolition of the board of 25 stockholders, and that the business be managed by a board of 11 directors (one from each Congressional district); to be elected annually by the Farmers State Alliance. For further information I would respectfully refer you to the report of the business manager and board of directors.

THE CREDIT SYSTEM.

The present credit or mortgage system carries with it the commercial enslavement of the debtor class. By increasing the per cent. paid by the consumer for the necessities of life, and the decrease in the prices of products through this system, a large per cent. of our population are doomed to perpetual slavery to the financial and commercial manipulators of our country. The monopolization and contraction of the circulating medium forces on our people the necessity of credit or mortgage, for the obvious reason that there is not money enough in their hands to enable them to transact their business upon a cash basis. To this unjust manipulation of our finances and transportation can be traced most of the oppression of our people. Control these and you have solved the vexed question of the cause of industrial depression. This can only be effected by just and intelligent legislative reformation. Therefore, I would call your attention to the necessity of concert of action of all the industrial classes in all things necessary to secure this much-needed reformation.

TRANSPORTATION.

The means of transportation is one of the important factors in advancing civilization, developing the wealth and resources of our country, stimulating industry, and promoting the general welfare, comfort, and prosperity of our people by properly distributing the products of labor. It is not the railroads that are detrimental to the proper distribution of our products, but the abuse of the powers and chartered rights which these soulless corporations wield, thereby absorbing the profits of the agriculturists of our State. These corporations have used their shrewdness in forming and manipulating rings and combinations to enrich themselves at the expense and to the prostration of the producers and consumers to such an extent that it has aroused the hostility of society. I would recommend that you demand legislation for the better control of these gigantic corporations.

LAND.

Nothing is more indicative of the stability and tends more to promote the welfare and general prosperity of a nation, or a surer safeguard against the domineering and corrupting influences of powerful monopolistic corporations and combinations of capital, than a nation of free and independent land-holders, living upon their own freehold and occupying a place,

they call home; theirs to improve; theirs to cultivate; theirs to beautify, and theirs to enjoy. Now, therefore, seeing our lands, the heritage of the people, rapidly passing into the hands of domestic and foreign corporations and syndicates points directly toward a system of landlordism and tenantry that is exceedingly dangerous, and threatens the very existence of our civil and political institutions; and as most of the troubles and abuses that environ this question can be removed by and through legislative action only, would recommend that this body speak out in thundering tones that dare not be disregarded, and demand a law prohibiting the monopolization by syndicates, corporations, and alien ownership of lands in Texas. Lands of America should be owned and controlled by citizens of America.

POLITICS.

While our order is strictly non-partisan in politics, yet one of its purposes is to educate the people in the science of political economy and of economical government. It is an evident fact that the producers have been for a number of years, and are now oppressed by gigantic corporations shielded by unjust legislation, and from their indifference and lack of information and individuality in political affairs, have lost that influence and respect by our legislative bodies that their interests should demand. We have allowed politics and law-making to drift into the hands of machine politicians, until we have reached a period of almost financial and commercial slavery. Hence, if we would regain our prosperity and sustain our free institutions, individuality and republican form of government, we must educate the masses in the true principles of political economy, with the ballot-box closely guarded on the one side by equity and justice, and on the other by true patriotism and honesty.

LADY MEMBERSHIP.

It is a well-established fact that the moral and social influences and training of the youthful minds that forms the basis of an orderly and useful life depends largely, if not wholly, upon the ladies of the country. It is a true saying "that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." The influence for good of our lady membership, both morally and socially, tends to the elevation of our order to a higher degree of refinement and social entertainment; hence their presence in our councils is indispensable. They tend to a great measure to inspire the male members with that degree of patriotism that is so essential to the best interests of our noble order. They should be encouraged to grace the regular meetings of the Alliance by their attendance; they should be invited to participate in all matters that in any manner is tending to the advancement of the cause; they can always be relied upon to add great moral strength to any and all such movements, and they can be the means by which the interest in our meetings will always be sufficient to insure a large attendance on the part of the male membership. Therefore would recommend and earnestly suggest that you provide more efficient means for their encouragement and entertainment to the end that our meetings may be blessed with their presence.

EDUCATION.

Education, to be practical, useful, and effectual, begins at the fireside. Upon the tender minds are implanted more effectually the true principles of life and its duties. The destiny of a republican form of government depends upon the purity of the ballot, and as this is held by every man there can be no safety, except as is guaranteed by its intelligent use. This is the bulwark of our Nation's strength, and it is the duty of our order, through education, to produce this intelligence and virtue,

and thus rear and offer as gifts to our country a generation of men and women who can comprehend and appreciate their obligations as American citizens.

While our State provides facilities for rudimentary instruction, yet the cost of a higher education is so great that few among the laboring classes can ever hope to override the obstacles in their way and climb successfully to the more lofty heights of a university course. Therefore would recommend that you take such action as in your wisdom you deem best for the raising of our free schools to a higher grade of education.

In this connection I will also call your attention to the now-existing system by which our people are annually filched out of thousands of dollars to pay tribute to those who force upon us a too frequent change in text-books for our children. It is burning shame that we are forced to submit to the dictates of each and every teacher that comes along, and be compelled to purchase a new set of school-books. Were those in power competent to discriminate between right and wrong, the system now in vogue would be done away with, and simple justice be meted out to the parents of those who attend our public schools. I earnestly urge upon you the necessity of prompt action on your part in this matter; find the defects and apply the necessary remedy. It is in your power and it is your duty to exercise it.

THE SOUTHERN MERCURY.

Now that The Southern Mercury is owned and controlled by the Farmers State Alliance of Texas, and recognizing it as the great educator and disseminator of the necessary information for the enlightenment of our people and the perpetuation of our noble order; and while it has fearlessly fought the battles of the farmers against monopolization of transportation, binder twine and jute bagging combinations, and all other oppressive forms of monopoly, it is an evident fact that our paper can make but little headway against those soulless combines and oppressors of the people, without the co-operation and support of the membership. And whereas it has failed to receive the necessary encouragement and support that is necessary to enable it to reach that high degree of usefulness that should characterize the official journal of so powerful an organization as the Farmers Alliance of Texas, therefore I would earnestly impress upon your minds the necessity of immediate efficient action for the proper maintenance of our official organ. For further information I respectfully refer you to the report of the printing board.

TRUSTS.

This seems to be the age of trusts. There is scarcely an important article that the laboring classes have to use that is not controlled by an infamous combination commonly known as a trust. There seems to be a screw loose somewhere in this land of ours that permits the existence of these unholy combinations. The centralization of the money power of the land into the hands of a few is one of the primary causes that make trusts possible. The unnatural greed of a certain class of our people contributes in no small degree to their existence; but there lies a remedy and a relief in the hands of the law-making branch of our National and State governments, which if properly exercised and honestly administered, the relief would be apparent to everybody; but under the present condition of affairs the outlook is far from bright for those who honestly labor and contribute in such a large degree to the stability of our Government and upon whom there rests the safety of the Nation. I refer to the toiling agriculturists of our beloved country; therefore, the remedy, as far as it lies in our power to discern, is within the proper use of the suffrage granted

to PERPETUATE the abuses which give them their great power and wealth the great capitalistic combinations must seek political influence and thus become a political factor in our Government. The only influence they can possibly exert must tend to corruption, as their aspirations and desires are not founded on justice and the common welfare, but their own enrichment and aggrandizement. The only hope of the people is to stand together as a unit against this influence.

us by the framers of our Nation's Constitution — the ballot.

CONDITION OF THE ORDER.

During the past twelve months many have been the vicissitudes through which we have been called to pass. The past year has been the most trying and critical period in the history of our order. The last five months of 1888 was a period of sore trials, disappointments, heartaches, dissensions, disintegration, and desertion; a period that threatened the very existence of our order and its business enterprises, and tried the very souls and patriotism of our membership. In contemplating the causes that disturbed the harmony and prosperity of our order I find them of a serious nature, and would insist that you can not guard too closely against their recurrence. Since January 1, 1889, the order has been on an upward tendency. While it is true we have lost considerable in numerical strength, yet in my opinion the principles of the order are more firmly rooted in the hearts of the membership than at any time in our history; the remaining membership being tried as by fire, sifted as wheat, leaving them better educated, with more earnestness, zeal, and determination for the protection and perpetuation of the order.

As your executive head, I have served you for the last twelve months to the best of my ability, giving to the order my best efforts and entire time. During our darkest hours I have endeavored to stand at the post of duty, watching with zealous care every turn of the wheel, and availed myself of every opportunity to steer our bark clear of the rocks, outside the breakers, and finally reach the port of peace. Perhaps I have made mistakes; others might have done better; but having passed through an ordeal from which stout hearts shrank and upon which the brave entered with reluctance, I feel thankful that I am now able to give back to you the dear old Farmers State Alliance of Texas on a more solid basis than ever before in her history. Your constant support and encouragement was my greatest assistance, and the only prop that sustained me in my arduous duties and guaranteed to us hope, success, and victory. I shall ever remember and appreciate your patriotism and fidelity during those trying hours. During the year I have traveled and delivered one hundred and thirty-six private and public lectures, being compelled to take the field to the neglect of my office work (that is to say, delays in attending to correspondence), from urgent demands and inability of our lecturers to furnish the necessary information and instruction.

Now, brethren, hoping and trusting that you fully understand the situation, and that you, in your deliberations, will be calm, brave, and just toward one another, and that pure patriotism and love for the order may characterize each member in your efforts to save our business enterprises and further its interests, I commend the work to your intelligence and care, assuring you that my motto shall be "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

May He who ruleth all things guide and direct you in your deliberations, save and protect our order, free our Nation from monopolistic and corporate oppression, and rescue our people from financial and commercial servitude.

To PERPETUATE the abuses which give them their great power and wealth the great capitalistic combinations must seek political influence and thus become a political factor in our Government. The only influence they can possibly exert must tend to corruption, as their aspirations and desires are not founded on justice and the common welfare, but their own enrichment and aggrandizement. The only hope of the people is to stand together as a unit against this influence.

History and Government.

No. 25.

At this time the social condition of Athens had reached a point that has always been a marked era in the history of every nation; and as it has ever been the turning-point in the life of every state, attention is especially called to the situation and the means of relief resorted to.

It will be remembered that the land system of the Athenians grew out of original occupancy and not conquest. Each citizen was originally a proprietor, and was the possessor of a homestead. It must also be borne in mind that the commercial system of the country allowed lands to be used as security for debt, and that, at the time of Solon, great oppression had grown out of this fact; that, by his enactments, Solon had greatly relieved the oppression and had abolished the power of creditors to sell their debtors into slavery as a means of satisfying their claims, but he failed to make any change in the land system. The result was that debtors, who had been relieved by the enactments of Solon, again began to fall behind and pledge their lands as securities to the merchants and speculators. True, they were relieved of the fear of being sold into slavery, but gradually the homesteads of the people fell into the hands of the speculators, their creditors, and the former proprietors were set adrift as vagrants.

The wealthy held great bodies of land, which were let to the tenants at such exorbitant rent that to engage in agriculture on such conditions was nothing more nor less than voluntary servitude and vassalage. Thousands preferred vagrancy to such conditions, and the result was that the population was divided into two classes—landlords and tenants, the very rich and he very poor—where originally every man had been the owner of his own home. Of course the greatest bitterness existed between these two classes, as has been the case in all history.

Let it be noted as this review proceeds that in every instance where internal bitterness grew in any state, it arose primarily from this condition of the lands, and that it is the sure and certain result of treating land as an article of commerce, security, and speculation.

So it was that when Pericles arose to power he found, instead of a nation of free homeowners, a vast horde of vagrants without means of support, and a small class of enormously rich landholders. This was the natural result of the land and social systems established in Athens, as it will be remembered that the rank of a man depended on the amount of his fortune, and the grades of nobility were determined by this measure. The result was that the merchants and commercial people used every means to increase their fortunes to the greatest amount, in order to be ranked among the higher order of nobility. They applied the rules of speculation to the land, as such speculation led most directly to great opulence by the power its possession gave over the productive labor of the people who cultivated it.

Pericles recognized readily the great power he would secure by gaining the support of this

vast number of idle and destitute people, and set to work to gain their confidence and regard. The sequel proved that he had no genuine sympathy for their misfortunes, nor was he actuated by any motive of patriotism or philanthropy, but was inspired only by his uncontrollable ambition and selfish greed of fame and power.

Instead of making some endeavor to remove the cause of the evils which afflicted the people, and so prevent a recurrence of such conditions, he merely resorted to palliative measures which would give temporary relief and lead the masses to think that he was really their champion and the defender of their rights and interests.

Instead of instituting radical reforms, which would have returned the idle to the ranks of industry, and prevented the speculative class from appropriating the greater portion of the results of their labors, which the prevention of speculation in land and the prohibition of its use as a means of security or article of commerce would have done, Pericles attempted to find employment for the idle in public works, and to pay them from the public treasury, leaving the system which had brought about the evils still in operation. His division of the conquered lands among the people was of practically no effect, as it immediately found its way into the hands of the speculators and land monopolists to satisfy debts already due, or was secured by purchase from the ignorant holders for merely nominal values; which amounts soon went into the hands of the shrewder commercial class, and the masses still remained landless and homeless. He then devised a plan by which he could maintain a large number for eight months of the year by putting them on board a fleet of sixty ships, which he fitted out, and trained the men sent on them for naval service. He then, in order to still further reduce the number of the idle, sent colonies at the national expense into Chersonesus, Naxos, Andros, and among the Bisaltae in Thrace; also a very numerous one into Italy, which built Thurium, which colony later on played an important part in the history of the times.

In settling these colonies, Pericles had other views as well as gaining the support of the people. His chief motive was to clear the city of a certain turbulent element, which was liable to be controlled by any influence brought to bear upon it that at the immediate time seemed to best gratify its whim. Such a class is always dangerous to the best interests of a people, as its members, having no serious ties, are ready tools for any party that pays best for its services; and Pericles considered that, with the great middle class behind him, he could dispense with this unreliable element, and leave nothing for his opponents to build its strength from. These colonies served also as a nucleus for his power in other Greek states, as, being Athenians and his friends, they would serve his cause among the people with whom they were brought into contact, and thus strengthen him among the allies.

Pericles's next step was to engage the vast idle population in ornamenting and embellishing the city. He erected the most magnificent

and massive public buildings, temples, and monuments, reared the grandest statues the world has ever seen, caused to be executed sculptures and paintings that were the wonder of the world, and even to this day the architecture and sculpture of the age of Pericles is beyond anything that the genius of man has ever since accomplished. The palaces, public buildings, and temples were, and have ever been, the wonder of the world, and the cost was enormous. The temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, alone cost about a million of dollars of our money.

The excuse of Pericles for this vast outlay and extravagant use of the public funds was, that "the Athenians were sufficiently provided with things necessary for war, and it was but just that they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to the city; and which, during the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a general plenty and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens; that they themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths, artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners; men fit to convey these materials by sea, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots; others for land carriage, as cartwrights, wagoners, carters, rope-makers, stone-heavers, paviors, and miners. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different workmen, and the masses still remained landless and homeless.

This was what might be called in modern slang a "classic boodle administration," and will remind many of the time of Tweed and other bosses in our own experience. The public moneys became legitimate booty of plunderers, and was dealt out lavishly to such as could be of service through their "ward influence."

The conservative party in Athens considered this plundering of the common treasury an outrage, and the allies were incensed at the robbery and protested against the appropriation of money they had contributed to the common defense for embellishing the city of Athens while their interests were utterly ignored.

It was seen by the more conservative and solid citizens, as well as by all the Greek states, that Pericles was daily striding into power, and would, as Pisistratus had done, cause the people to become the authors of their own enslavement, and steps were taken to check him in his high-handed attempts.

Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon, an orator of great power and a true patriot, led the opposition to the aspiring demagogue. The conflict between the two leaders became so fierce that one or the other must be removed in some manner. Pericles, through his phenomenal power over the people and corrupt influences, managed to have Thucydides banished, and thus crushed the party that was opposing him, and gained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens.

He now disposed at pleasure of the public money and treated it as his own, and his will was supreme with the army and navy. He reigned singly and alone in the wide domain over which Athens held sway, and the betrayal of the Athenian people was complete.

Plato says that "Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one citizen in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners." The whole fact was that

Pericles, being utterly unscrupulous, had a means at hand which enabled him to carry out fully his designs.

It will be remembered that the treasure belonging to the allied Greek states was placed in the island of Delos, and that this treasure was made up of sums contributed in proportion by all the states composing the confederacy. Pericles had, in the beginning of his administration, raised the amounts of contributions from the allies to one-third more than it had been before, and the entire amount was intended to be used only for the prosecution of the war against Persia and for the defense of Greece. This vast sum was probably equal, considering the difference in the value of money then and now, to over a hundred millions of our dollars. This money Pericles had removed to Athens, and it was with this that he conducted his great and magnificent improvements.

This was what might be called in modern slang a "classic boodle administration," and will remind many of the time of Tweed and other bosses in our own experience. The public moneys became legitimate booty of plunderers, and was dealt out lavishly to such as could be of service through their "ward influence."

The conservative party in Athens considered this plundering of the common treasury an outrage, and the allies were incensed at the robbery and protested against the appropriation of money they had contributed to the common defense for embellishing the city of Athens while their interests were utterly ignored.

It was seen by the more conservative and solid citizens, as well as by all the Greek states, that Pericles was daily striding into power, and would, as Pisistratus had done, cause the people to become the authors of their own enslavement, and steps were taken to check him in his high-handed attempts.

Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon, an orator of great power and a true patriot, led the opposition to the aspiring demagogue. The conflict between the two leaders became so fierce that one or the other must be removed in some manner. Pericles, through his phenomenal power over the people and corrupt influences, managed to have Thucydides banished, and thus crushed the party that was opposing him, and gained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens.

He now disposed at pleasure of the public money and treated it as his own, and his will was supreme with the army and navy. He reigned singly and alone in the wide domain over which Athens held sway, and the betrayal of the Athenian people was complete.

Plato says that "Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one citizen in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners." The whole fact was that

Pericles, by plundering the common treasury

of the Greek confederacy and using the money to secure his personal popularity by distributing it as a corruption fund, had virtually subverted the free government of Athens and had made himself practically an autocrat; and this had been accomplished apparently by the voice of the people. The popular will had been made subservient of the ends of an aspiring and unscrupulous demagogue. Colossal robbery of the public had been the means of making a hero and an autocrat of the guilty plunderer, giving us a striking illustration of a condition of affairs greatly similar to our present situation, especially when it is remembered that Pericles was only the leader of a corrupt party, which under his direction had gained the control of affairs; that it was, according to our definition, a "boodle party," and that the party bosses benefited in proportion to their leaders' success.

The social and political conditions existing in Athens, at the time Pericles arose to power, was the third recurrence of a crisis arising from the same cause within a space of four hundred and fifty years: first at the time of Solon, again when Pisistratus subverted the government, and finally when Pericles took advantage of the oppression of the landlords and speculators.

This condition lasted for another generation, or about fifty years, and it is doubtful if the

Athenians could ever have recovered their liberties by their own unaided endeavors. However, the Spartans, fired with that lofty patriotism and love of liberty which characterized them, brought their invincible arms to their relief, expelled the tyrants and restored the people to their liberty.

First, let it be recalled that the institutions of Lycurgus were established in the year 884 B. C.; that at that time Athens was governed by kings and the lands were divided among the people as the original joint owners; that the people were exclusively agricultural and the lands their only means of support; that later the people became to some extent commercial and, under the archons, land became a means of security for debt and a commodity of commerce. Let it be particularly noted that, as soon as traffic in land began, there began to grow up a class of large land-holders; that the small holdings began to be massed in the hands of a few of the shrewdest and most unscrupulous of the people; that the original holders gradually sank into the position of vassals and were oppressed by unjust rents, and the greater proportion of the results of their labor were appropriated by the landlord class, and the people starved.

This condition had reached such an extreme that the greatest deprivation and suffering was inflicted upon the industrial masses, and internal war, riot, and destruction were threatened. In 594 B. C., this state of affairs had grown so dangerous as to demand immediate and effective action, in order to prevent the most bloody results and the extermination of the landlord class.

Solon, being chosen to devise a means of relief, recognized the cause of the evil from the fact that the system adopted by Lycurgus had effectively prevented the evils from which Athens suffered, and really desired to introduce

a similar system, but the power and influence of the rich was such that he feared to resort to radical cure and had recourse to palliative measures which relieved the strain for the moment and had a good effect temporarily. The masses were relieved of their debts, but the alienated lands were not returned, and the commercial feature of the land system was left as before.

As a natural consequence, the same causes being in operation, the same result was rapidly reproduced, and in 560 B. C., less than thirty-five years later, or one generation, the industrial masses were in as bad a condition as before.

Unfortunately, at this crisis a demagogue instead of a patriot took advantage of the situation, and by playing on the passions of the people and the betrayal of their confidence, succeeded in placing himself at the head of the state and establishing a tyranny which in fact was merely a change in the form of political government, while the condition of the masses was really little, if any, worse than under the oppression of the landlords and speculators.

This condition lasted for another generation, or about fifty years, and it is doubtful if the

time that Athens was convulsed with internal dissensions and her people robbed, oppressed, and brutalized by speculation, the Spartans stood a type of heroism, justice, and content; the bulwark of Greek liberty and the perfection of social concord; the champions of a new civilization.

From the time of Lycurgus to that of Pericles, nearly four hundred and fifty years, Sparta had gone on with the most perfect internal tranquillity, not one instance of oppression, not a murmur of discontent; her people happy, prosperous, and devoted to the state; no jealousies or animosities, no poverty or riches, but a healthy moral tone, and an exalted and independent spirit, such as should characterize free-men. The only shock which had affected Sparta resulted from the one fault in her code, which was slavery, and one evil among so much that was wise and good may be overlooked when we consider the character of the age and the fact that the greater portion of the Spartan code was so far beyond the civilization of the times. What remains to be reviewed of the history of Greece will go far to substantiate the position here taken, and the experiences of other nations will make it incontrovertible.

Book Review.

No. 1 of the Humboldt Library is entitled "Light Science for Leisure Hours." The author is Richard A. Proctor, and his name is sufficient guarantee for the character of the work.

This is a collection of most entertaining and instructive essays upon various scientific subjects. These essays are seventy-three in number, and cover a wide field of scientific research. The book is especially adapted to the tastes and requirements of young men and ladies to whom diversified information, especially upon scientific subjects, is both valuable and gratifying, broadening and enlarging their views, and bringing out the dormant powers of the mind.

Immediately after this last relief of the Athenians the great Persian invasion began, civil affairs were overwhelmed by the common danger and the entire energy of the nation applied to the common defense. This gave a respite from the growing evils of land speculation, and the oppressions growing out of it did not culminate for about sixty years, or almost two generations. Then, after the final battle at Mycale, Athens again turned to trade, speculation in land again began to depopulate the fields and fill the city with vagrants. Great land proprietors reveled in wealth and the people starved. The creations of labor were absorbed in rent and interest; food, that should have supported industry, was seized to make profit for speculators or luxury for selfish wealth. Agriculture waned. The lands could not support the laborer and pay the profit demanded by the landlord. Attica and Athens were overrun with homeless, landless poor, whose misery made them desperate.

That all these evils which afflicted the Athenian people grew out of their land and commercial systems, Sparta stands an irrefutable proof. This state, in her land and commercial systems, was the antithesis of Athens. During the entire

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Causes and Remedies.

BY A. SEVERANCE, OF SUGARTOWN, LA.

I read the writings of numerous correspondents in your most excellent paper with a great deal of interest. All are agreed in regard to existing evils in the financial system of our country and the causes which have brought the farmer and laborer to his present condition of servitude, but few appear to agree as to the remedy for the wrongs so ably set forth. We all know there is something radically wrong in the present financial management of the affairs of the Government. Taxation, whether direct or indirect, or whether in the way of interest on a bonded debt or exorbitant rates on loans, is the cause of the present depressed condition of the wealth-producers of the land. A repeal of those laws, and the enactment of others that shall bear equally and justly upon all classes of citizens, seem to me to be the remedy. A radical change in the entire financial system of the Government is the only thing that can give us final relief. Just how that change can be brought about is the question upon which we are more or less divided. A fair and candid discussion of the various propositions will bring us nearer together and enable us to center upon that remedy which shall bring about the desired result. Bro. Tets is in favor of some educational qualifications for suffrage, but just what that qualification shall be he failed to state. I presume he would not advocate the plan proposed by a Louisiana Senator, "That no man shall be allowed to vote who can not read and write the Constitution of the United States," an *ex post facto* law contrary to the fundamental principles of republican government. To take away a man's citizenship because he can not read and write would be most unjust without first providing the opportunities for such education. There is something necessary besides the mere mechanical art of reading and writing to make an intelligent voter. It is a difficult matter to draw the line on an educational basis; for we find some of our best educated men as radically wrong in those things that pertain to the best interests of the masses as the most illiterate clown.

Mr. Hinckley proposes co-operation as the means of reaching the needed changes in our financial affairs. He acknowledges his recent conversion to the idea, but has not yet become a convert to the "single-tax" idea, judging from the way he fires his big shot-gun at Mr. Watters and others on that subject. Perhaps a few more rounds might convince him that, as a theory that has never been put in practical operation, the arguments are all in favor of taxes being collected from land values only. With his views on co-operation I heartily concur. It is by co-operation and a combination of capital and united efforts long persevered in by the moneyed monopolies of the land that they have succeeded, step by step, in getting almost entire control of the Government in their own interests, and to the destruction and ruin of the interests of the great mass of the people. They have entered the halls of legislation with their combined capital and power, and secured laws that have enabled them to rob the farmer and laborer of a large part of their hard-earnings. By these unequal and unjust laws the amounts that should have been distributed among the wealth-producers of the land have accumulated in the hands of the few, who never toil, but, nevertheless, live in luxury, drawn from the pockets of the toiling mass by the unequal distribution of wealth, while the producer has been reduced almost to the condition of the serf of Russia; and the farmers must sooner or later become tenants on the soil once their own through the foreclosure of mortgages which they are unable to cancel. In order that we may successfully resist these encroachments upon our rights, we must do precisely as they

have done. We must combine. We must co-operate socially, financially, and politically if we would overthrow the unscrupulous power that has taken away the liberties of the people and now threatens the destruction of our republican institutions. By financial co-operation we throw the enormous business of the farming community into one channel, and by uniting all the farmers' and laborers' organizations in one National body and transacting all our business through it, we will soon become a power in the financial world that will dictate terms to all outside business. We can then say to the politician, Step aside; we have no further use for you. We can then say to our law-makers, Give us the laws we demand and repeal unjust and obnoxious laws, or you step down and out and give place to men who will do justice to the people.

What we want first is to become a power that will command attention, and compel obedience to our demands. This can be secured only by combination and unity of action, harmony in ranks, a fair and free discussion of all questions, and a final decision as to what our demands shall be. Having placed our business in a sound financial condition, we shall then be able to determine what the remedy for the disease shall be, and dictate its application. This must be accomplished by the acquiescence of all in the decision of a majority under the advice and guidance of able leaders. There are a variety of opinions upon nearly every question that comes before us, and a proper discussion of those questions is the only way to arrive at a just conclusion. A great deal is being written upon money, its functions and origin. Mr. Burrows, in an able article on the subject, says that "money is a representative of all wealth, and hence of all forms of capital." Why, I always thought money was only a medium of exchange, made such by a law of Congress, for the convenience of the people in the transaction of business and settling the balance of trade. "If it be a representative of all wealth," then, according to this theory, for every dollar's worth of property in the United States there should be a dollar of money in circulation. This may be in keeping with some of his views on the "single-tax" question. Prejudice often has much to do with our conclusions. The author of the single-tax theory has been denounced as a "crank, a bigot, a simpleton," and his theory as Utopian. So have all great reformers been denounced in the same way. Galileo was denounced and imprisoned for teaching that the earth is round, and only gained his freedom by recanting his opinion. The theory is simply this in a nutshell, whether any part of the private property of the individual shall be taken for public purposes, or whether only public property shall be taken for public purposes, and thus relieve the personal property of the individual, whose toil and brains have produced it, from all taxation, which is placed upon that species of property which the united labor, skill, and brain-work of the community have enhanced in value.

Our people are more determined to help themselves than I have known them to be at any time during the last twenty-five years. Of course they are aware that many embarrassments remain, even in Georgia. These they propose to remedy first, and when this is done they will demand of the outside world even-handed justice, and of the Government equal rights to all, special privileges to none.

Our people have been more economical and industrious in 1889 than in any year since the surrender. They owe less, have bought less, bought cheaper and paid cash for more supplies, worked more steadily, more intelligently, and consequently more efficiently. There is less hanging around store corners and court-house doors, and this fact has been commented upon everywhere.

There is another redeeming fact. They have diversified crops. There is a large crop of cotton in Georgia, but the corn crop is the largest ever known. Wheat, potatoes, sorghum, sugar cane, ground peas, grasses, are all extensively planted, and more attention is being paid to cattle and hog raising.

A Virginia correspondent asks:

In what year within the past ten or fifteen

years only date from 1866. The largest aggregate is reported for 1866 and was 114,480,516 pounds, valued at \$15,683,830, but of course this included a great quantity of old stock that was in store at the close of the war. During the succeeding years there was a very great falling off. The largest crop reported for any of those years as the product of the year was for 1885, when the aggregate product was 107,711,000 pounds, valued at \$7,970,649, or about 7½ cents per pound. The smallest crop was that of 1874, when it aggregated only 35,000,000 pounds, and was valued at \$4,200,000, or 12 cents per pound. The crop bringing the least aggregate value was that of 1881, when the aggregate was 77,649,854 pounds, valued at \$2,677,907, or less than 4 cents per pound.

Summary of Proceedings of the New Mexico Territory Farmers Alliance.

Delegates from Lincoln, Colfax, and San Juan Counties met at Sant Fe on the 22d and 23d of July and organized the Territorial Farmers Alliance of New Mexico. The Alliance was organized by J. P. Hosmer, an organizing officer, from Springer. The Alliance was temporarily organized with J. N. Coe, of Lincoln County, in the chair, and J. P. Hosmer as secretary *pro tem.*

The permanent organization was effected with the following officers for the ensuing year: President, J. N. Coe, of Lincoln County; 1st vice-president, Wm. Lock, Farmington, San Juan County; 2d vice-president, J. P. Hosmer, Springer, Colfax County; W. L. Breece, Nogal, Lincoln County, secretary; treasurer, John Graham, Hall's Peak, Mora County; chaplain, J. A. Allison, Farmington, San Juan County; lecturer, J. A. Walcott, Elizabethtown, Colfax County; assistant lecturer, Wm. Griffen, Farmington, San Juan County; doorkeeper, T. E. Lee, Fort Stanton, Lincoln County; assistant doorkeeper, C. H. Bell, Nogal, Lincoln County; trade agent, J. P. Hosmer, Springer, Colfax County.

The time of holding the annual meeting was fixed at the second Monday in November. The Springer Banner was adopted as the organ of the Farmers Alliance in New Mexico.

The report of the committee on the translation of the work into the Spanish language was laid on the table until next meeting.

Albuquerque was agreed upon as the place for holding the next annual meeting.

A Territorial board of trade agents was provided for, to consist of the Territorial and county trade agents.

It was voted that the Springer Banner, the Southern Mercury, and the NATIONAL ECONOMIST be requested to publish these proceedings.

JAY GOULD said before a committee of the New York legislature appointed to examine into the management of the Erie Railroad: "In a Democratic district I was a Democrat; in a Republican district I was a Republican; and in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but in every district, and at all times, I was an Erie man." This is the true principle of the capitalist. He is in every district and at all times a capitalist, regardless of right, of justice, of humanity, of religion, of patriotism, of the equities of life and duty to his fellow-man. How necessary, then, that the masses of the people be at all times and under all circumstances patriots and the champions of justice.

The reports of aggregates of the tobacco crop as given by the Department of Agriculture include the cigar leaf of Connecticut, Ohio, Pennsylvania, etc. As this leaf brings a special price, which is higher than the average of the Southern crop, it brings up the general average of price considerably. For this reason it is thought best to give the reports of the Virginia crop, which is of especial interest to the inquirer and forms a good basis of comparison for

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

By "The National Economist Publishing Company."

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA.

Official organ of the National Farmers Alliance and
Co-operative Union of America, The National Agricultural Wheel, and The Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are fifty cents the hundred. Discounts for time and space, judiciously applied, will, in all cases, be granted.

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

The Farmers Association that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents as their national official organ now contains 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.

Subscribers can have their time commence 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 can be had at 2 cents a copy by application to this office.

Subscribers who desire to change their papers from one postoffice to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Postage stamps cannot be used in such quantities as received at this office. It is therefore requested that remittances be by money order or postal note, which may be at the expense of this office.

Clubs of Five.

The Economist has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at one dollar each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid at this office. This offer does not include names sent heretofore.

THE Farmers and Laborers Union of America, which meets in St. Louis December 5th, will be composed of officers of the body and two representatives from each State organization, and one additional representative for each twenty thousand members and a majority fraction thereof, to be elected or appointed by each State organization under the jurisdiction of this body, whose term of office shall expire with the session for which they were elected. The unanimity with which all the States up to this time indorsed consolidation leaves no doubt as to the success of the move, and the orders are to be congratulated upon the ease with which they have been able to "get together."

WHILE 6 per cent. of the gross weight of cotton is generally considered the basis of estimating the tare for ties and bagging, it is the custom for some buyers in Liverpool to denude, say, one bale in ten or twenty, taken at hazard, and after weighing the ties and bagging,

carefully, make an average per bale of the result. This makes the tare actual, and in the case of lots entirely wrapped in cotton, would concede the planter all he demands. The adoption of a uniform weight of covering obviates even this trouble.

THE ECONOMIST is under obligations to Mr. Edward A. Moseley, secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the first annual report of the statistician of the commission, Mr. Henry C. Adams, on the railways of the United States. This useful volume should be in the hands of every man interested in the question of distribution of products.

THE communication from William Hunt, of Ancora, N. J., repeats three basic demands, upon which the producers of the country can unite: 1. Abolition of land monopoly. 2. Money at cost. 3. Transportation at cost. Grant these and there would be a renewal of the onward march of progress. The ideal social condition in which poverty is banished would be no longer a conception of dreamers.

THE Alabama Alliance Bagging Company has purchased a plant at Sweetwater, and expects soon to commence delivering cotton bagging to the Alliance farmers of that State. Thus the manufacture of cotton bagging is extending, and while there may be a slight delay there is no doubt that every farmer can wrap his cotton in cotton by February.

A COUNTY ALLIANCE was organized at Upper Marlboro', Prince George's County, Md., on Wednesday, August 28. Other counties will follow, and when the necessary number have so organized, Maryland will constitute a State Alliance. Already a sufficient number of subs have been planted in the State to guarantee the rapid growth of the order.

OF the total number of small leased farms in the United States 32 per cent. are for money; 68 per cent. are rented on shares. Of the large farms 44 per cent. are rented for money and 56 per cent. on shares.

EIGHTY years ago there was one farm owner in England for every thirty-seven of the population; now there is but one owner in one thousand of the population, and the ratio of large land owners is increasing steadily. The same system is in operation in this country; the deadly mortgage is abroad in the land like a pestilence.

A GENTLEMAN who manages two cotton-mills, one located in the North and one in the South, calls the attention of the cotton planters to a fact which may be of material benefit to them. In a Macon (Ga.) paper this gentleman says:

The cotton-mills can use net-weight cotton, and in this way dispense with the use of a large quantity of bagging. I am ready to contract for ten to twenty tons of net-weight cotton per day, and will pay 3 to 4 per cent. for it above the market price for cotton in bales. The extra cost of cotton would be saved in the waste incident to its manufacture. We can not spin bagging and ties. We buy them at the price of cotton and sell them for about one-fourth of that price. The difference is a loss which the mills would not sustain on net-weight cotton.

THE assessment-lists of 1884 showed that there were in the United States 3,500 men worth \$1,000,000 and over. The lists of 1890 will show a considerable increase over this number.

IT is now estimated that 3 per cent. of the property owners of the New England States own more property than the other 97 per cent.

per bale, or at 10 cents, \$1.50; and as the labor of compression and wrapping would be eliminated, thereby offsetting the increased difficulty in hauling, a positive gain would result to the planter. The quality of the fiber is injuriously affected by compression to so notable a degree that in long staple cotton the use of machinery is prohibited by the buyers. For sale at local mills large, strong bags, such as sea-island planters use, might be profitably employed, which could be emptied at the factory and the bag used as a package for other lots in succession until worn out. Thus tare could be eliminated entirely and the value of the staple enhanced.

THE "eveners' discrimination," as portrayed in this issue by Mr. Hudson, is well worthy of a close study, and is particularly commended to the brethren of those States in which railroad regulation is a political issue.

THE attention of secretaries and other officials of the sub and county Alliances is called to the action of the National cotton committee, on the first page of this issue. The line of action prescribed will require united effort, and the great gain to the membership justifies every possible step toward such unity.

A COUNTY ALLIANCE was organized at Upper Marlboro', Prince George's County, Md., on Wednesday, August 28. Other counties will follow, and when the necessary number have so organized, Maryland will constitute a State Alliance. Already a sufficient number of subs have been planted in the State to guarantee the rapid growth of the order.

OF the total number of small leased farms in the United States 32 per cent. are for money; 68 per cent. are rented on shares. Of the large farms 44 per cent. are rented for money and 56 per cent. on shares.

EIGHTY years ago there was one farm owner in England for every thirty-seven of the population; now there is but one owner in one thousand of the population, and the ratio of large land owners is increasing steadily. The same system is in operation in this country; the deadly mortgage is abroad in the land like a pestilence.

Two THOUSAND men, out of a population of about 60,000,000, control \$4,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country.

IN the pursuit of agriculture man comes close to nature. She reveals to him her secrets and opens to him her hidden stores; makes him her assistant in the distribution of her bounties to all her children.

THE assessment-lists of 1884 showed that there were in the United States 3,500 men worth \$1,000,000 and over. The lists of 1890 will show a considerable increase over this number.

IT is now estimated that 3 per cent. of the property owners of the New England States own more property than the other 97 per cent.

Official.

CALDWELL, TEX., August 24, 1889.
C. W. MACUNE, President.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Will you please as president, rule on the following, either through the ECONOMIST or by circular-letter to State secretary?

1. Consolidation being an accepted fact, to what date are dues and fees from State secretaries due and payable to the National Alliance?

2. Does the National Alliance pay expense of Birmingham meeting?

3. Two-thirds of the States having paid the charter fee from February 15, 1888, are the others expected to pay it?

Fraternally,

E. B. WARREN,
National Secretary.

Answer 1. I have called, by private letter, on all State secretaries to send me official notice as to ratification. None have as yet been received. Just as soon as the requisite number of official notices of ratification is received I will notify Isaac McCracken, president of the National Agricultural Wheel, and Evan Jones, president of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, of the fact, and request a conference with them for the purpose of joining them in a proclamation disbanding the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America and the National Agricultural Wheel and merging them as the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. This was surprising to some of the Senators who had long accepted the corporate theory that the pool was the grand specific for all the evils of the day. One of them asked the representatives of the Chicago mercantile interests to state in what respect the pool had been injurious to Chicago, and how the Canadian railways had maintained a check against the pool's aggressions. To this the reply was prompt, that the competition of the Canadian roads had been the main influence which maintained anything like justice in the live-stock and dressed-beef traffic. This recent reference to that subject calls up as remarkable and varied a succession of discriminations, affecting a staple of universal consumption, and affording an example of singular blindness to the public interests, as anything which is contained in the literature of railroad abuses.

2. The National Alliance does not pay the expenses of delegates to the Birmingham meeting.

3. State secretaries are all subject to Working Bulletin No. 2, as required by special action so declaring, had at Meridian by the National body.

C. W. MACUNE.

WASHINGTON, August 31, 1889.

THE farmers of Orange County, Ga., attended a recent picnic uniformed in osnaburgs. A South Carolina newspaper describes the cotton bales received at a station for shipment as dressed in white, and reminding the beholder of a society belle fixed up for a picnic.

LET it be borne in mind that as the volume of money is decreasing the value of every dollar is increasing in corresponding ratio; property is falling in value and debts growing harder to meet. For a quarter of a century this process has been steadily going forward until the great bulk of all values have passed into the hands of those who control the money of the people.

THE people have a right to know the exact amount of money in circulation, and a right to demand and require that such amount shall not be diminished. Why is it that no positively reliable information on this subject can be had, and how does it come about that the currency is juggled at the pleasure and for the exclusive profit of the few, in defiance of the interest and the necessities of the masses?

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. 18.

THE EVENERS' DISCRIMINATION.

When the Senate Committee, recently investigating the remarkable proposition to exclude the Canadian railways from competition in the transportation of products of the Northwest to the seaboard, heard a committee of the Chicago Board of Trade, it found that body in favor of maintaining the competition of the Canadian railways as the sole check in protection of the popular interests against the actions of the American trunk-line pool. This was surprising to some of the Senators who had long accepted the corporate theory that the pool was the grand specific for all the evils of the day. One of them asked the representatives of the Chicago mercantile interests to state in what respect the pool had been injurious to Chicago, and how the Canadian railways had maintained a check against the pool's aggressions. To this the reply was prompt, that the competition of the Canadian roads had been the main influence which maintained anything like justice in the live-stock and dressed-beef traffic. This recent reference to that subject calls up as remarkable and varied a succession of discriminations, affecting a staple of universal consumption, and affording an example of singular blindness to the public interests, as anything which is contained in the literature of railroad abuses.

Ten years ago, while the subject of railway regulation was in its earliest stages of discussion, the public attention was called to a prominent example of favoritism in the case of the discriminations given to the "live-stock eveners" of Chicago. The amount of this discrimination was \$15 per car for every car-load of cattle shipped to the East from the Chicago live-stock yard. It was guaranteed to a single firm of cattle-shippers from that point. It was not simply a rebate or drawback on the live-stock shipments which this firm shipped itself, or, in other words, as stated by the corporate argument, "a bid for the business" of that firm.

The first example of discrimination and favoritism on a general scale in the matter of cattle transportation dates back to an early period. What other instances of preferential rates and discriminations at the initial and local shipping points may have existed in the cattle trade, and may exist to-day, I do not know. If there were any cases like those set forth in the last two articles, in which certain shippers at local stations obtained advantages which practically make them the only shippers of cattle at that point, they have never attained the importance of being proved by tangible and indubitable evidence. The possibility is that they were so infrequent, and possibly where they did exist, so slight in degree, that they were not a vital part of the railway question.

That possibility, so far as it is of any weight at all, adds its testimony to the view argued in the two preceding articles, from the fact that the drover who buys cattle throughout the country for shipment to the central market is generally able to command a choice of routes, or, in other words, to avail himself of railroad competition for the shipment of his cattle. If the railroad nearest to the section in which he buys his cattle will not give him the rates that it will give other shippers, he can in nine cases out of ten drive his herd across the country to the local station of some com-

peting railroad, which, for the sake of his traffic, will give him as good a rate as the favored shipper of the other railroad. This affords a plausible explanation, at least, for the fact that, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence of any case in which the initial shipment of live-stock from local stations is monopolized by means of railway favoritism in the hands of a single firm.

Now, if the ability of this class of traffic to secure competition, even where it is shipped at local stations, guards it from the evil of railroad discrimination, the same rule ought to hold good through the entire course of its shipment between the producer and the consuming market, provided that competition between the railways is kept in natural operation. If we could find vital discriminations in force, while competition between the transportation routes is wholly unobstructed, it would be likely to destroy the theory just presented, supported as the latter is merely by negative testimony. But if such discriminations appear in connection with, and as an essential feature of, arrangements to suppress competition between the railroads, this theory is strengthened and the main contention of this part of the argument receives a vital corroboration. If, in addition to the facts already presented, we should find such discriminations appearing solely as features of agreements to suppress competition, it would leave very little of the corporate theory that discriminations are the result of competition.

The first example of discrimination and favoritism on a general scale in the matter of cattle transportation dates back to an early period. What other instances of preferential rates and discriminations at the initial and local shipping points may have existed in the cattle trade, and may exist to-day, I do not know. If there were any cases like those set forth in the last two articles, in which certain shippers at local stations obtained advantages which practically make them the only shippers of cattle at that point, they have never attained the importance of being proved by tangible and indubitable evidence. The possibility is that they were so infrequent, and possibly where they did exist, so slight in degree, that they were not a vital part of the railway question.

On its face this appears to be a case in which,

if no further statement were given of the foundation of the discrimination, it would militate against the rule that competition prevents vital and unjust discriminations between shippers. There were competing railroads for taking live-stock from the stock-yards at which this discrimination was enforced, and yet the "eveners' rebate" was kept up steadily from a date in the early seventies until its abolition, as stated above; but to accept this as conclusive of its relation to discrimination and competition would be to ignore its essential character. The discrimination was given to a firm which was to discharge the function of "eveners," and, when the name is explained, it will be perceived that competition had nothing to do with producing the discrimination, but that exactly the opposite force was in operation. The "eveners" furnished the cohesive force to the combination of the railroads to prevent competition, which ante-dated the trunk-line pool, so far as the cattle trade was concerned, and which furnished the model on which numerous other railway combinations to suppress competition have since been established. In order to prevent competition for the live-stock traffic the railways entered into a combination dividing the live-stock traffic by arbitrary percentages. One line was to have a certain percentage of the entire shipments and another line was to have another percentage. In order to take away from all of them the incentive which may apply to each one, to obtain increased and profitable traffic by a slight lowering of rates, the firm of "eveners," or live-stock shippers, was charged with the duty of seeing that this percentage was exactly kept up. If one railroad in a given month exceeded its percentage in the traffic, the "eveners," who by the favoritism of the railroads were placed in the undoubted position of the largest shippers, diverted their shipments from the railway which had exceeded the percentage to those who had fallen below the proportion.

Upon this statement of the case, it is plain that the eveners' discrimination had not about it the slightest connection with competition as a motive for offering the rebate. The railroads did not give this rebate to a firm from which it was seeking business, but they unitedly guaranteed it to a firm whose function it was to keep them from seeking business, and to punish each individual line which might seek to obtain business in excess of its allotted share. The rebate was not given under competition, but it was given under a combination to prevent competition, and was an essential and vital feature of that combination. The "eveners" were made the executive and police power of the pool, and for the double purpose of giving them such a supremacy in the ranks of the live-stock shippers that they could punish the recalcitrant railroad which broke away from the pool, and as a reward to secure their fidelity to the combination, this advantage, approximating half a million dollars yearly, was conferred upon them, and levied from the entire live-stock trade, including the shipments of their rivals.

Now, what was the power which enabled such a tax to be levied upon an entire traffic for the highways which it has secured by virtue of Gov-

benefit of a single interest? It is plain that the plea that this is produced by the anxiety of the railroads to secure business, does not hold water. It was established for the exactly opposite purpose, namely, of preventing the railroads from securing business, and it was maintained for a number of years as the most successful and enduring method of preventing competition between the railroads known to the railroad interests. But what is the nature and peculiarity of the railroad interest as distinguished from other enterprises which enabled a combination to maintain such a vital injustice? Manufacturing interests, like the rolling mills, or the nail factories, for example, have tried to maintain pools; but suppose they had attempted to make a pool permanent by a vital discrimination in favor of a buyer or wholesale dealer in nails, who would guarantee to all the factories the proportion of traffic to which they were entitled by the terms of the agreement. No such attempt was ever made in the nail trade, or any other general manufacturing industry, on account of its utter impracticability. Suppose that an attempt had been made by all the owners of vessels transporting trade from Chicago by the lake route! Even the suggestion of such a plan is equally absurd on account of its equally obvious impossibility. The impracticability in each case lies in the fact that competition in those lines of business is so free, that to attempt to maintain such injustice, by any combination, would be simply to hand over the business to the firm which would transact it on the basis of fair profits and equal rates to all legitimate buyers. There are scores of nail factories, and any one with \$100,000 can put up a new one. The consequence is that every attempt to establish a pool in the nail business has been of the most transitory character. There are hundreds of vessels competing for transportation on the lakes, and the consequence is that pools are unknown there. The combinations to suppress competition being unknown, the existence of vital discriminations by which a single firm or a single interest is given a serious advantage at the cost of its rivals is equally unknown. But the competitors in railroad transportation being few, even at the competing points, inasmuch as each company has the monopoly of transportation over its own line, the combinations between those few competitors is possible, and the result of discrimination and its inequality makes a prompt appearance. The difference between railroad transportation and water transportation is that each railroad has the exclusive privilege of transportation over its own route, whereas no one has the slightest exclusive privilege of transportation over the water route. The nature of the power which makes discrimination possible is shown by viewing together the features of discrimination at the local station where each railroad has no competition at all, and those at competitive points which are maintained by combinations between the railroads. In this way we see that the root of discrimination at the local station is the exclusive privilege of the railway to perform transportation over the

environmental grant; and at the competitive points the similar, though much greater and more vital abuse, is rooted in the combination of the exclusive privileges of each railroad into a monopoly which forbids competition between the several lines.

I have stated in the consideration of this remarkable "eveners'" discrimination that it was abolished by the trunk-line pool, under the management of Mr. Fink. A friend of mine who has given more close investigation to this especial topic than I have, writes me that he is not by any means certain that the "eveners'" discrimination was finally and permanently abolished, at the date when it was so announced, and intimates that if public authority were to delve deep enough into the records of the relations between the great railroad managers and the leading firms in the live-stock business, such an abuse might be found to still have an existence, perhaps in some modified form, and certainly covered up and guarded so jealously that the outside world has little or no knowledge of it. No evidence is attainable to the public to corroborate this suspicion, and I have no reason for giving it as anything more than the suspicion of a person whose opinion is of some worth; but it is not vital for the purposes of this argument, whether it is true or not. The fact is established beyond doubt that such a discrimination did exist, and that it existed for a term of years as the vital feature of an arrangement to obstruct and choke off competition, which was more permanent and binding in its effects than any subsequent pool has been. Whether it exists to-day or not, its existence in the last decade is conclusive as to the point now at issue. It shows that where competition is absent, the most grotesque and violent perversions of corporate power and violations of railway obligations are possible. The possibility of such things is sufficient to arouse the public protest and to prove the necessity of reform. The same possibility establishes beyond cavil the fact that the railway theory that, if competition be suppressed and done away with, discriminations and injustice will become impossible, is manufactured exclusively to suit the railway purposes. A state of things in which, for the benefit of the railway combination, a single firm can be made the recipient of hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly, levied from its rivals in a legitimate and fundamental trade, affords no protection to the public against the evils of favoritism. When the railway theory of discriminations, as the result of competition, is presented after such abuses have been notorious, as the feature of railway agreements under which competition is suppressed, it is evident that the theory is equally prominent in its contempt for the restraints of logic and its ignorance of the significance of facts.

The live-stock "eveners'" discrimination may be a feature of the past history of railroad abuses; but whether an old and by-gone abuse, or one which still exists in secret, it is equally important as showing the fact that vital preferences and favoritism between individual shippers in railway transportation are possible only where there is either an exclusive privilege in transportation in the hands of one railway, or a combination of exclusive privileges among competing railroads to prevent competition from reaching the disfavored rivals.

Alliance Sentiment in Georgia.

The newspapers of Georgia have full reports of the proceedings of the State Alliance. Some of the discussion is interesting, and, in view of the general attention given to the subjects handled, the ECONOMIST reproduces a part:

Colonel Polk is a natural born orator. He commenced his address by congratulating the farmers of the South, that they had at last realized the great monopoly dangers threatening the welfare and prosperity of the country, and evidences abounded on all sides that they appreciated the situation. He paid a glowing tribute to Georgia, her resources, and her people, and was delighted to see the magnificent crop abounding everywhere. Referring to the consolidation in December at St. Louis, he said the organization covering the entire cotton States can and will have the control of the great commercial crop of the world. The South has no rival or competitor, and can not have, in the production of cotton. He said, in the development of our civilization and progress as a people, the lines on parallels of progress, enterprise, wealth, and transportation are drawn from east to west, but skirting the northern border of our Southern States. It is contemplated by the proposed consolidation at St. Louis to strengthen and extend this organization to the lakes, enfolding within its lines those Northwestern States which are our natural allies, thus forming across this country a solid block of States whose people produce the bulk of the wheat crop, the bulk of the meat and corn crops, and the cotton crop of the world. Who shall estimate the strength and power of such an organization and its effect upon the progress and development of our civilization?

