

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-n8**

Only \$1.00 for this "Little Beauty."  
Weighs from  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  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, by Express, to any port in U.S.A. for \$1.00, not  $\frac{1}{2}$  less. 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., Atlanta, Ga.  
10-11

### 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 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 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. P. K. DEDERICK & CO., 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.

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 Stone, Feed or Meal  
for General Use.  
10,000 IN USE.  
Write for Descriptive Circular.  
Straub Machinery Co.,  
SALEM, O.

SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, O.

# 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-

sequences of contraction. All this brings out into bold view the fact that the most effectual and speedy route to a cash basis is to be found by expanding the volume of money till it is equal to the necessities of the people.

#### Political Economy.

Exports and imports represent the commerce or trade between a nation and all other nations.

The policy of restrictive measures enforced by government authority so as to discourage and diminish imports, and at the same time encourage and increase exports, so as to bring about a condition of trade in which the exports shall exceed the imports, was for a number of years advocated by political economists and practiced by various governments. This doctrine was called the commercial system, and when the exports were in excess of the imports "the balance of trade" was said to be favorable, but when the imports were in excess of the exports "the balance of trade" was said to be unfavorable. According to this system money alone was wealth, therefore money was more to be desired than all other commodities, and as the difference between exports and imports had to be paid in money, a gain in money volume attended an excess of exports.

Laws made in conformity to this system encouraged the export of commodities and stipulated in return the importation of specie. This system has been completely demolished by political economists from and since the time of Adam Smith. Jean Baptiste Say devotes much space to it and clearly shows its fallacy. Since that time economists have usually agreed to the doctrine that when a country was receiving an excess of imports and exporting money in return the decrease in volume would enhance the value of the money remaining in the country until the gross purchasing power would be equal to that of the greater volume previous to the exportation, and that therefore the augmented purchasing power of a dollar which follows a decrease in volume which follows the exportation of money which follows an excess of the importation of commodities tends in a corresponding degree to depress the price of all commodities and will, as a consequence of such relative decrease in the price of commodities and relative increase in the purchasing power of a dollar, tend to decrease the importation of commodities and diminish the exportation of money, and the same cause, if intensified, would place the exportation of commodities in excess of importations, and the importations of money in a corresponding degree greater than the exportations.

All the great political economists since the time of Adam Smith have either advocated or admitted this doctrine as correct, and to-day it stands unchallenged. It therefore only remains necessary to draw deductions therefrom in order to apply the lesson taught.

1. An excess of importation of commodities above export, which is always attended with an excess of exportation of money above importation, indicates that commodities are dearer and money cheaper relatively in that country than in the countries with which it trades.

2. An excess of importation of commodities can not long continue without some way to compensate for the excess of exportation of specie, because the decrease in volume of money will increase the purchasing power of a dollar, thereby diminishing the relative value of all commodities and making the importation of commodities unprofitable.

3. An excess of exportation of commodities indicates an excess of importation of money, and shows that commodities have greater value abroad, and consequently that labor is better paid there than at home. It also shows that money has a greater purchasing power at home than abroad.

4. A high purchasing power for a dollar indicates a deficient volume of money in circulation and low prices for commodities, with small remuneration for labor, while a low purchasing power for a dollar indicates a large volume of money in circulation, high prices for commodities, and high wages for labor.

5. Money is not an object of utility or consumption, but is essential as a representative of all values, and consequently a change in its volume changes the purchasing power of each of its units (or dollars), and therefore changes the relative price of all commodities. It can not be a fair and true representative of value or wealth unless its volume equal the volume of wealth it represents, and stability of prices will never be secured until a perfect equality is secured and maintained between wealth and its representative; and until stability of prices is secured, productive interests will be at a disadvantage, and speculative pursuits profitable.

In Say's Political Economy the argument is advanced that money is not a representative of wealth because the volume of money is not equal to the gross volume of wealth. That author is certainly correct, but he fails to draw the valuable conclusion that it should be equal, and that by being so it would become a true representative of wealth.