We will hold the grand center of the mighty population of this country, the center of political power, the power of interstate and National commerce. The South, with all of her untold resources, was unable to withstand the encroachment of centralized corporate power. She had come up out of great tribulations. Our humble possessions are the honest earnings of honest labor, and we can lift our hands before the world and claim that they are unspotted by the rapine of avarice or the plunder of the helpless. Poor in money, yet she was strong in those virtues which made her a fitting leader in this crisis by reason of a homogeneity of blood and thought nowhere else to be found in this country. The Anglo-Saxon of the South is the purest type of the American idea of free government and the old Anglo-Saxon love of liberty. He believed that we had entered the crucial era, not only of free institutions and free government, but of our Christian civilization, and if, under the providence of God, the Alliance men are to lead in the pilgrimage for restoring the charter of our liberties, the ark of our covenant, to the temple erected by our fathers through anguish and blood, we will place it there, invoking the spirit of justice to stand guard with flaming sword and proclaim that through all ages Americans must and shall be free.

The railroads of the country have had competition without regulation from the beginning, and under its pernicious influence all the present abuses have crept in. It has long been worked as a rallying cry by shrewd city manipulators who desired to use the farmer as a cat's paw, and by a little skillful management make him shout himself hoarse for a system of railroad competition that finally takes money from his pocket to boom a city. Railroad competition should receive the unqualified condemnation of every farmer in the country, and he should demand efficient control that will absolutely prohibit any possible discrimination for or against persons or powers.

Colonel Polk indorsed the views of Dr. Macune in full and *in toto*. He described the situation in North Carolina, and showed that the farmers are standing shoulder to shoulder in solid phalanx, and demand a railroad commission with powers that would regulate rail-

way abuses. We intend to have a railway commission to protect the people. Well informed men in North Carolina know nothing about railroad competition. That term, said Colonel Polk, as applied to a railroad, was obsolete, and the farmers had been subscribing money to get competition, and the result was that the biggest road swallowed up the smaller one, and the farmer has to pay freight to keep up two roads. It is a curse. There is no railroad competition. It is a railroad pool. The producers and the transporters should be firm friends. There should be no conflict between them.

Mr. Polk was followed by Editor H. C. Brown, of the Southern Alliance Farmer, now the official organ of the order. He fully indorsed President Macune's position, and after explaining the past course of his paper, said he recognized the railroads as monopolists, and competition as in no way calculated to correct railroad abuses; that it was a curse to the farmers, and that the proper course to pursue was to strengthen the hands of the commission and regulate by Government control. Dr. Macune says socialism tends toward centralization and a strong form of paternal government, all of which Alliance members dread and condemn.

A newspaper interviewer talked to Col. Felix Corput, chairman of the State Exchange committee, now discussing a location for that institution. In answer to the inquiry as to what special benefit would the Exchange be to the farmers, Colonel Corput said:

It is almost incalculable. It will enable them to buy supplies of all kinds at not more than 8 per cent. interest, whereas they now pay exorbitant rates, anywhere from 15 to 100 per cent. The Exchange will be a great option house, a grand distributing depot. The Alliance will not be forced, of course, to buy at the Exchange, for the Exchange will print a schedule of prices at which goods can be bought at the Exchange, and these schedules will be sent to the farmers throughout the State and they can take a printed list to the merchant and show him at what figures goods can be bought at the Exchange, and the farmer will say to the merchant: "Now, here are the prices at which I can buy at the Exchange. If you are willing to sell me goods at the same price I will buy from you; but, if not, I will buy from the Exchange." And thus, you see, the Exchange becomes an option house for the farmer.

Louisiana State Union.

The Louisiana State Union ratified consolidation unanimously. The following officers were elected to serve the ensuing year:

President, T. S. Adams, of East Feliciana; vice-president, S. Whited, of Ouachita; treasurer, R. L. Tannehill, of Winn; secretary, J. W. McFarland, of Claborn; lecturer, T. J. Guice, of DeSoto; chaplain, Rev. W. H. Bass, of Sabine; doorkeeper, Pat. Dopahoe, of St. Landry; assistant doorkeeper, S. W. Wilkes, of West Feliciana; sergeant-at-arms, H. D. Brown, of Ascension.

The State was divided into four districts and a lecturer appointed for each except the eastern, on account of so many of the delegates being absent. The following are the appointments: For northern district, J. M. Tilly, of Bienville; southern district, Eli Clark, of St. Landry; central district, T. J. Guice, of DeSoto.

The following alternates were elected to the National Alliance: J. W. McFarland, James A. Manning, and G. L. P. Wrenn.

The net earnings of the Western Union Telegraph Company for the past twenty years aggregate \$85,840,089.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

HYGIENIC REMINDERS.

The autumnal sickness more or less inevitable after a summer of such a character as the present is with us in advance of the season. Typhoid fever and bilious dysentery begin to figure in the mortality statistics. Malarial fevers are also becoming every week more prevalent. Complete sanitary precautions about the homestead, if not yet taken, are too long delayed. Personal hygiene, always important, is more important now. Why should men die before their time? King David, in his lamentation for the great warrior, the chief captain of his host, half indignantly bewailed him, "Died Abner as the fool dies; was not his weapon in his hand?" How many will die this autumn as the fool dies, whose weapon, to wit, sanitary precaution, lay undrawn within their reach. If instead of the maudlin and false epitaphial inscriptions which render our burial places ridiculous, the truth, stark naked, were marked upon the gravestones of our dead, how often would the writing be, Died as the fool dies, with the means of safety unused within easy reach. It is too late in the day for any man to claim the benefit of ignorance of duty in this matter. There is no man but knows the duty of keeping himself and all his surroundings clean. The removal and destruction of all masses of filth and decomposing or decomposable organic matter and the disinfection of the places which have been occupied by it is the present urgent imperative duty of every householder everywhere. The present condition of many towns and villages is one of disgusting, dangerous, and easily remediable nastiness. It is a public duty of the most imperative kind that these places be made pure and clean without delay and regardless of the expense. Judicial murder is justly esteemed a crime of the first enormity, but where one innocent person is hanged at the hands of the community ten thousand perish from its criminal negligence. In what respect is the responsibility for the fatal results of criminal negligence less terrible than the enormous responsibility of judicial murder? Public hygiene is scarcely less intimately associated with public morals than personal hygiene with personal morals. Moses did wisely and well when he made the practice of public and personal hygiene a part of the religious duties of the people. The eloquent Apostle of the Gentiles spoke wisely and well when he declared that cleanliness is godliness. Few people, few even of those few who read their Bibles, few of those very few who understand at all what they read, seem to be able to realize how large a part of the Scriptures are designed to enforce the practice of hygiene, the duty of the preservation of health and life. Modern science has demonstrated most clearly the utility and the necessity of sanitary precautions to be taken by communities and by individuals, and a neglect of them is criminal negligence by the community or by the individual, as the case may be. There is no individual so ignorant as not to know how to clean up filth and to burn it up. As to more particular sanitary precautions consult the family physician. If he does not know how to advise, his diploma ought to be taken away from him and his license to practice be revoked. In the case of a community the public prosecutor should compel the public officers to do their duty in the matter of the protection of the public health. The nastiness of many towns which the writer could easily name and describe in detail is at once a public disgrace and a public crime. The penalty to be paid is numerous lives each and every year, lost by preventible

disease. If our tombstones recorded the truth, in a fearful proportion of cases, especially in the cases of our children, the record would be "Dead of preventible disease."

NITROGEN.

Combined nitrogen, although not very abundant, plays, as we have seen, a most important role in nature's great laboratory. Interesting as is the subject, however, it must be confessed, our knowledge of it is not quite so clear and conclusive as is desirable. Of some of the original natural sources of the supply we are of course quite well aware. There are, however, certain agricultural facts which appear to indicate that either under some conditions plants influence the production of combined nitrogen or that there may be some natural method of its production not yet suspected by the agricultural chemist. Such facts have led some to think that some plants, such as the legumes, which appear practically independent of nitrogenous manures, actually have the power to assimilate uncombined nitrogen. All experiments, and they have been scientific and apparently exhaustive, appear to establish that such is not the fact. It appears to be established that no plant can assimilate free nitrogen. Such a power with regard to the assimilation of an elementary substance by a living organism would seem to be exceptional. The general law is that no animal can assimilate purely mineral or chemical substances; whereas no plant can assimilate any uncombined element. Attempts to prove that the element nitrogen is an exception to this apparent law have failed. It appears likely that all plant food resolves itself into three forms prior to assimilation, viz., into carbonic acid, water, and nitric acid. It appears likely that the ammonia salts and ammonia itself are incapable of directly entering into the nutrition of plants, but that they are first converted into nitric acid by the nitric microbe in the soil and then the nitric acid is deoxidized and its nascent nitrogen assimilated by the physiological forces of the plant. In this view of the case the power of the plant to form protoplasmic substance, or animal aliment, consists in its power to dissociate chemical substances and to recombine their elements under the dominion of its physiological forces. And this power seems to be confined to the deoxidation of the three oxides—carbonic acid, water, and nitric acid. The microbe is itself a plant, or, in the present state of knowledge, is so considered. The extreme difficulty of a scientific study of its biological functions is very apparent. It seems to either feed on organic matter as such or to possess the power to produce a peculiar decomposition of organic materials, so as to feed upon the products of its decomposition, with the result of a formation of a chemical by-product. The precise manner in which the Scripturc are designed to enforce the practice of hygiene, the duty of the preservation of health and life. Modern science has demonstrated most clearly the utility and the necessity of sanitary precautions to be taken by communities and by individuals, and a neglect of them is criminal negligence by the community or by the individual, as the case may be. There is no individual so ignorant as not to know how to clean up filth and to burn it up. As to more particular sanitary precautions consult the family physician. If he does not know how to advise, his diploma ought to be taken away from him and his license to practice be revoked. In the case of a community the public prosecutor should compel the public officers to do their duty in the matter of the protection of the public health. The nastiness of many towns which the writer could easily name and describe in detail is at once a public disgrace and a public crime. The penalty to be paid is numerous lives each and every year, lost by preventible

most important bearing on our transactions in commercial manures and is a serious difficulty in the way of establishing a definite relation between the agricultural and commercial values of the ingredients of such manures. It accounts also, in all probability, for much of the different effect of purely chemical salts in different localities, soils, seasons, and different methods and times of application, different depths to which the manure is buried, and many other circumstances affecting the presence and activity of this microbe. It is apparent that the *ipse dixit* of the chemist in his laboratory is not sufficient to settle such questions. The agricultural chemistry of nitrogen compounds is really in a backward state, and the confident, and in some instances the dictatorial, attitude of those chemists who are known as "public analysts" is not justified by their knowledge of the question they assume to decide. The importance of that feature of the Hatch bill which provides for physiological and biological researches by the stations of the several States is perhaps not fully appreciated by many. The National Department of Agriculture, moreover, ought to organize a biological division to take the lead and point the way in this line of research. It is a line of research, be it known, that no second-rate man is able to cope with, and the Government is able to employ the best men living, and should employ them, to set about the work. It is apparent that our universities will not trouble themselves with matters so plebeian as the interests of practical or even of scientific agriculture. They doubt the existence of scientific agriculture; they see nothing in its affairs with which a gentleman of scientific attainment need trouble his mind. The ignorance of scientific agriculture, of the nature or the existence of its great and abstruse problems, which prevails in university circles everywhere, is no less strange than complete. It is absurd and puerile for the modern university to attempt to dissociate itself from the practical affairs of life, as a cultivator of "pure science." Its graduates and its workers can not be established in the midst of the keen activities and competitions of modern life as a separate and superior caste.

THE "LOCO" PLANT AND THE DISEASE IT PRODUCES.

From time to time strange accounts have been given from sources more or less trustworthy and competent of a strange plant growing on the open plains of the great Western and Southwestern stock ranges, and of the remarkable disease produced in animals by eating it. The Bureau of Animal Industry sent a competent authority to examine the facts, and his report forms a part of the interesting third annual report of the bureau. It seems that there is a plant and a disease of animals caused by eating it; the plant called "loco" and the diseased animals said to be "locoed." The plant is not botanically identified, but is described as a low, green plant, with a close bunch of tufty compound leaves, and bearing numerous brown seed pods. The term "loco" in Spanish means fool; that is to say, in our language, the plant is the fool plant, and the disease is the fool disease. It is said that man does not eat the fool plant, but it is not said that he does not have the fool disease. Now, for the first time, we understand the name given by the old-line Whigs to old-time Democrats, "locofoco"—that is to say, a man made a fool of. The great fool-maker being, it may be supposed, old Tom Jefferson, as the old-line Whigs had it. By and by, very likely, the original, only genuine, and great American fool-killer will turn up, and will be found slaughtering all the poor "locoed" beasts out West, slaughter being the remedy most in fashion now for sick animals. It is said that this loco plant is not eaten by any kind of

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

animals until by some probably accidental means they acquire a taste for it, which soon establishes the loco habit, in some particulars resembling the opium habit in the human subject. These loco animals now refuse all other food and wander about in a dazed condition, ever on the search for loco. The facts indicate that this plant contains an alkaloid which is a narcotic, the physiological effects of which in small medicinal doses it would be interesting to know. If the "locoed" animals have been long addicted to the habit and are old it is, perhaps, impossible to cure them, either of the habit itself or of the effects of it, since anatomical changes have taken place in the great nerve centers, such that they can never again sustain their natural functions. "Sinners who grow old in sin are hardened by their crimes," and "there is no fool like an old fool;" as it were, no "loco" like an old "loco." Young animals not long "locoed," if kept where they can not indulge in the weed and supplied wholesome food, seem to forget all about it, and when again turned on the range do not eat "loco." The losses of horses, cattle, and sheep from this cause are said to be quite serious, and yet there seems no practicable treatment. On inclosed or limited ranges the plant may be cut, but how fast it will grow again does not appear. One curious feature of the disease is that though the animals when undisturbed are stupid and quiet, yet when disturbed or aroused they become wildly frenzied and more or less dangerous to handle. Notwithstanding, however, that these facts appear to be well authenticated, there are men who have spent their lives on the plains in the stock business, who deny the whole thing and say there is no such weed as "loco," and consequently no such disease as described. They affirm that the whole thing is what they call down in North Carolina "sorry." When they say down there that a beast died "sorry," or of "sorrieness," or "sorrow," it seems to mean in plain English that the said beast starved to death. Now we have no doubt that "loco" and "sorrow" are only too well known on the great stock ranges of the far West. The remedy in both cases lies in the steady advance of civilization.

SIR JOHN BENNET LAWES' EXPERIMENTS.

Looking over a report of the field and other experiments at Rothamstead we are impressed with the great cost of such undertakings. Besides the regular farm force, there are three to five chemists, and double as many laboratory assistants, or students, constantly employed, and, besides, much analytical work of great value and importance is sent to the most eminent specialists in analysis in London, Paris, Berlin, and elsewhere; this is all done at the cost of a private individual. In this country a chemist at a salary of \$1,200 is thought to be sufficient for all the work of a State experiment station. The founder and conductor of this vast system of experimental research has, moreover, set apart near half a million to provide for the continuance of these experiments, including, also, the donation of the land and laboratory equipment. These experiments began in 1834 and have been continued to the present time—that is to say, they cover a period of about fifty-five years. During that time a great number of reports and summaries have been published explanatory of the experiments and their results, and a very great number of addresses have been delivered upon various subjects connected with the work by Sir John Lawes himself, and by his main coadjutor, Dr. Gilbert; besides all of which, a vast number of letters to private individuals and others have been written explanatory of the great work done, and its most important results. It is very much to be regretted that Mr. Lawes himself has now reached a time of life when such a labor could not wisely be undertaken by

SUGAR.

Report comes that 1,885,260 pounds of sugar were manufactured by the diffusion process at the Government experimental sugar station of Louisiana, and that a comparison of the diffusion process with the milling process showed a difference in favor of the diffusion process equal to 54 pounds of sugar per ton of cane, which is a little more than 2 per cent. Now tell us what that 54 pounds of sugar cost to make it. If it costs 54 cents a pound made so, that's not the best way to do it. The cost of making is the thing to know, not the number of pounds made, or possible to be made, by this or that process, but the cost of making it per pound. Tell us that, Mr. Secretary of Agriculture. It is about time we had the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about this diffusion process. The department ought to be able to tell what the expense is by this time. What is the difference in the cost of the fuel required to make a thousand pounds of sugar from juice obtained by the old milling process and by the diffusion process? We suspect that the whole question of economy will turn upon that point on most of the Louisiana sugar plantations. We suspect, moreover, that the best way to cheapen sugar for the people is scientific anti-trust legislation. If you can show us how to diffuse a little even-handed justice into the hearts of these trust-managers we shall get cheap sugar. Not long ago we got it of the grocers everywhere at from 5 to 7 cents. That was cheap enough and good enough made, too, by the old milling process. Is the Government making costly experiments for the trusts or the people?

CONCESSIONS TO AGRICULTURE.

The platform of principles recently adopted by the Democratic party of Virginia contains sundry distinct concessions to agricultural interests, among them the declaration that "we favor the passage of a law placing the agricultural institutions of the State under the control of practical farmers." There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the party leaders in making this and other concessions to the agricultural vote. If, however, the farmers intend that these words shall have practical effect they must be on hand with a specific measure at the beginning of the legislative session. The house and senate committees on agriculture must be composed mainly of practical agriculturists, and these committees, through their chairmen, must be made patrons of the bill in their respective branches of the assembly. It will now be a good time to politically emasculate these institutions by providing strong minority representation on their boards of visitors or other governing bodies; for example, the board of visitors of the Agricultural College shall be composed of members, practical agriculturists, to be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, provided that not more than two-thirds of them shall belong to any one political party and that no two of them shall be residents of the same Congressional district. These institutions are intended to promote scientific and practical agricultural education among the people, and they do not belong to the dominant political party but to the people of the State. If made a part of the spoils of political victory or the plunder of political defeat, such institutions must fail of the purpose for which they were established by public authority and endowed with public funds. In such a state of affairs the great cause of science applied to agriculture must suffer serious harm. The whole thing is wrong every way and only harm can come of it. The Democratic party of Virginia ought to have taken this step at the beginning of Governor Lee's term, which it now promises to take after unnecessary delay; better late than never.

THE AGRICULTURAL FAIRS.

The season of agricultural fairs is at hand, and it is to be hoped these displays will be so managed as to present their object-lessons in the most instructive manner before the public eye. At perhaps the worst fair ever seen there were doubtless many who found precisely what they wanted to see, and took home with them valuable information for future application in their ordinary farm practice. Perhaps some machine was seen at work and explained to some inquirer who afterwards adopted it, saving both money and labor by its use. In this department alone the writer, who has paid attention to the subject, believes that a most useful and important educational work has been done. In the matter also of the introduction of improved breeds of live-stock, the agency of the fairs has been a prime factor. In the department of household economies also progress has been greatly helped. There is no doubt that rural life has been rendered more successful and attractive in a great variety of ways. The fast-horse business has not by any manner of means been the big end of the show to the thoughtful and the wise. It is to be greatly hoped that the displays will come to be more and more arranged with a view to their educational value. The value of that sort of education which the wisest and most experienced always obtain by contact with their fellows is not underestimated; the value of pleasure as pleasure is not underestimated, nor is any disposition here indulged to censure the merely attractive features of the fair. Gate money is the one thing needful for holding the fair at all. Only make the displays more distinctly with a view to their educational value.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 21.

The Treasury Department occupies an immense freestone and granite building situated on Pennsylvania avenue and Fifteenth street, immediately east of the White House. The building is classic, massive, and imposing; of Ionic design, and has three grand entrances and porticos. Each portico is adorned with splendid monolith columns with carved Ionic capitals, and on the east side is a magnificent colonnade, almost 300 feet in length. The walls are capped by a handsome balustrade in freestone; and the approaches, or grand stone staircases, leading to the porticos are most imposing in their massiveness and symmetry.

The building is 460 feet long, and 264 feet wide. The height is four stories above a sub-basement. The cost of the building was about \$8,000,000. The main building was completed in 1841, Robert Mills being the architect. In 1869 the extensions, designed by Thomas U. Walter, were completed. These consist of the grand porticos and wings at each end of the building.

A description of the detail of construction would occupy more space than can be given to the subject, and, were it given, no proper conception of the appearance of the structure could be conveyed. Let it be sufficient to say that no building, of its class, in the world is its superior, either in imposing grandeur or the classic symmetry of its architecture. The grounds surrounding the building are beautifully laid out and ornamented with the rarest and choicest flowers.

The Treasury Department has charge of the financial affairs of the Government, and of course is one of the most important and responsible parts of the Executive branch. It was established in 1789 by the First Congress.

The various divisions are as follows: Office of the Secretary of the Treasury; office of the First Comptroller, the Second Comptroller, the Commissioner of Customs, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the Register of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Director of the Mint, the Auditors (First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth), the Supervising Architect of Public Buildings, the Light-House Board, the Bureau of Statistics, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Life-Saving Service, the Revenue Cutter and Marine Hospital Service, etc.

The number of employees is larger than any other Department, and the salary list amounts to \$3,000,000 per year.

In the Treasury building there are over 3,000 persons employed, and there are several divisions of the Department located in other buildings in the city. There are, besides the employees in Washington, an army belonging to the Department at the various custom-houses and other branches scattered over the country.

The Secretary of the Treasury is charged by law with the management of the National finances. He prepares the plans for the im-

provement of the revenue, and for the support of the public credit; superintends the collection of the revenue and prescribes the forms for keeping and rendering the public accounts and of making returns; grants warrants for all moneys drawn from the Treasury in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and for the payment of moneys into the Treasury; and annually submits to Congress estimates of the public revenues and disbursements of the Government. He also controls the construction of public buildings; the coinage and printing of money; the collection of statistics; the administration of the coast and geodetic survey, life-saving, revenue-cutting, steamboat inspection, and Marine Hospital branches of the public service, and furnishes generally such information as may be required by either branch of Congress on all matters pertaining to the foregoing.

The position of Secretary of the Treasury is by no means a sinecure and his power to influence the public welfare is greater than any other officer of the Nation. The most important measures are the emanations of his brain, and the results of his actions affect the people more directly than those of any other, the President not excepted. The responsibilities of the position are simply colossal and the choice of men for this position a duty of the most serious kind.

The Secretary has a salary that seems small when compared to that of the President, and the vast amount of labor and responsibility are taken into consideration. His salary, like those of all members of the Cabinet, is \$8,000 per year.

In the office of the Secretary there are employed a chief clerk, who is *ex officio* superintendent of the Treasury building, at a salary of \$2,700; one chief of division of warrants, estimates, and appropriations and one chief of division of customs, at \$2,750 each; one assistant chief of division of warrants, estimates, and appropriations, \$2,400; six chiefs of division, \$2,500 each; two assistant chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; six assistant chiefs of division, \$2,000 each; two disbursing clerks, \$2,500 each; Government actuary, under control of Treasury Department, \$2,000; forty clerks at \$1,800 each, twenty-five clerks at \$1,600 each, twenty-one clerks at \$1,400 each, fifteen at \$1,200 each, eleven at \$1,000, fifty female clerks at \$900 each; one captain of the watch, \$1,400; one engineer, \$1,400; one assistant engineer, \$1,000; one machinist and gas-fitter, \$1,200; one storekeeper, \$1,200.

There are two Assistant Secretaries. One of these has general supervision of the work assigned to the divisions of warrants, estimates, and appropriations; appointments; public moneys; stationery, printing, and banks; loans and currency; mails and files; Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and office of Director of the Mint. The signing of all papers and letters as Assistant Secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," relating to the business of the foreign divisions and bureaus, that do not, by law, require the signature of the Secretary, and the performance of such other duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary of

law. The other Assistant Secretary has the general supervision of the work assigned to the divisions of customs; Revenue-Marine; Mercantile-Marine and Internal Revenue; Captured property, Claims and Lands; Special agents, and to the offices of Supervising Architect, Supervising Surgeon-General of Marine Hospitals, General Superintendent of Life-Saving Service, Supervising Inspector-General of Steamboats, Bureau of Statistics, and Light-House Board. The signing of all letters and papers as Assistant Secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," relating to the business of the divisions mentioned that do not by law require the signature of the Secretary, and the performance of such other duty as may be prescribed by the Secretary or by law.

The Chief Clerk supervises, under the immediate direction of the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, the duties of the clerks and employees connected with the Department. The superintendence of all buildings occupied by the Department in this city; the transmission of the mails; care of all the horses, wagons, and carriages employed; the direction of the engineers, firemen, machinists, or laborers. The expenditure of the appropriations for contingent expenses of the Treasury Department; for furniture and repairs of same; fuel, lights, water, and miscellaneous items for the buildings under control of the Department; the distribution of the mail; the custody of the records and files and library of the Secretary's office; the answering of calls from Congress and elsewhere for copies of papers, records, etc. Supervision of all the official correspondence of the Secretary's office, so far as to see that it is expressed in correct and official form; the enforcement of the general regulations of the Department, and the charge of all business of the Secretary's office not assigned. From this list of duties it will be seen that the Chief Clerk certainly earns his salary if he meets all the demands on him.

The First Comptroller is required to countersign all warrants issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, whether intended to convey public revenues into the Treasury, or to authorize payments from the Treasury, or to accomplish any other purpose for which warrants are issued. All accounts examined and stated by the First Auditor, except those relating to receipts from customs, and all examined and stated by the Fifth Auditor and by the Commissioner of the General Land Office are re-examined and revised in this office, and the balances theron certified; and the First Comptroller is to superintend the recovery of all debts certified by him to be due the United States. The requisitions issued in payment of drafts for salaries and expenses of ministers and consuls abroad are examined, certified, and reported on by this office, as also the requisitions of marshals, collectors of internal revenue, secretaries of Territories, and other officers for advances of public funds. Many other duties in adjusting claims against the United States are required of this office.

The employees and salaries are: First Comptroller of the Treasury, \$5,000; Deputy Comptroller, \$2,700; four chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; five clerks at \$1,800 each; ten clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; seven clerks at \$1,200 each; four clerks at \$1,000 each, and seven clerks at \$900 each.

The Multiplication of Political Issues.

BY WILLIAM HUNT, OF ANCORA, N. J.

The adoption of new issues by an old dominant party, before said issues become popular, is sure to disintegrate and defeat the party. The same policy pursued by a new organization or party is sure to prevent its growth and make success impossible.

These propositions are self-evident when we take into account the actual facts. Let us consider the facts.

The leading and basic principles of the People's party, of the Knights of Labor, of the Farmers Alliance, and labor unions, are:

1. Abolition of land monopoly.
2. Money at cost.
3. Transportation at cost.

Perhaps none of these organizations have yet literally adopted these precise formulas. But careful reading of their declarations of principles and literature will show that these three propositions are a condensed synopsis of their leading principles and practical aims; and the only means of accomplishing their avowed purpose, the emancipation of labor from the tyranny of capital.

A large majority of the American people are already in favor of these principles as a means of emancipation. The primary purpose and end of all these organizations and their friends and supporters is the emancipation of labor from the tyranny of capital, and these three political measures are regarded as the means, and the only practical, constitutional, and conservative means, for their accomplishment.

All these organizations and their friends, unitedly, make a large majority of the people. Therefore, all that is necessary to accomplish our end and purpose is to unite in what we all most desire. All that prevents an immediate union on these three essential measures is the multiplication of minor side issues. For instance, introduce prohibition, and we alienate at least one-half of our friends; introduce woman suffrage, and we thereby shut out half the remainder; thus, by these two "side" issues alone, reducing our numbers at least three-fourths, thereby making success and emancipation impossible.

(Signed) G. L. P. WREN, President.
A. T. HATCHER.
P. H. DONOVAN.
J. A. TETTS.
W. H. BASS.
LINN TANNER, Secretary.

HON. HARRY TRACY is doing successful work in Tennessee and Kentucky, having yet several unfulfilled engagements ahead. The following appointments will be filled by him:

Pleasant View, Tenn., Monday, September 9.
Adams's Station, Tenn., Tuesday, September 10.

Gallatin, Tenn., Wednesday, September 11.
Fountain Head, Tenn., Thursday, September 12.

Franklin, Ky., Friday, September 13.
Alleville, Ky., Saturday, September 14.

Princeton, Ky., Tuesday, September 17.
Cattawa, Ky., Thursday, September 19.

The tobacco-producing section of the two States are being visited, and it is hoped full attendance will characterize the meetings at which Mr. Tracy speaks.

Fairfield, Monday, September 9.
Chester, Tuesday, September 10.

York, Wednesday, September 11.
Lancaster, Thursday, September 12.

Kershaw, Friday, September 13.
Sumter, Saturday, September 14.

Clarendon, Monday, September 16.
Williamsburg, Tuesday, September 17.

Florence, Wednesday, September 18.
Darlington, Thursday, September 19.

Chesterfield, Friday, September 20.
Marlboro', Saturday, September 21.

Marion, Monday, September 23.
Horry, Wednesday, September 25.

Orangeburg, Friday, September 27.
Berkeley, Monday, September 30.

Colleton, Tuesday, October 1.
Hampton, Wednesday, October 2.

THE people paid the railroads of the United States in 1887 in gross earnings \$822,191,949; of this amount the companies netted \$300,602,565 as profits.

State Business Agents.

Texas, S. D. A. Duncan, Dallas; Alabama, H. P. Bone, Maysville; Mississippi, W. R. Lacy, Winona; Missouri, J. B. Dines, St. Louis; Arkansas, R. B. Carl Lee, Little Rock; Florida, Oswald Wilson, Jacksonville; North Carolina, W. A. Darren, Raleigh; Tennessee, G. A. Gowan, Nashville; Kentucky, J. H. Payne, Fulton; Louisiana, T. A. Clayton, New Orleans; Nebraska, Allen Root, Omaha; Virginia, S. P. A. Brubaker, Luray; New Mexico, J. P. Hosmer, Springer; Indian Territory, W. F. Rankin, Pauls Valley; Kansas, C. A. Tyler, Harvey.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

Consolidation.

Information of favorable action by several State Alliances comes to this office, and it is now known that consolidation has been endorsed by Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina, Kansas, Arkansas, and Missouri, with no unfavorable action by any State.

OBTAIN CHICAGO PRICES!

BY SHIPPING YOUR BUTTER, EGGS, POULTRY, VEAL, HAY, GRAIN, WOOL, HIDES, GREEN AND DRIED FRUITS, VEGETABLES,

Or any thing you have to us. We make a specialty of receiving shipments direct from the producers, and have the largest trade of this kind of any house in the market. By shipping your produce direct you get all the value there is in it. Write us for prices or any information you may need.

SUMMERS, MORRISON & CO.,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
174 South Water-Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

Reference—Metropolitan National Bank.
23-28
Mention NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

T. A. CLAYTON,
Agent of the Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana, Limited,

198 Gravier St., New Orleans, La.
Headquarters for purchase of Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, and Rice, and for sale of Cotton, Staves, and all Country Produce.

3tspel

SUBSCRIBE FOR

THE STANDARD EXPOSITOR,
A GOSPEL MONTHLY.

Devoted to the discussion of Bible doctrines. The editors, four prominent Baptist preachers, are aided by a number of good writers. Price,

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Send for sample copies. A first-class ADVERTISING MEDIUM. Present circulation, 6,000.

Editors:
REDDIN ANDREWS,
E. R. CARSWELL, JR.,
A. B. VAUGHN, JR.,
M. T. MARTIN.

Atlanta, Ga.
Office, 47 S. Broad St.,
10-12

WANTED,

A purchaser for my FARM of 720 acres; 300 acres fenced, 150 acres in cultivation. Good dwelling-house, with ten rooms; good barn; lasting water; 150 acres in timber, balance prairie; grass and soil-good; corn, cotton, wheat, and oats are the principal crops. No better location for a fine stock farm or a mule ranch. Everything new and first class. For further information call on or address J. W. DUNN, Boaz P. O., Coryell County, Texas.

17-18

Odenheimer Cotton Bagging

THE LANE MILL IS READY NOW TO RECEIVE ORDERS FOR

ODENHEIMER COTTON BAGGING, 44 inches wide, weighing three-quarters of a pound to the yard, which Covering was adopted for permanent and exclusive use by the

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND WHEEL OF AMERICA,

at their meeting at Birmingham, Ala., on May 15 and 16, 1889.

On orders aggregating 25,000 yards during the season 2 per cent. allowance.

Orders to be placed on or before June 24, 1889.

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

Orders to state when Bagging is to be shipped.

All shipments to be paid for against sight drafts, bill of lading attached.

A deposit of 25 per cent. must accompany all orders, unless same come through responsible business houses or banks, or else be accompanied by a certificate of bank or responsible business house, stating they will pay our sight draft for the amount of the Bagging when shipped.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

THE LANE MILLS,

New Orleans,

11-12

DIRECTORY.

Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

President Evan Jones, of Texas.
Vice-President Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas.
Secretary A. E. Gardner, of Tennessee.
Treasurer Linn Tanner, of Louisiana.

National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

C. W. Macune President, Washington, D. C.
L. L. Polk 1st Vice-President.

E. B. Warren Secretary.
H. C. Saffell Deputy Secretary, 1015 G street,
Washington, D. C.

Linn Tanner Treasurer.
Ben Terrell Lecturer.
T. J. Bounds Doorkeeper.

J. A. Tett Committee on Secret Work.
T. L. Darden, Jr.

TEXAS.
President Evan Jones, Dublin.
Secretary H. G. Moore, Fort Worth.

TENNESSEE.
President Hon. J. P. Buchanan, Murfreesboro.
Secretary J. H. McDowell, Nashville.

KENTUCKY.
President J. E. Quicksell, Ezel.
Secretary B. F. Davis, Ezel.

NORTH CAROLINA.
President S. B. Alexander, Charlotte.
Secretary L. L. Polk, Raleigh.

MISSOURI.
President J. M. Anthony, Fredericktown.
Secretary Geo. W. Registar, Poplar Bluff.

MISSISSIPPI.
President R. T. Love, Chester.
Secretary C. T. Smithson, Newport.

ALABAMA.
President S. M. Adams, Randolph.
Secretary J. W. Brown, New Hope.

GEORGIA.
President L. F. Livingstone, Cora.
Secretary R. L. Burk, Chipley.

FLORIDA.
President R. F. Rogers, Live Oak.
Secretary A. P. Boskin, Anthony.

VIRGINIA.
President G. T. Barbee, Bridgewater.
Secretary J. J. Silvey, Amisville.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
President E. T. Stackhouse, Little Rock.
Secretary J. W. Reid, Reidsville.

KANSAS.
President B. H. Clover, Cambridge.
Secretary J. B. French, Burton.

INDIAN TERRITORY.
President H. C. Randolph, Furcell.
Secretary Lyman Friend, Purcell.

NEW MEXICO.
President J. N. Coe, Lincoln.
Secretary W. L. Bree, Nogal.

Officers of Louisiana Union.
President S. M. Adams.
Secretary O. M. Wright, Unionville.

National Agricultural Wheel.

President Isaac McCracken, Ozark, Ark.
Secretary A. E. Gardner, Dresden, Tenn.

ARKANSAS.
President L. P. Featherstone, Forest City.
Secretary R. H. Morehead, Hazen.

TENNESSEE.
President J. R. Miles, Ralston.
Secretary W. T. Davis, Gleason.

INDIAN TERRITORY.
President C. E. Hotchkiss, Caddo.
Secretary M. McCough, Paul's Valley.

MISSOURI.
President H. W. Hickman, Puxico.
Secretary J. W. Rogers, Puxico.

MISSISSIPPI.
President C. B. Martin, Belzoni.
Secretary F. M. Blunt, Highland.

National Farmers Alliance.

President J. Burrows, Filley, Neb.
Secretary August Post, Moulton, Iowa.

NEBRASKA.
President J. H. Powers, Cornell.
Vice-President Jas. Clark, Wabash.

Secretary J. M. Thompson, Underwood.
Lecturer M. M. Chase, Creighton.

IOWA.
President A. I. Stantz, State Center.
Secretary August Post, Moulton.

DAKOTA.
President H. L. Loucks, Clear Lake, So. Dak.

Secretary C. A. Soderberg, Hartford.

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.

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

ALONZO WARDALL, President.

S. D. COOLEY, Secretary,

Huron, South Dakota.

11tf

WEEKLY APPEAL

\$6350.95

Is the exact amount that the Memphis Appeal Co. will dis-
tribute to its WEEKLY

Subscribers, Agents and
Postmasters, Jan. 1,

1890. Address

Subscription Depart-
ment, MEMPHIS

APPEAL, MEM-
PHIS, TENN.

1500 GIFTS TO SUBSCRIBERS AMOUNTING TO \$4850.95

1500 GIFTS TO AGENTS AND POSTMASTERS AMOUNTING TO \$1600.00

83 GIFTS TO BE DISTRIBUTED \$6350.95

83 GIFTS TO AGENTS AND POSTMASTERS AMOUNTING TO \$1.00

Subscription
price, \$1.00 per
annum. Send for
sample copy and list
of Gifts. Special terms
to agents and postmas-
ters on application. Write

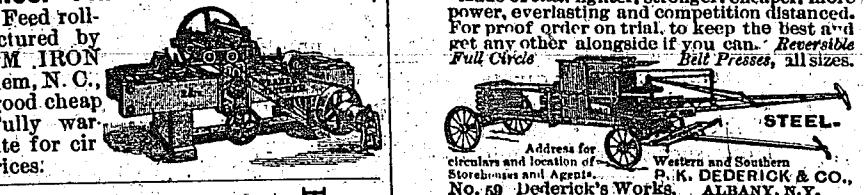
for sample copies, subscription
blanks and circulars and begin

the work of getting subscribers
immediately.

\$6350.95

The Tar Heel Planers and Matchers,

With Five Feed rollers,
manufactured by
the SALEM IRON
WORKS, Salem, N. C.,
are the best good cheap
machine. Fully war-
anteed. Write for cir-
culars and prices.



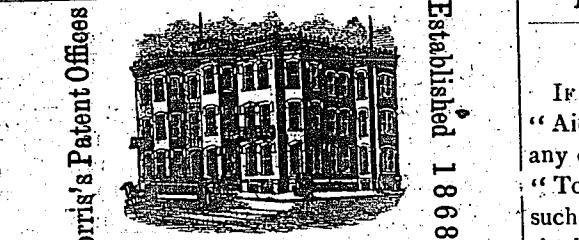
DEDERICK'S HAY PRESSES

Made of steel, lighter, stronger, cheaper, more
power, everlasting and competition distanced.
For proof order on trial, to keep the best and
get any other alongside if you can. Reversible
Full Circle

Hay Presses, all sizes
STEEL.

Address for
Circulars and location
of Stockholders and Agents.
No. 59 Dederick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.

SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

JAMES L. NORRIS,
PATENT ATTORNEY,

Corner Fifth and F Streets,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Procures Patents for Inventions in United States
and Foreign Countries.

Book of Information Sent Free on Request.
Refers to your United States Senators and Repre-
sentatives or to any of the National Banks of Wash-
ington, D. C.

J. B. MERWIN SCHOOL SUPPLY CO.,

1104 Pine Street,
St. Louis, Mo.

13-m3

\$160 FARMER'S SAW MILL, ENGINES,

Wood Planers.
Also, Hege's Im-
proved Saw Mill, with

Universal Log Beam,
Rectilinear Simulta-
neous Set Work and

Double Eccentric Fric-
tion Feed. Manufac-
tured by

SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.



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

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1889.

NO. 26

Cause for the Depression in Agriculture.

The position taken by THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST editorially during the last six months, in which it has gradually been shown that the most essential reform now necessary is one that will stop the injustice and oppression which is applied through the power of money to oppress, stands to-day unchallenged. It has been shown that the contraction of the volume of money in the country reduced the price of all commodities and increased the purchasing power of money; that the ability to pay debts was diminished in proportion to the ratio of contraction; that is to say, a reduction of the circulating medium to one-half its volume is equivalent to doubling the indebtedness of all those who have outstanding obligations. It has been shown that for over twenty years the Government of the United States has pursued a policy of steadily but surely contracting the volume of money in circulation, and that it has practically delegated to a class of private corporations the right and privilege of regulating the volume of the circulating medium of the country. That this is a crime against the productive interests of the country no man dare deny. It is an admitted fact in political economy that the business of the country can be as well transacted with \$1,000,000,000 in circulation as with twice that amount, and that it can be transacted with just as much ease and certainty, and without injury to any interest, except those who are in debt; but should the amount of circulating medium at any time be reduced from \$2,000,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 it would be accompanied by a reduction of one-half in the price of everything; or, if the opposite manner of expressing the same thing be preferred, every dollar would have its purchasing power doubled. A rapid expansion in volume would have the opposite effect. It follows, then, inevitably that changes in the volume of money in circulation affect with unerring certainty the prices of all the commodities in the country; that a contraction in volume of money may reduce the price of the products of the country to less than it had cost to produce them with a greater volume of money in circulation; and that an increase in the volume of money may increase the price of the products of the country to such an extent as pass the ability of the consumer to purchase, and, therefore, seriously damage the productive interests of the country. Should any class be in sole possession of the knowledge as to when contraction and expansion were to be resorted to, they could purchase the products of the country at cost of production and sell them to consumers at as great an advance as their ability to purchase would allow. This would enable

such class by means of a knowledge of that secret to appropriate all the earnings of the producer, no matter how industrious and frugal he might be. But when in addition to the great advantage he would derive from the simple knowledge of when contraction and expansion would take place, such class is allowed the power to oppress, stands to-day unchallenged. It has been shown that the contraction of the volume of money in the country reduced the price of all commodities and increased the purchasing power of money; that the ability to pay debts was diminished in proportion to the ratio of contraction; that is to say, a reduction of the circulating medium to one-half its volume is equivalent to doubling the indebtedness of all those who have outstanding obligations. It has been shown that for over twenty years the Government of the United States has pursued a policy of steadily but surely contracting the volume of money in circulation, and that it has practically delegated to a class of private corporations the right and privilege of regulating the volume of the circulating medium of the country. That this is a crime against the productive interests of the country no man dare deny. It is an admitted fact in political economy that the business of the country can be as well transacted with \$1,000,000,000 in circulation as with twice that amount, and that it can be transacted with just as much ease and certainty, and without injury to any interest, except those who are in debt; but should the amount of circulating medium at any time be reduced from \$2,000,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 it would be accompanied by a reduction of one-half in the price of everything; or, if the opposite manner of expressing the same thing be preferred, every dollar would have its purchasing power doubled. A rapid expansion in volume would have the opposite effect. It follows, then, inevitably that changes in the volume of money in circulation affect with unerring certainty the prices of all the commodities in the country; that a contraction in volume of money may reduce the price of the products of the country to less than it had cost to produce them with a greater volume of money in circulation; and that an increase in the volume of money may increase the price of the products of the country to such an extent as pass the ability of the consumer to purchase, and, therefore, seriously damage the productive interests of the country. Should any class be in sole possession of the knowledge as to when contraction and expansion were to be resorted to, they could purchase the products of the country at cost of production and sell them to consumers at as great an advance as their ability to purchase would allow. This would enable

them, and the whole thing might be attributed to the fate as an accident of experimental legislation, were it not for some positive evidence now in existence that the very class that is now benefiting by this condition understood it, planned it, and have intelligently and successfully worked to bring about the results that now afflict the country. The positive evidence of guilt herein alluded to consisted of a circular issued in 1862 by English capitalists, and circulated "confidentially" among American bankers. This circular has a world-wide reputation, and is known as the Hazzard Circular: Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power, and chattel slavery destroyed. This, I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the care for the laborer; while the European plan, led on by England, is capital control of labor, by controlling wages.

THIS CAN BE DONE BY CONTROLLING THE MONEY.
The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis.

We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress.
IT WILL NOT DO TO ALLOW THE GREENBACK, AS IT IS CALLED, TO CIRCULATE AS MONEY ANY LENGTH OF TIME, FOR WE CAN NOT CONTROL THAT.

A careful study of this infamous document should convince any man that the present depressed condition of agriculture is the result of deliberate design, and not accident, and at the same time it will reveal who are the criminals that have perpetrated this great crime and show that they are not even friends to our form of government, but desire in its stead an aristocratic plutocracy. The Congress of the United States and the various administrations have been, to take the most charitable view, unwilling, but weak and yielding, instruments in their hands.

It would be well for the producers of this country to commence now, and from this on make every aspirant for Congressional honors announce his position on this subject. A word to the wise is sufficient.

A WRITER in the Forum estimates the total wealth of the country at \$60,000,000,000, and that more than one-half of this amount is in the hands of less than 25,000 persons. This makes the average wealth of this favored 25,000 \$1,200,000, and concentrates half the wealth of the Nation in the hands of one person out of twenty-five hundred. The present system of distribution is excellent for an occasional individual, but is it just to the average man of the other 24,999? Just a bit of figuring would pay at this point.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

History and Government.

No. 25.

The era of Greek history now under consideration is, to the American student of governmental experiences, by far the most important that Greece presents; because, during this time, the sentiments, tendencies, and influences which later on led to the downfall of existing institutions had their rise and began their rapid development.

It is important, in analyzing the various developments, which followed each other in such rapid succession at this time, to bear in mind that the Greek nation consisted of a confederacy of independent states, merely bound together for mutual protection and support. There was no centralized power, no organized national executive or legislative body. True, there was the council of the Amphycions, which was composed of representatives from each of the independent states, but its powers were very imperfect and its duties not clearly defined. It was confined to a great extent to the consideration of questions relating to religion and petty disputes between the states, while it seemed powerless when a general or important difference arose.

The confederacy very much resembled the organization of our government except that the Amphycions had no legislative power granted to them, nor did they, as our Congress, have authority to direct the general conduct of national affairs.

What is recognized with us as the question of State rights was thoroughly understood; each state was independent in every regard, and the Amphycions were, as the name implies, merely a representative body composed of members from the various states who met only to counsel together. The council was more in the nature of a committee of arbitration, to decide controversies between the states and suggest modes of action than of a central governmental power controlling all. Each state was exceedingly jealous of its independence.

After the cessation of danger from the common foreign enemy, dissensions began to arise between the states and between the people in the same state. These dissensions grew out of the social distinctions, which arose from the land and commercial systems; and from these differences party conflicts gradually developed; on the one hand, a desire for centralization of power and a strong government to perpetuate against the destruction of Grecian liberty, it is probable that Pericles would have succeeded perfectly.

When Pericles found himself possessed of what was virtually imperial power he began to change his manner entirely, just as politicians of his class do in this day and time when they no longer require the support of the horny-handed freemen. He was not so mild and affable as he had been, and did not abandon himself to the whims and caprices of the people, or meet every demand or request with compliance in some form. As the modern politician puts it, "he began to draw in the reins," and let his authority be felt at times.

It has been shown how, in several instances, the people had been betrayed by leaders in whom they had placed their confidence, and to what extent bribery and mercenary corruption had been carried. The conflict, especially

in Athens, had narrowed down to a contest between the rich and the poor, the rich desiring ultimately to establish a strong central government and the masses contending for reform in the land and commercial system, and a system of distribution more in accord with the true principles of liberty and republican ideas.

They desired to put a stop to the aggressions of the rich and speculative classes and curb their haughty assumptions of especial favors and superior advantages. In a word, it was with them, as with us, a struggle against the growth of monopoly.

Pericles seems to have clearly comprehended the situation and to have had a most exact understanding of the character of the people as well as the most effective means to employ in advancing his great ambition. The sequel shows clearly that his ultimate aim was the empire of all Greece, and that he expected to accomplish it, not by opposing the people, who would have struck down instantly any man why might dare to propose such a thing as a centralized power, but by so directing their actions and passions that they themselves would bring about the results he desired and so become the authors of their own enslavement and be deceived by the shadow of liberty while he held the substance of power.

The means used by this shrewdest of all demagogues have been already shown, but his grand and final aim does not become apparent until later on, and it is here that the student of political history is likely to be led astray and overlook the deep designs of Pericles while entertained by the eulogies of the historian upon his great achievements; for it is true that all historians seem to have been, like the people of Athens, so dazzled by the brilliant achievements of the man that they overlooked or were blinded to the treachery at the bottom of all his undertakings.

From the time that Pericles acquired practical control of affairs at Athens every step he took was toward the centralization of the power of all the Greek states into an imperial authority, yet his every act met the heartiest support from the masses of the Athenian people, and in all the great political commotion so blinded were they that they did not once suspect the drift of his intentions or desires, and had it not been for the calm penetration of the sturdy Lacedemonians, who were ever on their guard against the destruction of Grecian liberty, it is probable that Pericles would have succeeded perfectly.

He therefore issued a decree declaring that notice should be sent to all Greeks inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all cities great or small, to send deputies to Athens to debate on the means of rebuilding the temples that had been burnt by the Persians, and of performing the sacrifices which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece when the war was going on; also to discuss the establishment of arrangements in regard to the navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace with one another.

In accordance with this decree, twenty persons, each of whom was over fifty years of age, were chosen and divided into companies of five each, which were sent to the various Greek states and colonies;

archy. He so thoroughly understood the temper and character of the Athenian people that he never mistook what policy to use, whether to drive or persuade, but managed always to so gauge his measures as to receive the support of the people.

Enough has already been said of Pericles to give a clear idea of his character, and it is sufficient to say, further, that in Athens he held practically autocratic power. He had, to secure this, dissipated the treasures of the confederacy, given them away to the masses merely to pacify them for the time and settle himself firmly in the power he had usurped. The people had in no way been benefited, except temporarily, while the taxes drawn from the other states had been increased without any benefit whatever in return. The same conditions and inequalities existed among the people, for the reason that the cause which produced them had not been removed, but the remedy had been merely palliative and transitory.

The minds of the Athenians had been diverted from the necessary reforms and the unjust and oppressive conditions existing. They had been intoxicated and corrupted by their revel in the plenty bought with the wealth plundered from the common treasury of Greece. They had forgotten their allies and fellow-countrymen in their selfish gratification and began to look to the government to continue this generous supply, which for the time had caused them to forget their misery, their honor, their duty to their fellow-countrymen, and the demands of justice. In fact the Athenian people seem to have been so utterly corrupted and demoralized that they would have been content to remain pensioners upon the bounty fraudulently taken from their compatriots of the other Greek states.

But there was a limit to the supply in the common treasury, and Pericles well knew that when his money supply failed, the support of the people he had demoralized and deceived by it would fail also, and that the conflict between the classes would begin anew and he be cast aside and his treachery be exposed. His only hope was to raise means with which to continue to poison the consciences of the people, and keep them employed on public works at the expense of the other states until he could find a way to organize a sufficient force to compel acquiescence in his commands.

He therefore issued a decree declaring that notice should be sent to all Greeks inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all cities great or small, to send deputies to Athens to debate on the means of rebuilding the temples that had been burnt by the Persians, and of performing the sacrifices which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece when the war was going on; also to discuss the establishment of arrangements in regard to the navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace with one another.

In accordance with this decree, twenty persons, each of whom was over fifty years of age, were chosen and divided into companies of five each, which were sent to the various Greek

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Lacedemonians readily saw through the designs of Pericles. They recognized the fact that he had exhausted the treasury in his reckless distribution for the purpose of corrupting and quieting the Athenian populace. They saw that by this means he had raised himself to monarchic power; and they also saw the need that existed for his raising means to continue his policy of deception. They recognized this appeal to the religious sentiment of the Greeks as a means of playing on this sentiment to replenish his treasury, and thus give employment

to the Athenians, who were likely to become troublesome when the public work ceased and the regular supply of money was cut off. They also saw clearly the design of Pericles to influence the other states to recognize Athens as the head of the confederacy, and thus to gradually bring about a political union of all the states with himself as the head, and thus consolidate all the Greek republics into a centralized empire under him.

The Spartans, ever

jealous of the liberty they had been instrumental in securing for the Greek people, could not submit to such conditions; they made it their business to warn the other states of the designs of Pericles and all refused to send deputies as he had requested.

Having failed in this undertaking, the only recourse left Pericles was to lead the Athenians into a foreign war, and thus divert their minds from the existing conditions which he feared at home.

He accordingly raised an army and made an expedition into Thrace, and thus allowed them to satisfy their greed and necessity by plunder.

Pericles knew well the martial ardor of the Athenians and their love of military glory. He recognized the impossibility of continuing his lavish expenditure of the public moneys; and that should he allow the people time to think, they would soon recognize his designs and become incensed at his bad faith and deception.

It was easy to encourage and excite this military spirit, and by employing it against the foreign states on the borders of Greece he could not only prevent the discovery of his designs, but utilize the impulses of the people to aid them. He could strengthen his defenses, gain an arbitrary power over the masses, as soldiers, which they would resent as citizens, and make a display of the strength of Athens that would awe the surrounding nations and impress the other Greek states and possibly induce them to recognize the Athenian sovereignty. He was especially cautious in his military incursion never to risk a defeat, as his only object was to elate the people with their success and inspire them with an admiration for himself as a military leader. His campaigns were without any beneficial result to the Greeks, and nothing more than forays for plunder and to pander to the military aspirations of the masses of young men, turn their minds from questions of great importance to the people, and employ their exuberant energy, which required some outlet.

As Plisotax was very young and the ephori had appointed one Cleandrides as counselor, Pericles managed to corrupt Cleandrides by bribes and promises and he induced Plisotax to withdraw his forces. Thus money again accomplished what the arms of the Athenians would have been incapable of, and Pericles was

saved from exposure and disgrace. The Lacedemonians were so incensed that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was unable to pay it he went into exile. Cleandrides fled from justice but was condemned to death. In the account of this campaign Pericles put down ten talents (about \$10,000 of our money) "for necessary use;" this was probably the amount of the bribe to Cleandrides. After the Spartans had retired Pericles returned to Euboea and reduced all the cities of that state to subjection to Athens.

After this expedition a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedemonians. This treaty restored quiet for the time, but as it did not remove the cause of discontent and fear for the liberties of Greece, the calm was of short duration.

Six years after the signing of this treaty Pericles induced the Athenians to take up arms against the people of Samos, who were at war with the Milesians. It is generally admitted

that he was induced to do this by Aspasia, a courtesan with whom he had become infatuated and, who was a native of Miletus. This shows to what extent the power of Pericles over the Athenian people had grown, when he could lead them into war merely to please an abandoned woman, and it also shows from what insignificant sources results of the most momentous consequence to a nation may spring. After several battles he besieged the city of Samos, which capitulated after holding out for nine months. Pericles destroyed the walls of the city, took all the ships belonging to the state, and demanded immense sums of money to defray the expenses of the war. Part of this sum they paid down and gave hostages as security for the payment of the rest.

To prevent the people from realizing the actual position they occupied and the disgraceful part they had played, Pericles had the obsequies of those who had fallen in the war celebrated in the most splendid manner, and himself pronounced the funeral oration. He stimulated the military sentiment and thus kept the minds of the people filled with vain and frivolous sentiment and prevented any serious consideration of public affairs.

THE teachings of a false political economy utterly at variance with true progress has led to the enactment of legislation that is discriminating in its effects and favors one class at the expense of all others. The time has come when economic theories must take a stride forward and keep pace with the development of modern science and general intelligence.

For the triumph of the cause of the people, not only unity of purpose but unity of action is imperatively needed, and the sooner this harmony is secured the easier the accomplishment of the undertaking will be achieved. Every day lost strengthens the works of the enemy.

UNDER existing conditions and institutions labor acts as an involuntary insurance company which guarantees a sure return to capital while it alone stands all the chances and vicissitudes of natural laws.

TRUSTS AND COMBINES.

Action of North Carolina State Farmers Alliance.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the State Alliance of North Carolina, at its meeting in August:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that needless taxation is robbery; and needless restriction tyranny; and submission to both, slavery. That whether these abnormal claims are arrogated or usurped by kingship or by combination innowise mitigates the crime, and, whereas trade combinations under various names have of late been formed throughout our land, whose open purpose and practical effect is to tax consumers of the necessities of life by restricting or crushing out trade competition, thus enabling the said associations to place arbitrary, unwarranted, and onerous prices upon their monopolized products and thus exercise the two highest functions of the most despotic government, therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense and wish of the North Carolina Farmers' State Alliance in convention assembled, as we have reason to believe it to be of all other associations looking only to self-protection against unnecessary greed and rapacity, and of the great army of consumers generally in their individual capacity, that something should be done and that right speedily in the interest of our people, as against monopolistic extortion and robbery.

Resolved, In furtherance of above resolution, that if any dutiable article has been or shall hereafter be made one of combination by those principally interested in its manufacture and sale, for the purpose of shutting out or controlling legitimate competition, and thus establishing a monopoly on such article, be that combination known as trust, pool, or combine, or by any other name, style, or designation whatsoever, the import duty on such article or articles should at once be reduced at least 50 per cent. or rate them existing under the tariff schedule, for the first year thereafter, and placed on the free-list at the expiration thereof, if the grievance is not in the meantime abolished.

Resolved, further, We hold that whoever enters into such combination with such obvious intent should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, if not a felony; and be punished by adequate fine or imprisonment, or by both.

After the long darkness of Mediæval night, Christian kings unearthed the Midas secret of transmuting man's necessities into the precious metals. Monopolistic traffic in these were freely bestowed upon the Montespan and the Pompadours and La Valliers and other royal prostitutes to keep them provided with trinkets and lapdogs and castles and bric-a-brac until kingly baseness could no further stoop and human endurance no further go, and then the deluge burst on France just one hundred years ago, which swept dynastic monopoly to the devil, to whom it properly appertains.

Resolved, further, We hold that the vile thing even had a foothold for a while in the royal palace of England; but men of that land have ever been less patient under kingly claim unsanctioned by reason than those of any other. In the Parliament of 1597 our forefathers raised the issue with the old tigress Elizabeth, then on the throne. The complaint was made that, "for the benefit of favored countries, oppressive monopolies had been granted, not only for the sale of foreign luxuries, but means suggested, or by any other more officious, the wish herein embodied, that this monopolistic combination of capital for purpose of extortion, the most crying evil which has had birth under our Government, the curse of the age, and the shame of the land, may receive its death blow at the earliest day practicable."

Resolved, That we request the earnest cooperation of other State Alliances and of the Interstate Farmers Association, which is to meet during the coming week at Montgomery, and labor organizations generally in furtherance of this most just, patriotic, and reasonable demand.

Resolved, That in view of the magnitude of the evil complained of, we hope that a select committee will be authorized by each House of Congress to take exclusive cognizance of this and cognate subjects.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished to the North Carolina delegates to the Interstate Farmers Association and also to the delegates of this Alliance to the Farmers and Laborers Union at St. Louis in December next, with request to ask their adoption by these bodies.

In introducing these, Hon. W. J. Green spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: Monopoly is a term that

stinks in the nostrils of freemen, as well it may, for where the first is tolerated the last rarely long exist. If I may be pardoned the use of a misapplied expression as first employed, there is an "irreconcilable conflict" betwixt freedom and monopoly. When a man is debarred entry in any honest vocation, be it by patent royal or by trust contract, he ceases to be a freeman, as so he does when compelled to purchase of the pampered monopolist, be it by kingly mandate or the no less imperious law of necessity, brought about by rogues and schemers under a newly invented device of that infamous but ingenious class.

From immemorial time "patents royal," by which certain exclusive privileges were conferred upon the favored few to despoil the helpless many, have been considered by crown-wearers a legitimate contrivance by which to reward their minions, or, by going shares, replenish their own depleted coffers. It is such a simple contrivance no wonder it was of early invention.

"To eat bread, you must buy of the vizier, salt of the mutti, and meat of the lord high executioner," so ran the edict of those days, "and let us hear no complaint as to price." Owing to its extreme simplicity, old Rome, in her degenerate days, quick caught onto the happy thought, and soon all the most important financial transactions of life, from the bargain and sale of a pocket edition, or image, rather, of Jupiter Fluvius (the rain god) to the farming out the tax collections of provinces and kingdoms, were in the hands of favored monopoly.

After the long darkness of Mediæval night, Christian kings unearthed the Midas secret of transmuting man's necessities into the precious metals. Monopolistic traffic in these were freely bestowed upon the Montespan and the Pompadours and La Valliers and other royal prostitutes to keep them provided with trinkets and lapdogs and castles and bric-a-brac until kingly baseness could no further stoop and human endurance no further go, and then the deluge burst on France just one hundred years ago, which swept dynastic monopoly to the devil, to whom it properly appertains.

Resolved, further, We hold that the vile thing even had a foothold for a while in the royal palace of England; but men of that land have ever been less patient under kingly claim unsanctioned by reason than those of any other. In the Parliament of 1597 our forefathers raised the issue with the old tigress Elizabeth, then on the throne. The complaint was made that, "for the benefit of favored countries, oppressive monopolies had been granted, not only for the sale of foreign luxuries, but means suggested, or by any other more officious, the wish herein embodied, that this monopolistic combination of capital for purpose of extortion, the most crying evil which has had birth under our Government, the curse of the age, and the shame of the land, may receive its death blow at the earliest day practicable."

Resolved, That we request the earnest cooperation of other State Alliances and of the Interstate Farmers Association, which is to meet during the coming week at Montgomery, and labor organizations generally in furtherance of this most just, patriotic, and reasonable demand.

Resolved, That in view of the magnitude of the evil complained of, we hope that a select committee will be authorized by each House of Congress to take exclusive cognizance of this and cognate subjects.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished to the North Carolina delegates to the Interstate Farmers Association and also to the delegates of this Alliance to the Farmers and Laborers Union at St. Louis in December next, with request to ask their adoption by these bodies.

In introducing these, Hon. W. J. Green spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: Monopoly is a term that

startling fact, for fact it is, stares us in the face to-day, and laughingly derides our vaunted boast of "freest of the free." Yea, verily, my friends, we are to-day, or if not will be to-morrow, the worst monopoly-ridden, as we have long been the worst tax-ridden, people of whom there is record.

It is needless to expatiate on the derivation or signification of the terms pool, trust, combine, now in daily use, by which it has been brought about. They all mean, in effect, the same, and that monopoly, which, from its Greek derivations, means sole, single, or exclusive seller. By means here designated, monopoly has monopolized almost every productive industry and necessary of life, and with accelerated impudence is absorbing, and disregarding the commonest rights of man.

There seems to be no possible let-up to its voracity. Its appetite augments with what it feeds upon. Look at but a few of the essentials that have been gulped down into its insatiate and insatiable maw. There's the "steel trust," to begin with, and, with the change of a single letter, they one and all might be classed under that one general head. Then we have the coal trust, the whisky trust, the coal-oil trust, and cotton-seed-oil trust, the pork trust and the beef trust, the copper trust and the white-lead trust, the jute-bagging trust (of which you know something and which knows something of you) and the salt trust, the sugar trust and the beer trust, the cotton-goods trust and the woolen-goods trust, the lumber trust and the nail and coffin trust; and although the enumeration is but begun here, I will close the list with the heartfelt wish most fervently uttered, to which I am sure you will give the amen response, may the whole vile fraternity of trust rogues be the first to have patronized in its own carcass the last enunciated article of trust, if they will only box their diabolical scheme for wholesale robbery with them and take it along to where they are bound, and where, if report speaks true, neither lumber nor nails will stand the temperature. The amiable Mr. Toodles in the play, under strong provocation, lets slip the naughty little mono-syllable, damn, in connection with a certain other gentleman, by the name of Thompson. On being reproved by his spouse, his reply is: "I said it, and I said it most piously."

It is not a theory, but a reality, and a most startling one, which confronts us. "What are we going to do about it?" That's the question. What does the Norse-fisherman do when the dreaded octopus throws one of his eight slimy arms or tentacles over the side of his boat? With hatchet ready he chops it off. Let our law-makers imitate the Norseman in dealing with an octopus infinitely more dangerous—one that would swamp the ship of state and suck the last drop of life's blood of the people. Our devil-fish would fain parry the blow that amiable dame begging for the retention of the right to cheat her dear English. "She hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the choicest flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem." Monopolistic claim was then and there virtually overthrown in England, nearly 300 years ago; but it required, later on, a little royal blood-letting to convince her second successor that the law-makers of England are not addicted to joking when ill-advised taxation is involved. They were wont to speak to the point and to mean what they said.

Gentlemen, if this be so, republican government is a delusion and our system a failure. And what a lamentable confession it would be, that a pack of moneyed upstarts could achieve what combined Europe in arms would dare not attempt, the substitution of democracy by another form of government, and the vilest of all, "plutocracy." How has this possibility arisen? for flout the idea as we will, it is not only a possibility, it is more than that, for unless some check is found to curb the growing potency of wealth which "the trust" conters, we will soon be completely at its mercy. Already these combinations have usurped and are exercising, with no attempt at concealment, that highest function of government, taxation. With accelerated growth, it requires no prophet's ken to

foresee that they can at an early day, by acting in unison, or if they so elect, by amalgamation, control the Government in all essential respects, even to making and unmaking laws and lawmakers; aye, even to modifying or overturning the fundamental law itself. And when that is reached, the end is reached for us as a free people; and when that comes I care not how soon the final crash. For one, I have no desire to survive liberty or to have my offspring do it, be they of the controlled or controlling class, and especially when the last is composed of such as those described. "Note my son," exclaimed the profound but caustic Swift to a young friend, as they were walking through one of the palatial-lined thoroughfares of the metropolis, "note what a mean opinion the Creator has for mere wealth by observing the creatures upon whom he confers it." He alluded to walking money bags. Mr. President, I am no terrorist, but I speak feelingly, for I feel what is uttered, and I tell you to-day in the face of high Heaven, that this new-fangled device for controlling the prices of the necessities of life is the most insidious and most dangerous antagonist with which constitutional government has ever had to grapple. Concentrated wealth in the hands of the few has ever proved the most potent factor in the downfall of republics. Well, then, may we stand aghast, for never before in any age or any land did aggregated capital dare go to the extent here contemplated. The most melancholy feature of the case is the apparently callous indifference with which the great army of plundered outsiders look on the mad antics of these Jeremy Diddlers.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, When wealth accumulates, and men decay." Liberty is never endangered as long as her votaries are on the alert; but eternal vigilance is her price for residence. It is only when sentient men learn to regard accruing wrongs as things of course and grow jocose over the insidious and gradual approaches of tyranny that she may well begin to tremble.

But leaving behind its blighting effect upon liberty, I come now to consider it in its material aspect of cost, for men are usually more sensitive and responsive to the touch on the pocket nerve than to any other emotion. Have you any idea what bounty or bonus the people are paying to maintain these unholy combinations? Of course a close statement is impossible with the imperfect data at hand. Only the managers or directors can furnish these, and, rest assured, they will not do it, for such an exposition of wholesale robbery would "make Rome howl" as she never howled before. We can, however, obtain a tolerably approximate idea on certain specified articles, by taking the increased cost under trust manipulation as multiplier and the amount consumed as multiplicand. These data being known, an ordinary school boy can answer give.

Take sugar, for instance, which is used more or less by every family in the land, and which yields one-fourth of the impost revenue of the Government. Under our delectable revenue system, this indispensable article of every-day use is taxed under the tariff schedule from 1.40 to 2.32 cents a pound on the raw or unrefined classifications. These are the only sorts which yield any revenue to speak of, the refined sugars being virtually excluded by our paternal Government, in the interest of a dozen or so refineries. It has been estimated by competent statisticians that, leaving out the excluded grades, two cents is about the average paid on imported sugars. Therefore the numeral 2 is our multiplier in ascertaining what it paid into the Federal Treasury for the fiscal year ending in 1888. According to Treasury statistics published by authority of the Government the quantity imported was 2,521,998,473 pounds. According to my multiplication table, taking

that as multiplicand, the amount derivable to the Government would be \$50,421,699.94. In point of fact, however, it is a fraction over, namely, \$50,647,014.17, or less than a quarter of a million over my count. The little discrepancy being on the other side only strengthens my argument in the conclusion now to follow.

Let us leave off fractions of thousands and hundreds of thousands, and confine ourselves to millions, to avoid complexity and confusion. Well, then, if a two-cent tax yields fifty millions of dollars to the Government, what will a three-cent tax yield to the "forty thieves," as represented in the refinery trust? One-half more, of course, or seventy-five millions total. If you doubt it, change the multiplier 2 and substitute 3, the increased cost to which it was carried by "the trust," most unnecessarily and arbitrarily, in less than ninety, if not in sixty, days, and you will have the proof by things that do not lie.

Seventy-five millions!!! Stealage on a single article—if the arbitrary price to which it was raised is kept up for a single year. And what's to prevent it, or even a still higher steal, unless it be the dread possibility that by their own insatiate greed and rapacious action they might open the way to "pauper labor and foreign competition," elab-trap phrases ever on the tongue of monopolistic rogues with which to bait for gudgeon. But sir, only a part has been told. Seventy-five millions per annum to that lordly and much-favored class on a single trust article is based exclusively on the foreign supply. Add one-sixth for the home product which pays no duty to the Government, but escapes not the all-reaching trust, and the amount is carried up to \$87,500,000!!! And that is what you are paying to this sweet-toothed, or, more properly speaking, sweet-fanged, monster for the privilege of sweetening your coffee. I challenge the College of Cardinals to refute the deduction. A hundred millions yearly, within a fraction, on one only of some ten-score trusts. Brothers, does it give you pause? If not, then go to sleep and wake up slaves.

As monopolized trusts could only have birth under our high protective tariff, it is but natural that we should demand redress of grievance from the author of their being. Hence the resolution submitted looking to the free-list under the tariff schedule for remedy. Throw wide open the door of the custom-house, and let foreign competition enter untrammeled on all articles placed under "trust," and you will thereby kill the accursed "octopus" deader than Hector or Caesar or a door-nail, and may God speed the day when it is done. The application of remedy suggested naturally seems of easy accomplishment, and if all men were honest or patriots, or even ordinary philanthropists, so it would be. But let me tell you, Mr. President, that ignoring high tariff affections and the preservation of inherent rights are not unreasonable demands. If others so deem it, they are welcome to their opinion, but that only makes the necessity for concert and co-operation the more imperative upon us. God grant that legislation may henceforth hearken to our just and reasonable demands. If not, agriculture knows her remedy, and if true to herself will apply it.

THE EDITOR OF THE ALLIANCE, OF LINCOLN, NEB., DESCRIBES A TRIP THROUGH HIS COUNTY:

Wherever I went I was met with the question, "What are we going to do? We have good crops, everything in abundance; but to sell it all at present prices will not even pay interest, to say nothing of principal. The merchants, too, are now beginning to feel the heavy hand that has so long been holding the farmer in its iron grip, reaching out after them, and are beginning to shut down on credit. If we undertake to pay the interest on our indebtedness our entire crop won't do it, and what then are we to live on?" These are the serious questions that are now confronting the farmer, and, like the ghost of some fiend from beyond the great gulf, is haunting and tormenting him day and night, making life amidst the bounteous blessings of nature, one of blight and sorrow. One farmer, in whose breast there still lingered a faint glimmer of hope, said: "Maybe if there should be a failure of crops some other place in a year or so, it might bring relief." Ah, my friend, I said, suppose that failure should be here? Things are all sadly wrong when some must die that others may live.

THE CIVILIZATION WHICH BESTOWS WEALTH AS A REWARD IS ITSELF THE CREATURE OF LABOR.

dangers suggested and for the consequent continuance of free government on this continent reposes in agricultural combination and freehold concert of action. Agriculture is the mainstay and last refuge of liberty, and hence the necessity for agricultural combination. "When bad men combine," says the inspired Burke, "the good must associate, else they will fall one by one an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." And again he exclaims, when it was flippantly said that London could be relied on in a grave emergency as England's mainstay, "Tell me not of the patriotism of such. His desk is his altar, his ledger is his Bible, and his gold is his God."

Fortunately for liberty, that combination has begun. Under different names, the tillers are associating for the public weal and self-protection to checkmate the unholy combinations of "bad men," such as I have tried to portray. Fortunately, too, "the Alliance," which already numbers between one and two millions in its brotherhood, constitutes fit nucleus upon which all kindred organizations may rally, if not merge. When its membership shall embrace one-half of the adult population of the land, as it should at no distant day, and it is imbued with nerve and sinew and blood and bone, and especially backbone, extortionate monopoly will have to haul down its piratical black flag, and seek a hiding-hole from the eyes of honest men.

What a glorious mission it is, the preservation of chartered rights. Rise to the full measure of its meaning and you are true to yourselves and to your posterity. In furtherance of that great object let us resolve to pull together and to make coalition with other kindred bodies actuated by the same high and holy purpose. Let the fiat go forth to-day, as it has heretofore: We ask for no special privileges which will infringe the rights of others, but we demand that none shall enjoy privileges which infringe upon our rights. To put it in homelier phrase, while we step on no one's toes, we are at the same time exceedingly sensitive as to our own corns. Self-preservation and the preservation of inherent rights are not unreasonable demands. If others so deem it, they are welcome to their opinion, but that only makes the necessity for concert and co-operation the more imperative upon us. God grant that legislation may henceforth hearken to our just and reasonable demands. If not, agriculture knows her remedy, and if true to herself will apply it.

THE EDITOR OF THE ALLIANCE, OF LINCOLN, NEB., DESCRIBES A TRIP THROUGH HIS COUNTY:

Wherever I went I was met with the question, "What are we going to do? We have good crops, everything in abundance; but to sell it all at present prices will not even pay interest, to say nothing of principal. The merchants, too, are now beginning to feel the heavy hand that has so long been holding the farmer in its iron grip, reaching out after them, and are beginning to shut down on credit. If we undertake to pay the interest on our indebtedness our entire crop won't do it, and what then are we to live on?" These are the serious questions that are now confronting the farmer, and, like the ghost of some fiend from beyond the great gulf, is haunting and tormenting him day and night, making life amidst the bounteous blessings of nature, one of blight and sorrow. One farmer, in whose breast there still lingered a faint glimmer of hope, said: "Maybe if there should be a failure of crops some other place in a year or so, it might bring relief." Ah, my friend, I said, suppose that failure should be here? Things are all sadly wrong when some must die that others may live.

THE CIVILIZATION WHICH BESTOWS WEALTH AS A REWARD IS ITSELF THE CREATURE OF LABOR.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

A Talk to Dakota Farmers.
BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

In our last letter we proved quite conclusively that the question of the adversity or prosperity of all wealth producers is simply a question of the price at which they must dispose of the fruits of their toil. This proposition would seem self-evident, yet it is necessary to prove it in such a manner as can not be questioned. It is necessary to do this because certain interested persons tell us that our trouble is not in the low price of our products, but in our failure to produce more and larger crops. The same persons tell coal miners and wage-workers that their trouble is not in the low wages they receive, but in their lack of steady employment. Strange and contradictory as it may seem, while these "interested persons" are telling us this, they acknowledge in the most forcible manner the falsity of their position by engaging, at a cost to all wealth-producers of millions of dollars, in a political campaign the fundamental idea of which is that government can and should exercise its taxing powers to the end that wealth-producing labor may be better remunerated than at present. That is to say, that laborers shall get more of the comforts and necessities of life in return for their toil than they are now receiving. In other words, that the "price" of these products shall be increased. Whatever we may think of the logic of these interested persons, we can all heartily concur that the accomplishment of their avowed intentions would be for the good of all labor. There has not been a political campaign fought in this country since the writer has been a voter but the dominant parties—in the ranks of one or the other of which these interested persons will be found—have vied with each other in their promises to advance the interests of agriculturists and wealth-producing wage-workers. In view of the fact that there isn't a State, a county, or even a township, as far as the writer is aware, but is dominated by one or the other of these parties, and in view of the further fact that matters with farmers and laborers have been steadily growing worse and worse, it seems that men with ability to reason at all must come to one of two conclusions—either that the leaders of the dominant parties are liars or fools. In either case wealth-producers have but one resource, and that is to change the *personnel* of their leaders. But this matter aside for the present. Since price is the ruling factor in all the elements which go to make up the sum of our prosperity or adversity, it naturally follows that to assure our prosperity we need only to assume control of price. In order to do this we are obliged to inquire, what is price? and whether the forces to which it is subject are natural or artificial, or both. If price, as we find it to-day, is an absolute subject of nature, we had as well call off the hounds and stop the search for them; in order to control it we would have to control the power that gives all animate and inanimate creation existence.

What I mean to say is, if the price, as we find it to-day, is the product of the natural, uncontrolled law of supply and demand; just as heat and cold are the product of certain irresistible laws of nature, then our inquiry had as well cease, because we can't change nature. But I undertake to say that the natural law of supply and demand is controlled by certain artificial inventions of man, just as the forces emanating from the natural laws governing heat and cold are controlled by his artful appliances. And, further, that the world-wide misery of the wealth-producing classes is strictly chargeable to the fact that this law is so controlled.

What is price? Simply an estimation of value. If the value of the thing priced, whether it be labor or the products of labor, be estimated in the thing called money, then the

scarcity or plenitude of money is an important factor in fixing the price. Since all values in this country are estimated in dollars and cents, it necessarily follows that the power controlling the volume of money controls prices. The "volume of money" may be controlled in more than one way. It may be restricted at its fountain-head, or it may be cunningly guided into channels that will enable a few men to fix the price of every commodity sold for money. It seems to me that it is this latter manner of control which the prospectus of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST hints at when it says: "Financial economy, although in one sense of the term a study of all, has been the subject of very little practical research, and if the axiom that action and reaction must be equal to be true, it is barely possible that a great financial depression affecting one class may be accounted for by great financial extravagance in another class." It is evident that the great financial extravagance of one class must primarily owe its existence to the ability of that class to control the money of the country. A business firm may do a credit business amounting to a million dollars or more, but it must first have as a basis many hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash. We have hundreds of firms and corporations doing business in this way. In fact those who transact business on a strictly cash basis are exceedingly rare.

The only reason why our corporations can do a paying business while seeming to be loaded with an immense burden of debt, is because they have absolute control of the money in circulation, and by virtue of this control are enabled to fix the price of everything they sell or buy, and their indebtedness, instead of being a burden to them, is regarded by their astute managers as the most important part of their stock in trade. The people in their transactions with these corporations are obliged to pay them an enormous profit, or not only what they own but on what they owe as well, for the reason that their indebtedness is usually due from themselves to themselves. Their indebtedness very seldom represents money borrowed and capital invested, but is usually incurred, or rather usually made, by issuing and selling to themselves additional shares of stock based upon nothing but the opinion of the managers as to the ability of the corporation to earn profits upon the additional stock issued. The debts of corporations are as much as and important a part of their stock in trade, and for precisely the same reason, as the tricks of a sleight-of-hand performer are a part of his stock in trade.

Let the people before whom a juggler is giving a performance once become thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of his tricks and the novelty of the performance is gone at once, and with it his power to amuse as well as his power to get money from his audience. Let the people once understand that the debts of our corporations are simply a part of their stock in trade, and are used as a blind behind which they can rob the people of huge profits, and their continued existence as private institutions will speedily be terminated. To illustrate what I mean by corporations controlling price by controlling the money in circulation, allow me to call your attention to a portion of my first letter. It was shown in that letter, as plainly as our agricultural reports could show it, that you sold your crop for half, or less than half, the price. Eastern farmers obtained for the same crop. Of course you understand that the flour manufactured from your Dakota hard wheat sold for fully as much, and perhaps considerably more, per hundred-weight than did the flour manufactured from Maine and New Hampshire wheat. Then, since the men, women, and children who labor in our Eastern cotton-mills and manufacturing estab-

lishments did not get the benefit of the difference in the price of your wheat and Eastern wheat, you understand that somebody else did. Well, who did get the benefit of that difference? Evidently the railroad corporations, the milling corporations and business firms that stood between you and your customers and tolled your crop deep enough to pay themselves an enormous profit, not only on all their actual capital, but upon millions of spurious capital as well. Grant that the natural law of supply and demand did actually fix the price of your wheat in the East (and in granting this you must remember that we are granting that everybody there had all the flour to consume they wanted, which I take the liberty to doubt very much, but for the sake of argument we will make the admission), what fixed the price of your wheat in Dakota? Was it the natural law of supply and demand? You say, or those who argue for you say, Yes, we had an immense supply of wheat, far in excess of our demand for it, therefore the price of wheat here naturally ruled low; while in the East the supply was limited and the demand was great, therefore the price of wheat there naturally ruled high.

What does nature or any of nature's laws have to do with the fixing of the value of wheat or any other of her productions? Just this. She has decreed that wheat shall be a life-sustaining product, and that a given amount shall sustain life, according to the flour she sees fit to put into it. Therefore, the only manner in which nature designs to regulate the value of wheat in different parts of our country is by bestowing a greater amount of flour upon the wheat of one part than upon that in another part. A bushel of your wheat will sustain life as long in Dakota as it will in the East or anywhere else, and, therefore, so far as nature or any of her laws is concerned, the value of your wheat is just as great in your State as anywhere in the world. I am not denying that there is such a law of nature as supply and demand. But I do say that nature does not make your wheat worth 15 cents in one place and \$1 somewhere else. It is man's artificial control of the supplies which must be used to satisfy the demands of nature that does that.

But let us refer again to my first letter. If you remember, we figured the aggregate value of your crop last year, as given by the agricultural report, even at the low prices at which you were forced to sell them, at \$50,383,405. After allowing that your farming population had more than quadrupled since 1880, we found the average family production to have been worth \$1,258.50. This was what remained to the average Dakota family after having been fleeced out of enough to pay all transportation and other charges in getting their crops to market. Now, what became of this more than twelve hundred dollars? You paid it out in tribute, either in exorbitant profits, usurious interest, or excessive taxes, or maybe all three.

The same natural law (?) of supply and demand which forced bread-winners of the East to pay enormously more for your products than you received is also operating to make you pay enormously more for your products than they receive, just as you are obliged to pay from five to seven dollars per ton for coal that your brother wealth-producers at Braidwood and Streator would be glad to mine at .80 cents. Does the natural law of supply and demand have anything to do in bringing about this condition of things? Do you believe that nature compels men to toil and starve in producing coal at 70 cents per ton, and that the same nature compels you to pay \$7 per ton for the same coal? Do you believe that nature compels you to pay out half of your crops to get the other half to market, and then to pay out the other half, and even

to mortgage your future to get the meanest and barest of livings? Do you believe that bountiful nature stored the earth full of coal and endowed your fields with surpassing fertility only in the end to mar the beautiful symmetry of her work by compelling miners to starve and you to live on field mice and gophers? If you believe all this, then you believe that the much-talked-of natural law of supply and demand regulates the prices of what you have to sell and buy.

But if the natural law of supply and demand does not regulate the price of what you sell and buy, and if prices are controlled by those who control the money in circulation, you would like to know how the job is done, wouldn't you? Well, it's done just in this way. But first let me tell you that money, of itself, is of no earthly value to the human race. You can't eat it, nor wear it, nor drink it, and the only thing you can do with it is to use the power with which artful man, not nature, has clothed it as an exchange medium to get the things that your nature prompts you to. Your corn, wheat, oats, and other productions are intrinsically valuable, not because of the artful manipulations of man, but because it is the fiat of nature that they should be so. If you will remember this statement of the relative value of your productions to money it will be easier for you to comprehend what follows. It will be easier to understand that the men who control money are not prompted by a desire to control it, but by a desire to control the things which nature makes valuable. Thousands of business (?) men and firms and corporations stand between you and those from whom you buy your clothing, groceries, tools, lumber, and necessaries generally, and to whom you sell your corn, wheat, and other productions. These business (?) corporations and firms are controlled by a band of "hale fellows well met."

They are "financiers" because they know how to use the artificial value created by man to the best advantage in getting for their own use the real value which nature alone is competent to confer upon the products of labor. They represent the "enterprise" and the "thirst" of the Nation because their brains are employed in schemes to make labor more productive to the end that they may acquire more of nature's bounties. They produce absolutely nothing. They control absolutely everything. To control price is one of the absolute essentials to their continued existence. They want your productions, not for the purpose of consumption, but to sell to your real customers at an enormous profit, and in order to do this they must and do fix the price both ways. They want the productions of our cotton-mills, manufacturing establishments, and coal mines for the same selfish purpose.

They control price because they control the money of the country. They control the money of the country because they prostitute every talent with which they are endowed and subordinate every feeling of humanity to the complete development of the faculty of acquisitiveness. They possess the commercial credit, the financial standing, necessary to the building of railroads, manufacturing establishments, and other business (?) enterprises. As to how these business (?) gentlemen and financiers control the money of the country, an editorial under the caption of "The Monetary Emergency," in a daily paper of August 24th, explains:

"In any review of the money market the public is compelled to take note of the fact that the banks at the present time require much larger reserves than were necessary four or five years ago, because their business has heavily increased. Yet the truth is their reserves are now actually lower than at any other period for a number of years, while they are, to a dangerous degree, relatively so. Since 1884 the

National bank loans have increased from \$1,200,000,000 to nearly \$1,600,000,000, while their reserves have increased but \$100,000,000. Naturally the banks begin to look to the Treasury for assistance, in view of the fact that they are being subject to three serious drains—for funds to move the Southern and Western crops, for gold with which to pay the duties on the increased importations, for foreign exchange with which to liquidate such importations. In addition to these demands, the banks have to discount for their regular customers and to carry paper founded on more or less speculative undertakings, such as advances to sugar and lead trusts, and railway and other stocks, and on securities based on produce transactions."

This quotation is sufficient to show you how "financiers" manage affairs when they get in a tight place. They "naturally look to the Treasury for assistance." Not their treasury any more than your treasury; in fact, not so much. To be sure, it is the common treasury of the people, still their claim on it is not as good as yours, because every dollar it contains represents wealth-producing labor performed, and "financiers" do not perform that kind of labor, and you do. They "naturally look to the Treasury for assistance," because nature prompts a man in distress to look for relief where past experience has taught him that relief can certainly be found, or, for that matter, just as nature prompts your fattening hogs to look to your corn-crib for feed. Our Government has made these banks what they are. It takes their property and guarantees them gold interest on it twice a year; it loans them 90 per cent. of the face value of their property in bank-notes at 1 per cent. interest; it absolves their property from the payment of taxes of all kinds; it collects exorbitant taxes from the "dear people" until it piles up in its Treasury an immense "surplus," for which it has no use, and then turns the surplus over to these same banks without any interest charge whatever. And then, as a matter of course, when they have increased their loans from \$1,200,000,000 to \$1,600,000,000, and in doing so have about run themselves out of funds, they "naturally look to the Treasury for assistance." Did you ever throw your hogs an ear of corn and watch them until it was devoured and see how cunningly they would look up and leer at you for more corn, and if you withheld the corn for a time have them gruntingly ask you for more, and if you still persisted how they would soon make the welkin ring with squealing protestations against your conduct? Well, these banks have for weeks back been cunningly leering at the Treasury, they have already gruntingly asked for additional supplies, and they are now vigorously squealing their protestations. The above editorial quotation is from the Chicago *News*, a paper that is, as all large city dailies are, for the banks first, last, and all the time. I desire to call your attention particularly to the following part of the above quotation: "In addition to these demands, the banks have to discount for their regular customers, and to carry paper founded on more or less speculative undertakings, such as advances to sugar and lead trusts, and railway and other stocks, and on securities based on produce transactions."

So the banks have to furnish money for sugar and lead trusts, and produce speculators, do they? And when the banks begin to run short they "naturally look to the Government for assistance." And the Government depends absolutely upon the wealth-producing laborers, i.e., gopher-eating farmers, starving coal miners, and others, not financiers, to keep its credit good, pay its debts, expenses, etc. Very nice arrangement, indeed; that is; very nice for the banks and trusts and financiers. But, about the farmers and laborers? Well, as long as they are satisfied, whose business is it to inquire what

about them? You notice, too, that one of the "serious drains" to which the banks is subject is for money "to move Western and Southern crops," don't you? Well, don't you waste any sympathy on the poor banks; you will need all you have to spare for your ragged and suffering families before very long. It's my humble judgment that the Napoleons of finance are now engaged in putting up a job whereby they will take in your crops for perhaps one-third of their value, instead of one-half, as they did last year. Do you know that these banks are largely controlled by the same men who control railway corporations, manufacturing corporations, sugar and lead trusts, and produce speculators? Do you not know that even if a railway president or a trust president is not a banker himself he is regarded as of the same mess with bankers and can get first choice of anything in a banking way? Do you not know, since this is true, that it is for their best interest to make it appear that money to "move Southern and Western crops" is going to be hard to get, and consequently the price of your wheat will rule low about the time you will have to sell to pay a part of the interest on your mortgages? And these men, consolidated only because of the mutuality of their schemes, are the men who "naturally look to the Treasury for assistance."

But perhaps enough has been said to explain my idea as to how a few men control price by controlling the money in circulation.

[Official.]

THE NATIONAL COTTON COMMITTEE
Meets and Passes Important Resolutions—Hold Your Cotton.

The National cotton committee of the Farmers Alliance send greetings and important advice to the farmers of the South.

Hold your cotton!

That is the substance of it. The committee held a quiet meeting at the Kimball House, Atlanta, Ga., the result of which was the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. That the National cotton committee recommend that the farmers of the South shall sell no cotton during the month of September, except what may be absolutely necessary to meet the obligations which are past due.

2. That the National cotton committee instruct the president of each primary Alliance, Wheel, or Union, or some person appointed by him, to meet the president and secretary of his county Alliance, Wheel, or Union, on Saturday, the 28th of September, at the county site, for the purpose of receiving further instructions from the National cotton committee.

3. That each State secretary of every State be charged with the duty of placing these resolutions immediately before the respective county presidents in every county in his State, and charge all expenses of printing and postage to the National Alliance.

4. That every farmer be urged to exercise special care and caution in sheltering and protecting his cotton in bales from damaging weather, and also from lying on the ground.

5. That every newspaper in the South, in sympathy with the interests of the farmers, is requested to publish these resolutions.

R. J. Sledge, chairman, Kyle, Texas; A. T. Hatcher, Grand Cane, La.; W. R. Lacy, Winona, Miss.; S. B. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; L. P. Featherston, Forest City, Ark.; M. L. Donaldson, Greenville, S. C.; W. J. Northen, Sparta, Ga.; R. F. Kolb, Montgomery, Ala.; B. M. Hord, Nashville, Tenn.

WHAT per cent. of the product of his industry did the first laborer pay to owners for the privilege of exercising his industry?

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

By "The National Economist Publishing Company."

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA.Official organ of the National Farmers Alliance and
Co-operative Union of America, The National Agricultural Wheel, and The Farmers and Laborers Union
of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

*Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are fifty cents a line nonpareil. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement 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 services.**Farmers' associations that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST now contain 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.

Subscribers can have their time commence 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 can be had at 2 cents a copy by application to this office.

Subscribers who desire to change their papers from one postoffice to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Postage stamps cannot be used in such quantities as received at this office. It is therefore requested that remittances be by money order or postal note, which may be at the expense of this office.

Clubs of Five.

The Economist has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at one dollar each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid at this office. This offer does not include names sent heretofore.

The First Volume.

Volume I. of the ECONOMIST is completed with this issue. With the liberal patronage accorded by members of the organizations of which it is the accredited organ, the management has been able to present a paper which has elicited merited encomiums from the people and the press. In accordance with a fixed policy, the income from subscriptions has been largely expended in securing contributions from recognized leaders in the trend of current discussion, and the assertion is true that a subscriber has already received in any one of the several series of special articles ample return for his year's subscription. The view taken by the management in the incipiency of the project, that the small price would secure an increased circulation, more than counterbalancing the small margin of profit on the cost of material, has been fully sustained by the rapid growth of the subscription list.

The right is retained by the orders to reim-

bure the brethren now operating the ECONOMIST at any time it may appear proper, and to assume charge and ownership, thereby making the paper absolutely the property of the order. It is therefore manifestly the first object of the management of the paper to represent fully the principles and interests of the order, maintaining on all questions an attitude which shall receive the fullest endorsement of the membership. This will always make it advisable, in a business sense, to publish the very best paper the means at hand will permit. It is therefore a guarantee that the tone and intent of the paper will not be lowered, but rather raised as material support is increased. And this is the pledge of the management to the order, here and now renewed.

Subscribers who have full files can now have Volume I bound, and will no doubt be most agreeably surprised at the size, neatness, and value of the book, which represents just half a year's subscription. This office has retained a number of copies, and will bind them, aiming to secure to as many as wish back numbers from the first. The additional cost of binding, not yet fixed, will be charged over the regular subscription rate, and in a short time orders will be filled.

A CORRESPONDENT in the Lincoln (Neb.) Alliance calls attention to the fact that the great American cereal, corn, is to have no show in the Paris Exposition. An appropriation of \$25,000 was appropriated by the American Government to show its machinery, its fabrics, and other manufacturing interests, and its great commercial advertisement, but not one cent to bring to the notice and interest of the people of France and other foreign countries in the use and value as a food, for both man and animal, of the king of all products, American corn.

When \$25,000 of the appropriation was asked for the purpose of putting up ovens and other appliances for cooking, distributing, and instructing how to prepare that best of all products for food, American corn, it was refused, and for the want of this knowledge in foreign countries to open up the way for its commercial value as human food, the farmers are compelled to burn this great American king for fuel, or feed it to stock. It was the National Farmers Alliance that formulated and demanded a department of agriculture with a portfolio as a Cabinet officer. Now, as one man let us demand that the Cabinet officer do something besides talk partisan politics. It will be remembered that the iron-willed Jackson, when a boy, and all through life, lived largely upon corn, and that the great Lincoln laid the foundation of that physical strength which in after years carried that mighty brain so clear, honest, and true, was built of North Carolina corn, and finished with corn from Illinois, and it can not be denied as a philological fact, that if we, as a people, would consume less roller-mill flour, and more corn-meal from youth up, we would avoid that terrible and National calamity, dyspepsia and indigestion, and all its consequences—doctor bills, despondency, and suicide—in many cases traceable direct. Let us as producers demand a proper share of that ap-

propriation for the instruction of the French people of the Exposition at Paris of the various uses and shapes for food of the great American product, corn.

Herbert Spencer and Profit.

Herbert Spencer illustrates the necessity of profit in this way. He takes the manufacturing interests as his example, and says, speaking of the exchange of commodities:

That there may be growth, the commodities received in exchange for products must be more than enough to replace the expenditure and wear of the manufacturing organization; and just in proportion as the surplus is great will the growth be rapid. Whence it is manifest that what, in commercial affairs, we call profit answers to the excess of nutrition over waste in a living body.

This sounds plausible enough, but is it true that "just in proportion as the surplus is great the growth will be rapid"? Is it not the fact that the growth of a manufacturing interest depends upon the demand for its products and the ability of the consumers to pay for and use them? If a manufactured article be necessary, society will have it, even if it must be produced at a loss; as, for instance, flour, cotton cloth, or any prime necessity. Profit plays no part when necessity demands, and the demand will compel the production whether there is profit or not, even if it have to be produced by joint action of the members of society, or government, at a loss or by special tax, and the development of that manufacturing industry will be carried to a point where the ability to consume ends.

This excess of nutrition, as Spencer styles it, is rather laid on as is fat in the animal system. It goes to create great fortunes for those who happen to control the particular industry in the way of monopoly, and in building up an idle, luxurious class, which comes to consider this "excess of nutrition," this surplus fat, as its due and demand it as a right, thus thriving at the expense of the consumer, who is always compelled to give more than he receives.

Again, if it be necessary for the growth of manufacturing industry that it receive more than it give, does it not constantly reduce the general surplus and exist only at the cost of other industries, which must produce the original values? And if this general value be constantly depleted to feed this especial industry, will a time not come when the entire value, in excess of that necessary for consumption and existence, will be finally transferred from the producer to the manufacturer, and one class grow fat while the other, at least, barely exists? Where is the surplus nutrition that is to insure the growth of the producing class to be derived from as a guaranteed factor in its development?

The producer has no assurance that he will get any return for his labor, not even the guarantee of a subsistence. He must do what he knows to be necessary on his part and trust to nature for the return. Such return is an unknown quantity, but constitutes the basis of value upon which all other industries are built. Should there prove to be a surplus at one time it should of right be stored, to provide against failure or misfortune at another, and not be

exhausted in unequal exchanges with other favored industries, which demand to be guaranteed against the possibility of loss, and the primarily necessary industries left to the accidents of nature for their support.

Further, if certain classes of secondary industries must always receive more than they give, this excess must come from some final source, beyond which it can not go; and the constant giving of more than it receives must, in the nature of things, at some time exhaust the source of supply, and the class which represents this source be reduced to a bare existence with no surplus to insure its growth or the increase of its capacity to produce; while the favored industries will have become obese from the surplus fat laid on. It would resemble a man with an enormously developed paunch and skeleton legs, too thin and weak to support his unnatural development of stomach. The fact is that Mr. Spencer seems to be radically wrong as to this question of profit, just as the wise legislators who are now directing the affairs of the Nation seem to be. The true principle upon which to develop society is to strengthen and broaden the foundation, build up and develop the producing classes by all possible aid, and then allow the accessory and, as it were, ornamental industries to grow only in such luxuriance as the parent stem is capable of sustaining them with ease and comfort and without risk or danger. Our social policy seems to be to elaborate, with gorgeous ornamentations and rich frescoes, walls that rest upon a weak and overburdened foundation, utterly incapable of sustaining them, which, giving way, will cause the beautiful temple to crumble into a chaotic wreck.

A COUNTY Alliance for Charles County, Maryland, will be organized at La Plata on Monday, the 16th inst. The Anne Arundel County Alliance will probably be organized the same week, and the State Alliance about the 25th. What augurs well for the future of the Alliance in Maryland is that the most intelligent and practical farmers in the area covered by the organization are warmly enlisted in the cause, and are devoting their energy and best thought to the accomplishment of its purpose. The first Alliance in New Jersey will be organized at Palatine, Salem County, on Saturday, the 21st inst. Thirty-five members are already enrolled.

The Colored Alliance.

Inquiries frequently come to the ECONOMIST as to the nature, domicile, and purposes of the National (colored) Alliance. This body is organized strongly in several Southern States, on parallel lines with the Farmers Alliance, but with a different ritual. The executive head, or National superintendent, is Rev. R. M. Humphrey, of Houston, Texas, to whom inquiries may be addressed. This gentleman commissions organizers, many of whom are white men, though the membership is almost wholly colored. The declaration of purposes can be had on application to Mr. Humphrey. The Farmers Alliance does not admit colored persons to membership.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses.

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 19.

THE DRESSED-BEEF DISCRIMINATIONS.

Following the discrimination in favor of the live-stock evener, in point of time, was a discrimination which, on its face, bears less evidence of undisguised favoritism, but which in its effects upon the commerce of the country was even more objectionable. This is the discrimination in rates between dressed beef, transported in refrigerator-cars, and live-stock transported in the old manner.

The dressed-beef discrimination is *prima facie* a discrimination in classification, rather than between individual shippers. The difference in rates was enforced against dressed beef as a class, and in favor of live-stock shipments as a class, apparently putting out of sight all questions of individual preference. But when it is examined in all its bearings it is discovered, from the nature of the case, that the purpose of the discrimination between the two classes was to favor a certain interest which was close to railway management, if not entirely identified with it. This has been practically acknowledged on the railway side of the question since the discussion of the discrimination has become an old matter. But as the discrimination is still, to a certain degree, in force, and as the matter bears, with peculiar pertinence upon the point now under discussion, namely, the relation of competition to discrimination, it is worth while to give a considerable portion of this article to the examination of the seven or eight year old question of the dressed-beef rates.

Probably all the readers of the ECONOMIST are aware that the peculiar feature of dressed-beef shipments is that the marketable parts of the animal only are shipped from Western points to the Eastern consuming market, and even to Europe. This is done without danger of spoiling the meat by packing the beef in refrigerator-cars and surrounding it with ice, keeping it practically frozen until it is delivered to the meat dealers or consumers. The expense of supplying the costly cars which must carry the meat in this shape, and of keeping the meat packed in ice, is considerable. By itself it probably exceeds the attendant expenses of transporting live-stock in ordinary cars, and of feeding and watering while in transit. But in addition to the saving of the loss by shrinkage and damage to the live-stock during the long and trying railroad haul from the cattle regions of the West to the Eastern markets, the great economy of the device, which was developed a few years ago, consisted in the saving of transportation on the parts of the animal which are not marketable. Taking the statements of some of the highest railroad authorities as to the rate necessary to nullify this advantage, the saving

by the shipment of dressed beef is over one-third, and some of the railroad authorities have placed it as high as one-half.

It is evident that a device which does away with the cost of feeding cattle while in transit, avoids the loss from shrinkage and injury to the live animal, and saves from one-third to one-half in the actual cost of transportation, would be a great public benefit. To lessen the cost of transportation of any food staple from the producer to the consumer, by even a fraction of a cent, is the modern realization of the figurative saying, that he who causes two blades of grass to grow where one grew before is a public benefactor. Of course the men who engaged in this business of shipping meat by a method which promised a large economy, did so for the sole purpose of gain; but the reduction that such a saving would permit under the free action of competition, both in transportation and as between the shippers of dressed beef, the advantage that must accrue to both producers and consumers would furnish one of the most marked examples of the benefit to the masses to be secured by the unchecked development of new ideas in commerce.

But it is a part of the history of this new method of shipping dressed beef, that it has been constantly met during its entire development by the hostility of the railway interests. The obvious basis for fixing fair rates upon the transportation of this staple evidently was that, as live-stock was transported at a rate which would pay a fair profit to the railroads, over and above the actual cost of transportation, so dressed beef should pay to the railroads a rate which would yield a fair profit on the aggregate business over and above the first cost of the service. But this was exactly what the railroads, especially in the organizations between the trunk lines, did not do. It is by no means certain that, under the most favorable circumstances, the dressed-beef method of transporting meat would entirely crowd the transportation of live-stock out of existence, but it was evident that it would largely supplant that method of transportation and probably accomplish that result more widely than it has done under the discriminations that have been maintained against it. Consequently the action of the railroad has been to fix the rate upon dressed beef in proportion to that established on live-stock, and constantly charge the dressed-beef shippers a greater rate than the live-stock shippers were charged.

Witnesses before the Senate committee, which held its investigation in 1885, testified that the early rate established by the railroads after the dressed beef business had developed important proportions was 50 per cent. in excess of the cattle-rate. The rate on cattle being, for example, 40 cents per hundred-weight, the dressed-beef rate would be 60 cents. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the superiority of the shipment of dressed beef in saving the shrinkage that occurs to live-stock in shipping it long distances, and in avoiding the heavy charges for feed and yarding at the live-stock yards where cattle are unloaded in transit, were so great that the dressed-beef business continued

to gain in a very marked manner. The railroads, therefore, took action to prevent the encroachment of this traffic upon the live-stock trade, and in 1884 advanced the excess of the charge upon dressed beef above the live-cattle rate to 60 per cent., then to 70 per cent. Subsequently, after a protracted discussion, in which certain interests claimed that the dressed-beef rate should be double that of the live-stock rate, and one gentleman, who had attained great prominence in the live-stock trade as the recipient of the "eveners'" discrimination described in the preceding article, claimed that it should be three times. The final decision of the railroad authorities was to fix the dressed-beef rate 75 per cent. higher than the live-stock rate; which proportion, we believe, is still maintained as the one that is enforced by the railroad pool.

There was no concealment of the railroad position in this matter. In a letter by Mr.

Albert Fink, the commissioner of the trunk-line pool in 1883, he declared that the principle upon which the railways adjusted rates was to "put the dressed-beef and live-stock shippers upon the same footing as to the cost of transportation of the product of the animal to the Eastern market;" that is, that the dressed-beef shipper must pay as much per pound for carrying his dressed beef as the live-stock shipper would pay upon the meat which he could obtain, after the entire animal had been transported, with the hide and offal. This, Mr. Fink upheld as the proper principle for railway action, and declared that the proposition of basing the adjustment of dressed-beef and live-stock rates upon the relative cost of performing the service would be objectionable, on the ground that one railroad might, by reason of its equipments, be able to carry dressed beef cheaper than live-stock, and another railroad live-stock cheaper than dressed beef. This, he claimed, would be unsatisfactory to all the shippers, would precipitate a war of rates between the railroads, and might produce what he regarded as a disaster in the shape that "one or the other commodity should be crushed out of the market by discriminating transportation rates." In other words, in order that competition in the transportation of meat in the two different forms might be prevented from bringing the price down to the basis of actual cost, with a legitimate profit added, it was the enactment of the pooling authorities that the device for economy in transportation should be robbed of its just reward by imposing an additional freight rate upon it 75 per cent. higher than that charged upon the old methods of transportation.

It is hard to imagine a position which comprises more wanton disregard of the principles which should govern the establishment of transportation rates than that openly assumed by Mr. Fink in this controversy. He was so blinded by the theory that everything like competition should be choked off between the railroads that he was unable to perceive the evident deduction from his assertion that one railroad might be able to carry dressed beef the cheapest, and that another might find it more profitable to carry live-stock. In such a case the legitimate

interests of the public, and no less the legitimate interest of the railroad, would make it necessary and right that the railroad which can afford to carry live-stock the cheapest shall carry it at the lowest rate, and that the railroad which can afford to carry dressed beef the cheapest shall do the same thing with that traffic. The great principle of the division of labor is involved in the assertion that each railroad, like every other agency of commerce or production, shall do the work which it is best fitted to do, and can therefore do at the lowest charges. A mind which can not perceive this fact, and which also regards it as "discriminating rates" to give the commodity which involves the least cost in performing the service the benefit of its economy, might possibly arrive at the remarkable conclusion that it is just to prevent a new device from obtaining the full advantage to which its economy in the cost of transportation entitles it.

Yet the entire weight of railroad practice in all other branches of traffic gives the lie to this theory. It takes several tons of hay and corn to make 1,000 pounds of the steers or the hogs which were favored by this discrimination against dressed beef. Why should not Mr. Fink have declared that justice as between the shippers of hay and corn and the shippers of live-stock required that the live-stock should pay exactly the same rate for transportation to the seaboard as it would cost to carry the hay and corn that make so much live-stock for the same distance? Of course such a ruling would put a prohibitory rate on the transportation of both live-stock and raw materials—from which it is produced; but the same effect in a less degree obtains in the enforcement of the same principle as between live-stock and dressed beef. Every device for economy in transportation brings the producer and consumer nearer together and inevitably benefits to both. The ability to transport live animals instead of the feed which fattens them is one great economy which renders it possible to transport this form of the products of the West to the Atlantic seaboard, and even to Europe. The ability to transport the dressed beef instead of the live-stock is another great economy, less in amount but hardly less important in magnitude of its results. There would be just as much justice in a railroad's forbidding the first economy as there is in its prohibition of the second. The only just rule to prevent discriminations between competing interests of this sort, is that the railroad must charge a fair profit over and above the first cost of transporting each article. The article that by its nature involves an economy in transportation is entitled to the benefit of that economy, and the public interest both of the producer and consumer requires that he shall have it.

No one who is acquainted with the merits of this question supposed for an instant that Mr. Fink deceived himself with arguments of this sort, or that the railroad authorities behind him believed that principles, such as he formulated with regard to the live-stock trade, and were applied nowhere else, were the proper ones to prevail in fixing rates. The fact was evident that there was an interest behind the

whole question, not composed either of the shippers of live-stock or of dressed beef, for which the entire policy of the railroad was framed. And this takes us back to a point which might, perhaps, have been brought up in the preceding articles. While it has been difficult for the railroads to maintain individual discriminations, as between shippers of live-stock, so long as the railroads were in competition with each other, there has been an important function in the live-stock trade where the favoritism of the railroads could be vitally enforced, namely, the maintenance of yards and sheds for the housing and feeding of cattle on their way from the West to the East. The shipper of cattle, if discriminated against by one line, might transfer his cattle to another line; and so discriminations were impossible, except by a combination of all the roads. But the owner of live-stock yards who has fixed his yards on the line of one road can not transfer his interest to the line of a competing railroad. The consequence is the notorious fact that no live-stock yards have ever prospered, except under the ownership or close connection either with the railroad corporations themselves or their managers. As declared by Judge Baxter, in the case of *Coe & Milsom vs. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad*, this is an unjust discrimination forbidden by the common law principles under which the railroad charters were granted; but it is one which has existed, and does exist, to the present day. The consequence is that the live-stock yards at Chicago are controlled by interests, which, as openly charged—and is not denied at the time of the live-stock and dressed-beef controversy—are the leading capitalists in the trunk-line railways. The ostensible ownership and management of that great interest is in the hands of the firm which was the beneficiary of the remarkable "eveners'" discrimination described in the previous article; but behind it, it is an open secret that great railway capitalists of the East are largely interested in the profits of housing and feeding live-stock that are transferred to Chicago and sold in that market for reshipment to the seaboard. Of course, with this interest holding a practical monopoly of the live-stock yards, the charges made to live-stock shippers were extortionate. One witness testified before the Senate committee in 1885 that shippers of live-stock were charged \$1.50 per bushel for corn that they could buy in open market for 35 cents. When one shipper tried to establish his own yards and feed his live-stock on corn which he purchased himself, he was forbidden the use of the railway to transport the live-stock from those yards. On pages 660 to 663, of the Senate investigation of 1885, there is a remarkable relation of the struggle of this shipper to secure his legal right to have his live-stock shipped from his own yards, and the combined efforts of the railway to make him pay tribute to the favored live-stock yards; which fight lasted over four years and was finally won by the shipper through the device of becoming identified with another interest, on the inside of the railroad combination.

It is practically a conceded fact that it

is for the benefit of the stock-yard interests that the discrimination against dressed beef was established. The live-stock producers and shippers would not be injured by the expansion of the dressed-beef business. The live-stock producer, who was thereby brought into closer relations with the consumer of beef, would be benefited by it, and the live-stock shipper could very easily find his compensation by selling his shipments in nearer markets, and by the ease with which he could transfer his enterprise to other fields of action. But the interest of the railway magnates in the live-stock yards and the private revenues which they drew from those favored establishments were gravely threatened by the expansion of the dressed-beef shipping business. It was to force the producers and consumers of the country to pay the treble and quadruple charges levied on the live-stock shipments passing through those yards that the railway combination enacted that dressed beef must pay 70 cents per hundred pounds, while live cattle were transported at 40 cents per hundred. This has been practically acknowledged by one of the ablest and fairest of the railroad men, Mr. E. P. Alexander, who, in his pamphlet on "Railway Practice," published a couple of years ago, plainly says, as the explanation of the stand taken by the trunk-line pool upon the dressed-beef question: "Millions of dollars invested in live-stock yards were threatened with extinction."

Here, again, we have an example of the hopeless manner in which the most intelligent railroad men drag in false issues for the support of their erroneous policy. Millions of dollars invested in stage-coaches and turnpikes were extinguished by the development of the railroad system; but that was no reason why the higher powers should have placed the railroad system under a permanent disadvantage which would reduce it to an equality with the antiquated methods of transportation. Millions of dollars invested in old-fashioned furnaces and iron rolling mills have been extinguished by the development of the most improved blast furnaces, and the growth of the Bessemer steel industry; but it has never been urged by the railroads that their duty of keeping things on a basis of equality as between competing interests required them to charge higher rates of transportation on the products of the improved manufacturing establishments, in order to preserve the old-fashioned ones from going out of existence. It is only when an interest in which railroad capital is invested that we hear the remarkable plea, that because their investments may be jeopardized by the development of a new economy in the business of transportation and distribution, that the benefit of that economy shall be forbidden to its inventors, and taken away from the producers and consumers.

Popular sentiment, especially among the agricultural classes, is somewhat confused upon the question of dressed-beef transportation by the fact that the immense business which has sprung up in spite of railroad discrimination has been concentrated in the hands of a few great firms who are believed to artificially depress the price of live-stock at the Western points where they buy their cattle, and thereby to prevent the live-stock grower from obtaining the legitimate reward of his industry. But those who regard that theory as a just reason for considering discrimination against one staple as legitimate or tolerable, forget two important facts. The first is, that if the great dressed-beef firms have obtained any monopoly of the business, it must be by reason of secret favoritism from the railroads. While these firms have always opposed the discriminations against dressed beef on the lines east of Chicago, it must be borne in mind that they have been in close relation with the railroads throughout the Northwest, and that upon those railroads they are benefited rather than injured by the discrimination in favor of live-stock shipments. The second point is, that the rule of equality giving each class of traffic the advantages to which its economy and character naturally entitle it, will be the best for the producers and consumers all over the country. If the method of transporting dressed beef establishes a permanent economy, giving it its full and natural ad-

ditional value, then the combination has broken to pieces the discriminations against dressed beef have been less marked, and competing railroads have been found to carry it at something approximating an equality with the live-stock rate. The Chicago Board of Trade declared before the Senate committee in the present year that the competition of the Canadian railroads had been the lever by which justice was secured against the American trunk line. In the same line, the Chicago witnesses before the Senate committee in 1885, testified that whenever the pool, or combination, was established, redress from this discrimination was impossible; but that whenever there was competition between the lines, they could obtain practical justice. One witness testified (page 666): "Competition makes it all right. When the hand of the pool is off, the matter adjusts itself."

And again (page 667), when asked if

a railroad under competition should refuse to take their refrigerator-cars, he says: "Yes, but we can go to another line and say, we will give you our business, if you will take it at such and such a price. They answer, no, that they can not do any thing except as the pool says." Another witness says (page 650): "I will tell you how our protection was taken away. It is in the fact of the railroads being in the pool combination." The whole story of the live-stock and dressed-beef discrimination, like that of the "eveners'" discrimination, is that it was enforced by the combination of all the railroads, and that it could not be enforced when the railroads were in competition with each other. It is due to the prevalence, at times, of the latter force that the dressed-beef business has grown to its present immense dimensions.

Popular sentiment, especially among the agricultural classes, is somewhat confused upon the question of dressed-beef transportation by the fact that the immense business which has

sprung up in spite of railroad discrimination has been concentrated in the hands of a few great firms who are believed to artificially depress the price of live-stock at the Western points where they buy their cattle, and thereby to prevent the live-stock grower from obtaining the legitimate reward of his industry. But those who regard that theory as a just reason for considering discrimination against one staple as legitimate or tolerable, forget two important facts. The first is, that if the great dressed-beef firms have obtained any monopoly of the business, it must be by reason of secret favoritism from the railroads. While these firms have always opposed the discriminations against dressed beef on the lines east of Chicago, it must be borne in mind that they have been in close relation with the railroads throughout the Northwest, and that upon those railroads they are benefited rather than injured by the discrimination in favor of live-stock shipments. The second point is, that the rule of equality giving each class of traffic the advantages to which its economy and character naturally entitle it, will be the best for the producers and consumers all over the country. If the method of transporting dressed beef establishes a permanent economy, giving it its full and natural ad-

vantage will locate the competition of all buyers at the central points in the cattle-producing region. With strict impartiality between all packers of dressed beef, the ability of a few great firms to control the market and exclude other buyers will be taken away. If improved methods of transporting live-stock should offset that economy, that improvement should likewise be given its full and natural advantage. By all such methods the producer and consumer are brought nearer together, the cost of transferring the staples from the one to the other is lessened, and the great and beneficial objects of commerce are more perfectly attained.

The present purpose of this article is to show that in this discrimination, as in those recounted in the preceding articles, the force which maintained it was the combination of the exclusive privileges of the railroads by which the force of competition was always obstructed, and, at times, entirely taken away. The magnitude of the public injustice is also worthy of a moment's attention. The extra cost imposed upon the meat supply of the Nation by these discriminations, and by a third which may be recounted in a future article, approximate a cent a pound in the retail price of meat coming to the consumer. Stated in that manner it seems a small amount, but when it is calculated upon the millions of pounds produced and consumed in the United States in the course of a year it amounts to an enormous tax. Whether that tax is levied upon the consumer or is taken away from the producer in the shape of reduced prices for his product, it is an equal injustice and a signal illustration of the recondite methods by which, in the operations of commerce, the favored few are able to heap up fortunes by means of almost imperceptible burdens levied upon the earnings of the million.

In all such cases, where the injustice is imposed by the power of a corporation which has been created through the exertions of sovereignty, the purpose of our Government is nullified and perverted, and in all such cases it is no less important and essential to know that the action of competition, the great law which distributes profits and regulates prices on the principle of natural equality, is obstructed or entirely nullified. As in all the preceding cases, this great and persistent discrimination of the trunk-line pool was enforced and maintained by the combinations in a single organization of the exclusive privileges of the various railroads. Whenever it failed to be enforced, it was by the rebellion of one or more lines from that combination, and the competition which went into operation as the result of that rebellion.

For the establishment of universal justice and equality the strict observance of only one law is necessary. That law embraces every moral and social obligation; that law is to "Do unto others as ye would that they should do, unto you." This single law rigidly observed by every one would render useless all the compiled codes of the world.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

COMBINED NITROGEN.

We invite attention to a brief study of the sources of combined nitrogen available in nature for the nutrition of plants. First, the atmosphere yields a certain amount of both ammonia and nitric acid, which descends to the soil dissolved in the rain, snow, and other forms of precipitation. A portion of this is undoubtedly of telluric origin and has escaped from the surface of the earth into the atmosphere by volatilization. During the passage of lightning a small portion of nitrogen in contact with the disturbing forces suffers oxidation, and it is likely that the putrefactive decomposition of suspended organic matter of the air yields ammonia, and this may combine with any nitric or nitrous acid to form ammonium nitrate.

It seems also that under all circumstances producing the condensed and intensely energetic form of oxygen known as ozone nitric acid is formed, even free atmospheric nitrogen not being exempt from attack by ozone. The circumstances attending the formation of ozone are not perhaps in all cases known, but its formation accompanies many kinds of chemical action, always, of course, on a very limited scale. We can not pretend to say in any given case precisely what the actual source of the atmospheric combined nitrogen is. The practical fact is that an acre of ground receives during the year an average of not far from 10 pounds, of which some portion is doubtless several times received and exhaled again by evaporation. The chief loss of combined nitrogen by the soil is not, however, by evaporation, but as it were by leakage, the drainage water at all seasons containing nitrates. Doubtless the atmosphere in its present state does not yield more than a small portion of the combined nitrogen demanded for the nutrition of our agricultural plants. The supply of available nitrogen in a fertile soil is mainly derived from the decomposable organic matter, but there may be circumstances under which the free nitrogen of the ground air participates in the formation of nitric acid or ammonia, or both. The amount of nitrogen taken up by a full crop of clover or other leguminous plants seems to imply something of this sort. The soil is itself a complex chemical substance which, under the influence of moisture and heat, is capable of producing both physical and chemical phenomena and reactions of a very complex nature. The constant association of ammonia with minerals containing iron, with iron filings, and iron peroxide, is not satisfactorily explained. Soils are physically considered extremely porous bodies and possess in a high degree the power to condense gases within those pores. That the combining powers of gases so condensed are greatly increased is well known, and when we reflect that the active rootlets of growing plants bring to bear upon the physical and chemical activities already in progress the very potent agency of physiological energy, we think it too much to say in the present state of knowledge that the free nitrogen of the ground air does not in any case become combined nitrogen. Our knowledge of ground air, whether of its composition or physical or chemical properties, is by no means complete. Our knowledge of the effects of the activities of microbial organisms on the constituents of ground air amounts to nothing. We know next to nothing of the relations of ozone to ground air, and to the vital and chemical activities of the soil. To view the soil as a mere inert mass is a prodigious error. It is the theater of action of numerous forces, and instead of being a mere dead mass, it is the scene of eternal changes of form and consequent play of forces. It is here that

begin in the earth beneath our feet the displays of physical and chemical influences which prepare chemical substance to become vital substance when subjected to the operation of the vital energies of the living organisms which we call plants, which culminate in the production of the protoplasm of animal aliment. Until we know more of all this than we now know, we go too far when we say the nitrogen of ground air does or does not contribute to the formation of the combined nitrogen which nourishes plants in a state of nature. No more do we know what is the scope of the effects of our operations of culture in this behalf. There is no more promising field for valuable original research than ground air and its biological relations to the microbe.

Let it be remembered that animals must have food very nearly the same in proportion to live weight under similar circumstances. If a Southdown weighing 150 pounds eats 3 per cent. of its weight daily, then an Oxfordshire down weighing 300 pounds will eat 3 per cent. of his live weight. If a work horse weighing 1,200 pounds eats 3 per cent. of his weight, then a draught horse weighing 1,800 pounds eats 3 per cent. of his live weight. If a farmer has the best pasture sufficient for 50 first-class Southdowns it will be only sufficient for 25 first-class Oxfordshires. If he has feed for 5 work horses he will have barely enough for 3 draught horses. On thin lands and scant pasture active, medium-sized work horses will do well if sufficient acreage be allowed for each horse, but heavy draught horses can not live on such pastures at all. Similar facts hold good with regard to other heavy and light breeds of animals. Does some man say, "Everybody knows all that?" Very well, then, why does not everybody act accordingly? Why do we find so many men buying Oxford sheep for thin lands and scant pastures? Some men will say, "We do not find them." We do find them, friend. The average farmer who sees a big fat sheep with a heavy fleece at an agricultural show does not stop to consider the food necessary to grow such an animal and such a fleece. He thinks or acts as if he thought the whole thing is in the breed. He buys a lot to start that sort of a flock, choosing the prize animals, very likely, and paying big prices. He takes them home and turns them out in the pasture to make their living along with his own nimble, long-legged scrubs. There the big fat sheep soon get lean and weak and less and less able to work their living out of the short, scant pasture. After a little there comes a blizzard and the big sheep huddle in the fence corner, and, when found, half of them are dead. The remnant, maybe, get through the winter. In spring they have a few lambs. Some die lambing, being weak from exposure and hard fare. The others have very little milk, and their lambs die. Only two or three are now left, and the farmer, disgusted and believing himself cheated, sends them off to the butcher, and they, being poor and out of condition, fetch two cents per pound. The venture is now closed; the farmer pockets his loss and says "fancy breeds are a humbug; give him scrubs." Just so. He should have known at first that he had a "scrub" farm and was a "scrub" farmer himself, and he had no business with big, fat sheep with long fleeces. If he had bought a good Southdown ram and put with his scrub ewes, and had given them a little extra care and attention, and had saved his best ewe lambs and sent off to the butcher an equivalent number of old ewes, he would have had a handsome profit on that transaction, and would have been proud of his good farming besides, so that doubtless he would now see his way to breeding up from the hardy native ewes a graded flock of the best mutton sheep, and giving them at the same time a more generous keep. Thus would he become an exemplar to his neighbors, and not a laughing-stock. This plan of breeding up graded flocks and herds on a foundation of hardy, native stock, affording them at the same time improved keep, is a plan never undertaken with judgment and carried out with patience and skill without profitable results. Let the grading be, not to the biggest breed, but to the breed of the size and all other qualities best adapted to the purposes and the circumstances of the farmer. It has very often happened to the writer to hear men say they wanted to breed bigger lambs than they now had, for market. But the profit is not in big

lambs, but early lambs. A lamb weighing twenty-five pounds May the roth will fetch twice as much as the same lamb will in September, when he weighs fifty pounds. An "early broiler" will fetch a dollar; the same chicken kept until he is a big, ugly stag will fetch only a quarter of a dollar. "Spring lamb" sells like "spring chicken." Big lamb, like big chicken, late in the fall, will not fetch half price. As another example of a big beast in unprofitable use and in the wrong place, we may name a two-thousand-pound draught horse in the sandy region along our coast anywhere from Norfolk to Galveston. Let us suppose a drummer, with some samples, sets out from Goldsborough to go to Tarborough in a road-cart through knee-deep sand, and the liveryman hitches up for him a two-thousand-pound draught horse, how far will he go in a day, and in how many days will he reach Tarborough? There would be no science in such an outfit, for such a journey there would be no sense in it. One of those trotting bulls, or oxen, one sometimes sees in that country, in single harness, pulling a load of women and children in a one-horse wagon, would do the trip and be back home before the draught horse would be half way there. A Shetland pony would not be more out of place in a dray than a draught horse harnessed up for a drive across the sands of eastern Virginia or North Carolina. In all that region of country the heavy draught horse is wholly out of place. So would be short-horn cattle, or Cotswold sheep. For grading the native herds of that section, Devons, or Jerseys, or Ayrshires, or Poles, would be far superior to the heavy beef or milking breeds. Very likely Brahmins would prove superior to any. It would lead us too far to go into questions of the adaptation of size to the uses required of draught animals. In a future number we will discuss that matter a little.

through the alimentary tract, escape with the excrement and thus infect the animals direct, or some source of their food or drink.

Without going further into these somewhat disgusting details enough has been said to point out the great danger of the conveyance of germ diseases by animals and birds, and even by mosquitoes and flies or fleas. Our domestic dogs, cats, rats, and even mice, doubtless, very frequently bring home from their night prowlings infective diseases to ourselves and our children, and we are at our wits' end to know how the disease has reached us, seeing that there had been no sort of communication whatever between the houses. We did not know that the cat, which slept as usual on the baby's cradle, had just run home from the house of death, its fur full of the deadly germs of scarlet fever or diphtheria; we did not see the rat from the sewer over there crawl under the wall; we did not hear the mouse creep in which nibbled the food the dead child over there had tried to swallow a portion of, even when the death-rattle was in its throat. If we had seen and known, it might not have been that tomorrow we must lay our baby in its little grave. It is for lack of knowledge that we suffer these things. It is now definitely ascertained that the *materies morbi* of many diseases is indefinitely multiplied by these so-called germs or microbes outside of the body, and we can not fail to understand that the minute portions of infected matter necessary to transport these germs from place to place may be carried about in an endless variety of ways, and sometimes to great distances. The writer has known scarlet fever conveyed in a letter from a house in a city, 300 miles to a country home, isolated and remote from communication with the outer world. Thus it is we can comprehend that there is no marvelous mystery in the sudden appearance of disease in apparently isolated homes without known communication with any possible source of contagion.

CORN STATISTICS.

A Chicago paper gives the following corn statistics:

Where the farmer gets 40 cents,
The Government gets \$1.50;
The manufacturer gets \$4.00;
The saloon man gets \$7.50.

The Chicago editor sums up then by saying:

"And the drinker gets the delirium tremens."

The Southern Churchman, stanch old paper,

adds, "And the share divided between the drunkard's family and the community is poverty, misery, shame, crime."

These germs multiply inconceivably fast in ordinary drinking water. The sequel is plain.

That which is true of the dog is true likewise of the fox, the o'possum, the skunk, and no less so of living swine themselves when out on some open range.

After feeding, as they will do, on one of their own species, dead of cholera, they may, by drinking, wallowing, and wading across, poison numerous water courses where other swine are in the habit of drinking, and thus infect numerous herds.

Similarly buzzards, crows, owls, eagles, and sometimes hawks, spread this and other germ diseases.

A portion of the carion containing bacilli not equal

to half the head of a pin washed off the beak,

talons, or feathers of a bird in the act of wading or drinking may poison an extensive water course and destroy many herds.

The buzzard often gorges itself to its throat and then flies off

to a distant pasture where swine are grazing,

and disgorges the contents of its craw, vomits

its disgusting meal, probably all over the body

of some pig, or in some place where it is pres-

ently found and eaten up by a pig, or in a

trough where pigs are fed, or in the water where

they drink. It seems certain the bacilli would

retain their activity under such circumstances.

It is even highly likely they may be able to

withstand the digestive fluids and, passing

combines pleasure with instruction is a mode of educating the people which deserves encouragement. What the gentle Walton styles a "severe and sour complexioned man" is too common in these days of the mad worship of Mammon. An agricultural fair well planned is a sort of kindergarten for old folks, very instructive, very enjoyable. There is a point of view furthermore from which this marked success of these local fairs presents itself in a very encouraging aspect. It seems to show that there are rifts in the intensity of the gloom surrounding the agricultural situation, or if not that, at least that the intensity of that gloom has deepened.

THE JOURNAL OF MYCOLOGY.

We have received from the United States Department of Agriculture the above-named journal, published, under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, by the Chief of the section of Vegetable Pathology, as a quarterly bulletin, the object of the publication being to publish in authentic form the advances made in the investigation of fungi, and, at the same time, to popularize the form of the information to such an extent that it may be readily availed of by the non-technical seeker even without the use of a glossary. The contents of the present number are valuable and interesting, and exhibit satisfactory progress along the lines of advance indicated. The general plan of this publication may be largely imitated with advantage.

REFORMS are sometimes suggested where least expected. At the recent meeting of the National Bar Association, the matter of the accumulations on the docket of the United States Supreme Court was under discussion and a resolution was offered advocating the creation of an intermediate appellate court, as a proper remedy. This was vigorously opposed by a delegate from Minnesota, who held that the evil was due to the enlargement of the powers of the Federal courts, which rendered it easy for rich and unscrupulous corporations to defeat justice by appealing from the decisions of State courts and forcing upon the comparatively poor the choice of a compromise or a prolonged and costly litigation.

This has become so much the fashion of late years that the advice is always given a client to take the best terms offered by corporations. The Nestor of the American bar, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, entertained a like opinion, and contrasted the present with the conditions existing under the law of 1789, which, for more than fifty years, restricted the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. He wished a return to that good law, under which the country had greatly prospered, and the administration of justice was dispensed to all classes alike. It matters not what considerations led to the establishment of the present system. It is an unjust one, because it creates and sustains class privileges. For this reason we are glad to see it denounced, if only by a few, in a stated meeting of the best representative lawyers of this country. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when the bulwark of plutocracy will be swept away, and the pauper and the prince stand equal before the law.

Labor is the one prime necessity in the development of the race. Hence the necessity that it be encouraged to the greatest degree, and everything tending to discourage or depress it be prevented and removed.

THE FAIRS.

The local agricultural exhibitions held this season thus far have been very successful, which is a very gratifying thing. Everything which

HARRY TRACY'S GREAT SPEECH.

The Sam Jones of the Alliance Creates a Sensation.

DOVER, TENN., AUGUST 26, 1889.

Harry Tracy, the famous Texas orator, delivered a lecture in our town to-day that has created a profound sensation. His great speech is the theme upon everybody's tongue, and it has turned our community upside down and turned the entire country into a debating society.

At 10.30 A. M., Hon. J. W. Stout introduced Mr. Tracy in a neat and timely speech of ten minutes duration.

When the speaker arose and faced his audience he showed up to be a plain-looking farmer of about forty-five years of age, plain in his dress and manners, rather low in stature, but of square build; his open face and clear-cut features marked him as a man of brains and indomitable energy, and as one who had the courage to be honest. His fame had preceded him, but no one dreamed that the speaker was the Hercules he proved to be. His style is entirely original. He indulged in no anecdotes, but his fund of wit is inexhaustible, and bubbles over and keeps his hearers in the best of humor and upon the tip-toe of expectancy. Only two or three times did he indulge in sarcasm, but when he did it poured in torrents, sharp as a two-edged sword. He astonished his audience by proving conclusively that through false education we have been induced to enact laws and adopt customs that repudiate *in toto* the ideas of the fathers who established our Republic at the cost of so much blood, suffering, and treasure, and that as a matter of fact we now have few, if any, ideas in line with a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. He asserted that all governments best reflect the character of its citizens; that it was impossible to foster a corrupt government upon a pure people, while it was equally as impossible for a corrupt people to maintain democratic government. His description of the characters of our fathers and their teachings was sublime, and at times brought his audience to tears. His description of our character and the tendencies of our conduct was a deplorable picture, and brought blushes to many cheeks. His comparison of the honest, simple, virtuous characters of our fathers to our hypocritical mammon-worshipping degeneracy was humiliating to this age.

He said that with our fathers freedom meant to do what was right. With them truth, valor, good faith, modesty, and charity were the cardinal virtues. With them the highest offices were only open to the wise and virtuous; morality was ingrained into their characters. With us the difficulty in conduct did not lie in knowing what was right, but in doing what was right when known. They had a firm hold upon truth. Adherence to it made them free and kept them so. With them duty was of more importance than pleasure, and justice than the gain of money; with them freedom was pure and universal, because they were governed by moral principles. Their freedom grew out of their characters. As the heavens are high above the earth, so with them was wisdom reckoned above folly. Their religion was pure, simple, heartfelt, and without alloy. They worshiped God face to face, and were secure in their integrity.

With vividness unequalled he painted with transparent clearness the character of a Washington, a Jefferson, and a Webster.

While with us the highest offices are open only to those who have the longest purse, or can secure the financial aid of bankers, moneyed corporations, trusts, and financial combines, distinctions of character have been subverted by distinctions of wealth. Our Government by granting special privileges by law has be-

come the promoter, aider, and abettor of a moneyed aristocracy, more tyrannical, brutal, and unscrupulous than any that exists in any other civilized government on earth. The favored rich are extravagant, for life to them has ceased to have any practical interest except for its material pleasures. Their sole occupation is to obtain money without labor and to spend it in riotous living.

Under such baleful influences the homes that cost \$3,000,000 are multiplying, where the inmates doze over \$5,000 breakfasts, while as their complement tramps and paupers swarm upon the streets and highways, begging for work, while those who toil live in huts, hovels, cellars, and garrets, and dine upon crusts.

Three men, within ten years, are permitted to accumulate \$60,000,000 by placing an arbitrary price upon an article of universal use, while those who produce all the wealth are forced to hang on the ragged end of starvation. A dozen men who have by collusion with the Government secured control of an article of prime necessity, with the insolence of a Mikado, say to 1,500,000 farmers that they must hand over to them \$3,000,000 of their hard earnings annually as compensation for their superior business qualifications, and with the grin of a demon, say to this 1,500,000 American free-men who live in the sweat of their faces, and stand between God and nature and toil for an honest living, that they must submit to this infamy because they are helpless, while the Government turns its back upon its citizens and receives a portion of this plunder as the price of its infamy.

He truthfully said that in the earlier ages, when barbarism predominated, the strong robed and subjugated the weak by physical force; brigandage, piracy, and wars of conquest were the means and methods used, while now, in our once free and happy country, they accomplish the same ends by getting control of the Government. The brigand now has his headquarters in legislative halls, surrounded by his paid henchmen. The pirate fees a lawyer and enters into legalized robbery and calls it business. That their schemes may be a success the press is subsidized to deceive the people, and for lack of reason or justice they continually prate about vested rights, for well they know that nothing gives deception, tyranny, and error such power over men as to clothe it in the garb of law, and in this way the gulf is deepened and widened between Dives and Lazarus.

Under this refined brigandage the homes of the people are rapidly drifting into the hands of a few plutocrats. Here we are confronted with the startling fact that in fifteen years we will have six homeless people to one who owns a home. This cuts the last sheet-anchor of a democratic government. No republican government can survive landlordism. The strength of a republic lies in the homestead. Homes breed patriots; boarding-houses breed tramps; and trampism will speedily ripen into anarchism.

Religion, once the foundation of our Government and of our laws, has subsided into vague opinion. Our aristocracy in their hearts disbelieve it. Churches are built by the rich with increasing splendor; the forms only of religion survive, and are utilized mainly for political preferment and to coin money. Patriotism has survived upon the lips only; the rule of mammon has long since driven it from the heart.

The whole spiritual and political atmosphere is saturated with hypocritical cant; an affection of high principles that fail to reach the heart or control the conduct is all that remains of our free institutions.

The elections, once pure, have become matters of actual bargain between the candidate and his supporters. Those who spend money most freely are most certain of success. Doors of promotion are open to those only who have by

the golden key, and still the deafening cry burdens every breeze, Money! money! More money! is the universal wail, from the millionaire Senator to the poorest wretch who sells his vote for a pittance, while public spirit among the masses is dead or sleeping, and the Government is turned into a plutocracy. The free forms of our Government are turned into instruments of torture and corruption.

Wealth procured by cunning and used only to oppress the poor or waste in idle luxury, flaunted in the face of the people, is at last arousing them; and it is not to be expected that the descendants of our patriot fathers will sit much longer calmly by while our country is thus going headlong to perdition.

Redemption can only come from citizens of the country districts (with the aid of the worthy few who live in cities), whose manners and whose minds are yet uncontaminated; in whom the democratic habits of the fathers still survive; who still believe in truth, manhood, and retain pure religion, and who are content to follow the wholesome round of honest labor.

The number of such citizens unfortunately is fast dwindling away before the conquests of banks, corporations, trusts, and combines.

To rescue the country and Government from the monopolists, to renovate the patriotism of the yeomanry and prevent them from becoming dependent slaves, and restore the purity of

citizenship, snatch the elections from the control of money, and rear up fresh genera-

tions of patriotic citizens and educate them in the sciences of correct social, financial, and political economy, and thereby preserve the liberties and glories which our fathers won, is the mission of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

Rome farmed out her provinces, enslaved her subjects, goaded them into anarchy, and, with the plunder, destroyed the patriotism and virtue of the Roman aristocracy, and thereby the republic. We have farmed out our finances, and will accomplish the same results. What it took one hundred years to accomplish, we will, by the aid of steam and electricity, do in twenty.

The history of trusts and their influences upon the morals of the people was very interesting and showed the speaker to be thoroughly master of his subject. His lecture upon the principles of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America was pronounced by every one of all professions to be a masterly effort.

The demand is universal that Mr. Tracy have that great speech printed in pamphlet form for general distribution. It would be a mission document of immense value.

I must close. I started out to try to give some faint idea of his speech and its import, but my pen fails to do it. Mr. Tracy is a remarkable man in many ways, and is destined to figure in the world's history as a worker in the cause of humanity.

LABOR, by constantly adding to the great accumulations of wealth in the hands of the few by force of inequitable laws, is steadily building up and strengthening the power which already holds it in bondage; and is thus forging its own chains.

A MAN or society is just only in the ratio that he or it is willing to concede to others all the rights he or it may claim. And just in the ratio of this concession is the degree of civilization and moral elevation:

LABOR is the foundation stone upon which the superstructure of civilization is built. Let this foundation be injured or crushed and the entire beautiful structure falls into ruin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME 1 OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

- No. 1.—Introduction (editorial)—National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union (proceedings)—Constitution and By-Laws of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America—Origin, Growth, and Development of the Exchange Movement in Georgia (Felix Corput)—Organization, Educational, and Co-operation (Evan Jones)—The Farmers Alliance and Politics (Hon. S. B. Alexander)—Alliance Business Effort in Mississippi (Harry Tracy)—Call of Georgia State Alliance—Explanatory (editorial)—History and Government (historical review)—Memorial to the Congress from National Farmers Alliance—Gen. S. D. Lee's Papers—Indiana Anti-Trust Bill—A Postal Telegraph System (Charles Roberts)—The Exchange of the Arkansas State Wheel—Four New States—Alliance News from Dakota—Prospectus of NATIONAL ECONOMIST—Directory of Officials—Advertisements—Washington, Its Public Buildings and Monuments—Alliance Exchange of Texas.
- No. 2.—Trusts (editorial)—The Farmers and the Railroads (Hon. A. J. Streeter)—Alliance Business Effort in Dakota (T. L. Loucks)—Statesman or Demagogue (Harry Tracy)—The Land Tax or Rent (J. G. Malcolm)—The Single Tax the Sure Remedy (John S. Watters)—United Effort in Righting Wrong (Ben Terrell)—Advertisements. Editorial Paragraphs—History and Government—The Spirit of American Liberty (Rev. A. S. Bunting)—Political Economy—Official Notice to Tennessee State Wheel and Alliance—Attention, Cotton Growers—Advertisements—Washington—Clubbing Rates.
- No. 3.—Combination (editorial)—Alliance Demands (S. B. Alexander)—Freedom or Serfdom (Harry Tracy)—The Work in Florida (Oswald Wilson)—The Alliance Lecturer (clipping)—The Progressive Farmer of Raleigh, N. C.—Harmonious Development of Industries (editorial)—Cause of Decay (T. D. Hinckley)—Co-operation and Education (Ben Terrell)—Resolutions of Shelby County, Tenn., Wheel—The Farmers and Trusts (J. A. Tets)—Book Notices—Millions in Southern Land—Editorials—Political Economy, No. 2—Facts that Demand Thought (editorial)—History and Government—Charter of Farmers Union—Commercial Association of Louisiana—In Memoriam—Advertisements, etc.—Washington.
- No. 4.—Reforms (editorial)—Why Cotton Bales Should be Covered with Cotton Fabric (R. M. Brown)—Thoughts and Comments (T. D. Hinckley)—Freedom (Harry Hinton)—A Striking Simile—Resolutions of New York Cotton Exchange—Development of Postal Facilities—History and Government—Important; to be Read in County Alliances—Railways—Protests Against Dealing in Futures and Trusts—Interest and Its Power (editorial)—Ben Terrell's Speech—Washington—Book Notice—Advertisements, etc.
- No. 5.—The Modern Plan of Conquest (editorial)—Plan of a State Exchange (Adopted by South Carolina State Alliance)—History and Government—Address of President J. P. Buchanan, Tennessee State Alliance—Industrial Communities (Harry Hinton)—Virginia State Alliance (editorial)—Entering Politics (editorial)—Mr. Burrow's Memorial Sustained (N. A. Dunning)—Railways (Discrimination and Railway Theories)—Cotton Bagging Supply (Wm. J. Northen)—National Co-operation (J. A. Tets)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington.
- No. 6.—The Disposition of Wealth (editorial)—Political Economy—A Farmer on Contraction—The Currency Question—To Purify a Stream Begin at the Fountain (Lynn Towner)—History and Government—Louisiana Union Moving (W. H. Tunnard)—The Cotton Bagging Matter (W. H. Lawson)—Harry Tracy—Editorial Notes—Railways—The Single Tax Again (J. S. Watters)—Single Tax; Answer to T. L. McCready (T. D. Hinckley)—Cotton Bagging for the South (advertisers)—Washington—What to Do—Address of committee—Washington—What to Do—With the Signal Service (M. G. E.)—Advertisements—Washington—Our Paper.
- No. 7.—Debts vs. Contract (editorial)—Origin and Results of Monopoly (editorial)—Political Economy—History and Government—How to Conquer Error—The Farmers' Problem (newspaper interview)—Farmers and Their Work—Plain Talk With the Alliances (Ben Terrell)—Three Americas—Commercial Congress—How they Vote in Greece—What is Money? (R. J. Williams)—Political Economy—Will the Alliances Ratify? (editorial)—Book Notices—Are Middlemen Producers? (T. D. Hinckley)—Jute Bagging (T. A. Clayton)—National Wheel Demands—History and Government—Second Annual Statement of Alliance Hail Association of Dakota—Statistics—Advertisements—Washington—Our Paper.
- No. 8.—Consolidation (editorial)—Editorial and Statistical Notes—Industry and Interest (editorial)—History and Government—Questions Answered—Editorial and Statistical Notes—Railways, Their Uses and Abuses—Lands Donated and Sold (editorial)—Thoughts and Comments (Hinckley)—The Alliance and the Sale of Cotton (editorial)—Party (Harry Hinton)—The Three Constitutions—Consolidation (editorial).
- No. 9.—Fall in Values (Judge H. F. Simrall)—History and Government—Education (Harry Tracy)—Proclamation (C. W. Macune, S. M. Adams, Isaac McCracken)—That "Imaginary Assumption" Contract (Evan Jones)—Editorial Notes—Railways—The Work in Mississippi (Harry Tracy)—Agricultural Science (M. G. Elzey)—Organization in Iowa (N. B. Ashley)—Washington—The Impending Crisis (W. Hunt).
- No. 10.—The Need of the Hour (editorial)—Editorial and Statistical Notes—How to Investigate Interest or Rent (J. Burrows)—Reply to Henry George (T. D. Hinckley)—Alliance Matters in Iowa (N. B. Ashley)—Economic Evolution (J. A. Tets)—Georgia State Alliance—"Tis Better So—Advertisements, etc.—Washington.
- No. 11.—Taxation (editorial)—Political Economy—Public Schools in the United States—History and Government—The Survival of the Fittest (editorial)—The Evils of Expansion (editorial)—The Farmers' Alliance (editorial)—The NATIONAL ECONOMIST (editorial)—Answers to Questions—Letter From Harry Tracy—Overproduction (Evan Jones)—Is there a Twine Trust? (T. D. Hinckley)—The Single Tax and the Farmer (John T. Walters)—Farmers' Rebellion—Mr. Hinckley and the Single Tax (David Russell)—A Suggestion to Sub-Alliances—Statistics—Cotton Bagging—Rantie—Advertisements, etc.—Washington.
- No. 12.—Railways, Their Uses and Abuses (first number by Jas. F. Hudson)—Political Economy (editorial)—History and Government—The Money Mystery (editorial)—The Situation (editorial)—Proclamation to Wheelers, pertaining to Birmingham Meeting—Power of Combined Wealth (editorial)—Banks (editorial)—Washington—More Public Buildings Needed—Words of Indorsement—Three American Declarations (R. J. Williams)—The Law Responsible—The World's Wheat Crop in 1888—A Bill—The Gigantic Salt Pool—The March of Consolidation—Report of Committee on Lecturing—Down with the Twine Trust—Monopoly—Advertisements, etc.
- No. 13.—The Shop versus The Factory (editorial)—Political Economy (editorial)—History and Government—An Alliance Lecture (John S. Pentecost)—The Single Tax and Something Else (T. D. Hinckley)—Book Notice (History of Alliance and Wheel)—Editorial Notes—A Social Duty (editorial)—From our Correspondents—A Petition to the Bodies of Organized Labor—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Fidelity (J. A. Tets)—Who Lives Down in Sleepy Hollow? (Harry Hinton).
- No. 14.—Investment versus Hoarding (editorial)—Tactics of the Jute Men (editorial)—Political Economy (editorial)—History and Government—The Single Tax (T. D. Hinckley)—Government Support for Cotton Bagging (editorial)—Alliance State Exchanges (C. W. Macune)—Railways (Discrimination in Common Law)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Randolph County, Missouri (Alliance Notice)—Washington—The Meeting of the Magnates (Harry Hinton).
- No. 15.—The Farmers and Laborers Union (editorial)—Political Economy (editorial)—Rights and Equality (Harry Hinton)—History and Government—The National Exchange (T. D. Hinckley)—Book Notice (The Story of Creation)—Are these Definitions Valid? (Robt. J. Williams)—Call for a Greenback Convention—Editorial Notes and Paragraphs—Railways (Supervision of the Highways)—Improving Seed (Jeff Welborn)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Rulings of the Wheel (Isaac McCracken)—Washington—What's the Matter? (J. Burrows).
- No. 16.—History of Financial Legislation (H. F. Simral)—Cotton Bagging (T. A. Clayton)—History and Government—Question Column (editorial)—Shall the Farmers Succeed? (J. A. Tets)—South Carolina State Alliance (report)—Editorial Notes and Paragraphs—List of Bureaus of Labor Statistics—Railways (Their Effects upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Plan of Reorganizing the Agricultural Department (Harry Hinton)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington—The Farmer and Mechanic (Young America)—Just How It Is (Lion Tanner)—Appling County, Georgia (Alliance Resolutions).
- No. 17.—The Modern Plan of Conquest (editorial)—Plan of a State Exchange (Adopted by South Carolina State Alliance)—History and Government—Address of President J. P. Buchanan, Tennessee State Alliance—Industrial Communities (Harry Hinton)—Virginia State Alliance (editorial)—Entering Politics (editorial)—Mr. Burrow's Memorial Sustained (N. A. Dunning)—Railways (Discrimination and Railway Theories)—Cotton Bagging Supply (Wm. J. Northen)—National Co-operation (J. A. Tets)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington.
- No. 18.—The Cotton Crop and Supply of Cotton Bagging (editorial)—Popular, Falsehoods Exposed (A. Barnwell)—History and Government—A Talk to Dakota Farmers (T. D. Hinckley)—Editorial paragraphs—Railways (The Origin of Property in Land (editorial)—Railways (Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—The Problem of Permanent Democracy (Dr. W. C. Jones)—Social Science Reading Clubs (Dr. A. C. Green)—Washington.
- No. 19.—Agricultural Education (editorial)—The Cotton Bagging Matter (editorial)—Address of President S. B. Alexander, N. C. State Alliance—History and Government—A Talk to Dakota Farmers (T. D. Hinckley)—Editorial paragraphs—The Origin of Property in Land (editorial)—Railways (Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—The Problem of Permanent Democracy (Dr. W. C. Jones)—Social Science Reading Clubs (Dr. A. C. Green)—Washington.
- No. 20.—The Cotton Bagging Supply (editorial)—Popular, Falsehoods Exposed (A. Barnwell)—History and Government—A Talk to Dakota Farmers (T. D. Hinckley)—Editorial paragraphs—List of Bureaus of Labor Statistics—Railways (Their Effects upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Plan of Reorganizing the Agricultural Department (Harry Hinton)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington.
- No. 21.—History of Financial Legislation (H. F. Simral)—Cotton Bagging (T. A. Clayton)—History and Government—Question Column (editorial)—Shall the Farmers Succeed? (J. A. Tets)—South Carolina State Alliance (report)—Editorial Notes and Paragraphs—List of Bureaus of Labor Statistics—Railways (Their Effects upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Plan of Reorganizing the Agricultural Department (Harry Hinton)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington—The Farmer and Mechanic (Young America)—Just How It Is (Lion Tanner)—Appling County, Georgia (Alliance Resolutions).
- No. 22.—The Modern Plan of Conquest (editorial)—Plan of a State Exchange (Adopted by South Carolina State Alliance)—History and Government—Address of President J. P. Buchanan, Tennessee State Alliance—Industrial Communities (Harry Hinton)—Virginia State Alliance (editorial)—Entering Politics (editorial)—Mr. Burrow's Memorial Sustained (N. A. Dunning)—Railways (Discrimination and Railway Theories)—Cotton Bagging Supply (Wm. J. Northen)—National Co-operation (J. A. Tets)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington.
- No. 23.—Agricultural Education (editorial)—The Cotton Bagging Matter (editorial)—Address of President S. B. Alexander, N. C. State Alliance—History and Government—A Talk to Dakota Farmers (T. D. Hinckley)—Editorial paragraphs—The Origin of Property in Land (editorial)—Railways (Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington.
- No. 24.—Co-operation Among the Farmers (extract and comment)—The Cotton Crop and Supply of Cotton Bagging (editorial)—Popular, Falsehoods Exposed (A. Barnwell)—History and Government—A Talk to Dakota Farmers (T. D. Hinckley)—Editorial paragraphs—The Modern Plan of Conquest (editorial)—Railways (Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions, etc.)—A Definition of Money (P. B. Clark)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington, etc.—The Alliance Peanut Union.
- No. 25.—Good Men and True (editorial)—Report of National Cotton Committee (Hold your Cotton)—President Jones's Message to the Texas State Alliance—History and Government—Book Review (Humboldt Library)—Causes and Remedies (a severance)—The Georgia Farmers (Address of President Livingston)—Question Column—New Mexico Alliance—Editorial: Paragraphs—Railways (Effect Upon Republican Institutions)—Alabama Sentiment in Georgia (extracts)—Ratification by Louisiana State Union (report)—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Washington—Multiplication of Political Issues (William Hunt)—Appointments by Lecturers Terrell and Tracy.
- No. 26.—A Cause for the Depression in Agriculture (editorial)—History and Government—What is Money? (A. J. Streeter)—Powderly's Letter (T. V. Powderly)—Criticism (T. D. Hinckley)—Notes from Florida (Oswald Wilson)—Editorial and Statistical Notes—Railways (Public Rights on Highways)—Question Column—Applied Science (M. G. Elzey)—Harry Tracy in North Carolina (extract)—Washington—Statistical Notes.

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.

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

ALONZO WARDALL, President.
S. D. COOLEY, Secretary,
Huron, South Dakota.

11tf

State Business Agents.

Texas, S. D. A. Duncan, Dallas; Alabama, H. P. Bone, Mayville; Mississippi, W. R. Lacy, Winona; Missouri, J. B. Dines, St. Louis; Arkansas, R. B. Carl Lee, Little Rock; Florida, Oswald Wilson, Jacksonville; North Carolina, W. A. Darren, Raleigh; Tennessee, G. A. Gowan, Nashville; Kentucky, J. H. Payne, Fulton; Louisiana, T. A. Clayton, New Orleans; Nebraska, Allen Root, Omaha; Virginia, S. P. A. Brubaker, Luray; New Mexico, J. P. Hosmer Springer, Indian Territory, W. F. Rankin, Pauls Valley; Kansas, C. A. Tyler, Harvey.

FINE CATTLE FOR SALE.

I have some fine thoroughbred SHORT-HORN COWS, BULLS, and HEIFERS for sale. They are well bred and good individual animals. Also some high grades. Prices to suit the times. Correspondence solicited.

GEORGE H. CHRISMAN,
Chrisman, Rockingham Co., Va.

T. A. CLAYTON,

Agent of the Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana, Limited,

198 Gravier St., New Orleans, La.
Headquarters for purchase of Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, and Rice, and for sale of Cotton, Staves, and all Country Produce.

3step1

SUBSCRIBE FOR
THE STANDARD EXPOSITOR,

A GOSPEL MONTHLY.

Devoted to the discussion of Bible doctrines. The editors, four prominent Baptist preachers, are aided by a number of good writers. Price, ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Send for sample copies. A first-class ADVERTISING MEDIUM. Present circulation, 6,000.

Editors:

REDDIN ANDREWS,
E. R. CARSWELL, JR.,
A. B. VAUGHN, JR.,
M. T. MARTIN.

Atlanta, Ga.

Office, 47 S. Broad St.,
19-1m3

Odenheimer Cotton Bagging.

THE LANE MILL IS READY NOW TO RECEIVE ORDERS FOR

ODENHEIMER COTTON BAGGING,

44 inches wide, weighing three-quarters of a pound to the yard, which covering was adopted for permanent and exclusive use by the

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND WHEEL OF AMERICA,

at their meeting at Birmingham, Ala., on May 15 and 16, 1889.

On orders aggregating 25,000 yards during the season 2 per cent. allowance.

Orders to be placed on or before June 24, 1889.

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

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

A deposit of 25 per cent. must accompany all orders, unless same come through responsible business houses or banks, or else be accompanied by a certificate of bank or responsible business house, stating they will pay our sight draft for the amount of the Bagging when shipped.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice a month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

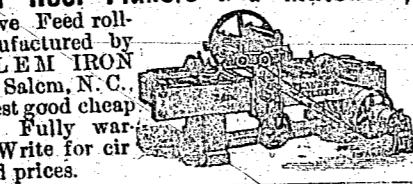
THE LANE MILLS,

New Orleans.

11-ff

The Tar Heel Planers and Matchers,

With Five Feed rollers, manufactured by the SALEM IRON WORKS, Salem, N. C., are the best good cheap machine. Fully warranted. Write for circulars and prices.



Norris's Patent Offices
Established 1898

JAMES L. NORRIS,
PATENT ATTORNEY,

Corner Fifth and F Streets,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Procures Patents for Inventions in United States and Foreign Countries.

Book of Information Sent Free on Request.

Refers to your United States Senators and Representatives or to any of the National Banks of Washington, D. C.

Reference—Metropolitan National Bank.
23-88

DEDERICK'S HAY PRESSES.

Made of steel, lighter, stronger, cheaper, more power, everlasting and competition distanced. For proof order on trial, to keep the best and get any other alongside if you can. Reversible Full Circle.



Address for circulars and location of Western and Southern P. K. DEDERICK & CO., No. 59 Dederick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.

OBTAI CHICAGO PRICES!

BY SHIPPING YOUR BUTTER, EGGS, POULTRY, VEAL—HAY, GRAIN, WOOL, HIDES, GREEN AND DRIED FRUITS, VEGETABLES,

Or any thing you have to us. We make a specialty of receiving shipments direct from the producers, and have the largest trade of this kind of any house in the market. By shipping your produce direct you get all the value there is in it. Write us for prices or any information you may need.

SUMMERS, MORRISON & CO., COMMISSION MERCHANTS,

174 South Water Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

Reference—Metropolitan National Bank.
Mention NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

\$160 FARMER'S SAW MILL, ENGINES,

Wood Planers. Also Hege's Improved Saw Mill, with Universal Log Beam.

Rectilinear Simultaneous Set Work and Double Eccentric friction Feed. Manufactured by

SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.

QUEEN OF THE SOUTH
PORTABLE
FARM MILLS
For Stock Feed or Meal
for Family Use.
10,000 IN USE.
Write for Descriptive Circular.
Straub Machinery Co., CINCINNATI, O.

EDITORIAL—

- A Cause for the Depression in Agriculture, 401.
Herbert Spencer and Profit, 408.
The Colored Alliance, 409.
Editorial Notes, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 22, 24, 39, 40, 41, 45, 48, 56, 62, 71, 72, 73, 88, 89, 104, 105, 120, 121, 122, 124, 134, 136, 152, 168, 184, 185, 193, 200, 201, 209, 210, 216, 217, 229, 231, 232, 233, 241, 242, 248, 249, 258, 263, 264, 265, 271, 280, 296, 303, 312, 328, 329, 344, 359, 360, 363, 375, 376, 392, 408.
Education, by Harry Tracy, 229.
Error, How to Conquer, 71.
Evolution, Economic, by J. A. Tetts, 94.
Exchange, Arkansas State Wheel, 13.
Alliance of Texas, 16.
A Step Towards a Farmers' National, by J. A. Tetts, 251.
The National, by T. D. Hinckley, 310.
South Carolina State Alliance Exchange, Plan of, 338.
Expansion, The Evils of, 103.
Facts that Demand Thought, 43.
Fall in Values, by Judge H. F. Simrall, 225.
Farmer, the Progressive, 35.
Farmer vs. Merchant, 52.
The Farmer in Politics, 81.
The Farmer and Mechanic, 335.
Farmers and the Railroads, by Hon. A. J. Strieter, 19.
Farmers and Trusts, by J. A. Tetts, 39.
Farmers' Union Commercial Association, Charter of, 45.
Farmers' Problem, Interview with Mr. Corpul, 74.
Farmers and their Work, 75.
Farmers' Rebellion, 109.
Farmers' Interstate Association, 247.
Farmers' and Laborers' Union, 305.
Co-operation Among the, 369.
The Georgia Farmers, 390.
Fidelity, by J. A. Tetts, 285.
Financial Fallacies, by J. Burrows, 140.
Financial Legislation, History of, by Judge H. F. Simrall, 321.
Fraud and the Ballot, 82.
Florida, the Work in, by Oswald Wilson, 35.
Notes from it, 263.
Freedom, by Harry Tracy, 179.
Freedom or Serfdom, by Harry Tracy, 34.
Gen. S. D. Lee's Papers, 11.
Georgia, Origin and Development of the Exchange Movement in, by Felix Corpul, 4.
Alliance, Called Meeting of, 5.
Alliance, Report of Committees, 94.
Georgia Farmers, 390.
Alliance Sentiment in, 395.
Good Men and True, 385.
Greenback Convention, National, Call for, 311.
Harry Tracy, 199.
A Letter from, 106.
In North Carolina, 269.
Harry Tracy's Sayings, 143.
Great Speech at Dover, Tenn., 414.
Herbert Spencer and Profit, 408.
History, A Lesson from, by Will H. Tunnard, 245.
History and Government, 9, 25, 43, 60, 69, 84, 100, 116, 131, 146, 172, 181, 196, 211, 227, 243, 258, 275, 291, 308, 324, 339, 355, 372, 387, 402.
How to Investigate, by Hon. A. J. Strieter, 242.
Impending Crisis, by W. Hunt, 238.
Improving Soil, by Jeff Welborn, 314.
Indiana Trust Bill, 11.
Industrial Communities, by Harry Hinton, 343.
Industries, Harmonious Development of the, 36.
Industry and Interest, 211.
Interest and its Power, 188.
Investment vs. Hoarding, 289.
Iowa, Alliance Matters in, by N. B. Ashby, 93.
Organization in, 237.
Is there a Twine Trust? by T. D. Hinckley, 108.
Just How It Is, by Lynn Tanner, 335.
Jute, Cotton vs., 161.
Old Jute is Dead, 245.
Jute Men, Tactics of the, 290.
Jute Bagging, by T. A. Clayton, 59.
Jute Trust, Georgia State Alliance Meeting on, 71.
Labor Organizations, No. Socialism in, by J. D. Rankin, 162.
Land, The Origin of Property in, 360.
Lands Donated and Sold, 219.
Lecturing, Report of Committee on, 127.
Lesson from History, by Will H. Tunnard, 245.
Letter from Harry Tracy, 106.
Mr. Powderly's, 261.
Louisiana Union Moving, by Will H. Tunnard, 198.
State Union, 395.
Memorial to Congress, 10.
Mr. Burrows's Memorial Sustained, by N. A. Dunning, 344.
Meeting of the Magnates, by Harry Hinton, 303.
Middle-man, The, 49.
Mississippi, Alliance Business Efforts in, by Harry Tracy, 5.
The Work in It, 235.
Missouri Trust Bill, 169.
Modern Political Isms, 164.
Plan of Conquest, 337, 376.
Money Power and the People, 134.
Monopoly, 127.
The Origin and Results of, 66.
More Public Buildings Needed, 126.
Multiplication of Political Issues, by W. Hunt, 399.
National Banks, 255.
National Co-operation, by J. A. Tetts, 347.
National Greenback Convention, Call for, 311.
Need of the Hour, 241.
New Mexico Alliance, 391.
Party, by Harry Hinton, 221.
Not a Third, by Dr. M. G. Elzey, 145.
Petition to the Bodies of Organized Labor, 283.
Plutocratic Tendencies, 129.
Political Economy, 27, 41, 53, 63, 67, 83, 98, 115, 130, 194, 274, 290, 306.
Polides, the Farmers' Alliance and, by Hon. S. B. Alexander, 5.
The Farmer in, 81.
Popular Falsehoods Exposed, by A. Barnwell, 371.
Postal Facilities, Development of, 180.
Postal Telegraph System, by Charles Roberts, 12.
Powderly's Letter, 261.
Power of Combined Wealth, 122.
Georgia, Origin and Development of the Exchange Movement in, by Felix Corpul, 4.
Proclamation of President C. W. Macune, for Burningham Cotton Bagging Meeting, 89.
Of President Isaac McCracken for same, 121.
Convening County Organizations, 229.
Property in Land, the Origin of, 360.
Public Schools in the United States, 99.
Harry Tracy, 199.
Organization, Educational and Co-operative, by Evan Jones, 4.
Origin and Results of Monopoly, 66.
Origin of Property in Land, 360.
Our Paper, 64.
Overproduction, by Evan Jones, 107.
RAILWAYS, THEIR USES AND ABUSES, BY JAMES F. HUDSON—
Introductory, 113.
The Lessons of Experience, 137.
The Corporate Era, 153.
Favoritism in Freight Rates, 169.
The Delusion of Investors, 185.
The Purpose of Pooling, 201.
The Public Highways, 217.
The Original Condition, 233.
Highways and Public Funds, 249.
Public Rights on the Highways, 265.
Discriminations in Common Law, 281, 298.
Supervision of the Highways, 313.
Review of Ground Gone Over, 329.
Discriminations and Railway Theories, 345.
The Root of Local Discrimination, 361.
Examples of Non-competitive Favoritism, 377.
The Evergreens' Discrimination, 393.
What to Do with the Signal Service, by Dr. M. G. Elzey, 207.
Who Lives Down in Sleepy Hollow? by Harry Hinton, 286.
Words of Endorsement, 126.

- Ramie, 111.
Reforms, 177.
Report of Committee on Lecturing, 127.
Resolutions, Shelby County, Tenn., Wheel, 38.
Wilson County, Tenn., Wheel, 39.
Arkansas and Kansas, 119.
Sabine Farmer's Union, 135.
New York Cotton Exchange, 180.
Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, 187.
Knox County, Mo., Alliance, 253.
Shelby County, Ala., Alliance, 267.
Appalachian County, Ga., Alliance, 335.
Rights and Equality, by Harry Hinton, 307.
Ripe and Ready, 62.
Rulings of the Wheel, 317.
Of President C. W. Macune, 393.

- Scholar and the Schools, 258.
Shall the Farmers' Succeed? by J. A. Tetts, 327.

- Shop vs. the Factory, 273.
Socialism, No. in Labor Organizations, by J. D. Rankin, 162.

- Social Science Clubs, 110, 141, 366.
Some Criticisms, by M. Branin, 141.

- South Carolina State Alliance, 327.
Exchange, Plan of, 338.

- Statesman or Demagogue? by Harry Hinton, 21.
Statistics, 63, 110, 126, 342.

- Bureau of Labor Statistics, 329.

- Suggestion to Sub-Alliances, 110.

- Survival of the Fittest, 102.

- Table of Contents, 415.

- TAX, THE SINGLE, ARTICLES ON—

- By T. D. Hinckley, 22, 92, 150, 204, 278, 294.

- By J. Burrows, 90.

- By John S. Watters, 108, 159; 203.

- By David Russell, 109.

- By J. G. Malcolm, 153.

- Taxation, 97.

- Taxation, Equal, by Harry Hinton, 246.

- Tennessee, Alliance and Wheel, Official Notice, 30.

- Terrell, Ben, Speech of, 23, 189.

- Texas, Alliance Exchange of, 16.

- Trust Bill, 157.

- State Alliance, Address of President Jones

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE

National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union

—
DEVOTED TO
—

SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND
POLITICAL ECONOMY.
—

Volume 2.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST PUBLISHING CO.,
511 Ninth Street N. W.



title
tere
rema
is all

INDEX

BOOKS RECEIVED	NOTICES	EDITORIAL
Col. L. L. Polk at a Banquet at Raleigh, N. C., 230.	Humboldt Pub. Co., 19.	Barbarism of Civilization, 145.
Col. Robert Beverly before the Virginia Farmers Assembly, Dec. 10, 1889, 236.	Humboldt Pub. Co., 65.	Why the People are Poor, 168.
Interview of Col. L. F. Livingston, at Atlanta, Ga., 234.	History of Wheel and Alliance, by W. S. Morgan, 67.	How to Change the Song, 168.
Harry Tracy at Austin, Tex., January 10, 1890, 308.	Banker or Crank, by N. A. Dunning, 19.	Tribute to Alien Investors, 168.
Arkansas Exchange, 31.	Bagging Question, T. A. Clayton, 39.	The Gold Worship Superstition, 177.
Alien Landlordism, 183.	Bradstreet's Reports, 133.	An Example of Class Rule, 184.
An Amateur Historian, 206.	Brazilian Revolution, 173.	Covering for Cotton Bales, 185.
American House of Lords, 252.	Business Failures, 175.	Meeting and Consolidation, 192.
A Few Words to Law Makers and Citizens of America, by J. Brad Beverly, 277.	Beverly, Robert, 230.	Working in Parallel Lines, 192.
Almost With Us, 315.	Bank of England, 213.	Union It Is, 200.
A Constituency Heard From, 217.	Bills of Lading, 350.	President's Message, 200.
Example, 341.	Cotton Short Interest, 9.	Colored Farmers Alliance, 200.
ALIANCE—	Cotton Bagging Victory, by Will A. Tunnard, 22.	National Meeting, 194.
Alliance and Wheel Politicians, 11.	Cotton Tare Question, 36.	Silver Coinage, 194.
Demand of Missouri State Alliance, 15.	Cotton Committee, 63.	A General View, 220.
Views of Alliance Papers, 18.	Cotton Committee and their Advice to Farmers, by A. Barnwell, 77.	Aspiring Demagogues, 221.
Proclamation National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union, 24.	Cotton Bagging Fire Proof, Is, 95.	Wipe Out That Fraud, 232.
Alliance Elevator Co., 20.	Cotton in Small Bales, by A. Barnwell.	Alien Contract Labor, 233.
Mississippi State Alliance, 30.	Cotton Bagging, 240.	Key to the Present Policy, 241.
Border Alliance, 31.	Cotton, Tare on, 273.	Breakers, 248.
Alliance in Maryland, 31.	Cotton Crop, 279.	Sectionalism of the Future, 257.
Iowa Farmers Alliance, 43.	Cotton Bagging, by A. Barnwell, 366.	A Third Party, 264.
Proceedings Maryland State Alliance, 62.	Causes and Remedies, by J. A. Tetts, 23.	Government Crop Report, 264.
Alliance and Insurance, 63.	Co-operation, Louisiana Plan, 43.	Shall the Caucus Reign, 273.
Alliance Notes, 63.	Commissioner of Agriculture, Report, 56.	Money Loaned to the People, 280.
National Farmers Alliance, 72.	Clay, Henry, on Contraction, 94.	What Does the Alliance Mean, 280.
Alliance and its Literature, 117.	Circular, Important, 95.	New Banking Scheme, 281.
Alliance and Politics, 101.	Census, Work of, 119.	Something to Think About, 289.
Colored Farmers Alliance, 200.	Colored National Alliance, 137.	Quantity and Not Kind, 296.
Proceedings Farmers and Laborers Union, 210 to 218.	Clayton, T. A., State Business Agent, La., 141.	Diversify Industries, 296.
Alliance Insurance Department, 247.	Communication, 237.	Pure Politics, 305.
Alliance and Politics, by A. Barnwell, 263.	Corrected and Explained, by F. G. Blood, 263.	Organization, 312.
Plan of Maryland Exchange, 343.	Census Enumeration, 279.	The Situation, 313.
Virginia Alliance Exchange, 360.	Census, Laws Governing, 279.	Condition, Not a Theory, 321.
Alliance Sentiment, by L. F. Livingston, 403.	Coming Our Way, 283.	How it is Being Received, 328.
THE SCIENCE IN AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL ECONOMY, by Dr. M. G. Elzey—	Chicago Journal, Comment, 301.	Gresham Law, 328.
Combined Nitrogen, 12.	Cost of Elevators, 355.	Report of Naval Board, 329.
Fermentation, 28.	Contraction Truth From Wall Street, 395.	Is There a Surplus of Wheat, 336.
Loco Plant, 44.	Distribution, by N. A. Dunning, 2.	Silver Coinage, 337.
Comparative Anatomy, 60.	Dakota Farmers, Talks to, by T. D. Hinckley, 6.	Bank Circulation, 344.
Farm-yard Manure, 76.	Distribution, Continued, by N. A. Dunning, 41, 62.	Plans, 344.
Natures and Grades, 92.	Duty of the Hour, by M. J. N., 66.	Despot vs. Hero, 352.
Shelter and Stabling for Animals, 108.	Dakota Farmers, Closing Talk, by T. D. Hinckley, 84.	Price of Cotton, 360.
Heredity, 124.	Deep Harbor Construction, 94.	Insufficient Force, 360.
The Element Carbon, 140.	Department of Agriculture, by Col. Robert Beverly, 107.	That New Principle, 369.
Speed of Trotting Horses, 172.	Diggs, Mrs. Annie L., 350.	A Kingly Plan of Relief, 376.
The English Race Horse, 188.	Down in Texas, 357.	Three Reforms, 376.
Sanitary Value of Light, 204.	Depreciation of Stocks, 386.	Farmers Mutual Insurance, 377.
Potassium, 222.	Director of the Mint, 387.	Evolution of Organization, 384.
Calcium and Magnesium, 236.	EDITORIAL	Dream of Nationalism, 392.
Feeding Value of Corn, 268.	Origin of Property in Land, 1.	Inconvenient Multitude, 401.
Phosphorus, 284.	Paying Tribute, 8.	Nationalization of Industries, 401.
Some Uses and Abuses of Alcohol, 300.	Side Tracks, 18.	The Incident or the Object, 408.
Iron, 316.	Hon. S. S. Cox, 18.	Editorial Notes, 5, 7, 9, 24, 25, 39, 40, 51, 55, 61, 72, 75, 79, 88, 91, 104, 121, 131, 137, 139, 169, 183, 185, 205, 221, 223, 242, 245, 257, 259, 283, 296, 315, 317, 329, 331, 345, 350, 354, 355, 363, 373, 387, 392, 401, 408.
Over-production, 332.	Economist Indorsed, 31.	Equal Taxation, by Wm. B. Garrouette, 69.
Southdown Sheep, 348.	Explanation and Some Reflections, by T. D. Hinckley, 118.	FINANCIAL HISTORY—Cause and Effect of Legislation Since 1861—
Isolation of the Sick, 364.	Co-operation of Forces, 81.	Introduction, 306, 322, 339, 354, 374, 388, 402.
Plane Agricultural Horse, 380.	Policy of Ignoring, 81.	Farmers State Union of Louisiana, 15.
Cal Culture, 396.	Example in Interest, 82.	Florida Alliance, 63.
Stream, 412.	Bribe Seeking Officials, 88.	Furlong, Hon. J. J., letter from, 70.
	Typical Trust Methods, 89.	Florida Exchange, 102.
	Equivalence of Service, 97.	F. M. B. A., History, etc., by T. D. Hinckley, 134.
	Overproduction, 104.	Farmers Union, Cottage Grove, La., 141.
	Systematic Education in Economics, 113.	Fire Insurance, 145.
	Eleventh Census, 113.	Farmers Should Keep Books, by Harry Tracy, 182.
	Very Valuable Dollar, 120.	Farmers Sub-Treasury, Pacific Union, 258.
	A Public Blessing, 120.	Foreign Capital, by T. D. Hinckley, 274.
	St. Louis Meeting, 129.	Fractional Currency, 307.
	Think of This, 136.	French Indemnity to Germany, by Ivan C. M. elis, 382.
	Some Suggestions, 136.	

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

VOL. 2.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1889.

No. 1.

Alliance and Wheel Politicians.

Many comments appear in the press in regard to Alliance and Wheel politicians, and frequently the chances for the nomination or election of a worthy man are seriously damaged by his connection with one of these orders. Sometimes the order is injured by reports that it had gone into partisan politics, simply because a favorite candidate had received the support of most of the members. There seems to be more or less confusion as to what political rights a member of these orders has, and while it is probably true that much of the confusion is brought about purposely, it is deemed best to say to the order at large: "Don't let the fact of my membership influence your vote, either for or against me, and I will be satisfied." And in many cases they would be better off if such an agreement could be reached.

These orders are strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian, and as such they have neither the right nor the power to say "thou shalt" or "thou shalt not." They are as far from forcing a member to be a Democrat or to oppose the Democratic party, as they are from ordering that he be or be not a Methodist. Every member's duty to himself, his family, his country, and his God remains the same after joining these orders as before. He can not and should not shirk these duties, and his affiliation in these orders with his fellow-men of like pursuits and interests tends to better fit him for their performance. Keep this idea constantly in view, that he has surrendered none of his political independence by joining these orders, and it will be hard to conceive how his connection with them should in any way abridge his right to be a candidate for any political office he may choose. Nevertheless, if a man who is prominent in the work of these orders announce himself as a candidate for political office it is common for the opposition newspapers to declare that he is using his position in the Alliance as a stepping stone to his ambitious designs, and frequently within the order there prevails a suspicion that such men are attempting to ride the Alliance horse into office. In fact this suspicion and this character of attack is becoming so universal as to be a standing menace to deter good men who belong to the order from offering for positions which they are pre-eminently qualified and fitted to fill, because the fact that they belong to the order creates a prejudice against them that would seriously hamper them in the race.

They can make no answer when an opposition paper accuses them of using their official position in the order to further their political interests. No matter how untrue it may be, it remains unanswered and unanswerable. This is all wrong. These orders want, and should have, the very best men available in all the offices, and, other things being equal, should give the preference to men known to be friendly to their interests. They would not vote for a man simply because he belongs to the order, neither should they vote against him simply because he belongs to the order. It must be very rarely the case that any man joins the order for the purpose of getting political support, and when he does it is known by all his neighbors and he does very little harm. As a rule, the members of the order who are running for political offices would be more than glad to say to the order at large: "Don't let the fact of my membership influence your vote, either for or against me, and I will be satisfied." And in many cases they would be better off if such an agreement could be reached. The members should not stand up so straight as to lean over backwards. An Alliance man or a Wheeler has just as much right to run for office as anybody.

If a certain class of politicians could induce sufficient prejudice to deter all members from running they could, of course, fill the positions themselves, and it behoves all good citizens to be careful that they are not used as cats' paws to further such designs. The fact is, a point has been reached where it is unpopular to be an Alliance or a Wheel candidate, and any man who has the temerity to breast this unpopular current deserves rather the sympathy than the condemnation of the order. The fact of membership in these orders has nothing whatever to do with any man's political rights or preferences.

The Origin of Property in Land.

In a former article it was shown that systems of land-holding were the result of law, and that what we recognize as law is the outgrowth of two separate sources, one the common good of society, the other the will of a sovereign power capable of enforcing that will. Law originating from the first source might be termed the record of the experiences of former societies, a proved rule of action, while the latter is merely the expressed will of a sovereign.

It has been seen that the *lex non scripta*, or law of custom, is the result of the experiences of former societies, and did not need force to compel its observance, as communities submitted to it apparently of their own volition, recognizing that its requirements were necessary and best for the common welfare. This *lex non scripta*, or law of custom, long preceded code or written law, and every race had its system, which was readily observed and sacredly regarded. This system of law existed before letters were invented, and might have been still

effective had not the nature of man become perverted by the injustice and selfishness of a few, whose arrogance overrode all law. This unwritten law seems, in the main, to have been based upon true conceptions of justice and a recognition of the common welfare as of paramount importance, and through this commonly accepted system the natural inclination of man to be just to his fellows is shown. The *lex non scripta*, then, had its existence before force, or rather organized force, and the creation of what we know as sovereign power was the outgrowth of customary law. These laws were based upon the idea of the common good, and were supported by the approval of the majority of society before standing armies or civil executive officers were created. Vattel says:

It is evident that men form a political society and submit to laws solely for their own advantage and safety. The sovereign authority is then established only for the common good of all the citizens. The sovereign thus clothed with public authority, with everything that constitutes the moral personality of the nation, of course becomes bound by the moral obligations of that nation, and invested with its rights.

It appears that customary law was the will of small communities when they were sovereign; that the amalgamation of such communities was a confirmation of the customs of each; that the choosing of a monarch or executive council was a recognition of these customs, and the moral or material force or power of the created sovereignty was the outcome of existing laws and a confirmation of them. The united force of the nation could only be rightfully directed in enforcing the requirements of the unwritten or recognized common law, and thus a power was created later on in the development of society to enforce the unwritten laws that were founded on principles of justice and the interests of the entire body. No power was delegated to enact new laws, but merely to enforce recognized rules of action in communities that had outgrown the tribal state.

The duty of the sovereign power (which in a kingdom means the monarch, and in representative governments the executive and representative bodies) in regard to land is described by Vattel in these words:

Of all arts tillage or agriculture is doubtless the most useful and necessary, as being the source whence the nation derives its subsistence. The cultivation of the soil causes it to produce an infinite increase. It forms the surest resource, and the most solid fund of riches and commerce for a nation that enjoys a happy climate. The sovereign ought to neglect no means of rendering the land under his jurisdiction well cultivated as possible. * * * Notwithstanding the introduction of private property among the citizens, the nation has still the right to take the most effectual meas-

ures to cause the aggregate soil of the country to produce the greatest and most advantageous return possible. The cultivation of the soil deserves the attention of government, not only on account of the individual advantages that flow from it, but from its being an obligation imposed by nature on mankind.

All the primitive societies, then, recognized land as the common inheritance of all, and not only this, the original object in creating a representative sovereignty was merely to provide for the enforcement of these recognized and established laws as handed down from time immemorial, the guarding of the common welfare and the development of the resources of the country in the most effective manner.

As societies grew and conditions altered, it became necessary to enact especial laws to apply to these new conditions, and so a new function was added to the sovereign or representative power, and as civilization advanced this function grew in importance, and gradually undue and undelegated authority was usurped, until finally this power, growing originally out of the demands of the common welfare, grew to be dictatorial and exerted its authority against the society it was designed to protect, and toward building up the individual superiority of the monarch and the elevation to undue consideration and favor of those immediately associated with him and interested in building up their and his interests at the expense of society. In this way autocratic sovereignty was developed, the law of custom was disregarded and set aside, code laws were compiled and enforced by armed power, and, instead of an outgrowth of justice and the common good, law became merely the expression of the will of a sovereign power enforced by arms, and in this way land was transformed from a common inheritance to the proprietorship of individual owners whose claims were enforced and maintained by the sovereign power.

The various changes through which the system of land-holding in England has gone is a clear illustration of this position and will be of great interest to those who have never examined the subject carefully. English history carefully analyzed shows that the system of land-holding has passed through eight different phases from the earliest times to the present, or rather that eight different systems have been in operation: 1. The Aboriginal; 2. The Roman; 3. The Scandinavian; 4. The Norman; 5. The Plantagenet; 6. The Tudor; 7. The Stuart; 8. The Present. Each of these systems has its especial characteristics which mark it as a distinct system.

Of the aboriginal period of course little can be said beyond what has already been given of the Celtic and early Aryan ideas as to the relations of land to society. The original population of England was small, probably did not exceed a million at most. They were split up into a vast number of petty clans or kingdoms, and there was no central confederacy or power, nor any established means of communication between them. There was no sovereign power that could call out and combine the whole strength of all the clans. At the time of the Roman invasion no single chief could oppose

to the enemy a greater force than one Roman legion, and when a footing was once gained it only remained to conquer the clans in detail by force of superiority of numbers, and the brave aborigines fell before the arms of Rome as did the Indians of America before the English pioneers long after. Tacitus states that "the Britons were subject to many different kings. The inhabitants seem to have been almost exclusively pastoral and knew very little of agriculture." Cesar says: "Agriculture was introduced by colonies from Belgium which took shelter in Britain from the encroachments of the Belgæ [from Germany about one hundred and fifty years before Christ]. The colonies began to cultivate the sea-coast; but the natives of the island lived on roots, berries, flesh, and milk; and it appears from Dyonysius that they never tasted fish." Diodorus Siculus says: "The Britons, when they have reaped their corn, by cutting the ears from the stubble, lay them up for preservation in subterranean caves or granaries. From thence, they say, in very ancient times, they used to take a certain quantity of ears out every day, and having dried and bruised the grains, made a kind of food for their immediate use." This reference to corn does not apply to grain we know by that name, but is used by Europeans to denote any grain. Our corn or maize was not, of course, known at that time. Neither does this reference necessarily imply the cultivation of grain, as they may have gathered the native cereal grasses that grew spontaneously and used this for food. Jeffrey Monmouth relates that the laws of Dunwall Molnatus, who is said to have reigned five hundred years before the Christian era, enacted that "the ploughs of the husbandman as well as the temples of the gods, should be sanctuaries to such criminals as fled to them for protection." This seems more clearly to prove that agriculture was practiced and the provision was for the purpose of recruiting the ranks of the agriculturists, as a primitive people would not naturally incline to any kind of labor. Tacitus further says: "In the ancient German and British nations the whole riches of the people consisted in their flocks and herds; the laws of succession were few and simple; a man's cattle, at his death, were equally divided among his sons; or if he had no sons, his daughters; or if he had no children, among his nearest relatives. These nations seem to have had no idea of the rights of primogeniture, or that the eldest son had any title to a larger share of his father's effects than the youngest."

There is no evidence of any idea of personal ownership in land, or that land was regarded in any way different from the general Celtic custom in regard to it. On the occupation of the country by the Romans, which took place in the year 55 before the Christian era, a new system was inaugurated, and agriculture was rapidly developed as well as great social changes introduced.

If the Government either operate or control monopolies, all lines of business that are subject to the influence of competition may safely be left to individual enterprise,

Distribution.

BY N. A. DUNNING.

Production, distribution, consumption, and accumulation are the four great factors in business. The history of the past clearly demonstrates, and the situation of the present proves beyond question, that the one governing factor is distribution. The position taken by the Economist upon this point is correct, and will prove successful in the end.

Production can and will take care of itself. It is simply an expression of human nature. The active brain, the restless nerves, and the inborn determination to accomplish something for one's own self, all tend to force the human race into production. Natural wants, original desires, fancied necessities or comforts, together with the frailties incident to this life, furnish ample ways and means for consumption. In fact, economists now concede that our wants increase equally if not more rapidly than production, and the doctrine of a general overproduction is fast becoming obsolete. The real danger to be avoided is large accumulations through unjust distribution. The greatest minds of nearly every age have given this subject much attention, and yet it remains unsolved.

Equal distribution does not intend a per capita division of the results of labor in production. The enemies of that proposition place such a construction upon its purposes. It aims simply to bring about certain conditions "where each produces according to his ability and each consumes according to his wants." It is for lack of proper distribution that the world suffers today. All the factors in production were never so complete as now, and the devices for unjust accumulations were never so successful as at the present time. The results obtained by the former are absorbed to a large extent by the unfair advantage given to the latter. If a just measure of distribution could be enforced these dangerous accumulations would cease.

In order to consider this subject it becomes necessary to examine remedies, to look into each proposition brought forward carefully and intelligently, to the end that out of the vast number suggested some may be selected that will prove effectual. I believe the key to this difficulty is the currency. I admit there are other important agents connected with the solution, but a proper amount of currency, elastic in its nature, quick to respond to the demands of business, will, in my opinion, open the way for all other reforms. I do not accept the idea that \$50 per capita is the correct amount, as many do. Our diversified industry and great expanse of territory will require a much larger volume than at first thought appears sufficient; and there are other factors beside population that must in the end determine the amount of circulating medium.

There is a middle ground in this controversy alike honorable and just to both labor and capital. That condition is reached when an idle dollar will bring to its owner no more benefit than a day's work undone brings to the laborer. This can only be accomplished by increasing the numbers of dollars or lessening the number of days' work. Which would be the most practicable?

A proper distribution, I repeat, does not mean a certain portion of production sent to certain localities, or certain quantities given to certain individuals, but it does mean that the producer shall have the benefit of such a price for his labor and products as will enable him to retain possession of the wealth he has created. To obtain such prices the volume of currency must be enlarged, for by that medium, all economists agree, the price of labor and its products are in accord. Under present conditions labor is forced to assume all risks in production. Every mortgage, bond, bill of sale, or deed of trust is a witness of the truth

of this proposition. I would remedy this unfair discrimination by increasing the volume of money until each individual would be compelled to assume his full share of the risks, failures, and accidents which naturally accompany production and distribution. In other words, I would make money so cheap, by making it plenty, that nothing but production and a just and proper distribution would bring any reward. When prices are low it is indisputable evidence that an unequal distribution is taking place. Yet some farmers will say, I can buy more with a dollar than ever before. Can you pay any more debts or interest? The only thing it will buy more of is the fruit of another's labor. One common error into which the world has fallen, and which leads to many others, is that money buys products. The fact is, labor and its products always buy money. The application of low wages proves this conclusively. Low wages and prices are the results of competition among laborers or producers for money. The one who will pay the most for it—that is, will part with the greatest amount of labor or its products for a stated amount of money—gets it. With money for any length of time the object, as it is at present, and not the instrument, commerce or exchange becomes a species of confiscation. It means the products of one part of labor competing with the products of another part of labor, and money feasting and enriching itself on their disasters.

It is a doubtful advantage for the farmer to buy cotton cloth for five cents per yard that is really worth ten, when in consequence of the low price of this and similar products he is compelled to part with his wheat and corn at a beggarly price to enable the producers of this cloth and like products to purchase them. In this exchange money is the object because of its scarcity, and not the incident or instrument, as it would be if sufficiently abundant.

We are told a day's work will buy as much as it ever would. That may be true, but there are about four millions of our people at the present time unable to find that day's work. The true method of examining this question is, how many dollars will a day's work bring, or how many dollars will the products of a day's labor buy? This is the correct test, and when labor or its products will purchase less dollars to-day than a year ago, the proof is positive that money is dearer, and consequently labor and products cheaper. Nothing in the end is cheap to one producer that is made so at the expense of another producer.

Merlinda Sisins Has Her Opinions.

MR. EDITOR: I take the liberty to write you a few lines to express my idea of your paper.

The other evening, one of our nabor brot

over the male and there was a paper addressed,

"Hon. Bildad Sisins," sent tu him, I pose,

by some of his ole friends that was in the legis-

latur, and as Bildad was away on official busines

I opened it and found it was the NATIONAL

ECONOMIST. I have bin readin it every minit

I could git and I want tu sa, rite here, that it

hits my centiments the best of any paper I ever

red because it favors kombination among farm-

ers. You see, I have had some chances for

postin myself on perlitical subjects head of

most any woman round because, since Bildad

and I moved tu this stait, from ole Skohair,

bout 40 years ago and settled in this hard-

scrabble section, where the principal crops are

skunk cabbage and frogs, hees bin holdin office

bout all the time, either konstable or poth-

master, and konsiquently weve had a good deal

of distinguished kompany; cides that weve

tended up tu camp-meetins and preaching reg-

lar, and generally had the preacher over Sun-

day; agin, since Bildad got lected tu the legis-

latur, hees bin in the habit of bringin ho

stacks of reports, showin how stait bisnis is con-

ducted.

For some time, lots of the oldest in-

habitants

have looked tu me as sort of an oracle

on perlitical economy, from a bisnis standpint.

I never red a paper before that showed up

the ded-broke kondition of us farmers, like

yours. I tell you it is enuf tu make one shed

krockadile tears, when I think how I've worked

tu bring up a family of sixteen children and

swill, raised garden sas and cut fire wood, when

Bildad's mind was so occupied with politicks

that he didnt think of it, and, with all this

work, have tu come down tu wearin patched

kloes on account of the "hard times" brot on

by klass legislashun. And, agin, when I think

hi stait taxation we have tu pay tu sup-

port a host of office holders, who never made

a dollar for themselves on airtch, hangin round

stait institutions or actin on boards of commis-

sioners and only lookin for meal time and

sun down, I git riled!

These subjects of national and stait klass

legislashun and hi taxashun are sorbin all other

questions mong the farmers and laborers round

here—it's actually become epidemick.

Every-

body is riled, and I've been called on so much

tu explain these subjects that I've become ac-

tually saturated with it, and if, in ritin tu you,

which I may du kasionally, I chink in a few

red-hot pinters, don't think I'm looney.

As I've heard young men, fore now with their hair

parted in the middle, sa they felt sote they was

called to preach, so I feel sote Ide got a mes-

sage tu deliver.

I believe the gratt issure, of this hour, tu be

the rites of the farmers and laborers, whose

intrests are alike and the same, as against the

hydra-headed monsters that are suckin our

life's blood—hi taxashun and monopoly.

It is a question of whether the office holders,

who are thicker than fleas round a camp-meetin,

shall wax fat on hi salaries, the outgrowth of hi

taxashun; a question of whether this hi tax-

ashun, which is growin every year, and the mon-

opolies, trusts, and combines, which exist in

every industry tu-day, except farmin, shall be

lowed to konfiscate what little we have left,

or whether those whose necks are under this yoke

will rally under on komon banner, bearin the

motto, as the inspired Lincoln sed:

"A gov-

ernment of, for,

and by the people shall not perish

from the earth," a question of whether the

ancient system of feudalism shall be trans-

planted tu free (?) America or whether the op-

pressed farmers and laborers will use that

God-given defence—a free ballot which was

transmitted through the blood of our fore-

fathers, and vote for no man tu make or execute

laws, who is not one of our number and true tu

our intrests; or whether we will fail tu use this

remedy until the terrible fruits of inky war

shall deluge this land with blood and carnage,

in the ni futur.

Let the farmers and laborers, who are bout

equally divided in the two ole parties, re-

member, also, the inspired words of the im-

mortal Lincoln:

"A house dividid against

itself can't stand."

The idea of votin to en-

slave ourselves, is bout as sensible as the reply

that Bildad makes when the nabor ask him

why he don't patch the roof on our ole log

Athens had at this time come to rely upon money as the most irresistible power she could command. The people were reduced to poverty, their attachment to their homes was destroyed, and they were willing to enter into any enterprise which promised them pay; never regarding the justice of their cause or the dishonorable nature of their acts, they were ready to supply their necessities by doing the bidding of any master who would pay them or lead them where booty and plunder would gratify their vicious desires.

Under such conditions only the interest of the few was regarded, and it was an easy matter for them to influence the irresponsible, vagrant masses to execute their will. All that was necessary on their part was to provide means to supply the immediate necessities of those they desired to use, and secure a leader who would execute their wishes. Such a leader Pericles was.

His ambition was utterly selfish, and centered in political power. This power he used to so manage affairs as to further the financial interests of the rich, and by satisfying the immediate necessities of the ignorant and destitute masses he gained autocratic power. Thus Pericles and the wealthy, speculative class both attained their desires at the expense of the masses, whom they deceived and betrayed, and who were sinking deeper and deeper into ignorance and dependence upon their superiors.

Had each family of Attica had a home free from any obligation to creditors they could never have been reduced to this condition, and would have gone on growing intellectually, morally, and in all the requisites that go to make a free and cultivated people, while the arts of peace would have weaned their fancies from the barbarous fascinations of war.

It is evident from the course he adopted that Pericles appreciated this fact. His aim was always to gratify the momentary fancies of the vagrant masses, and so lead their minds from the contemplation of the real conditions and the recognition of the true means of relief. He led them to think that the course he followed would bring the final abolition of their troubles, and while the wronged and plundered masses were thus quieted with the money robbed from their fellow-citizens of the other states the greedy speculators gathered in the riches through the vicious financial system they had foisted on the people, they being ignorant of its actual effects and heinous injustice.

The course Pericles had adopted had its natural limit of continuance, and that was the exhaustion of the surplus in the treasury. When this came, there was no means of renewing it. The allies would not continue to pay tribute to be used merely for the adornment of Athens, and the sustaining of the schemes of a demagogue to perpetuate his power and influence. A war to enforce such tribute was very uncertain as to its result, and the risk to Pericles too great to allow this to be contemplated. His only resource was to excite the military ardor of the masses and lead them against small foreign communities, where the plunder they might secure would supply the lacking money and the military ambition of the younger men would give them entirely into his power. The minds of

the masses being again diverted, the speculative class could go on with their pillaging at home, and thus remain the supporters of Pericles.

This diverting of the minds of the people by a foreign entanglement has ever been a convenient resource for avoiding necessary reforms almost comprehended by a people, and will be noted on many occasions as this review proceeds.

This resort of Pericles served two purposes. First, it drew the minds of the people away from the consideration of necessary measures of reform and their real condition; next, it excited that enthusiasm and impetuosity which renders soldiers so easily influenced and led by a shrewd and versatile commander, and makes it easy for the leader to direct the sentiment and spirit of his army against any object he may desire.

Pericles, having got the masses well in hand while leading them against foreign enemies, knew that he could easily direct their enthusiasm against any of the Greek states by showing a plausible cause for such action, and then could develop an internal conflict which would enable him to make a conquest of the allied states and so bring about a centralization of power at Athens, thus creating a Greek empire with himself as the central figure.

The rich would thus be enlisted in his favor, as they could be paid with positions of honor and rank, while their means of speculation were not interfered with. The poor could be deceived by the laudation of their great valor and achievements, and the encouragement of the military frenzy that inspired them; while the necessity for a great standing army would give them employment. They would have failed to realize the great wrong done them or the really abject position they occupied as the mere tools of a selfish, conscienceless aspirant to monarchic power, and of a few robber speculators, who by means of a complicated system of exchange and security had robbed them of homes, of property, of liberty, and even a true and just sense of honor and personal dignity.

This is a true picture of the age of Pericles, and that age was the culmination of all the evils which afflicted the Athenian people, as well as an illustration of the various stages by which popular governments have always descended from liberty, general equality, and content prosperity, to monarchy, oppression, inequality, the triumph of greed and selfish speculation, and the sinking of the masses into ignorance, poverty, and servitude. The facts here set out should be thoroughly understood, as it will be startling to note how the same process has been constantly repeated in the history of nations, always beginning their development from the same source, the robbing of the people of their homes by means of land speculation and the use of land as security for debt, the burdening of the industry with tribute to a class in the shape of rent, and the final pauperizing of the masses.

In the last paper it was shown how the Athenian arms were gradually diverted from a foreign foe and brought to bear against states of Greece. The next step of Pericles makes his design clear. It inaugurated an internece war, which lasted for twenty-seven years, re-

tarding the advancement of the nation, entailing untold misery and loss upon the people, and rendering impossible that advance in knowledge of the principles of civil government, as well as the study of social questions, which would have undoubtedly placed the Greek people far in advance of the position they actually occupied, and might possibly have resulted in a thorough mastering of the great question which laid at the bottom of all their troubles. With Sparta as an example, it is more than probable that, had their great civil war been averted, the Greeks would have discovered the fault that underlay their social and financial systems, and, having provided the remedy, the history of the civilization of the world might have been written differently.

Who can tell, or realize, what might have been the result to the world if the time occupied in this war had been given to the pursuits of peace and the careful study of social and financial science by this wonderful people? But the fates decreed that their minds should become unbalanced by the frenzy of passion, and that the evils of war should so affect and alter their mental characteristics as to render their future achievements utterly at variance with the promise that their earlier development made. The Greeks, instead of giving their energies to the study and perfecting of their social, political, and financial systems, became a nation of soldiers; and, instead of benefiting by the elevating influences of the pursuits of peace, gave themselves up to the demoralization and ruinous influences a state of war brings about.

The necessary discipline that is requisite to constitute an effective army is destructive to those characteristics that go to make an independent and self-reliant people. Military discipline is the quintessence of despotism, and, if too long submitted to, the injury is irreparable. It teaches men to rely too much upon the judgment of others, to look too much to others for direction and authority. It destroys that high personal pride and independence of spirit so necessary for citizens of a free state. It accustoms one to regard rank and position with too much deference, and to destroy that personal pride and dignity that leads men to demand and defend their rights as individuals and equals. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the citizen of a free state than to be subjected to military discipline until the habit of obedience and submission to superiors becomes fixed and natural. This was one of the principal evils fixed in the character of the Athenian people, until gradually they became the unresisting subjects of the will of any one who claimed the leadership and had the audacity to assert his superiority.

After the affair of Samos, Pericles realized that he had gained sufficient power over the Athenians to be able to direct their acts and policies by his will, and at the same time had succeeded in organizing an army that he could absolutely control and rely upon. He saw that his intentions and acts were thoroughly understood by the Lacedemonians, who were ever jealous on the watch for danger which might threaten the liberties of Greece. He saw that

they recognized his plan of centralizing power at Athens and the reducing of the states of the confederacy to the condition of mere provinces. He knew that the Spartans would resist such an attempt to the last extreme, and he also knew that it would never do to allow his army either to remain idle or to return to their peaceful employments, because, were they allowed to do this, the discord which he had just succeeded in temporarily allaying would break out again, as the old original cause of all the misfortune was still in operation, and he knew that his relief was merely a deception. He therefore set about finding an opportunity for employing his arms in a way that would gradually bring on an internal conflict between the states, and at the same time place himself in a position to resist the power of the Spartans. The plan he adopted was this:

He persuaded the Athenians that it was their duty to send aid to the people of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians. The origin of the quarrel between the people of these two states was in this way:

Epidamnum, a seaport city of Macedonia, was a colony of Coreyreans, founded by Phalius, who was a native of Corinth, one of the most powerful of the Greek states. This city had grown to be very prosperous, and contained a large population. It was purely a commercial city, and the same troubles which had afflicted Athens had grown up among the people. The agricultural masses had, through the effect of land speculation and monopoly, been driven into vagrancy, and the oppression of the rich had become so unbearable that the people rose in revolt and drove the wealthy speculators and landlords from the city and state. These expelled people went over to the neighboring barbarous tribes and induced them to make war on the people of Epidamnum. In their trouble the people of Epidamnum first asked aid from the Coreyreans, as of their own blood, but they were refused. They then applied to the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent them aid, and settled other inhabitants among them. The Coreyreans pretended to consider this action of the Corinthians as defiant of them, and sent a large fleet to attack the city.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

In consequence of this decision the allies assembled a second time, all gave their votes

in turn, and war was unanimously decided on. In order to gain time to prepare for war, ambassadors were sent to Athens to complain of the violation of the treaty. The first who were sent were to revive an old complaint and require of the Athenians to expel from the city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of Cylon. Pericles was of that family by his mother's side, and the Spartans desired, by making this demand, either to have him banished or at least to reduce his authority. This demand, however, was not complied with. The second embassadors demanded that the siege of Potidaea be raised and the liberty of Ægina restored, and that a decree which compelled every Athenian general to send a body of soldiers twice a year to lay waste the territory of Megara be repealed. In the meantime the allies were in a condition to risk a war, and a third embassy was sent to Athens. These took no notice of what the others had demanded, but only stated that the Spartans were for peace, but that this could never be except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece and threaten the independence of the states.

Having failed in this attempt to bring on a general civil war, Pericles undertook another plan to drive Corinth into a rupture with Athens. Potidaea, a city in Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, but it was dependent at times on Athens and paid tribute to it. Pericles, fearing that the city would join the Corinthians and induce the Thracians to go with them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side toward Athens, to deliver hostages to him as security for their fidelity, and to send back the magistrates who had come from Corinth, it being the custom for Corinth to supply their magistrates. The Potidaeans refused to comply with these demands, and several neighboring cities joined them in their defiance of Athens. Both Athens and Corinth sent armies to the point in dispute. An engagement took place and the Athenians had the advantage, but the people of Potidaea still remained defiant and the city was besieged.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

The year after the battle the Corinthians raised a greater army than before and fitted out a new fleet. The Coreyreans, seeing that they were likely to pay dearly for their barbarity, sent to Athens for aid. The affair was debated at Athens in the presence of the people, and much excitement grew out of it. It was twice discussed in the assembly of the people. The Athenians decided first in favor of the Corinthians, as the champions of the people against oppression, but Pericles saw that such action would be fatal, not only to his aspirations but to the future interests of the wealthy class, as it would bring the old question of plutocratic

oppression before the minds of the people and possibly result in the overthrow of the existing financial system, and possibly the establishment of the Spartan code and the final independence of the Greek states and the establishment of liberty and equality upon a firm basis. He therefore persuaded the people to reconsider their action and declare for the Coreyreans. In this way, through the influence of an aspiring demagogue, the Athenian people were induced to take up arms against the liberty of their own fellow-countrymen and in defense of the very evils and class that had caused their own misfortunes and oppressions, and thus it was that Pericles became the representative of the plutocratic system, from which all the inequalities and oppressions had arisen.

It may have been the object of Pericles, however, to set at variance the two states which were most powerful at sea, and when they had exhausted themselves to overcome both and thus firmly establish the maritime power of Athens, as these three states were the only ones which maintained large fleets. The result of this alliance was a drawn battle without any apparent immediate effect.

Having failed in this attempt to bring on a general civil war, Pericles undertook another plan to drive Corinth into a rupture with Athens. Potidaea, a city in Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, but it was dependent at times on Athens and paid tribute to it. Pericles, fearing that the city would join the Corinthians and induce the Thracians to go with them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side toward Athens, to deliver hostages to him as security for their fidelity, and to send back the magistrates who had come from Corinth, it being the custom for Corinth to supply their magistrates. The Potidaeans refused to comply with these demands, and several neighboring cities joined them in their defiance of Athens. Both Athens and Corinth sent armies to the point in dispute. An engagement took place and the Athenians had the advantage, but the people of Potidaea still remained defiant and the city was besieged.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

The year after the battle the Corinthians raised a greater army than before and fitted out a new fleet. The Coreyreans, seeing that they were likely to pay dearly for their barbarity, sent to Athens for aid. The affair was debated at Athens in the presence of the people, and much excitement grew out of it. It was twice discussed in the assembly of the people. The Athenians decided first in favor of the Corinthians, as the champions of the people against oppression, but Pericles saw that such action would be fatal, not only to his aspirations but to the future interests of the wealthy class, as it would bring the old question of plutocratic

oppression before the minds of the people and possibly result in the overthrow of the existing financial system, and possibly the establishment of the Spartan code and the final independence of the Greek states and the establishment of liberty and equality upon a firm basis. He therefore persuaded the people to reconsider their action and declare for the Coreyreans. In this way, through the influence of an aspiring demagogue, the Athenian people were induced to take up arms against the liberty of their own fellow-countrymen and in defense of the very evils and class that had caused their own misfortunes and oppressions, and thus it was that Pericles became the representative of the plutocratic system, from which all the inequalities and oppressions had arisen.

It may have been the object of Pericles, however, to set at variance the two states which were most powerful at sea, and when they had exhausted themselves to overcome both and thus firmly establish the maritime power of Athens, as these three states were the only ones which maintained large fleets. The result of this alliance was a drawn battle without any apparent immediate effect.

Having failed in this attempt to bring on a general civil war, Pericles undertook another plan to drive Corinth into a rupture with Athens. Potidaea, a city in Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, but it was dependent at times on Athens and paid tribute to it. Pericles, fearing that the city would join the Corinthians and induce the Thracians to go with them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side toward Athens, to deliver hostages to him as security for their fidelity, and to send back the magistrates who had come from Corinth, it being the custom for Corinth to supply their magistrates. The Potidaeans refused to comply with these demands, and several neighboring cities joined them in their defiance of Athens. Both Athens and Corinth sent armies to the point in dispute. An engagement took place and the Athenians had the advantage, but the people of Potidaea still remained defiant and the city was besieged.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

The year after the battle the Corinthians raised a greater army than before and fitted out a new fleet. The Coreyreans, seeing that they were likely to pay dearly for their barbarity, sent to Athens for aid. The affair was debated at Athens in the presence of the people, and much excitement grew out of it. It was twice discussed in the assembly of the people. The Athenians decided first in favor of the Corinthians, as the champions of the people against oppression, but Pericles saw that such action would be fatal, not only to his aspirations but to the future interests of the wealthy class, as it would bring the old question of plutocratic

oppression before the minds of the people and possibly result in the overthrow of the existing financial system, and possibly the establishment of the Spartan code and the final independence of the Greek states and the establishment of liberty and equality upon a firm basis. He therefore persuaded the people to reconsider their action and declare for the Coreyreans. In this way, through the influence of an aspiring demagogue, the Athenian people were induced to take up arms against the liberty of their own fellow-countrymen and in defense of the very evils and class that had caused their own misfortunes and oppressions, and thus it was that Pericles became the representative of the plutocratic system, from which all the inequalities and oppressions had arisen.

It may have been the object of Pericles, however, to set at variance the two states which were most powerful at sea, and when they had exhausted themselves to overcome both and thus firmly establish the maritime power of Athens, as these three states were the only ones which maintained large fleets. The result of this alliance was a drawn battle without any apparent immediate effect.

Having failed in this attempt to bring on a general civil war, Pericles undertook another plan to drive Corinth into a rupture with Athens. Potidaea, a city in Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, but it was dependent at times on Athens and paid tribute to it. Pericles, fearing that the city would join the Corinthians and induce the Thracians to go with them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side toward Athens, to deliver hostages to him as security for their fidelity, and to send back the magistrates who had come from Corinth, it being the custom for Corinth to supply their magistrates. The Potidaeans refused to comply with these demands, and several neighboring cities joined them in their defiance of Athens. Both Athens and Corinth sent armies to the point in dispute. An engagement took place and the Athenians had the advantage, but the people of Potidaea still remained defiant and the city was besieged.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

The year after the battle the Corinthians raised a greater army than before and fitted out a new fleet. The Coreyreans, seeing that they were likely to pay dearly for their barbarity, sent to Athens for aid. The affair was debated at Athens in the presence of the people, and much excitement grew out of it. It was twice discussed in the assembly of the people. The Athenians decided first in favor of the Corinthians, as the champions of the people against oppression, but Pericles saw that such action would be fatal, not only to his aspirations but to the future interests of the wealthy class, as it would bring the old question of plutocratic

oppression before the minds of the people and possibly result in the overthrow of the existing financial system, and possibly the establishment of the Spartan code and the final independence of the Greek states and the establishment of liberty and equality upon a firm basis. He therefore persuaded the people to reconsider their action and declare for the Coreyreans. In this way, through the influence of an aspiring demagogue, the Athenian people were induced to take up arms against the liberty of their own fellow-countrymen and in defense of the very evils and class that had caused their own misfortunes and oppressions, and thus it was that Pericles became the representative of the plutocratic system, from which all the inequalities and oppressions had arisen.

It may have been the object of Pericles, however, to set at variance the two states which were most powerful at sea, and when they had exhausted themselves to overcome both and thus firmly establish the maritime power of Athens, as these three states were the only ones which maintained large fleets. The result of this alliance was a drawn battle without any apparent immediate effect.

Having failed in this attempt to bring on a general civil war, Pericles undertook another plan to drive Corinth into a rupture with Athens. Potidaea, a city in Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, but it was dependent at times on Athens and paid tribute to it. Pericles, fearing that the city would join the Corinthians and induce the Thracians to go with them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side toward Athens, to deliver hostages to him as security for their fidelity, and to send back the magistrates who had come from Corinth, it being the custom for Corinth to supply their magistrates. The Potidaeans refused to comply with these demands, and several neighboring cities joined them in their defiance of Athens. Both Athens and Corinth sent armies to the point in dispute. An engagement took place and the Athenians had the advantage, but the people of Potidaea still remained defiant and the city was besieged.

The Corinthians appealed to the other states for aid against the unjust assumptions of Athens, and several united with Corinth and sent a deputation to the Spartans to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Spartans admitted this deputation to one of their assemblies. Here the whole question was reviewed and debated and the state of Greece considered. The conduct of the Athenians was discussed, and especially the policy of Pericles. It was made clear that his acts were dangerous to the peace and liberty of the Greek states, that it was evident he meditated a centralization of power and the destruction of the independence of the states. The Spartans declared to the representatives of the allied states who were present that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously.

The year after the battle the Corinthians raised a greater army than before and fitted out a new fleet. The Coreyreans, seeing that they were likely to pay dearly for their barbarity, sent to Athens for aid. The affair was debated at Athens in the presence of the people, and much excitement grew out of it. It was twice discussed in the assembly of the people. The Athenians decided first in favor of the Corinthians, as the champions of the people against oppression, but Pericles saw that such action would be fatal, not only to his aspirations but to the future interests of the wealthy class

Talks to Dakota Farmers Continued.

T. D. HINCKLEY, HOXLETON, ILLINOIS,

Price is an estimation of value. The real or natural value of a thing is in its ability to administer to the necessity or happiness of man. Thus the real value of a bushel of wheat is in its ability to sustain life. The real value of a house is in its capacity to shelter humanity from the inclemency of the weather. And the real value of land is in its power to yield to labor the things that are of value. Thus it naturally follows that all real value is the product of labor. The life-sustaining power of wheat would not exist did not man first call it into being by applying labor to land in the production of wheat, and the real value of land is only in its passive ability to aid man in the production of the essentials and comforts of life. In considering the term "value" we are brought face to face with some of the strangest anomalies of our boasted civilization. Men are taught to regard a thing as of the greatest possible value, which of itself not only possesses no value but the very existence of which is as unreal as the astral body of theosophy. If any one believes that "money" is a material that he can handle and hold or let go of at pleasure, let such an one put a gold dollar on the track in front of a passing railroad train and after the train is past see if he can find his "money." What he will find will be a piece of very thin yellow metal; the "money" will be gone, as he will speedily find out if he attempts to "buy" something of value with his piece of metal. If money is a material thing the question is, where did his money go? Did he accomplish the philosophically impossible feat of making nothing out of something? There is no question that a train of cars passing over a material thing placed on the track would considerably change its shape and very likely its value. But it didn't change the shape nor alter the value of his dollar. He may take his piece of flattened metal to any authorized mint, pass it through the dies, and presto! his dollar is there again as bright and as chipper as it ever was. Where was the "money," the "dollar," during the interval which elapsed from the time he placed the gold on the track until it was passed again through the mint? Was it floating through space like a disembodied spirit of the damned, with no place to rest its diaphanous body except in that identical little strip of yellow metal? The truth of the matter is, "money" is a ghost, and the only difference between it and its ghostly kin, who are said to hover about graveyards and other uncanny places, is that our superstitious civilization worships one, while it fears the other. The spirit can be knocked out of a silver dollar or a greenback dollar just as easily as it can out of a gold dollar. You may melt the one and chemically destroy the cabalistic marks of the other and the money spirit will simply float off into space and quietly abide the time of its reincarnation. I selected gold for my illustration because our highly intelligent (?) civilization has chosen it to be the abiding place of its best beloved money ghosts. It is an axiom among those who worship the money ghosts that the scarcer the article is in which they can be persuaded to take up their spiritual residence, the worthier they are of the adoration of man. Other heathen select white elephants, horned cats, and natural monstrosities as the abiding place of the ghosts they worship, presumably for the same intelligent reason. They don't want their ghosts to become too common lest familiarity might breed contempt.

Money is not a creature of nature. It is a conception of man, and in its possibilities for good or evil it is one of his greatest and most powerful inventions. It is of itself of no value except as to the value of the labor which produced and stamped the material of which the

law decrees it shall be made. It is an artificial representative of things that are of real value, such as corn, wheat, cotton, steel, iron, and all manufactured goods, and, in fact, of all the products of labor. It is the thing in which all civilized nations estimate value, but in which none of them find value. It is the thing for which men are toiling and striving, murdering and preaching, lying and lecturing, doing all manner of meanness and all manner of goodness. All this striving and fretting and worrying to get money is simply and solely because man, in creating money, bestowed upon it an artificial value far in excess of the real value which nature bestowed upon the gold or silver or paper or other material of which money is made. What real value has nature given to now, that what you need is to produce more gold? It is used to some extent in filling decayed or decaying teeth; it is used for ornamental purposes. But strip it of the artificial glamour which man has thrown over it in decreeing that gold shall be the principal material from which money shall be made, and then say what beauty the pale, lusterless, yellow stuff would possess. Since money is only a representative of value, it naturally follows that its redundancy or scarcity ought to be regulated entirely by the scarcity or redundancy of the thing it represents, and its volume ought to be under the absolute control of those whose labor produces the things of value.

Price is in operation the world over, in one part precisely as in another part, and it is controlled the world over in precisely the same manner; that is, in such a manner that those who live in affluence are, as a rule, non-producers, while those who are forced to live in abject poverty are, as a rule, producers, and it manifestly follows that the forces controlling price must be the same in one part of the world that it is in another. It is suggested that land monopoly caused by, or springing from, private ownership of land, is one of the causes which affect prices in the same manner all over the world.

This may possibly be the case, but in talking to you, Dakota farmers, who are in the midst of millions of acres of free land, and are yet suffering in abject poverty through the low prices at which you have in the past been obliged to sell your produce, I don't feel much like advancing "land monopoly" as one of the causes of your distress. Neither would I know what reply to make should I advance this "land-monopoly" argument to the inhabitants of a fourteen-story New York tenement who are working for starvation wages, and are yet forced to pay at the rate of \$1.50 to \$2 per bushel for the wheat you must sell at 50 cents, if they should point me to your condition and ask me to explain, upon the theory of "land monopoly," why some of you were on the verge of starvation. It may be the case that there are a great many "natural opportunities" undeveloped, or only partially developed. It may be that a great many more wheat fields and corn fields and cotton fields might be developed, or it may be that those partly developed might be worked to better advantage. It may be that there are any number of coal mines and ore mines and mill sites that are undeveloped. But would the development of these additional fields and mines and mill sites alone help matters? Would you get better prices for your wheat, and thereby be better able to buy coal and iron and clothing? Would miners and mill operatives be able to sell more of their productions than now? If so, to whom would you and they sell? Remember that price is an estimation of value, and remember that the value in which your prices would be estimated would be in the coal and clothing and other necessities which you must have, and the value in which the price of mine and mill labor is estimated is in the bread and meat and other necessities which

ship of wily politicians, who are generally prompted by selfish motives, you, whom nature plainly intended should be friends, are encouraged in the mistaken notion that your respective callings are naturally antagonistic to each other. The power that politicians wield over wealth-producers springs entirely from the mistaken ideas of the latter as to what they want, or rather as to how they should proceed to get what they want. You want coal, lumber, sugar, clothing, etc. You produce wheat, cattle, sheep, and hogs, with which to get the things you want. Coal-miners, sugar-producers, and cotton-growers want the same things you want, and they produce coal, cotton, and sugar, with which to get what they want. Since this is true, does it not necessarily follow that, under a natural condition of things, the less wheat, cattle, etc., you produce, the less will be your ability to procure what you want, and the less coal and cotton and sugar the producers of those articles make, the less will be their ability to get the things they want? The "natural law of supply and demand," you say, compelled you to put up with less of the things than you needed last year simply because you produced an enormous amount of the things which others of the wealth-producing family needed. The "natural law of supply and demand" did no such thing. It was the unnatural act of selfish sharers that seemed to turn your blessing into a curse, and they were enabled to exercise their cunning simply by reason of the existence of certain forces which control the price of your produce entirely regardless of your wishes in the matter. Remember these two propositions:

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

2. The price of your productions is not measured by the mutual desire of yourselves and other wealth-producers to exchange your respective products, but is estimated in an invention of man called "money."

Given these two propositions with a third, that "all wealth is the product of labor," and it will be readily seen that there are two forces, either one of which in operation would tend to rob labor of its just reward, and both of which in operation at the same time would tend rapidly to reduce all wealth-producers to the condition of mere servants to others. Given the above propositions and given a stated amount of money in circulation, does it not follow as absolutely as effect follows cause that the more idlers and loafers and the more scheming non-producers we have, and the greater the degree of shrewdness and cunning these schemers display, the greater will be the burden producers will have to bear? Given the above propositions and a steadily increasing supply of "money," and an immense burden of public and private indebtedness, and will not the effect upon wealth-producers be precisely the same? And will not the additional burden borne by wealth-producers in both cases be unerringly indicated in the lower prices at which they will be compelled to sell the products of their labor? Suppose both these forces, a steadily increasing number of non-producers and a steadily decreasing supply of money, are in operation at once; does it not necessarily follow that the time will be rapidly shortened when those who produce all wealth will virtually be slaves? To illustrate what is meant, let us imagine the existence of another world precisely like this in every respect, except, for our convenience, it shall be a much smaller world than this, and shall owe no debts. Suppose it to have a population of 10,000 people, with a circulating medium averaging \$50 per person. Now suppose 7,000 are wealth-producers and 3,000 are non-producers—bankers, lawyers, doctors, mer-

chants, railroad presidents, etc. "Money" will be plenty. Times will be flush. The producers will find no trouble in getting a market for their productions, and the 3,000 non-producers will be easily carried, since there are no debts and no interest to pay. Suppose twenty years to have elapsed, and the population in the meantime to have doubled its number. But suppose the wealth-producers to have increased to only 13,000, while the non-producers had increased to 7,000, would not the burden of the wealth-producers of the latter period be harder to bear than those of the former period? And would not this increased load be certainly indicated in lower prices? But suppose, in addition to the increased burden represented in the increased number of non-producers, the volume of money had been decreased to one-tenth of its former proportions and instead of there being \$500,000 in circulation with which 10,000 people could do business, there were but \$100,000 for 20,000 people to do business with; and suppose during the period when the circulating medium averaged \$50 per capita an enormous amount of public and private indebtedness had been incurred, then imagine, if you can, how the little band of wealth-producers could carry the load of low prices which such a condition of things would inevitably force upon them. What we have imagined to have occurred in our little world is precisely what has occurred in this country, with the exception of doubling our population in twenty years. A table given in No. 22 of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST shows that we had an average money circulation in 1866 of \$52.01, and that that amount has steadily decreased until in 1887 our per capita circulation only averaged \$6.67.

The Census Compendium for 1880, page 8, part 1, shows that the per cent. of our population living in cities had increased from 3.3 in 1790 to 22.5 in 1880, and that nearly 6 per cent. of the increase had occurred between 1860 and 1880. The census returns for this garden State of the Union show that eight of our rural counties, to wit, Boone, Hancock, Henderson, Knox, Marshall, Putnam, Schuyler, and Warren, had decreased in population between 1870 and 1880 to the extent of 9,118, while Chicago alone had increased her population in the same time from 298,977 to 503,185.

These figures certainly indicate, if they indicate anything, that the belief is rapidly gaining ground that it is much pleasanter to get a living than it is to make a living. And they indicate nothing more surely than they do the increased burden which toilers must bear, and which will be unerringly indicated in the lower prices for their products.

National Lecturer Terrell in South Carolina.

An overwhelming crowd of the very best citizens of Edgefield County awaited Colonel Terrell's address on Monday last. Indeed, Colonel Terrell's audience clearly proved that the Farmers Alliance had conquered Edgefield.

And if in the vast audience there was a man yet unconquered, Colonel Terrell secured him. Colonel Terrell's address was the best thing we have ever heard. It was keen, it was shrewd, it was bright, witty, amusing. And it was more than all this; it was honest, honorable, clean, and full of the broadest humanity and benevolence. Never before in our life have we heard the ills and woes that come to the farmer from lack of organization so powerfully depicted. Nor did Colonel Terrell seem to aim alone at the financial and material regeneration of the farmer. On the contrary, he shall be a much smaller world than this, and shall owe no debts. Suppose it to have a population of 10,000 people, with a circulating medium averaging \$50 per person. Now suppose 7,000 are wealth-producers and 3,000 are non-producers—bankers, lawyers, doctors, mer-

SECRETARY WINDOM's explanation of the new Treasury-system of bookkeeping, whereby a real decrease of \$20,000,000 in the public debt is an apparent increase of \$7,000,000, was most timely. It seems that when the Secretary said black he meant white.

Who was the first capitalist who supplied the laborer with means to carry on his first undertaking?

LET every patriotic citizen watch closely the contraction of the currency during the present year.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
WASHINGTON, D. C.
By "The National Economist Publishing Company."

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Official organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-Operative Union of America, The National Agricultural Wheel, and The Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

Subscribers can have their time commence 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 can be had at 2 cents a copy by application to this office.

Subscribers who desire to change their papers from one postoffice to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Postage stamps cannot be used in such quantities as received at this office. It is therefore requested that remittances be by money order or postal note, which may be at the expense of this office.

Clubs of Five.

The Economist has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutoocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at one dollar each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid at this office. This offer does not include names sent heretofore.

WITH this number THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST commences its second volume. The first volume just completed contains 416 pages, and has only cost the readers fifty cents. Perhaps never before have the farmers of America been offered so much instructive reading, peculiarly adapted to their wants and the education of the young men and young women, for so little money.

The support the paper has received has been very gratifying indeed, and shows, beyond doubt, that the effort is appreciated by the people. The subscription list is larger than was expected in so short a time, nevertheless there is only a small per cent. of the farmers of America who are as yet subscribers. It should be in the hands of every one.

The second volume will be even better than the first, and every reader may rest assured that he will get more than a dollar's worth of reading in each volume. No effort will be spared to make it the very best publication in existence, and in return the readers are re-

quested, if they indorse the movement, to each secure at least one subscriber, and as many more as possible. Every Alliance, Wheel, and Union is requested to send in a club and thereby help the cause.

The Tare Question Settled.

An important meeting was held in New Orleans on the 11th inst. The meeting was called by the New Orleans Cotton Exchange for the purpose of considering the question of allowing a difference of tare between cotton and jute wrapped bales. The various cotton exchanges of the country were invited to be represented, also the commissioners of agriculture from the different States, and others. The result has been a decision to sell cotton by net weight, and that the tare on jute is twenty-four pounds and on cotton sixteen, thereby making a difference of eight pounds in favor of cotton. This action practically settles the tare question, and insures eight pounds more per bale for cotton-wrapped than for jute-wrapped.

THE Sweetwater Shoe Factory at Florence, Ala., D. M. Wilson, president, has been converted into an Alliance Co-operative Company. Members of the Alliance are allowed to take stock under the following provisions: Twenty-five per cent. to be paid down and 25 per cent. on October 1st, the remaining 50 per cent. on November 1st. The stock is being taken up very rapidly. It is claimed that members of the company can save from 25 to 50 per cent. on every pair of shoes. It is expected to work 300 hands during the coming year. The building is a large two-story brick with sufficient ground attached for all the improvements contemplated. The intention is to establish a large tannery in connection with the business. This is a practical undertaking and in the right direction to accomplish practical results. It shows that the Alabama brethren are alive and in earnest, and their example is worthy the emulation of the order in every portion of the country.

ALIEN ownership of land is an innovation upon the established usages and customs of nations, of which the United States may well be ashamed to boast. Countries have, since history began, conquered other countries by force of arms, but history does not record a parallel in which one country has opened its gates for invasion by another country. The nearest to it was Esau, who "sold his birthright for a mess of pottage." There is no denying the proposition that whosoever owns the land owns the people that live upon it. The foreign invasion is rapidly progressing, and unless checked will in time conquer this country without bloodshed. In view of this it might be well—if the people intend that things go on—to commence the study of foreign tongues and customs, especially British laws and usages. Nothing like keeping up with the times.

THE Farmers and Laborers Union of America is now a certainty. The proclamation officially establishing same will probably appear in the next issue of the ECONOMIST.

Paying Tribute.

Insufficient data is the necessary reply to the question, What is the amount of foreign capital invested in the United States for income? Estimates vary from two billions to five billions, that is, from one-thirtieth to one-twelfth of the total estimated value of the wealth of the country. It may be safely put at two and one-half billions, or one-twentieth of the total estimate. This is equal to one-fourth the value of all the land in the Union, considered apart from buildings and betterments, and, at the low rate of 4 per cent., would give an annual interest of 4 per cent., would give an annual interest of one hundred million dollars. When we consider the rapid increase in the demand for railroad stocks and bonds, the formation and rapid increase in capitalization of insurance companies, the purchase of large bodies of lands, the establishment of banks, syndicates to control cattle, coal, iron, and other products, the formation of trusts and combines, and the confessed general use of the money of foreigners by farm mortgage companies, it is evident that there is a steady increase in these investments, which will only cease when there is a sufficient reduction in the price paid for the use of money to remove the incentive. Therefore any estimate now must of necessity be constantly revised and enlarged, so long as the people submit to the financial system which makes such investments the best which can be made by the foreign capitalist.

History details many bloody wars the prime motive of which was to exact tribute from the conquered, but her annals would be exhausted in an effort to show where a people had been taxed permanently in a sum so great as this which American industry meets annually without promise or prospect of lessening as time passes. The wildest dream of a Caesar did not contemplate so vast an income from the richest provinces of the empire, though Rome at least secured to the contributing people civil order, while this modern form of conquest returns nothing as a consideration.

The immensity of the sum which is thus drawn from the product of American industry is almost inconceivable. For each organized household or family in this country it equals ten dollars, and for each laborer in farm, mine, or factory one week's wages. Like all taxes, it comes directly from the labor of the producer, and its exaction is a bar to his progress toward independence.

These immense investments by foreigners are the result of the false financial policy of the administrations which have controlled the Government for twenty-five years, and which have ignored the will of the people, the acts of Congress, and the decisions of the highest court. They have been invited by the policy of contraction, which, by reducing the prices of products and enhancing the relative value of money, has made this country the field for exploits in finance such as the civilized world has never seen. Not only does the legal machinery stand ready to enforce the annual interest claim of the investor, but the political administration is identified with a fiscal policy which is directly in aid of holders of coupon certificates, in that it promises at the time of final payment

a sum the relative value of which has been vastly increased, earning its fixed income meanwhile. It is the only scheme ever devised whereby a man may nibble constantly at his pie and have it, not only unimpaired, but increased with the lapse of time.

That Short Cotton Interest.

Many papers throughout the cotton belt have published the address of the president of the National Alliance in relation to the movement of the cotton crop. A few papers seem to feel grieved about it, and have criticised the policy of trying to keep up a short interest in order to maintain prices. All admit that a scarcity of cotton for spinning purposes is one of the causes of the present demand and price, but those claiming to be too friendly to the farmer to advise him to hold say he should sell and take advantage of present prices, because cotton will be lower in the late months. If their advice is followed it will no doubt insure the fulfillment of their prediction as to price. A plain statement of the matter is as follows: The entire cotton crop raised is not in excess of the annual consumption demand. This is proved by the fact that there has been for six years a little more spun than has been produced. If, then, an average crop be six million bales, the mills must require about five hundred thousand bales per month for actual spinning purposes.

Supposing \$100 per annum should be allotted to each county reported by our regular staff. It would be a paltry compensation for good service for twelve months for one person, and more insignificant for four, but this would cost \$233,000. It is earned, and would be cheap for the service rendered. There is an objection also, that may or may not be valid. It is certain that there would be a scramble for the \$100 under this plan, and almost equally certain that a most incompetent and self-seeking individual would secure influential endorsement, and render the responsibility of appointment a difficult and thankless burden, and the result in many instances, however careful and honest the effort, an inferior and unprofitable selection. The present plan is to obtain the services of the most observant farmer of the best judgment, of greatest promptness, who is willing to serve in a great corps of agricultural editors for the public good, and the especial illumination of the district he represents. The best is none too good, and whatever the politics, religion, age, sex, or condition of one clearly entitled to this distinction, that person is the one, and the only one, who is wanted for county correspondent.

THE statistician of the Agricultural Department, in his report for the past fiscal year, speaking of the speculators in agricultural products, says:

Men of this class, whose audacity equals their cupidity, write to the Department plainly expressing a desire that there may be no official returns or estimates. They are willing to spend money to get the best idea of future harvests they can by crude individual effort, but deprive the collection of more accurate information, or any whatever for the farmer.

This class, which thrives upon its robbery of the farmer, is constantly using its ill-gotten wealth to keep the farmers in ignorance, in order that they may be the more easily robbed. They recognize the fact the more intelligent and fully informed the agricultural masses are the less the chance of their being able to fleece them.

WHEN the lines of business that are by their very nature monopolies are left out, an examination of the subject will show that adventures in production have not yielded as large returns in proportion to the investment when carried on a large scale as they have on a small scale. This is contrary to many assertions now published, but it will bear investigation.

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. 20.

COMBINATION AGAINST IMPROVEMENT.

The discrimination between the live-stock trade and dressed beef in refrigerator-cars, like that in favor of the live-stock "evengers," is, to a certain extent, an issue of the past. The discrimination against dressed beef continues, although in somewhat modified form, by reason of the competition of railroads, independent of the dictates of the trunk-line combination. The fight between the dressed-beef interests and the railroads is less prominent than formerly, having apparently settled down to a species of compromise which measurably protects the interests of both sides. But it is a question to which it may be well to give a passing consideration, whether the practical settlement of the question is such as to conduce to the interests of the public.

One of the prominent features of the past two years has been the public complaint brought by the agricultural interests against the four great firms which are understood to control the dressed-beef business. It is alleged that by their position in the trade these firms are able, not only to dictate the price of their products, but, by manipulating the markets for live-stock, to dictate the prices of cattle, both for conversion into dressed beef and for shipment alive. The public feeling against the control of the market by this interest has led to special measures of legislation in some of the States designed to restrict, if not prohibit, the transportation of dressed beef. The wisdom of such measures is beyond the province of these articles. They are alluded to here solely as an index of the influence exerted upon the agricultural influence by the creation of great commercial powers controlling the trade in live-stock and dressed beef.

As stated in the preceding article, it is a vital point in the present condition of this question that while the discriminations against dressed beef upon railroads to the east of Chicago is unfavorable to the great firms engaged in the shipment of dressed beef from that city, the same discrimination upon the railroads to the west of that city is in their favor. If, as shown by the railroad statements of the case some years ago, the transportation of dressed beef effects economy of 30 to 50 per cent. over that of live-stock, the firms having their packing-houses and all their capital located at Chicago would be subjected to a great disadvantage in the trade by having the economy of this device conceded to rivals who might locate their slaughter-houses and packing-houses at the centers of live-stock production, one thousand or fifteen hundred miles further west than their own concerns. A discrimination which prevents the economy

dressed-beef transportation from taking effect on the long haul between the cattle ranges of Texas, Colorado, Nebraska, Idaho, Montana, and Dakota is more important and exerts a greater influence in imposing excessive charges between the producer and consumer than a similar discrimination on the 900 miles of transportation between Chicago and the seaboard. The interest which is benefited by the former can, therefore, afford to endure the latter in the modified shape in which it exists at present.

It is well worthy the public recollection, and especially the recollection of that part of the public engaged in the production of cattle, that the Chicago dressed-beef interests and the people who are interested in the prosperity of the Chicago live-stock yards are alike benefited by the maintenance of that discrimination to the west of Chicago. Whether the great capitalists engaged in the packing of dressed beef are possessed of any private discriminations on the railroads which bring their cattle from the Western ranches to their slaughter-houses in the Chicago live-stock yard, is a question on which there is little evidence, and that inconclusive. The Senatorial investigation, going on when this article is written, has so far produced no evidence more significant than the refusal of the leading dressed-beef firms to testify concerning their relations to the Western railroads. This is certainly not calculated to dispel the public suspicion that the control of the live-stock markets by these firms is still maintained by vital favors in transportation similar to those which confessedly existed before the passage of the interstate commerce act. But laying that suspicion aside as not proved, the prominence of the dressed-beef magnates in railway management, together with the advantage to their interest by keeping up the discrimination against dressed beef on the Western roads, indicates its effect in maintaining excessive charges on the operation of bringing beef from the producer to the consumer. It is immaterial whether the injustice is maintained for the benefit of the dressed-beef magnates or the stock-yards capitalists.

A late phase of this long-continued discrimination has been recently brought out in the shape of the railroads' refusal to afford equal facilities for the transportation of cattle in improved live-stock cars. One of the greatest sources of loss and expense in the old method of transporting cattle is very well known to be the shrinkage from the long siege of hunger and thirst which the cattle undergo in being hauled for distances of five hundred to a thousand miles, and for periods of from two to five days, without food and water. In addition, the high charges imposed by the live-stock yards upon the feeding and rest of cattle at the stations where they are unloaded and reshipped make a cost in the transportation of cattle on the hoof that accounts in great measure for the success of dressed beef, in the face of discriminations against it. To avoid this loss and expense, as well as for the humane purpose of saving the cattle the sufferings and mutilations which often occur in the transportation of them in ordinary cars, the device of improved cattle cars has of late years been put in operation.

Companies have been formed for the construction of cars in which the cattle can be fed and watered while in transit, and the ability to load cattle in cars at the Western ranches and to transport them to the Eastern markets with constant feeding and watering, delivering them in as good condition as when first loaded, has been demonstrated by actual experiment. Whatever the economy effected by this improvement in the transportation of live-stock, it is evident that the interests of the public demand that it may have a fair chance to demonstrate what it can do. If it can save the shrinkage, disease, and injury to cattle while in transit, the public interests demand that it shall receive equal charges and an equal footing with the other methods of transportation. But this is just exactly what certain powerful interests in railroad management have so far forbidden it.

This discrimination has not, so far as I am aware, taken on the form of an actual excess in rates charged to the transportation of cattle in improved live-stock cars over those transported in the ordinary cattle cars, but the device which subjects the new method to a disadvantage is equally vital, and shows the ability of the railroad interests to cover up its favors and disfavors by indirect and occult forms. It is the universal rule among railroads when using the cars of other corporations to allow a certain charge per mile of distance over which the cars travel to the corporation owning the cars, as recompense for their use. Thus, supposing one of the trunk lines to take a car-load of cattle from Chicago in a car belonging to some Western railroad, to haul it to the seaboard market, and to return the car with a load of some other freight to Chicago, by paying a mileage of one cent per mile it will return to the owner of the car a revenue of \$18 for the use of the car over the nine hundred miles of transportation in each direction. The amount of the mileage is, we understand, a question subject to differences of opinion among railroad men. It is evident that an equitable allowance for a case where the railroad does not furnish its own cars is nothing more than a fair return to the corporation or shipper who does furnish the car. But it ought also to be evident to every observer that, in order to prevent vital discrimination, this allowance must be made equal to all persons whose cars are thus furnished for use. Thus, if the railroad pays one corporation, whose cars it uses to transport cattle from Chicago to the seaboard, and some other freight back again, the sum of \$18 for the use of the car, and in the case of another car refuses to pay the owner of the car anything for exactly the same use of it, it is evident that a vital discrimination is established between the two shipments. The owner of the car which receives the mileage allowance can afford to give to the shipper of cattle, who furnishes a load in the far West, a lower charge by \$18 than the owner of the car who, under like circumstances, is refused that allowance. In other words, if the owner of the car which is refused the mileage allowance has an improved and economical method of transportation, by means of the refusal of equality with the other transporter he is forced to impose an extra charge

of \$18, in order to stand on equal terms with the great mass of transporters who obtain the benefit of the car mileage.

This is, as I understand it, a rough statement of exactly the discrimination which has been enforced by the principal lines of the railroads against the transportation of cattle in improved live-stock cars. The railroads have declined to furnish cars in which cattle can be fed and watered, and thus kept in healthy condition and prevented from shrinkage while in transit. When the corporations manufacturing such cars have offered to load them with cattle in the producing region, and to transport them over the railroads themselves, the railroads have imposed upon this method of transportation the discrimination of refusing the mileage which their universal rule grants in other cases. Beyond that, the amount of such mileage is subject to variation. On some railroads and on certain classes of cars, I believe the mileage is as low as three-quarters of a cent a mile, while on others, and especially the cars furnished by that notorious favorite of the railroads, the Standard Oil Combination, the mileage is reported to go as high as a cent and a quarter per mile. But the improved live-stock car has been refused any mileage allowance whatsoever. Supposing the average mileage allowance to be three-quarters of a cent per mile, the refusal of this allowance to the improved stock cars on the transportation of cattle over the 2,000 miles between the Western ranches and the seaboard, and the use of the cars for return freight, establishes a discrimination of \$30 per car against the method which is merciful to the animal, and for which it is claimed the shrinkage and loss and expense of the old and semi-barbarous method of transportation is avoided.

In the light of the preceding discriminations, the reason of this enmity to the improved live-stock car is not hard to perceive. Indeed, I do not know that there is any disposition to deny it on the part of the railroads. As Mr. E. P. Alexander says in his "Railway Practice," millions of dollars invested in live-stock yards are threatened with extinction if this method of transportation is allowed to succeed. That fact arrays a great railway interest controlled by the capitalists whose money is invested in the live-stock yards against the improved live-stock cars. Another important element of the railway interest in the transportation of live-stock is controlled by the capitalists who are favorable to the dressed-beef interests, and the result is that those railroads are equally inimical to a method of transporting live-stock which might in a great measure counterbalance the advantages of dressed-beef transportation. The consequence is that the great majority of the railroads have united in opposition to the improved method of transportation of live-stock presented by the cattle cars, which afford devices for feeding and watering the cattle on the journey, and preventing them from starvation, thirst, and injury by crowding and trampling. While the practical ability of these cars to make good at least a portion of their claim, has been established by experience, the present use of them is confined

to the roundabout railroads which are not subject to the dictates of the railroad combination, and which compete with the great and combined lines at a decided disadvantage.

In stating the public interests in all such questions, it is not necessary to decide between the rival claims of transportation either in the old cattle cars, or of dressed beef in the refrigerator cars, or of live cattle in the improved cattle cars. The public interest is that all devices, whatever they are, for the improvement of transportation shall have an equal chance to demonstrate their value, and to work out whatever economy they can secure to the public. Whether the reduction of cost by transporting only the marketable parts of the animal in refrigerator-cars, or the avoidance of shrinkage and injury by transporting cattle in improved live-stock cars, is most desirable to the public, makes little difference. One method may be more desirable for one class of trade and another for another. The public interest is summed up in the declaration that each should have the opportunity of equal charges in proportion to the service rendered. Then it will be easy to judge of the value of each by the results which they secure. But when the railroad, for its own purposes, imposes a charge of \$10 or \$15 a car on one method of transportation for the benefit of a single firm of live-stock eveners, in another case levies an extra charge of 20 to 35 cents per hundred on dressed beef in order to take away its economy over the live-stock transportation, and in the last instance imposes a burden of \$12 to \$30 per car on a method of transporting live-stock which might take away the business of the cattle yards, they not only levy exactly that amount of tax upon the business of transporting beef from the Western producer to the Eastern consumer, but to the exact proportion in which those abuses are general they establish a monopoly in the business of the middle-men, and prevent the economy of new inventions and devices from reaching with their benefits the great mass of the people.

It is the salient point which it is necessary to insist upon at this stage of the argument, that every one of these abuses has been imposed by the combinations which seek to do away with competition. With the railroads in active and legitimate competition with each other, they could not refuse to accept any device which would establish an economy in transportation. Economy in transportation, like economy in any other branch of business, is enforced upon those who must compete for business; and the competitor who adopts the economical device the soonest will gain the most. But it has been the universal experience, and especially with regard to the live-stock trade, that the combinations of the railroads have refused and fought against the adoption of any such economy. The evidence of this with regard to the sustaining of the eveners' discrimination and the discriminations against dressed beef by the trunk-line pool is supplemented and filled out by the fact that during the present year the Trunk Line Association has forbidden the use of improved stock cars on all the lines controlled by it. Against such

an order, coupled with the fact that the only outlets for such cars are now the roundabout and competing railroads, the theory that competition gives rise to discriminations becomes an empty and a hollow sham. Every discrimination in the live-stock trade which has risen to National importance during the past ten years has been sustained by the combination of the railroads. Every era of competition, when the pools have fallen to pieces and each railroad was competing for the business that it could get, for the profit there was in it, has either mitigated or practically destroyed these discriminations.

The rule is not only inherent in the nature of the case, but it is abundantly proved by the experience which has been set forth in the last three articles. Without combination none of these discriminations could have been enforced. Under competition each device to economize and improve the service would have been quickly adopted. But by means of the exclusive privilege of each railroad over its own route, and the combination of those privileges in pools and agreements, these discriminations have been maintained and enforced so long as the combination could maintain its restraints upon competition.

Question Column.

A correspondent asks:

Why could not the Census Bureau be induced to include in the census of 1890 the number of traveling salesmen throughout the country; also the salaries or commission paid them, and the traveling expenses?

The census does report the number of traveling salesmen; but, as the Government has not the power to compel a man to advertise his private income or to make known to the public the manner or source of his earnings, such information would be very unreliable, to say the least, and, under the present system, unjust, as it would place the class referred to at a disadvantage in their exertions for support. It is, however, possible to make a crude estimate of the aggregate amount paid in salaries and expenses to this class, which amount comes eventually out of the consumer. The following estimate will give a rough idea on the subject, and the calculation might be made with some degree of exactness in the same way: The last census reports the total number of traveling salesmen at 28,158. This estimate is far too low, however, as two years ago there were registered 7,00 for license. But adopting the census figures for comparison, the increase in nine years will permit an estimate of 30,000 for convenience. Salaries range from \$1,000 per year to \$5,000; the expenses allowed range from \$4 to \$12 per day, as traveling men who stop at small towns and villages and make short runs can do their work on the smaller allowance, while those who do the business of the large commercial cities, representing large wholesale, importing, and manufacturing firms, make very large runs, and often pay overweight charges for baggage in the shape of sample-trunks. Make a rough average of salaries at \$2,500, which would be really very low, and the total salaries for 30,000 men for one year would aggregate \$75,000,000. Now

Book Notice.

The Humboldt Publishing Company have provided for those interested in the origin and growth of civilization and the progress of the race a most valuable and interesting compend of information, which includes all that science has discovered in relation to the origin and progress of man from the very dawn of life to the period where history gains firm footing and we have authentic records. This is a subject of absorbing interest and of vast importance to the student of sociology. The most important results of scientific research are carefully digested and condensed in such compact form as to bring the subject readily before the mind of the reader and relieve him of a great amount of labor. Three small works published by this company cover the ground thoroughly and should be read in connection. These are entitled, "The Dawn of History," by C. F. Keary; "Oriental Religions," by John Caird, and "The Birth and Growth of Myths," by Edward Clodd, Nos. 35, 44, 45, and 54 of the Humboldt Library of Science. The price is only 15 cents per number. Address Humboldt Publishing Company, 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

COMBINED NITROGEN.

Attention is here briefly invited to some of the commercial sources of combined nitrogen for agricultural use as manure. First, as to guano, it is to be observed that the naturally ammoniated guanos of the stamp of the old A. I. Peruvian are, so far as known, nearly worked out. Guanos of this class were bird deposits in rainless places, and thus the soluble ammonium salts with which they were naturally ammoniated failed to be washed away. In rainy places these salts are washed out and the residuum constitutes a phosphatic guano which contains only traces of combined nitrogen. These ammonium salts were commercially costly, but they were agriculturally correspondingly valuable in their natural association with phosphates. Combined nitrogen in the organic matter of recent animal bones amounts to about 4 per cent. of the ground bones, but if the bones are old and have been much exposed it is a mere matter of common sense to know that by decay and putrefaction the organic matter will be destroyed and its combined nitrogen lost, so that old bones are only very slightly ammoniated. We use the term "ammoniated" in its commercial sense, which simply implies containing combined nitrogen yielding ammonia on combustion with soda-lime, as in the ordinary process of commercial analysis. It is evident, therefore, that different samples of "pure raw bone" may be of very different commercial and agricultural values. Very old bone will not differ very materially in composition or value from the South Carolina phosphates, which are simply fossil or very ancient bones. In good recent bones the combined nitrogen is as valuable agriculturally as perhaps from any other source. It is at the same time, for the present at least, as cheap as any first-class article on the market. The thoroughly attested practical value of raw ground bones which have undergone no chemical treatment whatever ought to have pointed out to farmers and to some chemists that tricalcic phosphates are "available" to plants, notwithstanding that they are practically insoluble in water, and that the nitrogen of organic matter does not need the interference of the chemist or manipulator to make it "available." If these simple and obvious facts had been recognized and acted upon, much expense, much dishonesty, much crimination and recrimination might have been dispensed with, and much greater skill, precision, and intelligence might have been developed in the scientific use of commercial manures.

Other organic materials furnishing combined nitrogen for agricultural use in commercial quantities and forms are, dried blood, two grades, "red" and "black," steam dried and fire dried; the former the more costly and more valuable of the two. The fire dried or black blood may be as good as the steam dried, but it is liable to be burnt in drying, which does not go so far as to injure and may improve the analysis, but the agricultural value is much injured by the charring. "Fish scrap," which is the refuse product of fish-oil factories and is rich in combined nitrogen and phosphate, and is a highly useful manuring substance either used alone or as an "ammoniating" material in the manufacture of "ammoniated super-phosphates," the high-grade "wheat manures" of the trade. In addition to the dried blood there are various refuse products of slaughterhouse operations called "flesh dust," which are very good sources of combined nitrogen. Hoofs and horns, wool, and hair refuse are articles furnishing some "ammoniating" ma-

terials to the trade, but they do not decompose readily and are not easily attacked by the nitric ferment. They act slowly, and probably a considerable portion of their combined nitrogen is lost by resuming the condition of free nitrogen and rejoining the atmospheric supply. Hence this class of materials is of secondary importance and value, and their commercial cost is comparatively small. Unfortunately they analyze well. "Leather scrap" is another low-class trade article, furnishing combined nitrogen in large quantities to the trade, at a very low cost, it being known that this article possesses the smallest agricultural value of any accessible to the trade as an "ammoniate." Its use, therefore, without notice to the purchaser is fraudulent. The manufacturer, however, when he has complied with unwise and vexatious laws passed against his business, and has furnished an article which "analyzes well," leaves the farmer and the State chemist to settle the matter between them, and goes to bed with a salve if not with an easy conscience. The salve, moreover, is legal salve, and the farmer's loss in the transaction is a legal loss and of his own seeking. To make of this question legally a chemical question is a great folly. A commercial question can rarely be transformed into a question of legal chemistry. The upshot of it all is, that a manufacturer can now, under legal protection, put up an ammoniated superphosphate, "ammoniated" at a low cost to himself and worth little to the farmer, but which will stand near the head of the valuation tables of the chemist.

The practical folly which, upon a purely chemical view of commercial and agricultural questions, has been embodied in a more or less curious and inoperative set of inspection laws is but little suspected by farmers in general. The fact is ignored that in this class of goods an analysis does not and can not furnish data for their accurate valuation, or for anything more than a general suggestion of their cost to the manufacturer and value to the farmer, provided the materials composing the "ammoniate" are first class. It has even been denied that in a complex mixture of all sorts of materials, good and bad, or wholly bad, the sources of the combined nitrogen are not revealed by, and can not be inferred from, the results of a commercial analysis. Yet that this proposition is strictly true everybody not completely ignorant of the methods employed in making such an analysis and stating the results thereof well knows. It would indeed be perfectly easy for the farmers to buy and use only the raw materials, such as blood, fish scrap, flesh dust, entering into the manufacturers' "ammoniate," but the commercial sources of supply are preempted by the manufacturers, who buy the whole product on a contract to run for a term of years. This leaves open to purchase by the farmer chemical salts of ammonia and nitrates, but in small purchases of these the farmer pays retail rates comparatively high; the manufacturer buys at wholesale comparatively low. Often the manufacturer will and does sell to the farmer from his wholesale lot at retail prices and satisfies himself with a merchant's profits on the goods unmanipulated. The same manufacturer will, however, very likely sell to the farmer the same article in manipulated goods at a less price than the retail price he charges for the unmanipulated.

LORD MORETON'S MARE.

Of all the quasi scientific cases that have been bandied about, quoted, misquoted, and worn utterly threadbare by the great and the small writers on stock breeding, from the average horse writer of the period to the famous Darwin himself, none stands on such a pedestal of eminence as the case of Lord Moreton's mare. This mare being a seven-eighths Arabian, not a pure Arabian as commonly quoted,

but a said-to-be seven-eighths, being bred to a quagga produced a hybrid foal, and being thereafter bred to a very fine black Arabian stallion produced three foals by him in succession all marked like the hybrid. Now, then, was this a case of so-called influence of the previous sire upon the mother or merely a common case of atavism or the reappearance of the likeness of an ancestor of this said-to-be seven-eighths Arabian mare, or the so-called very fine black Arabian stallion, which?

Seeing that the pedigrees of both the seven-eighths Arabian mare and the very fine black stallion are both "said-to-be" pedigrees, and that it is wholly unknown how many common Welsh ponies, dun in color and striped like a quagga, were near by in Lord Moreton's mare's pedigree, nor in Lord Ouse's very fine black stallion's pedigree, or in both, we seem to have here a veritable mare's nest. In the experience of the writer have occurred atavistic phenomena precisely such as this famous case would be with the quagga taken out of it. Unless the breeding of these animals were fully known and recorded, there could be no use in this case for the purposes to which it has been so freely put. If Mr. Darwin be correct in the suggestion that the supernumerary digits sometimes seen in men or women are atavistic phenomena, suggesting affinities with some fish-like ancestor of man; unless the great scientist be making both himself and science ridiculous by such a suggestion, how are we to exclude the idea of those colts being striped like a quagga as the result of atavism, England being at that time full of small horses so striped, out of which fact Mr. Darwin has constructed a theory that the original wild horse was so striped, and a Darwinian off-shoot from a primitive stock common parent of ass and horse?

Some people appear to think that science is always severely grave and serious, but indeed it hath a comical side as well. The scientific worker has his jokes and his fun. A very learned theologian once, in conversation with a greatly distinguished Senator of the United States, maintained that the Divine Creator of the universe sanctioned fun and himself indulged in it, or why else should he have created the monkey? It is not strange perhaps that these "said-to-be" pedigrees of the Lord Moreton mare and somebody's jack-ass, and Lord Ouse's stallion whose pedigree was that he was a very fine black one, should have laid the foundation for the promulgation of about a score of hypotheses and theories to account for the supposed facts in the supposed case, among them Mr. Darwin's "panogenesis," or "gemmule" hypothesis. That this latter there is nothing in science more curious, or more wholly destitute of any thing else than an imaginative foundation. Under the influence of all this, sober, serious, sensible men have been known to kill a valuable pure bred female merely because she has had offspring by an impure male, or one of another breed. To any man proposing to do the like again we suggest, don't!

CHARLOTTE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

We have received from our friend the author, Major Richard V. Gains, a hand-book of Charlotte County, Virginia, prepared under the auspices of the board of supervisors of the county. This hand-book sets out in brief the history, physical geography, social, moral, and religious advantages, statistical and other information, with letters from prominent citizens showing the desirability of the county as a home, and the inducements which it offers to the industrious, honest, and intelligent farmer and mechanic. This hand-book is a sensible, fair, and important paper, and we can not doubt must prove beneficial to the county and useful to persons from elsewhere seeking a home in a climate genial and salubrious, and amongst a people generous and brave. Among the numerous very distinguished citizens of this old county

were Patrick Henry and Randolph of Roanoke. Extended comment upon Major Gains's admirable hand-book would be a very pleasing task, but we must be content to recommend its perusal to any one who desires to make a settlement in a section presenting very many important advantages and attractions.

COMPULSORY TREATMENT OF GRAPE MILDEW.

The Journal of Mycology notes the fact that the Swiss Government has made a decree that the Department of Agriculture shall furnish instructions, and unless carried out by the owners or vineyards, they shall be treated by the officials at the expense of the owner, and be fined, for neglect, from \$10 to \$20. Right, undoubtedly. No man has a right to propagate disease to destroy his neighbor's vineyard.

A REPRESENTATIVE CASE.

In some remarks on the semi-centennial celebration of the Virginia Military Institute, we took occasion to dwell upon the great value of that school in the training of the future captains of industry who shall control the industrial reconstruction of the new South, keeping in harmony with the traditions and the genius of the old South, so that the new civilization shall be an evolution, and not a replacement. As accentuating these views by a brilliant example from real life, we here record with infinite pleasure the gallant and meritorious service of a distinguished alumnus of the institute in the face of a critical and alarming situation in a coal mine, imperiling the lives of numerous men, to whose bravery and trained good sense their escape from death was mainly due. We do this with a more abundant pleasure from the fact that this young gentleman who has so distinguished himself, Mr. Hugh Garland Meem, is a son of a personal friend whom we have for many years highly esteemed. Mr. Meem is a young man of high scientific attainment in his profession as a mining engineer. He reflects honor on the civilization of the old South, of which he is the product, and on the scientific culture of the new South, of which he is an exemplar. Let those reflect who think that no education worth the name can be had outside German universities and their copyists in our Northern States. It is not necessary to come north of the Potomac to complete the intellectual development of such a young man of such distinguished parts and such brilliant promise as Hugh Garland Meem. When in our former article we took the position that the superintendency of the Virginia Military Institute was one of the most important positions of the South, we knew perfectly well the importance of what we said.

LEAF BLIGHT EXPERIMENTS.

We have received from the Section of Vegetable Pathology, United States Department of Agriculture, their circular No. 8, describing experiments in the treatment of pear leaf-blight and apple powdery-mildew with fungicidal solutions. The solutions successfully used in spraying pear leaf-blight and apple powdery-mildew were sulphate of copper and lime water and sulphate of copper and ammonia; and the pumps used are described in the circular. The whole matter is put into such practical shape as to be a sufficient guide for any person desiring to undertake the work. The cost of spraying seedling trees in nursery rows is about two cents per 1,000 trees. The work of this very important section is being carried forward with great energy and success. We beg now to remind those who held that the change of organization of the Department, making its head a Cabinet Minister, would be followed by the lapse of the scientific work into a mere political machine, that their prediction has not been verified, but, on the contrary, quite the reverse. The whole scientific work of the whole De-

partment, in response to this change of status for the better, is being carried forward with a degree of enthusiasm and success not heretofore known in the history of the Department. We ask those prophets of evil to take notice of the further fact that a Secretary of Agriculture has just been commissioned and taken his seat in the British Cabinet, that stronghold of conservatism. One more question: Does anybody begrudge Secretary Rusk his salary, or look upon him as a useless supernumerary in our Cabinet? If such there be, the state of his understanding should be a subject of solicitude to his friends.

COUNTRY ROADS.

It is an encouraging sign when a political paper like the Baltimore Sun, able, conservative, and greatly influential, calls on the grangers to pledge their candidates for the legislature to the support of a well-considered and effectual road law for the county of Baltimore, and suggests the idea that the grangers of the State combine their influence in the next legislature in behalf of wise general legislation in this behalf. It is not so much the thing advised as the agency to be employed to work out the materialization of the suggestion. To pledge candidates of both parties to wise, economic legislation is Alliance as well as Grange doctrine, which has been denounced as causeless agitation. What has the Sun to say to the idea of the grangers influencing the legislature by recalling some of the legal gentlemen and putting good grangers in their seats? We greatly suspect that we shall get at what we want with less "influence" than it will otherwise cost to get good road laws. We are in favor of trunk line State roads to be made and kept by the State, and paid for out of funds raised by general taxation. These trunk lines to begin at the termini and grow toward the other end as fast as they can be constructed by competent engineers, in the best, most thorough, and substantial manner known to modern science, with the means available, and no faster. Then let the counties in like manner build county trunk lines as feeders to the State lines. Then the purely local highways could be systematically brought up to the same degree of excellence, and finally the State be netted with a complete system of roads scientifically located and constructed, instead of the execrably bad pass ways, so often impassable, which now everywhere disgrace American civilization. The foolish waste of money under the operation of road laws prodigiously absurd, is far too melancholy in these moneyless times to be ridiculous. The doings of road overseers, some of whom have scarcely information sufficient to drive a yoke of steers, are absurd almost beyond belief, wasteful of public money and actually ruinous to the roads. This kind of road-working and road-mending often does the roads more harm in one day than all the hauling and travel over them would do in ten years. If there is anything which does require scientific knowledge and experience that thing is the location and construction of a good and lasting road. It can only be done by a well-skilled civil engineer. It is not possible to make a system of good roads in any State in one year nor in ten years, perhaps in some States not in twenty-five years; but it is practicable to have in any State and in any county a scientific plan of a complete road system and to go to work at it with but little delay. In order to adopt such a plan skilled men must be consulted; in order to execute such a plan skilled men must be employed, and means must be raised to defray the expense. A large part of it ought to be raised by general taxation, for certainly the condition of the public highways is no less a matter of universal concern than public education. As at present managed no one is bene-

fited except those to whom the funds raised are paid out for a mere pretense of something useful done by them. We have had it in contemplation for some time past to free our mind on this question, not that we have any pet scheme or any cut-and-dried bill to offer in the legislature, but that we might do our part in directing attention to a great public waste and a great public want prevailing generally in all parts of America. As a subject of debate and action by local Alliances, clubs, and other agricultural and rural organizations and assemblies, none can be suggested more important than the country roads. In this manner the general opinion may be evoked, and a reform in the road laws effected. The aid of the press may easily be enlisted in behalf of any rational scheme of reform. The writer, on his own part, is satisfied that nothing important can ever be accomplished until the work of construction and repair of public roads is placed in charge of well-skilled civil engineers, and he suspects that every scheme of reform in this behalf which does not proceed upon that fundamental proposition will come short of the best results. That very great improvements are practicable almost everywhere by the judicious expenditure of funds already raised and foolishly squandered seems very certain. If the State would maintain a civil engineer of established repute in this service his advice in framing working plans to be submitted to the legislature would be invaluable. Such work is technical and scientific, and only a skilled man can advise wisely as to the working details to be embodied in the law, whether local or general. In this work, moreover, convict labor could and should be fully utilized. Any clamor as to its competition with honest labor in such employment should be silenced by the consideration that the money to pay for the hiring of honest labor to perform this work has to be raised by taxation, while additional money must also be raised by general taxation to pay prisoners' expenses maintained in idleness, and that all taxation, traced to its ultimate source, is paid by honest labor. In this manner we should be free of the public charge to which all honest citizens contribute for the support of the parasitic class which fills our jails, and we should at the same time reduce that class itself to a minimum. Ought not every convict sentenced to imprisonment to be set to work on the public highways and to serve out his sentence at that work instead of being kept idle in jail at public expense? If this work were directed and planned by skilled engineers, would not the question of making and maintaining the best roads which can be constructed be solved, with the salvage of a double expense to the State? We believe so, undoubtedly. Suppose the convict force of the State were placed under the orders of a State engineer to construct and maintain a trunk line road system for the State, could any valid objection be raised to the plan? We believe that engineering skill and convict labor are two factors in any successful solution of the road problem.

The true test as to whether any given line of business is a monopoly lies in the application of competition. If it have no competition it is practically a monopoly, and if it be not susceptible of any competition it is an absolute monopoly.

No GOVERNMENT has a right to farm out, or allow a certain class of its citizens to conduct, a monopoly unrestrained and unrestricted. To claim that it had would be to advocate the doctrine that the government could authorize one of its subjects to exact tribute from all the balance of its subjects.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 22.

In the office of the Second Comptroller of the Treasury accounts received from the Second, Third, and Fourth Auditors are revised. Accounts reported by the Second Auditor are for organizing volunteers, recruiting, pay of the Army, special military accounts, Army ordnance, for the Indian service, the medical department of the Army, contingent military expenses, back pay and bounty to officers and soldiers, the Soldiers' Home, and the National Home of Disabled Volunteers. Those reported from the Third Auditor, disbursements by the Quartermaster's, Subsistence, and Engineer departments, Army pensions, property taken by the military authorities for the use of the Army, and miscellaneous war claims. Those reported by the Fourth Auditor relate to disbursements for the Marine Corps, by Navy paymasters for pay and rations, by paymasters at navy yards, for Navy pensions at foreign stations, and the financial agent in London. The work of this office is distributed among seven divisions: Army paymasters, Army pensions, Back pay and bounty, Indian, Miscellaneous, Quartermasters, and Navy divisions.

The employees and salaries in this office are as follows: Second Comptroller of the Treasury, \$5,000; deputy comptroller, \$2,700; five chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; eight clerks at \$1,800 each; twelve clerks at \$1,600 each; thirteen clerks at \$1,400 each; twelve clerks at \$1,200 each; three clerks at \$1,000 each, and nine clerks at \$900 each.

The Commissioner of Customs revises and certifies the accounts of revenues collected from duties on imports and tonnage; fines, penalties, and for forfeitures under the customs and navigation laws; and from miscellaneous sources connected with customs matters; accounts of the importation, withdrawal, transportation, and exportation of goods under the warehouse system; for disbursements for the expenses of collecting the revenue from customs, revenue-cutting service, life-saving service, shipping service, seal fisheries in Alaska, construction and maintenance of lights, marine-hospital service, debentures, and excess of deposits for unascertained duties, refund of duties exacted in excess of true amount. He approves and files the official bonds given by customs officers, and transmits their commissions; files publication of official records of the late war, and all other Army accounts and claims not adjusted by the Third Auditor; also, all accounts relating to Indian affairs, including claims of contractors and others for supplies furnished and services rendered. The Second Auditor finally adjusts, without reference to the Comptroller, all returns for clothing, etc., rendered by Army officers and the property accounts of Indian agents. The work is distributed among the divisions, entitled as follows: Book-keepers; Pay and Bounty; Paymasters; Ordnance, Medical, and Miscellaneous; Property; Archives (or Files); Division for Investigation of Fraud (in connection with bounty and other claims); Inquiries and Replies and Mail.

This office is organized in two divisions, viz., Customs, Appointments, etc. The employees and salaries are as follows: Commissioner of Customs, \$4,000; deputy commissioner, \$2,250; two chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; two clerks at \$1,800 each; four clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; nine clerks at \$1,200, and three clerks at \$1,000 each.

The First Auditor receives all accounts accruing in the Treasury Department (except those

arising under the internal-revenue laws) and, after examination, certifies the balance, and transmits the accounts, with vouchers and certificate, to the First Comptroller or to the Commissioner of Customs, which ever may happen to have supervision in the case. The subordinate divisions of the office are—

Customs Division—Receipts and expenditures of the customs service, including fines, emoluments, forfeitures, debentures, drawbacks, marine-hospital service, revenue-cutting service, etc.

Judiciary Division—Salaries of United States marshals, district attorneys, commissioners, and clerks; rent of court-houses, support of prisoners, etc.

Public Debt Division—Redemption of the public debt, including principal, premium, and interest; payment of interest; redemption of certificates of deposit; notes destroyed.

Warehouse and Bond Division—Examination of accounts received from custom-houses.

Miscellaneous Division—Accounts of mints and assay offices; Territories; coast survey;

salaries and contingent expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government; construction, repair, and preservation of public buildings; Treasurer of the United States for general receipts and expenditures.

Employees and salaries of this office are: First Auditor of the Treasury, \$3,600; deputy auditor, \$2,250; five chiefs of division, \$2,000 each; seven clerks at \$1,800 each; nine clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; sixteen clerks at \$1,200 each; twenty-four clerks at \$1,000 each, and nine clerks at \$900 each.

The Second Auditor examines the following classes of accounts and claims, certifies the balances and transmits the accounts, vouchers, and certificates to the Second Comptroller for his decision thereon: Claims arising since 1816 for arrears of pay and bounty due soldiers or their heirs; accounts of Army paymasters, recruiting, ordnance, and medical officers; the Soldiers' Home; the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers; Artillery School, Fort Monroe; Army and Navy Hospital, Hot Springs, Arkansas; contingent expenses of the Army and the Adjutant-General's department; expenses for unascertained duties, refund of duties exacted in excess of true amount. He approves and files the official bonds given by customs officers, and transmits their commissions; files

the oaths of office of persons paid in the accounts certified by him; and prepares for the use of the law officers of the Department the accounts of those in arrears under the heads above mentioned.

This office is organized in two divisions, viz., Customs, Appointments, etc. The employees and salaries are as follows: Commissioner of Customs, \$4,000; deputy commissioner, \$2,250; two chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; two clerks at \$1,800 each; four clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; nine clerks at \$1,200, and three clerks at \$1,000 each.

The First Auditor receives all accounts accruing in the Treasury Department (except those

arising under the internal-revenue laws) and, after examination, certifies the balance, and transmits the accounts, with vouchers and certificate, to the First Comptroller or to the Commissioner of Customs, which ever may happen to have supervision in the case. The subordinate divisions of the office are—

Customs Division—Receipts and expenditures of the customs service, including fines, emoluments, forfeitures, debentures, drawbacks, marine-hospital service, revenue-cutting service, etc.

Judiciary Division—Salaries of United States marshals, district attorneys, commissioners, and clerks; rent of court-houses, support of prisoners, etc.

Public Debt Division—Redemption of the public debt, including principal, premium, and interest; payment of interest; redemption of certificates of deposit; notes destroyed.

Warehouse and Bond Division—Examination of accounts received from custom-houses.

Miscellaneous Division—Accounts of mints and assay offices; Territories; coast survey;

salaries and contingent expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government; construction, repair, and preservation of public buildings; Treasurer of the United States for general receipts and expenditures.

Employees and salaries of this office are: First Auditor of the Treasury, \$3,600; deputy auditor, \$2,250; five chiefs of division, \$2,000 each; seven clerks at \$1,800 each; nine clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; sixteen clerks at \$1,200 each; twenty-four clerks at \$1,000 each, and nine clerks at \$900 each.

The Second Auditor examines the following classes of accounts and claims, certifies the balances and transmits the accounts, vouchers, and certificates to the Second Comptroller for his decision thereon: Claims arising since 1816 for arrears of pay and bounty due soldiers or their heirs; accounts of Army paymasters, recruiting, ordnance, and medical officers; the Soldiers' Home; the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers; Artillery School, Fort Monroe; Army and Navy Hospital, Hot Springs, Arkansas; contingent expenses of the Army and the Adjutant-General's department; expenses for unascertained duties, refund of duties exacted in excess of true amount. He approves and files the official bonds given by customs officers, and transmits their commissions; files

the oaths of office of persons paid in the accounts certified by him; and prepares for the use of the law officers of the Department the accounts of those in arrears under the heads above mentioned.

This office is organized in two divisions, viz., Customs, Appointments, etc. The employees and salaries are as follows: Commissioner of Customs, \$4,000; deputy commissioner, \$2,250; two chiefs of division, \$2,100 each; two clerks at \$1,800 each; four clerks at \$1,600 each; ten clerks at \$1,400 each; nine clerks at \$1,200, and three clerks at \$1,000 each.

The First Auditor receives all accounts accruing in the Treasury Department (except those

Collection Division—Prepares transcripts of accounts of defaulting officers reported for suit; examines all cases for information from files of the offices in various matters, including reports on evidence relating to claims for bounty land and pensions to soldiers of the war of 1812.

Miscellaneous Division—Adjusts, under section 4718 (Revised Statutes), claims for expenses on account of last sickness and burial of deceased pensioners; compares copies, indexes, and registers letters; copies and compares difference-sheets, and miscellaneous papers, and has charge of the settlements, etc., made by the office.

Claims of States and Territories Division—Has charge of claims from States and Territories for expenses incurred in the suppression of the rebellion, Indian hostilities, and border invasions.

Farmers' State Union of Louisiana.

EDITOR ECONOMIST: I inclose you list of officers elected at last meeting of State Union held in Alexandria, August 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th. Meeting was well attended and harmonious throughout. Would have written sooner, but a brother who attended meeting proposed to write to paper, and as I was very busy I waited on him. Union adopted following resolution, offered by Bro. J. H. Tets, Ruston, La.:

Resolved, That THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, of Washington, be declared the official organ of Louisiana State Union, with understanding that a supplement be published for special benefit of this State, and this to continue until we establish an official organ in our own State.

Following were elected officers of the State Union for ensuing year: President, T. S. Adams, Clinton, East Feliciana; vice-president, S. Whited, Millhaven, Ouachita; secretary, J. W. McFarland, Homer, Claiborne; treasurer, B. L. Tannehill, Winnfield, Winn; lecturer, T. J. Guice, Grand Cane, De Soto; chaplain, W. H. Bass, of Sabine; doorkeeper, Pat Donohoe, St. Landry; assistant doorkeeper, S. W. Wilkes, of West Feliciana; sergeant-at-arms, H. D. Brown, of Ascension. Officers were installed by ex-President J. M. Stallings. The president-elect thanked the Union for honor conferred upon him. Mr. Adams is forty-nine years of age, was born in South Carolina, came to Louisiana in 1853, and has been a resident of this State since that time. Mr. Adams was a member of legislature in 1884 and 1886, and refused to become a candidate for the position in 1888. He served as a Confederate soldier, and took part in some of the most severe battles. The Union elected following executive committee: Daniel Morgan, of East Baton Rouge; T. P. Pearson, of Acadia; G. M. Lomax, of Lincoln; G. L. P. Wren, of Webster, and Dr. J. D. Hammonds, of Morehouse. Adopted resolutions of thanks to Brother Stallings, retiring president, by a rising vote.

Before final adjournment a series of ringing resolutions were adopted, demanding that the public lands be reserved for actual settlers; denouncing alien ownership of lands; calling for the payment of the public debt, and the operating of the mints to their full capacity in coining gold and silver; demanding abolition of National banks; calling for a law of Congress against dealings in futures on all agricultural and mechanical productions; demanding a graduated income tax; enforcement of law against foreign contract labor; that all means of communication and transportation be owned by government, and a plank against the renewal of patents; closing with a resolution to support no man for Congress who will not pledge himself to work and vote for these measures.

As most of the papers have the tariff plank wrong we give it in full:

"We demand such a revision of the tariff as will lay the heaviest burdens on the luxuries, and the lightest on the necessities of life, and as will reduce the incomes from imports to a strictly revenue basis."

A resolution was also adopted reciting 8th and 14th sections, article 12, Missouri constitution, demanding their enforcement by appropriate legislation, and closing with the demand:

That in ascertaining the value of the railroad, no greater valuation shall be allowed than the same can be duplicated for. That the Board of Railroad Commissioners shall then fix rates of passage and freights so as to pay a dividend, not to exceed 6 per cent. of said valuation after paying reasonable compensation to the officers and employees, and setting aside a fund for keeping the road in repair.

The Alliance on Friday night held a final

business meeting, continued all the old officers until the proclamation consummating the union and finally adjourned *sine die*.

The union of the Wheel and Alliance will unite in one solid, harmonious body 100,000 determined men who know their rights and will dare maintain them. While the union is not political in the sense of being partisan, the new declaration adopted pledges the membership not to vote for any man for Congress or the legislature who will not pledge himself, in writing, to work and vote for their demands.

Our evils are all political, and the remedy must be political. By next election we expect to have 250,000 voters under our banner, and you may expect to hear a good report from Missouri. And we are looking for much valuable assistance from THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Farmers' State Union of Louisiana.

EDITOR ECONOMIST: I inclose you list of officers elected at last meeting of State Union held in Alexandria, August 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th. Meeting was well attended and harmonious throughout. Would have written sooner, but a brother who attended meeting proposed to write to paper, and as I was very busy I waited on him. Union adopted following resolution, offered by Bro. J. H. Tets, Ruston, La.:

Resolved, That THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, of Washington, be declared the official organ of Louisiana State Union, with understanding that a supplement be published for special benefit of this State, and this to continue until we establish an official organ in our own State.

Following were elected officers of the State Union for ensuing year: President, T. S. Adams, Clinton, East Feliciana; vice-president, S. Whited, Millhaven, Ouachita; secretary, J. W. McFarland, Homer, Claiborne; treasurer, B. L. Tannehill, Winnfield, Winn; lecturer, T. J. Guice, Grand Cane, De Soto; chaplain, W. H. Bass, of Sabine; doorkeeper, Pat Donohoe, St. Landry; assistant doorkeeper, S. W. Wilkes, of West Feliciana; sergeant-at-arms, H. D. Brown, of Ascension. Officers were installed by ex-President J. M. Stallings. The president-elect thanked the Union for honor conferred upon him. Mr. Adams is forty-nine years of age, was born in South Carolina, came to Louisiana in 1853, and has been a resident of this State since that time. Mr. Adams was a member of legislature in 1884 and 1886, and refused to become a candidate for the position in 1888. He served as a Confederate soldier, and took part in some of the most severe battles. The Union elected following executive committee: Daniel Morgan, of East Baton Rouge; T. P. Pearson, of Acadia; G. M. Lomax, of Lincoln; G. L. P. Wren, of Webster, and Dr. J. D. Hammonds, of Morehouse. Adopted resolutions of thanks to Brother Stallings, retiring president, by a rising vote.

The next meeting is to be held in city of Baton Rouge, first Tuesday in August, 1890. Will send you copy of proceedings when printed.

Yours fraternally, J. W. MCFARLAND.

From West Virginia.

W. B. PARHAM, OF BURLINGTON.

I see nothing in your or my paper, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, from West Virginia. Please say to the brothers that many are alive to their duties in this State, especially in Hampshire, Mineral, and Hardy counties. I have been laboring here in Alliance cause for four months, have organized twenty-eight Alliances, and prospects are brightening. Five hundred greet me now with a hearty welcome, while five months ago not an Alliance man could be found in these counties. Other organizers ear doing more effectual work than I have, and I hope soon to see a Farmers State Alliance organized in West Virginia. Hoping much success to the ECONOMIST and its noble work, I close,

DIRECTORY.

Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

President, Evan Jones, of Texas. Vice-President, Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas. Secretary, A. E. Gardner, of Tennessee. Treasurer, Linn Tanner, of Louisiana.

National Farmers Alliance and Cooperative Union of America.

C. W. Macune, President, Washington, D. C. L. L. Polk, 1st Vice-President. E. B. Warren, Secretary. H. C. Saffell, Deputy Secretary, 1015 G street, Washington, D. C.

Linn Tanner, Treasurer. Ben Terrell, Lecturer. T. J. Bounds, Doorkeeper.

J. A. Tets, Committee on Secret Work.

TEXAS.

J. D. Field, Manor. I. O. Dawes, Dallas.

TENNESSEE.

Hon. J. P. Buchanan, Murfreesboro. J. H. McDowell, Nashville.

KENTUCKY.

J. E. Quicksell, Ezel. B. F. Davis, Ezel.

NORTH CAROLINA.

S. B. Alexander, Charlotte. L. L. Polk, Raleigh.

MISSOURI.

J. M. Anthony, Fredericksburg. Geo. W. Registrar, Poplar Bluff.

MISSISSIPPI.

R. T. Love, Chester.

C. T. Smithson, Newport.

ALABAMA.

S. M. Adams, Randolph. J. F. Oliver, Dadeville.

GEORGIA.

L. F. Livingstone, Cora. R. L. Burk, Chipley.

FLORIDA.

R. F. Rogers, Live Oak. A. P. Boskin, Anthony.

VIRGINIA.

G. T. Barbee, Bridgewater. J. J. Silvey, Amisville.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

E. T. Stackhouse, Little Rock. J. W. Reid, Reidsville.

KANSAS.

B. H. Clover, Cambridge. J. B. French, Burton.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

H. C. Randolph, Purcell. Lyman Friend, Purcell.

NEW MEXICO.

J. N. Coe, Lincoln. W. L. Bree, Nogal.

Officers of Louisiana Union.

T. S. Adams, Clinton. J. W. McFarland, Homer.

National Agricultural Wheel.

for the corresponding period in 1888. Of the exports a fraction over 70 per cent. in value were agricultural and a fraction over 20 per cent. manufactures, the balance mining, forest, fisheries, and miscellaneous. Prominent items of export during the seven months are: Wood and manufactures of same, over \$17,000,000; tobacco, \$11,643,331; provisions, meat and dairy products, \$69,082,535; mineral oils, \$25,657,623; oil-cake and meal, \$4,331,612; leather, etc., \$7,199,457; iron, steel, etc., \$12,700,732; cotton, etc., \$109,942,603; breadstuffs, \$68,709,122; animals, etc., \$14,039,704. Under the head of breadstuffs corn represents \$24,164,595; wheat, \$17,437,250, and wheat flour, \$25,061,110. The corn had an average value of about .45 cents per bushel, the wheat about \$1.16 per bushel, and the flour about \$4.85 per barrel. The total imports for the seven months exceed the exports \$56,512,287. The excess of exports of gold and silver coin and bullion over the imports for the seven months is \$53,253,429. The total number of foreign immigrants that arrived during the seven months ending July 31st was 269,146, against 357,125 for a corresponding period in 1888.

Hon. S. S. Cox.

On the 10th inst., at his home in New York city, Hon. S. S. Cox died of pneumonia. In his death the Democratic party loses one of its most influential, useful, and brilliant men.

Samuel Sullivan Cox was born at Zanesville, Ohio, September 30, 1824. He graduated at Brown College in 1846, became a lawyer and editor, and in 1855 became secretary of legation to Peru. Was elected to Congress from Ohio in 1856. During the war he took a prominent part in opposition to the general policy of Lincoln's administration. In 1866 he removed to New York, and two years later was elected to Congress from that city, and re-elected in 1870. In 1872 he was defeated as the Democratic candidate for the State at large from New York. He was afterward re-elected from his district in New York city and served continuously until President Cleveland appointed him Minister to Turkey. He resigned this post after filling it creditably for two years, and on his return was re-elected to Congress. He was more than once a candidate for Speaker of the House, and on each occasion received a very respectable vote for the position.

Besides his political career Mr. Cox had given some attention to literature, and was the author of several books. When quite a young man he published a humorous book of travels entitled "The Buckeye Abroad." "Eight Years in Congress" appeared in 1865, and "Search After Winter Sunbeams," a narration of travels in Italy, Corsica, Algiers, and Spain, in 1870. Of later years he has written a more comprehensive political reminiscence and a book giving his experience in Turkey.

Although Mr. Cox had never risen to any exalted political station, his office-holding being confined almost exclusively to service in the House, no man had kept himself more constantly and more favorably before the public.

It has been said, and probably with much truth, that his tendency to humor was a detriment to his political preferment.

Views of the Alliance Papers.

Southern Alliance Farmer:

The effort of the Southern farmers to become independent has brought down upon them the wrath of the combined capital of both North and South. Southern farmers are not made of the stuff that can be bulldozed and the banks need not attempt it.

We will never be able to see why money invested in railroads should not be made to pay tax to the same extent that money invested in lands is taxed. All fine-spun theories that taxes should be on the income are a fraud. We do not see why the State should always do wrong because she has done so once. True, many of the old roads were granted charters which will only allow a tax on their net income. Are farmers taxed on their net income? It is hard to tax the new roads in the counties and let the old ones go free. The old ones should be taxed.

Railroads should certainly be taxed, because there is no way to escape the truth of the claim that taxation should be equal, but before raising the taxes or imposing new ones upon railways, the powers of the railway commission should be so strengthened

that they can fix a maximum freight and passenger rate, otherwise they will make the farmer pay their taxes by raising their rates.

The Farmers Voice advocates a change in the laws of the country so that the Army and Navy may have representation in Congress. The position is sustained by a stirring argument, and the following is its forcible hit at the arrogance of Army officers:

Never was there a more anomalous and indefensible act done by a so-called popular government, than the making of a lot of haughty and supercilious despots to be supported luxuriously for life by the common people of America, upon whom they look down with lofty contempt. There is not a second Lieutenant in our regular Army, or a midshipman in our regular Navy, who does not deem the average merchant and manufacturer of our land as being far beneath him socially. Why is this so? Simply because our American codfish aristocrats import their notions of social rank from the monarchical nations of Europe, and our average well-to-do, intelligent business men would find the doors of England and Germany's nobility slammed in their faces if they sought to enter in—whereas they would open graciously to our popinjay life officers. Lieutenants and midshipmen are pleasantly aware of their favored position in the premises, and if they thus feel justified in looking down on even our wealthy merchants and manufacturers, with what meanness contumely do they regard our farmers and mechanics? The deluded sons of these producers of America make up the privates of our regular Army and regular Navy, where they are hopelessly barred from ever becoming officers, for West Point and Annapolis furnish more than an adequate supply of these gold-faced whipper-snappers.

The Farmers Voice handles the Big Four beef trust without gloves, and condemns the recent insult to the Senate committee.

The Alliance Journal of Clarksville, Texas, is a good Alliance paper representing Northeast Texas, and is the State organ of the Texas State Wheel. It reports the State Wheel as having ratified the proposed constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union. In a good editorial the Journal says:

Another duty is to read and study purely agricultural literature. Another is that Alliance officers should be elected solely with a view to their qualifications and fitness and should be heartily supported in every official action which invites opposition. There is a very popular and successful custom in vogue of assaulting the private character or impugning the motives of the leaders of the people and thus destroying their influence among the very class they are striving to serve. This can be overcome only by the sternest loyalty of members to their officers and advocates. In conclusion the Journal would recommend a county lecturer being kept in continual service. Pay him a sufficient salary and he can render competent service. Thorough understanding of each issue as it arises can be had by keeping a lecturer in active service, and immediate action upon every emergency will be easy when all thoroughly understand the situation.

The Macon Times, of Macon, Mo., is a first-class Alliance paper. Eight pages, all home print, and full of news.

Farmers Alliance, of Olteah, Tenn.:

The people have a right to know the exact amount of money in circulation, and a right to demand and require that such amount shall not be diminished. Why is it that no positively reliable information on this subject can be had, and how does it come about that the currency is juggled at the pleasure and for the exclusive profit of the few in defiance of the interest and the necessities of the masses?

Let it be borne in mind that as the volume of money is decreasing the value of every dollar is increasing in corresponding ratio; property is falling in value and debt growing harder to meet. For a quarter of a century this process has been steadily going forward until the great bulk of all values have passed into the hands of those who control the money of the people.

True, the people have a right to know, but they can not enforce the right to know as long as they delegate to a class of citizens the power to control the volume. That power controls prices and exacts tribute from all productive efforts.

New Farmer, Winona, Miss.:

That the producer does not realize a just share of the immense sum derived annually from this great moneyed crop, is patent to all; and he never will get the just recompense of his labor as long as he pushes forward his cotton. Let us try the experiment of holding back our cotton, for a few months at least.

For want of tools and materials to work with, many boys grow up without the least knowledge of their use, and consequently without the development of any mechanical ability that they may naturally have been possessed of. Every farmer's boy should have a knowledge of practical machines, so far, at least, as they apply to agriculture. And he should have an opportunity of acquiring the skill needed in their application to the various departments of farm work. The workshop is a great practical educator, and should be a permanent institution on every farm.

Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C.:

The struggle between the cotton farmers of the South and the jute-bagging trust involves issues of the greatest moment to the farmers, and will have an important bearing on the industrial development and commercial power of the South. The triumph of the farmers will mean the triumph of right over might; it will mean that there is yet among the people sufficient patriotism and manhood to resist and defy the arrogant assumptions of monopoly and money lords, and to stand by the great and eternal principles of justice, upon which the rights of the citizen are founded; it will mean that the producers of the great commercial crop of the world, should and will have some of the profits of that crop; it will mean that the South will hereafter keep the \$4,000,000 at home which it has annually sent abroad for bagging; it will mean hundreds of Southern mills and thousands of Southern operatives manufacturing 50,000,000 yards of bagging, and consuming annually over 100,000 bales of Southern cotton; it will mean an annual saving of \$6,000,000 in tare, which has hitherto been taken from the farmers; it will mean rapid steps forward in our industrial progress, when we shall hear the musical hum of spindles chiming in with the cheery morning song of the negro cotton-picker, and shall see hundreds of thousands of bales of spin cotton, instead of raw cotton, shipped from our villages and towns. But better and greater than all, it will mean that the American farmer has rights, sacred and inalienable rights, which he has the courage and manhood to defend, and, scarcely less important, it will demonstrate to him the great power of organized, cooperative action. It is safe to say that at least one-half of the entire cotton crop is in the hands of the members of the Farmers Alliance. They are determined to abolish the use of jute, and substitute cotton bagging.

The Southern farmer, in his mad rush for cotton, abandoned the raising of home supplies and went to the merchant to be supplied. The merchant in turn went to the producers in the North and West. They demanded that the farmer should pay as quickly as possible. This he promised to do, and gave a lien or mortgage to make good that promise. Result: The cotton was picked as fast as it opened—was rushed from the field to the gin and from the gin to the merchant and from the merchant to the manufacturer and speculator, where it found a crowded market, to be laid aside until it was needed. This early and rapid crowding of the market is to the detriment of the farmer. Why not make the contracts and accounts of the farmer fall due at the end of the year instead of the 1st of November? It would give him the advantage of the markets for three months at least. Why not? Will the Alliance think about it?

Southern Mercury, Dallas, Tex.:

The columns of Texas newspapers continue to be burdened with the names of prospective candidates for governor. The time has not yet come for The Mercury to suggest names, but it will take occasion right here to advise its readers to keep their "weather eye wide open." The Farmers Alliance, as has been repeatedly stated, is strictly non-partisan, but this fact does not preclude its members—either in their individual capacity or as members of the order—from discussing men and measures. There are great reforms which are imperatively demanded by the great body of the people of Texas, which must be adopted by the next State administration. Some of these reforms will doubtless be incorporated in the party platforms, but this should not be enough to satisfy the laboring and producing classes of the State. Platforms in the past have signified little, or nothing. In fact, they have as a rule been ignored. We should demand declarations and pledges from candidates, and such pledges should not be too general in their terms. These pledges should be plain, pointed, and full as to the reforms demanded, without either qualifications or reservations. No man should be supported whose declarations do not show clearly that he is in sympathy with the people. There are good men in Texas, whom the people could trust.

One of the best editorials

in support of cotton bagging is found in the Mexia Ledger of the 6th inst. It completely demolishes the sophistry of the jute men and their organs.

The Alabama Alliance Advocate, of Montgomery,

appears a second time on our table, fully up to the standard of the first number.

Speaking of the convention of Exchanges in New Orleans, 11th inst.,

which settled finally the question of tare on cotton

by fixing that on cotton-covered bales at eight

pounds less than that on jute-covered bales, says:

President Livingston, of Georgia,

was selected as

the spokesman of the agriculturists and his unanswerable argument most forcibly expressed was the prime cause of the allowance of a reasonable tare for cotton bagging. But had it not been for the efforts of Alabama's indefatigable commissioner of agriculture neither Col. Livingston nor any other gentleman representing the farmers would have been present. It will be remembered that the original call by President Thomas of the New Orleans Exchange included only delegates from cotton exchanges. As soon as he saw this call Commissioner R. F. Kolb wrote Mr. Thomas, requesting him to invite representatives from farmers' organizations and commissioners of agriculture in the cotton States, urging that as the cotton producer was more vitally interested in the question of tare that he ought to have a hearing before that body. To this request President Thomas assented and invited the farmers who were present Tuesday, and whose labors resulted in this signal victory for cotton bagging.

The Banker, or the Crank?

BY N. A. DUNNING.

A prominent banker of New York recently said, "The great financial evil which we labor under at the present time is the artificial money, \$346,000,000 of greenbacks and about \$150,000,000 of National bank notes, neither of which is worth one cent."

About the same date George Francis Train advised his audience to withdraw their money from the banks, as they were "no longer safe."

I have examined the facts relating to both the above assertions with the following results: There are \$100,000,000 of gold in the National Treasury held idle to redeem these greenbacks, which the law expressly declares shall not be redeemed. For each \$90 of National bank notes outstanding, there is \$100 in bonds worth a high premium in coin, held as security by the Government, and yet this Wall-street banker says the whole \$496,000,000 is "not worth one cent."

Upon careful investigation, I am led to believe, with Mr. Train, that of all American institutions the banks are the rottenest. They belong to that branch of our business economy which appear to thrive best amid a certain amount of distress, and fatten quickest on certain degrees of famine; but when the tension becomes so strong as to break, they prove the most complete wrecks of all. At present their enormous

assets, which are constantly paraded before the public with such patronizing unctuousness, are in reality merely nominal. In fact, it is difficult to estimate how small they really are.

Nearly all railroad stocks are held by the banks as security for loans, and counted among their resources. The aggregate given in figures appears large, but what is the true situation? Every mile of railroad in this country is capitalized and bonded for \$60,000 on the average. At the same time it is an admitted fact that the whole system can be duplicated at about \$16,000 per mile. This shows \$16,000 per mile real assets and \$44,000 per mile of genuine fraud. The real estate, furniture, etc., of the banks is scheduled at \$62,000,000, which no one believes to be true. United States bonds are estimated at a premium of 4 to 29 percent, which is alone made possible by the Secretary of the Treasury ignoring a plain provision of law. Then follows the bonds of trust companies, syndicates, and monopolies, which just and proper laws would reduce in value to waste paper. From these and similar assets depositors must, in the end, obtain their money. Can they do it? Wait and see, as the time is near at hand when the attempt will be made to realize upon these boasted resources. Then will be seen how utterly valueless is all this credit currency which the people have been compelled to buy at a high price in order to transact any kind of business. Then will appear in all its deformity the hideous ghoul we have permitted these many years to dictate our food, our clothing, and degree of life's comforts. Of all the gigantic trusts which curse this Nation the bank trust is the most to be feared. It overshadows all others and rules with despotic power every condition of life. No other business could be conducted upon similar methods. With a paid-up capital of \$592,000,000 the National banks have borrowed from depositors over \$1,700,000,000. Trust companies, State savings, and private banks, with but \$183,000,000 as capital, have borrowed from the same source \$2,100,000,000. In short, the banks, with a united capital of \$775,000,000, have obtained a credit from the people of more than \$3,800,000,000. Could any other branch of business stand up under such charges of dissolute conduct, and in her defense Pericles made the most wonderful appeal of his life. His eloquence in this appeal is said to have been most thrilling and affecting. He is said to have shed tears and behaved in a manner most degrading to the dignity of his position as the supreme head of the leading state of Greece. These appeals and entreaties excited the compassion of the assembly and she was saved.

Aspasia, the courtesan who had infatuated Pericles, and had, through her great influence over him, lived in the greatest splendor upon funds supplied by him, was arraigned upon charges of dissolute conduct, and in her defense Pericles made the most wonderful appeal of his life. His eloquence in this appeal is said to have been most thrilling and affecting. He is said to have shed tears and behaved in a manner most degrading to the dignity of his position as the supreme head of the leading state of Greece. These appeals and entreaties excited the compassion of the assembly and she was saved.

Pericles was then himself impeached, and charged with embezzling and misappropriation of the public funds. A decree was made by which he was commanded to give in immediately a report of his accounts. He was to be tried in the assembly of the people, before 1,500 judges,

for peculation and rapine. This being brought to account was just what Pericles was endeavoring to avoid, and to escape it he was using his utmost ability to lead the Athenians into a war, as he knew that a time of peace was the only time that he could be called upon to settle his accounts. He was, therefore, greatly concerned as to the means of escape from this reckoning. Alcibiades, his nephew, on meeting him one day, and seeing him greatly depressed, asked the reason. On being told that he was annoyed by the necessity of giving in his accounts, and was considering in what way it should be done, Alcibiades replied, "You ought rather be considering how you may avoid giving

History and Government.

No. 28.

Pericles opposed bitterly all the demands made by the allied states through the Lacedemonians, especially that relating to Megara. He saw that his designs were about to culminate in a war in accordance with his intention, and he now set himself to arouse the necessary enthusiasm among the people. He endeavored to make it appear to them that even trifles, extorted with the air of command, were sufficient cause for war; and that they might hope for reasonable success from divisions among the confederated states. He boasted that Athens had a navy to invade the enemy's coasts; and that she was so well fortified that she could defy attack by land. He appealed to military pride, avarice, and ambition; and his phenomenal eloquence and knowledge of the nature of the people were used to their utmost capacity to incite the masses to engage heartily in this inexcusable war.

But the stern integrity, inherited love of justice and regard of obligations had not entirely deserted the people. There was still a class which had not been utterly vitiated by this arch demagogue and they boldly opposed his designs. They first caused those most prominent in carrying out his policies to appear before the assembly of the people and answer charges of peculation and misappropriation of public funds. Phidias, the great sculptor who had directed the grand works of architecture and adornment, was one of these; he was condemned, sent to prison, and there died.

Aspasia, the courtesan who had infatuated Pericles, and had, through her great influence over him, lived in the greatest splendor upon funds supplied by him, was arraigned upon charges of dissolute conduct, and in her defense Pericles made the most wonderful appeal of his life. His eloquence in this appeal is said to have been most thrilling and affecting. He is said to have shed tears and behaved in a manner most degrading to the dignity of his position as the supreme head of the leading state of Greece. These appeals and entreaties excited the compassion of the assembly and she was saved.

Pericles was then himself impeached, and charged with embezzling and misappropriation of the public funds. A decree was made by which he was commanded to give in immediately a report of his accounts. He was to be tried in the assembly of the people, before 1,500 judges, for peculation and rapine. This being brought to account was just what Pericles was endeavoring to avoid, and to escape it he was using his utmost ability to lead the Athenians into a war, as he knew that a time of peace was the only time that he could be called upon to settle his accounts. He was, therefore, greatly concerned as to the means of escape from this reckoning. Alcibiades, his nephew, on meeting him one day, and seeing him greatly depressed, asked the reason. On being told that he was annoyed by the necessity of giving in his accounts, and was considering in what way it should be done, Alcibiades replied, "You ought rather be considering how you may avoid giving

them in," and, in fact, that was just what was occupying the mind of Pericles. He immediately set to work, by the most incendiary appeals, to inflame the passions of the people against the Lacedemonians and their allies, and wrought them into a perfect frenzy. Under the excitement, Pericles regained his old influence for the time.

It is only necessary to say, further, that Pericles succeeded in inducing the Athenians to give a defiant answer to the Lacedemonian ambassadors, who returned home, and the Athenian people were left to reap the terrible results of their passion and folly, in being led heedlessly into a bloody conflict with people who were of the same blood and wanted to be their friends.

The division of the allies between the leaders in the contest—Athens and Sparta—were about as follows: The Achaeans, Locris, Boeotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, Anactorium, and the people of Megara, who were the hereditary enemies of Athens, were on the side of the Spartans. The people of the states of Chios, Lesbos, Platea, many of the islands, and several tributary maritime states, on the side of the Athenians.

Thus the Greeks, who had stood so gallantly together against the combined powers of Asia, were involved in a fierce and bloody contest, which was finally to result in the utter ruin of all that their former heroism had achieved, and was to deprive the world of great benefits that a continued peace at this time would surely have developed.

The history of the rule of Pericles is the most striking illustration of the dangers to which republics are exposed, as well as the policies and plans of demagogues, as no one of this class has ever been so fertile in resources or was able to wield so powerful an influence over the minds and passions of a people as this brilliant and talented leader of the Athenians. The schemes of Pericles have been resorted to time and again by designing leaders, and nothing more effective has ever been conceived or attempted. Pericles stands to-day without a rival in the history of nations for thorough knowledge of human nature and the best means to be used to lead people to follow enthusiastically dictation, and yet his great undertaking went down in the end, as those of his imitators have always done, in ruin and defeat. The means he proposed for ameliorating the condition of the Athenian people were not adapted to the stage of progress in which that people lived.

Pericles, although what would be called to-day a brilliant politician, either knew nothing of the philosophy of politics or disregarded its plainest lessons, just as do the politicians of our time and day.

There is no science more abstruse, or which requires more earnest or devoted study, than that of politics. Yet the most ignorant, those who have never given an hour of earnest investigation to the overwhelming problems it presents, imagine themselves capable of advising and even directing political movements which bear with them consequences incalculable in their importance, not only so far as the immedi-

ate present is concerned, but even affecting the future to an extent which not even the wisest could possibly demonstrate.

There is no more sacred duty a free people owe to themselves and their posterity than an earnest study of the philosophy of politics. There is no political necessity but has its rise in a philosophical cause, and there is no means but must have philosophical application to an end that is the development of a regular succession of movements, which have been steadily tending toward it throughout the entire march of civilization. The entire scheme of human progress is a complete and connected chain of steadily advancing steps. From its beginning with primitive man, the growth of civilization has been but the unfolding of a complicated, connected, and beautifully perfect plan, which is marked by distinct stages and eras; while political policies have been the most powerful factors in the operation of this grand design. Many acts which have been apparently antagonistic to this progress, on investigation prove to have been an absolute necessity to this advance; and many which were thought by men to be beneficial have proved to have been retrogressive. Actions taken at one time have had no apparent effect, but the result has developed probably ages after. Progress has been by eras and stages, and every policy must be adapted to the requirements of the age in which it is adopted and in harmony with the general tendency of the grand scheme of human progress.

In order that this grand design may be comprehended, and intelligent action on the part of the people be assured, it is necessary that the whole history of the growth of civilization be made a study, and the intimate relation of cause and final effect, separated sometimes by centuries, be understood. Then it will appear to the intelligent student how puerile are party policies and prejudices, how the people have been played with and deceived by charlatans and demagogues, and how far the intelligent student of the philosophy of politics is above the blind and abject creature who is led only by party prejudice or the blatant ignorance of party politicians. There is no more exalted study than that of political science, and there is none of more vital importance to the citizen or the world.

It is the object of these papers to take up this subject in the abstract at the proper time, to trace the development of civilization from the most primitive times; show how each stage of progress was reached; what principal political causes produced these marked stages; what was the result of continuing any one means beyond the era of its usefulness. How the natural characteristics of man developed certain governing conditions, where and when great and far-reaching effects were evident, how political forms and systems are the result of natural causes, why certain races have halted in the general advance, and why popular government has reached the grand development it has; what, judging from the past, is to be the probable character of our further development, and what means are

best adapted to bring about this development, and in what manner these means may be discovered.

The era of history which has been, and is now, under review is one of the most important in the history of human civilization, and to understand fully the argument to be set out it is necessary to be familiar with the prominent points in the rise and fall of the Greek states. For this reason that portion of history has been gone over with considerable conciseness, as far as relates to marked features, in order to give a clear idea of the character and temperament of the people and the striking characteristics of the age.

It has been attempted to make these dry historical details as entertaining as possible on account of the great volume of matter necessary to be gone over, but it is promised not to afflict the reader with any more than is necessary to the perfect illustration of the line of argument to be entered into, to show how important a knowledge of history is to fit men to act intelligently on all political and social questions, because all such questions have an important bearing upon the favorable development of civilization; a bearing of vastly more consequence than even thinking men are likely to suppose.

The object of progress is to ameliorate the condition of man, and every political measure has a greater or less influence on this progress.

The field of political philosophy is so vast that it seems almost a hopeless task to undertake to cover even sufficient of it to induce men to make further research, but the great good to be accomplished is sufficient stimulus to encourage the attempt, and the great interest already manifested promises great results. This long digression seems to be necessary just at this point, and for that reason it is hoped it will be excused.

To return to our subject. The fierce flame of war now blazed throughout all Greece. The people, fired by an irrational frenzy, rushed into a conflict that was to bring down all Greece in one red ruin. The demon of destruction was loosed, and raged with dripping sword and flaming torch over the verdant hills and fertile valleys of this lovely but devoted land, and the people, who had done so much to liberate man from the thralldom which had bound him for ages, had achieved triumphs that made a grand civilization and enlightenment possible, now sought each other's lives and gloats over the ruin which they wrought, and lovely Greece, the mother of liberty, the home of culture, of happiness, of intellect, of philosophy; the garden of human refinement and advanced development, was doomed to perish by the ruthless hand of passion, fired by the heartless, inexpressibly despicable selfishness, and vile ambition of a demagogue, who set his own paltry aspirations above the grand achievement of human progress.

The contemptible baseness of such a character is beyond the power of language to define, and yet historians, who were the fawning parasites of monarchy, have attempted to laud the sites of monarchy, have attempted to laud the actions of this creature, this worst enemy to

real progress and the advancement of human enlightenment. Just here the great injury done to history, and through it to the student of human progress, indeed to civilization, is made apparent. Through the power of monarchs and their ability to favor and advance those who give their works to a cringing laudation of weak, ambitious, and aspiring princes, as well as to punish wise criticism of bad and ill-adapted administrations, history has been warped and wrong impressions made on the minds of those who earnestly desire to form just and intelligent opinions of the effects of particular policies upon the general progress of the race. Pericles is always painted as the very embodiment of Greek progress, when in truth his was the hand that lighted the flame which destroyed it and smothered beneath its smoldering ashes the vital spark which laid buried until other hands exhumed it and a more congenial atmosphere revived it. The true character of Pericles has never been shown, and students of history, taking the eulogiums of historians as deserved, and their assertions with regard to the effect of his policies as truths, have invariably been misled in their judgment and have failed to endeavor to trace the results of his acts beyond the immediate time of his administration. These same facts hold good as they relate to other heroes of monarchic history. The effects of policies do not die with the monarchs or chiefs who instituted them; but go on influencing actions, character, and cast of thought far into futurity. Hence it is that a just judgment be formed of policies and their effects not only at the time of their activity, but the resultant influences so far as they may be traced upon the general plan of human progress. Only in this way can a proper idea be had as to any policy, as the immediate effects are often of the least consequence.

The Lacedemonians marched, 40,000 strong, into Attica and to within seven miles of Athens. The Athenian people were terror-stricken, and fled from the surrounding country to within the walls of the city. The Spartans spread desolation throughout the fertile valleys of Attica. These fields had smiled with the wealth of harvests for nearly fifty years. Dotted over the beautiful undulating lands were the homes of the people, where children had sported in peaceful security and domestic happiness had fixed its altars. All was now given up to desolation and ruin, and all had been brought about to shield a guilty demagogue from the punishment richly due for his treachery and deceit. Even had Pericles been honest in his theories, his evident ignorance of the true effect of his policies, as a practical means of relief and advancement, and their relation to the grand combined scheme of human progress, stamped him as an unfit leader; as an unsuitable instrument to carry out a conception so vastly grand and enormously important to the race.

The ruin which they saw being wrought around them and the intense suffering, as well as the enormous loss they were compelled to endure, brought the people to a realization of the true condition of affairs, and they began to turn their fury against the enemy to resentment against Pericles, and demanded to be led

We have studied history and have learned that man in all ages of the world is the same selfish being; that there is no station in which he can be placed in which he is completely satisfied, and when we find one that is so apparently, we find him an imbecile or an idiot. All that deserve the name of men are constantly striving for something in advance. And I, therefore, conclude there is nothing strange or abnormal in the fact that all are not abreast.

The distress and hardship under which the masses are struggling is not for want of land, however scarce and high-priced it may be in certain limited localities, for there are yet millions of acres of virgin soil to be had without money and without price, simply by going to where it is; but men prefer to work as day laborers at what they term starvation wages, and crowd the manufacturing and commercial centers, rather than undergo the deprivations of new countries and sparse settlements.

"Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long," will not do for this fast age. I suggest that we are living too fast. We have got in advance of our day, or, in other words, we are in an abnormal situation through our own greed; and I speak particularly of the agricultural class, as I am one of them. Our relief can be reached by curtailing our wants and payment of our debts.

It is indebtedness, then, that enables the financier of capitalist to subsist on our labor. We can not pay our debts individually, because we are taxed so heavily to pay National and State debts, or rather the interest on the public debt. "Ah," says one, "you are not taxed to pay the National debt." Not directly, I know; but I would prefer to pay direct rather than as I now do, for I would then pay in proportion to property worth, and not on what I consume; my tax would then be lighter, while the rich would pay more. Under the present system I consume as much or more than my rich neighbor, and, therefore, pay as much tax, while his property worth is one hundred or one thousand that of mine. Let the National debt be extinguished, reduced or wiped out entirely the tariff, let the General Government collect direct ad valorem and income tax sufficient to meet current expenses and no more, and the condition of the laboring people of this country will be very different, especially as to those engaged in productive pursuits.

"This involves destruction almost to the business interests of the country," says one. Suppose it does, is it not better that the business interests should go to the bow-wows than for the masses of the people to be enslaved, as the present system is doing at a rapid rate? The man in debt is no less a slave because of a voluntary act than if he had been put upon the block and sold; he is compelled to part with the product of his labor at a price fixed by his masters, and if he refuses, the officers of the law dispose of it for him and add a tax for so doing. The business interests of the country have been legislated for, and the interest of the masses entirely forgotten.

By law of nature the business interests will take care of themselves. "Large fish will eat little ones," but they should be left to the trouble of catching them, and not have the Government net set in which they are caught, without exertion on the part of the big fellows. As it is, they simply eat them at their leisure.

We do not want legislation for the farmer as a class. We ask no new laws, but we do want and must have a vast amount of class legislation repealed; we must return to the fundamental principles of democratic government as set forth in the Constitution, both National and State, or go on as at present, increasing the aggregate wealth for the enrichment of the few, and impoverishment of the many, until it results in the destruction of values through revolution and anarchy.

Thoughts and Conclusions by a Farmer.

B. N. C. B., OF MANGUM, TEXAS.

By reading the articles contributed to our valuable periodical, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, we find all our writers asserting that there is great wrong, because the few have abundant means to gratify all desires, while the many toil and scarcely obtain the necessities of subsistence. Some say it is monopoly, especially of land; some, high tariff, or taxes; others, our productions. Still others put the entire blame upon the financial policy of the Government.

The first propose as a panacea the single-tax theory of Henry George; the second, free trade; the third, idleness or its equivalent, a curtailment of production; and yet others, a complete revolution in financial theory and practice.

Harry Hinton Interviewed by the Bugle of Freedom.

I came to the residence of the Hon. Gen. Harry Hinton, LL. D., F. R. S., says the reporter of the Bugle of Freedom, and found him sullen, sour, egotistic, and dogmatic; but after much cajoling, I got him willing to talk.

"What effect will this great wealth-making have upon the destiny of the Nation, Mr. Hinton?"

"You will no doubt concede, without argument, that human nature is the same in all ages, and that in all ages it has been human nature to take advantage of the weak and to render subject to one's interests and pleasures all who may come in one's power. This you will concede, and this answers the question. Wealth, giving its possessor power, will finally bring all interests and persons under its control. There will be slavery of the many to the few."

"So bad as that, Mr. Hinton?"

"Not so bad as may be, but the fact is, it is true already three-fourths of the laborers barely make a clear living out of their labor, because by well-conceived schemes they are the slaves of masters who reap all the profits. The great wealth-making has already reduced the country to slavery."

"What is to be done about it?"

"That is the question, Mr. Reporter; if I were able to answer it the world might pause and listen. Of course I can only advance opinions. The first means by which remedies may be applied is through what I term industrial representation."

"Give us some explanation of industrial representation. Do you mean to say that all industries and professions shall be represented in our State and National legislatures in proportion to number?"

"That is precisely what I mean, and the census should be taken as a guide and the constitutions so amended as to make the desired change. These industries have been represented by proxy, and often abominably misrepresented. It is high time they commenced to attend to their own business in the law-making departments in this Government."

"I don't think, Mr. Hinton, that would improve matters any. It would be a funny sight to see a Congress of farmers, merchants, doctors, and mechanics, with a sprinkling of lawyers, in the Capitol at Washington."

"Your idea is gathered from a misapprehension of what government is. Government is business, and it requires men of business to transact the affairs of government. Consequently men of every business, with their sum of business knowledge, would have a hundred times more business knowledge than a legislature of one profession alone, and that literary."

"Mr. Hinton, you make a mistake right there. It is not knowledge you so much need as honesty."

"Now you've struck oil, Mr. Reporter; I contend there would be more honesty collected as well as knowledge. If the present element continue to run this Government its history can now be written. A change is necessary."

"Will not the present ruling element, you think, yield to the demand of the times?"

"No, Mr. Reporter; they will never yield."

"Why, Mr. Hinton?"

"Because in 1860 they did not yield, but brought on the Government a huge civil war, which might have been compromised and would have been compromised by men of business. Because the present ruling element is wrongly educated as to what is political duty, and it would be a task quite as easy to wrench the earth out of its orbit as to change their line of thought. The first thing to be done is to change the ruling element."

"Having put that down as dogma No. 1, what is your second dogma, Mr. Hinton?"

"My second dogma is, that it shall be the

unchanging policy of the Government to protect the weaker members against the stronger. This can not be done when the stronger element is the ruling element. Hence the need of a change. This is the primordial principle of all government, and so far as this principle is contravened so far is the Government subverted from its proper functions already. We see that the policy of this Government in practice is to grant special advantages to capital in its varied uses and to tax the many for the benefit of a few—to tax the poor for the benefit of the rich. This was originally done for the encouragement of capital; now, perchance, capital demands it as a right."

"Well, Mr. Hinton, how are you going to make the desired reformation?"

"I don't ask for reformation. All I ask is that the Government be reinstated in its proper functions."

"Tell us how you would proceed in that?"

"Well, Mr. Reporter, the thing is easy enough. I would first have every man to pay taxes in proportion to his ability. This would tend in a small way to redistribute colossal estates."

"What next?"

"I would change the financial or monetary feature of our Government."

"That is an important question. Let us hear you on that."

"I would have only three circulating media; that is, coin (gold and silver), coin certificates, and legal-tender greenbacks. I would issue to the banks free coin certificates, dollar for dollar, based upon coin in vault, deposited where the Government may direct. And in order to increase this medium, I would run the mints to their fullest capacity. Tax the exportation of specie 10 per cent. in order to encourage the exportation of merchandise instead. Then what was necessary to run up the circulating medium to \$50 per capita I would issue in legal-tender greenbacks and keep it near that quantity."

"What effect would such a financial scheme have upon the business of the country, Mr. Hinton?"

"None whatever."

"It would have the effect of utilizing and retaining our precious metals as a basis of credit in time of need, lowering interest, and in making it more difficult to form combinations against the interests of the people."

"What next?"

"I would inaugurate a policy to increase the number of independent holdings, both in the factory and on the farm. One way in the factories I have published, by establishing industrial communities by assistance of government, and on the farms by opening up all lands held for speculation or sent above a given amount to purchase and settlement. The basis of the credit for the legal-tender greenbacks above mentioned should be land. I would issue greenbacks and lift all mortgages on land to the amount of issue already prescribed, relieving the smaller farms first and lending the money at 3 per cent. This would be 3 per cent. tax on those lands going into the National Treasury annually, and it would establish the rate of interest to some extent. You who have read up very well understand how interest is absorbing all values and enslaving the masses. Thus we believe that our greenbacks, based on land security, and our certificates, based on coin, could be safely issued to a large amount and still be at par; and instead of the Government issuing the money, costing the people millions, the Government could make 3 per cent. on its issue, and thus soon liquidate the public debt."

"Well, General Hinton, I never saw things in that light before. This certainly is a wonderful scheme and deserving of the profoundest thought. What next? You begin to interest me now."

"Government should stop all trusts and combinations which are levying tribute upon our people. We have just told you how to checkmate the money trust—the usury trust. There are three ways open—one for the people to organize and combat them as they have done in the jute and twine trust; another for the Government to pass laws making them criminal; and a third for the Government to so far enter into these private businesses as to become a salutary competitor. No one of these remedies will be effectual by itself. It is a very lamentable state of public affairs when the people have to combine in order to resist a species of tyranny which the Government is too weak or corrupt to remedy; and it is still more lamentable when a government can not protect its citizens from oppression through the law. These first two remedies may be worked for all they are worth, and no doubt will do some good, but I am inclined to believe they will not be effectual altogether. The people are too weak, for the want of thorough organization, and the Government is too weak or corrupt to enforce strictly such laws. They will be evaded or overridden. Should these two remedies fail, the Government must import and manufacture to private order sufficiently in some lines to become a healthy competitor. The money trusts must go; the manufacturing trusts must go; the importing trusts must go; the transportation trusts must go; the people must be free and untaxed without their consent or representation."

"Don't you believe, Hon. General Hinton, that large combinations of capital in importing or manufacturing tends to cheapen goods and is a public benefit?"

"I certainly do, Mr. Reporter, when competition is free and open. My war is not on capital. I'm proud of our capital. My war is on monopoly—the forestalling of the market. Understand me, please."

"That is precisely what I desire to do. You have no objections to my making public your views on these momentous questions, I suppose?"

"Just so. Go on."

"That it shall be the unchanging policy of Government to protect the weaker against the stronger; that the Government as now administered is subverted from the primordial principle of all honest government in that it is aiding the stronger in oppressing the weaker."

"Just so. Go on, Mr. Reporter."

"In order to reinstate the Government in its proper functions, you propose that every man shall pay taxes in proportion to what he is worth, and stop monopolies and the forestalling of the market?"

"Just so. Go on."

"And in order to stop monopolies and the forestalling of the market you would inaugurate a policy to increase the number of independent holdings, both in the factory and on the farm; you would condemn large holdings of land to sale and settlement; you would establish industrial communities; you would issue greenbacks and lend to the farmers whose farms are mortgaged, thus making the issue pay an interest to the Government and balking the monopoly in money matters; you would stop all trusts and combinations against the interest of the people, even if the Government had become a competitor."

"Now you have it. I'm making war on capital. It is simply on the ways that are dark."

When the wave of empire touched the Pacific it touched its farthest limit. It must recoil bringing desolation and ruin, or it must bring health and hope to the world. The weight of the world is resting upon us. The momentum of all history prompts us to do our duty. The expectancy of the oppressed everywhere is looking to America in hope. Shall we go down like Ireland or Poland and be engulfed in one dark tyranny evermore? Would to God if we fail to meet our responsibilities I could by the pen of prophecy depict a fate no worse! Rich and rotten! Still growing more rich and still becoming more rotten! Stop, historian! Pass over! Pass over! Too black! too full of misery! . . . Pass over!"

"Then you expect from the present outlook that this Nation is going to be swallowed up in one whirlpool of rich rotteness?"

"No, sir; I do not. Americans are becoming awake, and Americans will save America from such a dire calamity. Justice will be done and the nations will still look to America as an exemplar."

"Good-evening, Mr. Hinton. You have rare ideas—rare ideas. I wish you well, sir."

The Cotton-Bagging Victory.

BY WILL H. TUNNARD, OF SHREVEPORT, LA.

The united and determined action which has characterized the various farmers' organizations in their resistance to the unreasonable demands of the jute trust plainly indicates the potency of co-operation and unity. Every known project has been tried to deter the producers from resorting to some available substitute as a governing for this potent factor in the world's commerce. Even the strong and giant arm of the Liverpool dealers has been invoked to stay the inroad, to the extent even of refusing the cotton-encased product, because it would be rendered unmarketable. The farmers are no longer Lilliputians, and even if so classed, under the impressions conveyed by the records of the past, their union has proved a tower of strength and they have successfully bound the jute giant hand and foot.

It is a significant as well as most commendable circumstance that the agriculturists of the Southern cotton belt have cultivated and made their crops of cotton and corn at a less outlay than heretofore for the necessities of life. In other words, their union organization has already taught them retrenchment, and with it the dawning of an independence which will eventuate in their freedom from the oppression of capital, the burden of mortgages, the nightmare of debt, and the dictation of rings and cliques who feast and fatten upon the spoils of their arduous labors. With an achieved independence, the agriculturists of America will become a power in the land. Then they can bid defiance to concentrated capital, laugh to scorn the power of bloated corporations, mighty syndicates, and oppressive combinations. Instead of seeking terms and a market, they can dictate fairly remunerative prices for the products of their arduous labors.

The greed of capital, in the shape of combines, to literally rob the producers and keep them in a state of poverty bordering on slavery, seems to have made the millionaire companies forgetful of the sources whence springs their wealth and profits. They have used the bounteous gifts of nature as the engines of oppression and tyranny. They have turned the blood-wrung drops of honest toil into accumulated gold, and grown haughty and dictatorial for their application to those studies. The ignorance I deplore is the blind adherence to party regardless of its effects upon the condition of the laboring men, and the curses it will entail on future generations. We find such profound ignorance among the leading

men of our country that those who do understand the situation are trembling for the final result. We see even the ranks of reformers divided. We find Bro. A. Severance and others who think as he does wanting to place all the burden of the Government on the owners of land, regardless of their condition, or the quantity they hold, while he claims that personal property and the products of labor should go free of taxation. I would be glad if he would tell us how he would pay his taxes out of land. I think he would have to pay it with the product of his labor. I want him to tell me if a bushel of corn or a bale of cotton is any more the produce of a "natural opportunity" than a gallon of whisky made from the corn, or a bale of cloth made from the cotton?

I think it is a fair proposition that man can create nothing; he can only change the form by either taking from or adding two or more things together. If this be so, no man can manufacture anything without using a product of nature. The land will not produce for the farmer without his labor any more than the loom, work-bench, or anvil; and to say that it is just to tax a man for the use of land on which he expends his labor to produce personal property, and let the products of others go tax free, is so fine a distinction that so coarse a mind as mine can not grasp. My remedy would be to limit land ownership to citizens of the United States, to limit the quantity held by any one individual, and to reduce the amount owned by corporations to that absolutely necessary to the business. I would then force the payment of the National debt, make it impossible for the Government to issue any more bonds, recharter no more National banks, and limit interest to 3 or 4 per cent. This would throw large bodies of land upon the market, by which men could get homes at reasonable prices. It would put millions of dollars in circulation that are now lying idle; this would induce capitalists to enter the fields of manufacture, mining, trade, etc., and this would give employment to many millions of men who are now idle or employed only part of the time. These would be increased consumers of the products of labor, and labor would be paid in proportion to its value as a producer. To make it impossible for the Government to issue bonds will make it impossible for bondholders to manipulate the Congress of the United States to their interest and against the interest of the workingmen.

All kinds of monopoly can be broken up by law just as easy as they were established by law. What labor needs is an opportunity to produce, and it will, through the power to purchase, become a greater consumer. When capital has no longer a safe retreat, where it can grow and fatten, it will cease to become the enemy of labor and become its partner, and there will not be wanting "opportunity" to utilize itself. After we get these fundamental principles in operation we can think of a graduated income tax, which will limit wealth, and thereby limit poverty.

THOSE who are in the habit of looking upon co-operative enterprises as still an experiment will be astonished to learn what the exhibition of the co-operative industries held in London last month proved. There are no less than 1,600 separate establishments organized on this principle in England, and these establishments represent nearly 200 trades or occupations and are already dangerous competitors of capitalistic enterprises. There is a growing feeling among the social reformers in England that the future of the wage-workers and their rescue from their present intolerable condition must come through co-operation.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

By "The National-Economist Publishing Company."

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Official organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, The National Agricultural Wheel, and The Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are 1/2 cent per line, non-current. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement desired.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$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 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, 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.

Subscribers can have their time commence 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 can be had at 2 cents a copy by application to this office.

Subscribers who desire to change their papers from one postoffice to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Postage stamps cannot be used in such quantities as received at this office. It is therefore requested that remittances be by money order or postal note, which may be at the expense of this office.

Alliance Enterprise.

Oswald Wilson, president of the Florida Farmers Alliance Exchange, is an enterprising business man with push and energy. Through his devotion to the cause he has succeeded in getting a New York office in fine working order. It is located in the very heart of the great city, at No. 1 William street, immediately opposite the Cotton Exchange. Gradually the Alliance is getting representatives in the best markets of the world, and this is one of the most important. Mr. Wilson is courteous and accommodating, and will attend to business in behalf of agencies of the Farmers and Laborers Unions of all the States.

Mr. Wilson will be the authorized agent of the ECONOMIST for the city of New York.

THE first volume of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in manilla tag board, with complete index and table of contents, can now be furnished for 60 cents each, or 10 volumes for \$5.50, or 25 volumes for \$13, or 100 volumes for \$50. The book contains 416 closely printed pages, each page 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This is probably the most reading matter and the best ever offered for so small a sum.

THE Bear side of the cotton market has been interested peculiarly in the reports so vigorously circulated, that the present cotton crop is the largest ever produced, and that Texas alone would make 2,000,000 bales. The presi-

dent of the National Alliance has been criticised by some of the press for saying that the crop was not as large as had been reported. It should be remembered that the Alliance officers are in direct and constant communication with the people, and, as a consequence, get quicker and more reliable information of that character than even the United States Government itself. The statistician of agriculture now comes out with his report for September, and fully sustains the statements made in the president's address.

Suggestive.

The American Economist has compiled some figures which THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST reproduces because of their suggestiveness:

The price of live cattle at Chicago in the years named has been: \$34.75 in 1880, \$30.51 in 1881, \$35.05 in 1882, \$38.66 in 1883, \$30.25 in 1884, \$28.40 in 1885, \$23 in 1887, \$19.88 in 1888, and \$18.04 in 1889, but the price of beef to consumers seems to be no cheaper than in 1880 to 1884.

It is further stated that the consumption of beef in the region north of the Ohio River and between the Mississippi and the Atlantic seaboard can not be far from 3,000,000 cattle per annum, so the gain in profits for the year 1889 over 1883 is about \$62,000,000. The

combination, the members of which refuse to be examined by the Senate committee, evidently has a good thing, as things go.

ALTOGETHER over twelve thousand persons are connected with the work of statistical investigation under the direction of the Agricultural Department. Such a force, effectively directed and strictly attentive to the duties required of them, ought to insure full and exact information upon agricultural questions. An honest and careful administration of the Department and a close study of its reports by the agriculturists of the country would place the American farmer far in advance of his fellow-laborers of other countries. The crop-reporting branch of the service includes a corps of county correspondents and their assistants, State agents and their assistants, and a foreign agent connected with the consular system. This last connection furnishes statistical reports from all foreign countries, so that our farmers can have full information in regard to every species of crop throughout the world.

With a just monetary system we should no more depend upon a foreign nation for money to represent our own property in our own country than for the air we breathe. When we make our own property the basis of our currency, and furnish all the money we need for the exchange of our own products among ourselves, no foreign nation will have power to affect our money market and derange the internal exchanges of our products more than it could induce a scarcity of air, and thus disturb our breathing.—Edward Kellogg.

In 1862 the total amount of wheat exported from the United States was 36,160,414 bushels, and of flour 4,390,055 barrels. In 1887 the total wheat exported had swelled to 101,971,499 bushels, and of flour to 11,518,449 barrels.

First. The membership of the Farmers Alliance are hereby notified that the new consti-

Proclamation.

Know all men by these presents, that—Whereas the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America did, at its last regular meeting, to wit, on the 5th day of December, 1888, in the city of Meridian, State of Mississippi, agree upon a new constitution for the order, and that said constitution was twice read in open session on two separate days, as required by law, and then passed by a two-thirds majority, and then submitted to the States for ratification in conformity to Article VI. of the constitution now in force; and

Whereas the vote of the various State Alliances on said proposition is officially recorded as follows: Affirmative, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Indian Territory; negative, none reported; New Mexico has not reported at all, and the State Alliance of Texas ratifies conditionally. This record shows that the requisite three-fourths of the State Alliances have ratified said constitution; and

Whereas the National Agricultural Wheel did, at its annual meeting, which was held in connection with The National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, and The Farmers Mutual Benefit Association in the city of Meridian, State of Mississippi, formulate a new constitution for the government of the order, and the same has been submitted to the State Wheels for their ratification; and

Whereas the following State Wheels have ratified the same: Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Indian Territory, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Louisiana, Wisconsin, and Texas. This record shows that over three-fourths of the State Wheels have adopted the aforesaid constitution; and

Whereas the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, the National Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association did pass the following resolutions, to wit:

"When as many as three-fourths of said State and Territorial Alliances shall have ratified said proposed constitution, the president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America shall make proclamation to that effect, and when concurrent action shall have been had by the National Agricultural Wheel, the president this day elected by the joint session shall make proclamation providing for the organic union of the State, County, and Sub-Alliances and Wheels, respectively, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe;" and

Whereas the said organizations, acting in joint session, did provide for a new set of officers in case said constitution should be ratified, and did elect as officers for that purpose, Evan Jones, president; Isaac McCracken, vice-president; A. E. Gardner, secretary, and Linn Tanner, treasurer: Now, therefore

We, the undersigned, C. W. Macune, president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, and Isaac McCracken, president of the National Agricultural Wheel, and Evan Jones, president of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, do by the authority in us vested severally and officially issue this our proclamation to the order at large, to wit:

It is discussion of principles, and not of mere undertakings, that bring great results. Principles once thoroughly understood, the means of establishing them are readily arrived at.

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. 21.

REBATES UNDER COMPETITION.

In the last five articles we have considered, at the risk of tediousness, leading instances of vital discrimination by which material advantages in commerce were secured to favored individuals at the cost of the public. In all these cases the force which maintained the discriminations was pointed out to be made

possible by the absence of competition, either through the fact that the discriminations were enforced by a single railroad upon its local traffic, or by the combinations of railroads whose chief and characteristic purpose is the abolition or suspension of competition. So far as these cases are concerned, they utterly disprove the railroad claim that discriminations between shippers are produced by the operation of unchecked competition. Other and even more prominent examples in which this contention is vitally involved will come up for detailed discussion in the course of these articles.

At present we may take up some examples, upon which the railroad's contention is founded, of rebates and special rates given to shippers by the railroads when they are in competition with each other.

It is not to be denied that, prior to the passage of the interstate commerce law, even during periods of competition between the railroads, the practice of making rates by rebates and special rates to shippers who had large and desirable amounts of traffic to furnish to the railroad was a general one. A railroad agent might seek traffic from some large shipper, and in order to secure the desired business would promise him a reduction from the nominal rates anywhere from 25 to 50 per cent.; or a shipper might go to a railroad office and say,

"If you will give me certain special rates (perhaps two-fifths to one-half of the schedule) I will furnish your road a large amount of traffic during the succeeding six months." Instances of this sort prior to the passage of the law were too frequent to leave any doubt upon the prevalence of the custom. If they have been kept up since, it has been done so secretly that the public is not generally informed of it. Whether they have been kept up or not, the question which we are now discussing, namely, how to take away the power which renders such things possible, in case the law should prove a dead letter, or the railroad powers should openly defy it, makes it cogent to examine these cases simply as bearing upon the assertion that they are due to competition, and that the way to make them impossible is to abolish competition by the favorite railroad resort of combination.

Two or three examples will serve to illustrate the whole class which, during their prevalence

was so multitudinous that the mere citation would occupy the space of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for several issues. The first and most prominent of them is that furnished by the evidence before the Hepburn committee, that six thousand special rates were granted by the New York Central Railroad within a short time before that investigation was held. There is no doubt that a large majority of these special rates were granted under competition, to secure business. It is also evident that such a multitude of special rates must have included within its favors all the shippers at competitive points on that line who produced or shipped the articles on which those favors were granted.

Another single example of what was practically the class to which the majority of these six thousand special rates were granted was repeated to me by a railroad agent, in reference to a certain shipper who, before the passage of the interstate commerce law, could get a special rate on his shipment of two-fifths of the tariff rates. This reduction was given by the railroads to secure the business of this shipper, and to enable him to reach with his shipments all the parts of the country where he sold his products.

But the vital injury which attaches to the discriminations already cited, and to the illegal favoritism which builds up trade monopolies, was absent from the fact that the competitors of this shipper could, for the same reason, get equal reductions on their shipments. So, too, the assertions of the majority of the Pacific Railroad commission, that one of the leading recipients of a special rate at the hands of the Pacific Railroad obtained it because the testimony showed he could get the same special rate over another road if the Union Pacific road did not concede it, carries presumption that other shippers in his class could get the same reduction from one road as from the other. Where special rates are given solely to secure business, the shipments of one man are just as valuable as the shipments of another, and the reduction which one man can get by reason of the competition between the railroads is available for his competitors also.

Several years ago, in looking up the question of railroad charges upon Pittsburgh freights, I asked a friend of mine what was the actual rate upon iron ore shipped from the ports of Lake Erie to the iron works of Pittsburgh. His reply was: "The regular open rate is \$1.50 per ton, but everybody gets a special rate." In this case the railroad's vice of transacting its entire business on special rates was prominently illustrated, but the injustice of vital favors to one or two shippers at the expense of the rest was lacking. Everybody got the special rate, and the fact was that the special rates which were conceded to all the shippers of iron ore were practically equal. During the same period in which the monopoly of the Standard Oil Company was built up by railroad favoritism, the competition among the consumers of iron ore was preserved upon an impregnable basis by the practical equality of these special rates secured by competition between the railroads.

I am not representing such rebates in any other light than that of an abuse, but it is not the

most vital one. The old railroad practice of transacting the bulk of its business by rates granted with at least the pretense of secrecy, and differing materially from what were announced to the public as the regular charges, was an evil. In the first place, it placed the railroads under the suspicion of favoritism by the practical fact that certain shippers could obtain rates not accessible to the general public. That suspicion was well founded to the extent, at least, that the origin of the practice was the railroad idea that these favors could be confined by means of the exclusive privileges of the railroad to the few persons whom it might select as the recipients of the advantage. It destroyed that assurance of uniformity which ought to be the prime characteristic of all lines of business affected with a public character, and especially of one which owes its foundation to legislation, in which the qualities or quality of uniformity is judicially declared to be an essential requirement.

As the Hepburn committee said in its report: "He who goes into a railroad office and bargains for a special rate gets it. He who, relying on the equitable treatment which common carriers are bound to give, or, not knowing that special rates may be had, delivers them his goods and calls for his freight-bill, pays a higher rate." Such practices are an evil, but they do not contain that dangerous assault upon the public welfare which exists wherever the special rate is confined to a selected favorite, and the business is thereby concentrated in his hands at the expense of the public, and for the ruin and extinction of his competitors. When all shippers are able, by application, to obtain a special rate from the competing railroads which ship their freight, a useless amount of labor is involved in obtaining the assurance that the special rate is the lowest one; a demoralizing uncertainty as to the actual rate and the cost of taking goods from one part of the country to the other is created; but the gross assault upon the right of all shippers involved in confining the favoritism to the single party, and the encroachment upon the public interest of building up monopolies by such favoritism, are happily wanting. In short, rebates and special rates, under the action of competition, formed an erroneous and unnecessary feature of the railroad system, but the discrimination which concentrated the business in the hands of selected favorites, and which is only possible where competition between the railroads is absent or temporarily suppressed, is a gross assault upon public rights, and involves the nullification of the public obligations of the railway.

Recognizing the rebates and special rates which the railways used to concede under competition as an evil and an abuse, it is not correct to attribute them to competition as the cause which produces them. This is shown in two ways: First, the nature of legitimate competition does not require them. A railroad can get just as much freight, if not more, by offering the reduction as an open rate, accessible to the entire public, as by offering it in secret to one shipper or privately to the whole mass. This appears in all other branches of trade. Merchants of the most enlightened class know

very well that the way to attract the most trade is to make it known that every one who buys of them can get a single-bottom price; and the same principle applies with equal force to the attractions which railroads hold out to the entire public by making their reductions open and uniform. In the next place, the fact that these secret reductions to which we have referred were not produced by competition is abundantly shown by the fact that they were just as general and just as widely resorted to under the pools as during the period when the pools were dissolved. The six thousand special rates of the New York Central were shown to exist during the pooling days; and in the other cases the establishment of pools did not take away the special rates which had been granted before their formation. The argument that pools will prevent discrimination, even while supported by the reference to the cases which we are now considering, is utterly destroyed by the fact that during the pooling period the entire railroad business was, as Mr. F. B. Thurber said in his testimony before the Senate committee of 1883, "honey-combed with discrimination."

Beyond this, it is the fact that this practice of conducting business by granting to all shippers secret reductions, even when defeated and rendered comparatively innocuous by the competition which makes those reductions accessible to all shippers, is due to the restricted nature of competition on railroad transportation, and has its origin in attempts to do away with all competition whatsoever. The railroad manager who gave the shippers of a certain class a special rate, one-third or one-half that which was openly advertised, started out on that policy with the idea that this favor could be confined to a select few. The action of competition—the fact that, if he did not make the same reduction to other shippers, the competing railroads would get their business—forced him to give the same reduction to them all. This drew the fangs of the practice, so far as its greatest public injury is concerned; but the condition of the railway business which brought it into existence was the restricted nature of competition, and the belief of the railroad officials that they could avoid its force. Wherever similar practice exists in other lines of business, and it is customary to sell either services or staples by large reductions from a nominal schedule of prices, its origin may be discerned in an attempt to establish and maintain high prices free from competition. The window-glass manufacturers once made an attempt to form a combination which should establish and maintain an arbitrary schedule of prices. The fact that any one could put up a window-glass factory made it impossible for them to maintain such schedule, but the form is retained, and prices on window-glass are now openly quoted by discounts of from 75 to 85 per cent. from the list. The same phenomenon, to a greater or less degree, can be found in various branches of industry. In every case where the business is carried on at large discounts from a nominal list two things are evident: first, that competition enables every buyer of the staples or services to obtain them at practically equal discounts; and,

second, that the original and nominal list was established in the effort to abolish all such competition.

The railroad practice as it existed before the interstate commerce law was passed was virtually equal to this. Where reductions or special rates were given from nominal tariff charges, competition might secure to all shippers an equality in the amount of the reduction, and when it did so it took away the great public evil of the practice. But, none the less, the practice itself was due to the restriction upon competition, which made it usual for railroad men to conceive that the special reductions could, by their exclusive privileges, be kept from reaching the general public.

In discussing these examples of preferential rates, I have not attempted to enlarge on their injustice or magnify the evils which they inflict on commerce. That phase of their former existence—and of their present infliction if they still have a surreptitious life—need not be dwelt upon now. The gross wrong of a power which condemns one man to business failure, while raising another to business success; the infraction of public rights in concentrating the monopoly of great industries in the hands of the favorites of railway managers; the utter demoralization of commerce in destroying the material rewards of integrity, industry, intelligence, and caution, and in making wealth spring from subservience and facility in gaining the all-powerful friendship of the corporation magnates; and, finally, the grotesque public evil and breach of faith involved in producing these evils by the misuse of powers granted by the Government for the public benefit, are sufficiently evident.

Their utter wrongfulness, and the necessity of abolishing them, is a practically conceded point. Every intelligent advocate, even of railway theories, now admits their injustice, and endorses the necessity of forbidding them. The law has added the statutory prohibition to the common law declarations that they are illegal; and whatever other assaults may be made on the interstate commerce law, no one has the boldness to attack its provisions forbidding favoritism between shippers.

But while the necessity of dwelling on the great public evil of these practices is taken away by the advancement of public opinion and the formal legislative ban, the importance of investigation into their cause, in order to perceive how their source and root may be wholly removed, is no less vital. Even if we could hope that a statute will entirely abolish a great and gross evil which has existed in direct violation of the charter contracts of the railways with the State, it would be of great importance to see how the evil has an existence.

When that hope is a dim one, the thorough comprehension is even more essential to the preservation of public rights and National welfare. In the inquiry as to the source and cause of preferential rates, we are confronted with the railroad theory that such favoritism is produced by competition between the railroads. Upon the truth or error of this assertion the whole railroad issue depends. In order to reach an intelligent verdict on that corporate

claim, all the space which has been devoted to the discussion of such discriminations is well spent. From the examination of the facts, the following conclusions are established as basic and fundamental, with regard to the bearing of railroad competition upon discriminations between individual shippers:

1. That upon the local traffic of railroads such discriminations are not due to competition, for it is absent, but are made possible by its entire absence.

2. That in the great and injurious discriminations upon traffic subject to competition the favoritism has been upheld by combination to prevent competition; and where the force of competition has proved more powerful than the combination the discrimination has disappeared, so that in this class the cases of discrimination that have concentrated monopolies of certain lines of business have not been due to competition, but to the ability of the railroads to suspend or abolish it.

3. In the case of rebates or drawbacks given under competition, the greatest evil is prevented by the practical equality to all shippers in the reductions established by competition between the railroads; but the foolish and unnecessary practice has its origin in the exclusive privileges of the railroads.

In other words, the railroad theory that competition produces discriminations between shippers is an unfounded and interested assumption. It is not competition, but the absence of it, or its imperfect and hampered operation under the exclusive privileges of the railways, that makes this evil possible and is responsible for its existence.

Question Column.

A correspondent desires to know what Federal offices there are in Dakota and the pay attached to each; also what changes in them will be made in the change from Territorial to State organization. The only Federal offices affected by the change are in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments; the other Federal offices will remain as under the Territorial organization until increase of population and commercial necessities require additions.

The Territorial governor, of course, will be replaced by one elected by the people. The office of secretary to the governor will be abolished. The Federal judiciary system is changed by the act of Congress providing for State organization, to consist of a chief justice and seven associate justices, to receive salaries of \$3,000 per annum each. There are to be eight districts, each presided over by one of the justices. The boundaries of these districts are defined in the act. Each district is to have a clerk, a marshal, and a district attorney,

who are to receive the same pay as the same class of officials in Nevada—that is, marshals, clerks; register in bankruptcy, and thirty-six commissioners get their pay from fees; district attorneys \$200 and fees.

Rose Bud—Agent, \$2,200; clerk, \$1,200; physician, \$1,200; thirty-five employees, \$60 to \$900; thirty-nine police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of school, \$900; twelve teachers, \$600; eight teachers, \$300.

Sisseton—Agent, \$1,500; clerk, \$1,200; physician, \$1,200; seven employees, \$120 to \$900; seven police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of school, \$1,000; three teachers, \$600; one at \$500; seven employees, \$360 to \$720.

North Dakota will be entitled to one Congressman and two Senators; South Dakota two Congressmen and two Senators. The other Federal offices remain as they are. The titles and pay are as follows:

Surgeon United States Marine Hospital Service, Bismarck, \$300. Quartermaster's employees: Bismarck—Clerk, \$1,400; two employees, \$480 and \$600. Fort Lincoln—Clerk, \$1,200; six employees, \$360 to \$720. Fort Bennett—Three employees, \$360 to \$720. Fort Buford—Superintendent, \$1,200; clerk, \$1,000; twelve employees, \$420 to \$960. Fort Meade—Clerk, \$1,200; engineer, \$1,200; thirteen employees, \$360 to \$900. Fort Pembina—Engineer, \$1,000; four employees, \$420 to \$600. Fort Randall—Engineer, \$1,000; six employees, \$360 to \$720. Fort Sisseton—Four employees, \$360 to \$720. Fort Sully—Seven employees, \$360 to \$720. Fort Totten—Engineer, \$1,080; three employees, \$360. Fort Yates—Clerk, \$1,000; eleven employees, \$360 to \$720.

Ordnance Department: Fort Lincoln—Two clerks, \$1,200; master armorer, \$1,200; carpenter and saddler, each, \$70 per month. Surveyor-General's Office: Huron—Surveyor-general, \$2,000; chief clerk, \$1,500; draughtsman, \$1,500; mineral clerk, \$5 per day; messenger, \$1,000.

Registers and Receivers—At Huron, Deadwood, Fargo, Aberdeen, Mitchell, Grand Fork, Yankton, Devil's Lake, Watertown, Bismarck, \$500 and fees; one clerk, \$1,200; nine at \$1,000, and five at \$900.

Indian Agencies: Cheyenne River—Agent, \$1,500; clerk, \$1,200; physician, \$1,200; twenty-three employees, \$180 to \$900; superintendent of school, \$720; eight teachers, \$600; four employees, \$360 to \$500; twenty-seven police, \$8 to \$10 per month.

Crow Creek, Lower Brule—Agent, \$1,800; two clerks, \$1,200 each; physician, \$1,200; thirty-one employees, \$180 to \$900; twenty-three police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of Crow Creek school, \$900; three teachers; \$500 to \$650; superintendent of Lower Brule school, \$720; two teachers, \$300 to \$500; one at \$600; three employees, \$300 to \$480.

Devil's Lake—Agent, \$1,200; clerk, \$1,000;

physician, \$1,000; nine employees, \$180 to \$900; eleven police, \$8 to \$10 per month;

superintendent of school, \$800; six teachers,

\$600 to \$720; nine employees, \$420 to \$600.

Fort Berthold—Agent, \$1,500; clerk, \$1,200;

physician, \$1,200; twelve employees, \$120 to \$900; seven police, \$8 to \$10 per month.

Pine Ridge—Agent, \$2,200; clerk, \$1,200;

physician, \$1,200; forty-five employees, \$120 to \$900; forty-three police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of school, \$1,000; twelve teachers, \$450 to \$600.

Rose Bud—Agent, \$2,200; clerk, \$1,200;

physician, \$1,200; thirty-five employees, \$60 to \$900; thirty-nine police, \$8 to \$10 per month;

superintendent of school, \$900; twelve teachers,

\$600; eight teachers, \$300.

Sisseton—Agent, \$1,500; clerk, \$1,200; physician, \$1,200; seven employees, \$120 to \$900; seven police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of school, \$1,000; three teachers, \$600; one at \$500; seven employees, \$360 to \$720.

North Dakota will be entitled to one Congressman and two Senators; South Dakota two Congressmen and two Senators. The other Federal offices remain as they are. The titles and pay are as follows:

intendents of school, \$720 each; seven teachers, \$600; five, \$410; eight employees, \$360 to \$480.

Yankton—Agent, \$1,600; clerk, \$1,200; physician, \$1,200; nineteen employees, \$180 to \$900; thirteen police, \$8 to \$10 per month; superintendent of school, \$1,000; five teachers, \$80 to \$600.

Indian Schools—Fort Stevenson, superintendent, \$1,200; physician and clerk, \$1,200 each; nine employees, \$125 to \$840.

Post-Office Clerks—Aberdeen, two at \$600; Deadwood, two at \$300 to \$900; Fargo, eight, \$700 to \$1,200; Grand Forks, two at \$600; Huron, three, \$100 to \$936; Mitchell, four, \$200 to \$400; Rapid City, four, \$80 to \$400; Sioux Falls, four, \$200 to \$360; Yankton, three, \$480 to \$720.

Letter Carriers—Sioux Falls, three, \$600 each.

Postmasters—Aberdeen, \$1,800; Fargo, \$2,600; Grand Forks, \$2,200; Huron, \$2,200; Mitchell, \$2,000; Sioux Falls, \$2,300; Yankton, \$2,000; Deadwood, Devil's Lake, Grafton, Jamestown, Rapid City, Whapeton, Watertown, \$1,500 to \$2,000 each; Alexandria, Ashton, Blunt, Brookings, Canton, Casselton, Chamberlain, Clark, Columbia, Ellendale, Groton, Hillsboro, Inkster, Kimball, LaMoure, Larimore, Lisbon, Madison, Mandan, Mayville, Millbank, Miller, Parker, Pierre, Plankinton, Redfield, Scotland, Spearfish, Valley City, Vermillion, Webster, Woonsocket, \$1,000 to \$1,500; Andover, Arlington, Artesian City, Bathgate, Bridgewater, Britton, Buffalo Gap, Carrington, Centreville, Coopers-town, Dell Rapids, De Smet, Dickinson, Dogland, Elk Point, Faulkton, Flandreau, Fort Abraham Lincoln, Frederick, Harrold, Highmore, Howard, Iroquois, Lake Preston, Milnor, Ninto, New Rockford, Park River, Portland, Roscoe, Saint Lawrence, Saint Thomas, Salem, Sanborn, Springfield, Sturgis, Tower City, White Lake, Wolsey, \$750 to \$1,000; Altoona, Armour, Beresford, Big Storm City, Bondle, Bristol, Buffalo, Carbonate, Carthage, Castlewood, Central City, Custer, East Pierre, Eagan, Elkton, Estelline, Fort Buford, Fort Meade, Fort Yates, Frankfort, Gary, Gettysburgh, Hamilton, Hatton, Henry, Hope, Hunter, Ingersoll, Lakota, Lennox, Mellette, Minnewaukan, Mount Vernon, Northville, Northwood, Pembina, Sheldon, Steele, Tyndall, Valley Springs, Volga, Wessington, Wheatland, Wil-mot, \$500 to \$750.

THE total value of farm animals in the United States has increased from \$1,102,884,344 in 1866 to \$2,409,043,418 in 1888.

THE greatest quantity of improved farm land in proportion to the total area of the State is in Illinois, where 75 per cent. of the total area is in improved farms.

THE total aggregate of corn exported from the United States in 1863 was 16,119,476 bushels, and in 1887 it had increased to 40,307,252 bushels, although from 1875 to 1881 the amount was almost doubled each year.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

FERMENTATION.

Fermentation is much talked about and little understood. Clear ideas on the subject should be acquired by every agriculturist, for it is a subject of much scientific and practical importance. Ferments are of several kinds; all of them act in one general manner, splitting up complex compounds containing carbon at ordinary temperatures, producing carbon compounds of simpler constitution. The process of fermentation consists in the reduction of complex to simpler carbon compounds at ordinary temperatures. Excessive heat alone, as in dry distillation, ruptures the molecules of complex carbon compounds and disperses their atoms into different groups forming less complex carbon compounds. At somewhat lower temperatures the same result is produced by chemical reagents. If, for example, we heat fibrine with hydrochloric acid under pressure peptones are produced, whereas by the ferment pepsin the same result is produced at the normal temperature of the living body. One of these ferments is the only substance capable of producing such results at such a temperature. No living body could possibly sustain the degree of heat necessary to produce such a result chemically. Cremation of the dead is in fact merely dry distillation of them. Cremation accomplishes shortly what the ferments of putrefactive decomposition slowly accomplish with very offensive and often dangerous accompaniments. Cremation is, therefore, the mode of disposing of the dead which science demands. Dry or destructive distillation produces always and only harmless products from a sanitary point of view. A fermentable body is, then, a complex compound of carbon produced by a living organism and hence called an organic substance. Ferments are very numerous in nature, each of them producing characteristic results. On some of them which we control great industries are founded; others produce natural results of vast importance in the great economies of nature. We can not attempt exhaustive discussion of so large a subject here; what we propose is a compact statement of the outlines of the subject with the principal object of showing what a ferment is and how it acts; what a fermentable substance is and how acted upon by the ferment. The ferments are of two great classes, viz., organic and organized. The organic ferments are so called because they contain carbon, but they are chemical bodies; whereas the organized ferments, while they also contain carbon, are actual living organisms capable of self-multiplication by reproduction in accordance with the general laws observed in other living creatures. The non-living, organic ferments are sometimes—and, we think, better—spoken of as unformed, formless, or soluble ferments. The term organic applied to them is apt to cloud our conceptions by suggesting relationships to the organized, living ferments which they do not possess. Yeast and various bacteria are organized, living ferments; pepsin and trypsin are non-living, unformed ferments. They are strictly chemical bodies, as much so as carbonic acid or spongy platinum. They produce their effects as spongy platinum does, by the chemical principle of catalysis; whereas the results of the organized, living ferments are the product of their physiological, nutritive forces. Dr. Salmon appears to have established what the writer has long believed, viz., that in the case of disease-producing bacteria the living ferment produces a chemical ferment,

COMBINED NITROGEN.

In farm-yard manure the combined nitrogen is found in the organic substance of the stable and yard litter—that is to say, in fodder, hay, and straw refuse, and in the undigested food residue represented in the solid excreta, and the urea and ammoniacal salts of the urine. The whole mass of refuse from the stables and yards constitutes what is known in agricultural practice as farm-yard manure. A portion of this organic substance decomposes very slowly when subjected to the ordinary conditions of soil action. That portion of it, however, derived from urine is much more speedily available, being in a condition to be attacked almost immediately by the nitric ferment. If these facts are kept in mind the prompt, and at the same time lasting, effects of this manure require no further explanation. In the human and animal solid and liquid excreta and in the residue and waste of the food supply of great cities there is an enormous loss of combined nitrogen as well as of phosphates, which is so much of the fertility of the soil of the national domain lost and washed into the sea. The food supply of a great city amounts to many thousands of tons yearly, and only a trifling percentage of the fertilizing material thereby deported from the soil producing that food supply ever goes back upon the land. This is the great channel through which is carried off the plant food from the soil, which so rapidly reduces and runs down the producing power of the agricultural lands of America, and which has so completely exhausted great areas of the older portions of Europe that they fail to support their own population. The scientific treatment of sewage is a serious problem, having both its agricultural and sanitary aspects, and it is in a backward state. Whatever is finally settled upon as the scientific solution of this problem must provide for the safety of the public health and for the salvage of the combined nitrogen of the sewage and garbage of great cities, to be returned upon the lands from which their food supply is drawn. Cremation is a method which, from a scientific point of view, leaves nothing to be desired, and the writer doubts not that in time this method will be adopted. By this method the combined nitrogen is of course converted into ammonia and the ammonia is fixed by passing it through acid phosphate; at the same time all disease germs are destroyed and all stinking and poisonous decomposition gases are avoided; the cremation products being water converted into steam, carbonic acid which escapes, and ammonia which is fixed by acid phosphates. The criticism upon this process is its cost, involving, as it does, the reconstruction of modern conveniences outside our dwellings. Besides the cost very many are unwilling to give up the water-closet, because it is located on the same floor with the bedroom and in the same closet with the bath-tub. Convenient, to be sure, all this, but not very wise when you think of it, and certainly very unsafe. That this convenience has cost many thousands of lives and an enormous amount of sickness, goes for nothing. It is trouble rather than expense which men seek to avoid at the risk of their lives. Men shrink from trouble who despise danger and care nothing for expense. One more agricultural view of combined nitrogen remains, viz., that of green fallow crops, which we defer to a future number.

MOONSHINE.

Peculiar and very potent effects in divers mundane affairs have been ascribed to the moon, not merely by the ignorant and generally superstitious, but by the well-educated, well-informed, and successful business men. Even yet this is the case. Many very successful farmers will not plant or harvest certain crops except at the "time of the moon," which they

think the right time. Many persons very confidently expect certain states of the weather at certain changes of the moon, and govern their actions accordingly. It is of no use to attempt to dissuade such persons from their peculiar beliefs in the peculiar potencies of the moon's influence. Such mild cranks had best be humored, they can not be driven from their peculiar tenets. Nevertheless observations carefully made and recorded have repeatedly shown that no sort of weather is in any way a constant or characteristic accompaniment of any phase of the moon. The physical power of the moon to govern the flow of tides by its attraction is well known. There can be no doubt that during long summer days, when the moon is near the full, the large amount of light it sheds upon the earth must prove an important stimulus to the activities of vegetative life. It is very likely that seeds may germinate more quickly than those planted on the dark of the moon, and young plants may grow off more vigorously under the stimulus of the extra supply of light. It can not, indeed, be otherwise, and on such grounds there may be seeds that should be planted so as to get the benefit of the light of the full moon in starting the young plants promptly. It is not, however, such palpable causes as these which are in the minds of moonshine farmers, but they believe in secret favorable or malign influences which belong to the moon, as the moon, independently of all physical or physico-chemical influences it may or does exert. Their belief is only a superstition.

THE BAROMETER.

It is not intended to trespass in this place upon the functions of General Greely, nor in any way to suggest or advise any farmer to set up for himself in the probabilities business. But it is very well for the scientific agriculturist to know something of the uses of the barometer, and, if he can, to own and use one, as well as a standard thermometer. The mere habit of using any instrument of precision and interpreting its indications habitually, independently of the value of the observations themselves, is a scientific habit certain to beget accuracy of observation and methodical precision as a mental habit. Of such mental habit the value can not be stated in figures, but certainly it will be very great. The barometer is a remarkably simple instrument, consisting of a glass tube of uniform caliber, about three feet long, closed at one end. This tube is filled with mercury, the open end closed with the finger and plunged into a small vat of mercury held at the bottom of a frame with a scale attached. The finger is removed and the column of mercury subsides leaving a vacuum above. At the level of the sea the mercury stands, on a clear day of settled weather, at 30 inches above the bottom of the vat, and for every 87 feet above that altitude it will stand 1-10 of an inch lower. When there is little moisture in the air the barometer is at standard level for the locality. When there is much moisture, indicating the approach of rain, it stands below standard level. If the mercury falls slowly and continually for several days a long spell of wet weather is indicated. A sudden and considerable fall indicates a coming storm. A rapid fall early on the morning of a summer day indicates thunderstorms in the afternoon, and besides all this these indications are more reliable than General Greely's "probs," and they are always on time, whereas the "probs" arrive serene and calm, after the storm has passed and the damage is done.

TUBERCULOSIS.

The ECONOMIST has received a letter from the chairman of this permanent committee inclosing a call by the governor of Kansas for a convention to assemble at Topeka, October 1st, for the purpose of securing united action of

"tuberculosis" in animals and man. Such lectures, by competent men, have with the utmost advantage superseded to a large extent the stump oratory of the legal fledgling and political demagogue at all agricultural gatherings and exhibitions. Dr. Faville in this excellent lecture showed conclusively how dangerous is the milk of tuberculous cows, and emphasized the point made in these columns, that inasmuch as the milk of all cows contributing to a city supply is promiscuously mixed, there is no reason to doubt that all city milk is tuberculous, and unless sterilized is often the vehicle of lingering and painful death, to children especially. The doctor deprecates the idea that he will be set down as an alarmist. Go ahead, doctor; all sensible and informed persons endorse you. It will take many years to silence the idle clamors of those who defiantly resist the truth. It is not necessary to be an alarmist, unless the truth be alarming, but it is very far better to be an alarmist than to be a serene optimist who refuses to recognize danger and willfully shuts his eyes against facts. The mortality statistics, which put tuberculosis far in the lead as a cause of death among our people, furnish a reply to all such persons at once simple and effectual.

TOPEKA, KAN., August 30, 1889.
National Economist, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: As your most valuable paper is extensively circulated among the farmers west of the Mississippi River, I am requested to send you the inclosed call for a deep-water convention, and the pamphlet which I mail to you, under separate cover, in support of the same. If we had this harbor to-day, the Kansas farmer would be much richer, because it would save him five cents a bushel on every bushel of corn, and more than that on every bushel of wheat that is marketed, for the surplus products of Kansas must be exported as a rule. As no journal in the United States has taken such a deep interest in the welfare of the farmer as the ECONOMIST, I take great pleasure in sending the above pamphlet, feeling assured that you will take this question up and urge the farmers, through their respective organizations, to send to this convention their ablest and most influential men, to the end that this memorial which the convention prepares for Congress may receive speedy attention. Your journal ought to have a correspondent at this convention, so that the discussions could be reported, and through the valuable medium of your paper reach the farmers throughout the United States.

Very truly,

HOWEL JONES,
Chairman.

Alliance Elevator Company.

About fifty of the leading stockholders of the Scandinavian Elevator Company held a meeting in Minneapolis, August 31st. One of the first things done was to agree on a change in the name. It will henceforth be known as the "Alliance Elevator Company." The 10,000 shares of stock which were set aside for promoting the enterprise in England was converted into common stock. Twenty-five thousand dollars of stock is said to have been subscribed at this meeting. The following board of directors was elected: H. L. Loucks, F. B. Fancher, P. Peterson, F. Mertz, S. S. Hanson, G. Wilson, W. Wilson. A number of grain warehouses will be built at once. The total capital stock of the Alliance Elevator Company is \$2,000,000, and it is safe to assume that the confidence in Mr. Loucks' management of its affairs as its president—to which office he has been re-elected as expressed repeatedly by the Farmer and Breeder—has not been misplaced. The company paid from 5 to 10 cents more for wheat consigned to it last year than was paid by other wheat buyers, and we believe they will do it again this year.—Northwestern Farmer and Breeder.

The spirit of partisanship is the greatest obstacle in the way of reform; it blinds its victims to actual conditions and prevents careful and honest investigations of issues and conditions. It leads men to permit others to think for them, and so leaves the masses ignorant upon questions of the most vital importance to them and the Nation.

Only \$1.00 for this "Little Beauty."
Weighs from
 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz to 4 lbs.



This Steel Bearing Brass Beam Little Scale with Brass Scoop is nicely Japanned and is just the thing for House, Store or Shop. We will send one on order. Express, to any port in U.S.A. \$1.00 not
including Postage. Catalogue of 1,000 articles sent free.
Address CHICAGO SCALE CO., Chicago, Ill.

FINE CATTLE FOR SALE.

I have some fine thoroughbred SHORT-HORN COWS, BULLS, and HEIFERS for sale. They are well bred and good individual animals. Also some high grades. Prices to suit the times. Correspondence solicited.

GEORGE H. CHRISMAN,
Chrisman, Rockingham Co., Va.

T. A. CLAYTON,

Agent of the Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana, Limited,

198 Gravier St., New Orleans, La.

Headquarters for purchase of Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, and Rice, and for sale of Cotton, Staves, and all Country Produce.

STEEPL

SUBSCRIBE FOR
THE STANDARD EXPOSITOR,

A GOSPEL MONTHLY.

Devoted to the discussion of Bible doctrines. The editors, four prominent Baptist preachers, are aided by a number of good writers. Price,

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Send for sample copies. A first-class ADVERTISING MEDIUM. Present circulation, 6,000.

Editors:

REDDIN ANDREWS,
E. R. CARSWELL, JR.,
A. B. VAUGHAN, JR.,
M. T. MARTIN.

Office, 47-8 Broad St.,
10-m³

Atlanta, Ga.

Odenheimer Cotton Bagging.

THE LANE MILL IS READY NOW TO RECEIVE ORDERS FOR

ODENHEIMER COTTON BAGGING,

44 inches wide, weighing three-quarters of a pound to the yard, which Covering was adopted for permanent and exclusive use by the

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND WHEEL OF AMERICA,

at their meeting at Birmingham, Ala., on May 15 and 16, 1889.

On orders aggregating 25,000 yards during the season 2 per cent. allowance.

Orders to be placed on or before June 24, 1889.

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

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

A deposit of 25 per cent. must accompany all orders, unless same come through responsible business houses or banks, or else be accompanied by a certificate of bank or responsible business house, stating they will pay our sight draft for the amount of the Bagging when shipped.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice a month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

THE LANE MILLS,
New Orleans.

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.

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

ALONZO WARDALL, President.
S. D. COOLEY, Secretary,
Huron, South Dakota.

117

WEEKLY APPEAL

\$6350.95

Is the exact amount that the Memphis Appeal Co. will distribute to its WEEKLY Subscribers, Agents and Postmasters, Jan. 1, 1890. Address

Subscription Department, MEMPHIS APPEAL, MEMPHIS, TENN.

1500 GIFTS TO SUBSCRIBERS AMOUNTING TO \$4850.95
83 GIFTS TO AGENTS AND POSTMASTERS AMOUNTING TO \$500.00
TOTAL AMOUNT TO BE DISTRIBUTED \$6350.95
\$1.00 Subscription price, \$1.00 per annum. Send for sample copy and list of Gifts. Special terms to agents and postmasters on application. Write for sample copies, subscription blanks and circulars and begin the work of getting subscribers immediately.

\$6350.95

The Tar Heel Planers and Matchers,

With Five Feed-rollers, manufactured by the SALEM IRON WORKS, Salem, N. C., are the best good cheap machine. Fully warranted. Write for circulars and prices.

DEDERICK'S HAY PRESSES.
Made of steel, lighter, stronger, cheaper, more power, everlasting and competition distanced. For proof order on trial, to keep the best and get any other alongside if you can. Reversible Bell Presses, all sizes.

STEEL.
Address for circulars and location of dealers and Agents. No. 59 Dederick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.

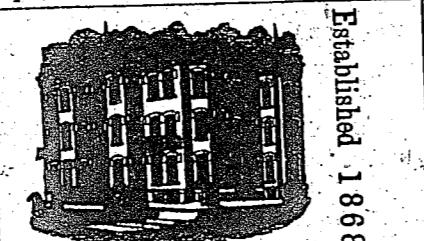
OBTAI CHICAGO PRICES!

BY SHIPPING YOUR BUTTER, EGGS, POULTRY, VEAL, HAY, GRAIN, WOOL, HIDES, GREEN AND DRIED FRUITS, VEGETABLES.

Or anything you have to us. We make a specialty of receiving shipments direct from the producers, and have the largest trade of this kind of any house in the market. By shipping your produce direct you get all the value there is in it. Write us for prices or any information you may need.

SUMMERS, MORRISON & CO.,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
174 South Water Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

Reference—Metropolitan National Bank.
28-81 Marion NATIONAL ECONOMIST.



1898
Norris's Patent Office

JAMES L. NORRIS,
PATENT ATTORNEY,
Corner Fifth and F Streets,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Procures Patents for Inventions in United States and Foreign Countries.

Book of Information Sent Free on Request.
Refers to your United States Senators and Representatives or to any of the National Banks of Washington, D. C.

QUEEN OF THE SOUTH
PORTABLE
FARM MILLS
For Stock, Feed or Meal
for General Use.
10,000 IN USE.
Write for Descriptive Circular.
Straub Machinery Co.,
CINCINNATI, O.

SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.

\$160 FARMER'S SAW MILL, ENGINES,
Wood Planers. Also, Hoge's Improved Saw Mill, with Universal Log Beam, Rectilinear Simultaneous Set Work and Double Eccentric friction Feed. Manufactured by

The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION OF AMERICA.

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY,
FIVE CENTS

VOL. 2.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1889.

NO. 3.

Political Integrity.

The thoughtful and observant citizen must often be surprised to see lines of policy carried out in American politics, which he has been taught to believe were radically wrong, without being attended with the evils that have been claimed attend such action. There is always a large minority who believe and teach that the policy of the majority is wrong, and that it will be attended with undesirable consequences. In fact, there is always so much criticism and complaint against existing conditions that the conservative and conscientious reformer, who desires to do full justice to all, can scarcely secure an audience for a fair, full, and impartial criticism of the various policies of Government, and the principles involved in them. Overdrawn and unjust strictures on any line of Government policy, so exaggerated as to condemn themselves as partisan and false, tend to strengthen the belief in the policy and wed the public mind to it, even though it may have apparent imperfections.

Mill, Say, Smith, and all the prominent writers on political economy admit that a change in the volume of money in any country will affect the price of all the commodities in that country; that a diminution in the volume of money lowers the price of all commodities accordingly, and that an increase in the volume of money raises the price of everything. They admit, however, that the proportion is not kept up in a strict ratio to the diminution in volume of money, because whenever the volume of money becomes too small the deficiency is partially made good by written evidences of credit that to a limited extent take the place of money, and, consequently, the full force and effect of contraction is, to a great extent, avoided by the credit system. That is to say, if the volume of money should be reduced to one-half at any given time, the value of all commodities would not drop to one-half, because a part of the contraction in the volume of money would be made up by credit paper having more or less circulation. Again, if the volume of money be increased, the augmentation in general prices will not be in a direct ratio to the increase in volume, because when the volume of money is increased it operates as a powerful stimulus to investments of all kinds, on the principle that money is depreciating and everything else is advancing in price, and the tendency is to liquidate credit obligations, in which case the money simply takes the place of the credit obligation that before circulated as a medium of exchange, and by so doing does not augment the volume of circulating medium. This doctrine is borne out by the following facts. The report of the silver commission appointed in 1876 says:

The financial policy of this Government is a fair example of the conditions above described. It has been arraigned by a large minority of both the great political parties as unjust and unwise, and the most direful consequences predicted if it should be persisted in, and this opposition has been constant for fifteen years, during which time both parties have had their turn in power, and both have pursued identically the same financial policy—that is, steady but certain and sure contraction of the circulating medium. Evidently the consequences have not been as bad as had been predicted, and the return of persons to administer the affairs of the Government whom it is known are advocates of the contraction policy shows that said policy must be indorsed by a majority of the voters of the country and that, therefore, the contraction policy is not as bad for the country as has been taught, or the rank and file of the voters do not understand its baleful influences. It will not do to condemn it as criminal and corrupt practice and everything else is advancing in price, and the tendency is to liquidate credit obligations, in which case the money simply takes the place of the credit obligation that before circulated as a medium of exchange, and by so doing does not augment the volume of circulating medium. This doctrine is borne out by the following facts. The report of the silver commission appointed in 1876 says:

It is estimated that the purchasing power of the precious metals increased between 1809 and 1848 fully 145 per cent., or, in other words, that the general range of prices was 60 per cent. lower in 1848 than in 1809. During this period there was no general demonetization of either metal and no important fluctuation in the relative value of the metals, and the supply was sufficient to keep their stock good against losses by accident and abrasion. But it was insufficient to keep their stock up to the proper correspondence with the increasing demand of advancing populations. The world has rarely passed through a more gloomy period than this one. Again do we find falling prices and misery and destitution inseparable companions. The poverty and distress of the industrial masses were

intense and universal, and since the discovery of the mines of America, without a parallel. In England, the sufferings of the people found expression in demand upon Parliament for relief in bread riots and immense Chartist demonstrations. The military arm of the nation had to be strengthened to prevent the all-pervading discontent from ripening into open revolt. On the continent the fires of revolution smoldered everywhere, and blazed out at many points threatening the overflow of States and the subversion of social institutions. Whenever and wherever the mutterings of discontent were hushed by the fear of increased standing armies, the foundations of society were honey-combed by powerful secret political associations. The causes at work to produce this state of things were so subtle, and its advance so silent, that the masses were entirely ignorant of its nature. They had come to regard money as an institution, fixed and immovable in value, and when the price of property and labor fell, they charged the fault, not to the money, but to the property and the employer. They were taught that the mischief was the result of overproduction. Never having observed that overproduction was complained of only when the money stock was decreasing, their prejudices were aroused against labor-saving machinery. They were angered at capital, because it either declined altogether to embark in industrial enterprises, or would only embark in them upon the condition of employing labor at the most scanty remunerations. They forgot that falling prices compelled capital to avoid such enterprises on any other condition, and for the most part to avoid them entirely. They did not comprehend that money in shrinking volume was the prolific parent of enforced idleness and poverty, and that falling prices divorced money, capital and labor, but they none the less felt the paralyzing pressure of the shrinking metallic shroud that was closing around industry.

The increased yield of the Russian gold fields in 1846 gave some relief, and served as a parachute to the fall in prices, which might otherwise have resulted in a great catastrophe. But the enormous supplies of gold from California and Australia were all needed to give substantial and adequate relief. Great as these supplies were, their influence in raising prices was moderated and soon entirely arrested by the increasing populations and commerce which followed them.

In the twenty-five years between 1850 and 1876, the money stock of the world was more than doubled, and yet, at no time during this period was the general level of prices raised more than 18 per cent. above the general level of 1848.

This quotation is an official showing as to the actual effects that have been experienced during both a stage of contraction and one of expansion. However, during the present period of contraction, which dates from the close of the war, there has probably been a much greater substitution of credit paper as a circulating medium to compensate for the scarcity of money than was ever before known, and this has been a safety-valve to mitigate the evil con-