6. The conclusion, then, can not be avoided that when exports are in excess, wages of labor must be lower, and the scarcity of money must be greater, than in those countries with which the commerce is carried on, because commodities, the product of labor, are exported to find a higher market than at home, and money in preference to any kind of commodity is imported.

7. A nation, in order to enjoy great prosperity and secure a valuable foreign commerce, in which importation and exportation are about equal, should have a volume of money equal to all the wealth that labor has produced in the country, and such money should be a local circulating medium only, and entirely devoid of any foreign value whatever.

8. The volume of money regulates prices of commodities and labor. The prices of commodities and labor influence commerce favorably or unfavorably, as they are high or low, and a country to be truly prosperous should enjoy a large commerce, consisting of an exchange of commodities, and in seasons of great prosperity the imports will exceed exports, and vice-versa.

#### History and Government.

##### No. 29.

This review has now reached a point where a clear definition should be accepted of the terms and expressions used, in order that there may be no misapprehension as to the exact shade of meaning intended to be conveyed by any expression, and that the theory of social development advanced may be perfectly definite and uniform in the minds of all.

Much useless discussion often arises from a misapprehension as to the exact shade of meaning intended to be conveyed by a word, as all words are capable of more than one translation, and may convey conflicting meanings in the minds of different readers. For this reason it is thought best to give clear and definite explanation of the exact shades of meaning intended to be conveyed by particular words and expressions used in this series of papers.

The position has been taken, in the theory of social development now in process of discussion, that the elimination of the quality of selfishness is a measure of vital importance in the building up of the most perfect social system, and, through this advanced social organism, the most perfect and beneficial political system.

Now, it is true that there are two distinct schools of theory upon this question of the influence of selfishness upon social advancement, and the improvement of our civilization and political systems: one school holding the theory here defended, and the other claiming exactly the opposite—that selfishness is the mainspring of progress, and that all national energy springs from this source. May it not be possible that this extreme difference of opinion arises entirely from a misapprehension of the exact shade of meaning intended to be conveyed by the word *selfishness*? In order to discover whether this is really the case, it will be well to enter into a metaphysical analysis of the word, and discover its exact force and shades of meaning when applied to morals and their influence upon individuals and society. It

may be possible that there is really no difference of opinion between these two apparently antagonistic schools, but merely a misapprehension as to the exact shade of meaning intended to be conveyed by a word.

First, let us clearly understand what impression it is desired to convey to the mind by the word *progress*. This word, like the one just referred to, has various shades of meaning, and each shade leaves a distinct impression upon the mind of the student. The present conception of the meaning of the word is rather shifting and indefinite. Sometimes it comprehends little more than simple growth; as of a nation in the number of its population or the extent of its territory. Sometimes it has reference to quantity of products; as when the advance of agriculture and manufactures is the subject considered. Sometimes the quality of these products is considered, and sometimes the new or improved appliances by which they are produced. Again, when we speak of moral or intellectual progress, we refer to the state or condition of the people or individual exhibiting it; while, when the progress of knowledge, of science, of art, is commented on, we have in

view certain abstract results of human thought and action. Not only is the current conception of progress more or less vague and indefinite, but it is to a great extent erroneous. It looks not so much to the reality of progress as its accompaniments; not so much to the actual body but its surroundings, its satellites. That progress in intelligence seen during the growth of the child into the man, or the savage into the enlightened citizen, is commonly regarded as consisting in the greater number of facts learned and known, and natural laws understood; whereas the actual progress consists in those internal changes and modifications of which this increased knowledge is but the expression. Social progress is commonly taken to consist in the produce of a greater quantity and variety of the articles required for satisfying men's wants, in widening freedom of action; whereas, rightly understood, social progress consists in those changes of structure in the social organism which have brought about these results. Now when we speak of progress we refer to these necessary changes of structure in the social organism which contribute to the establishment of a higher moral and social condition of life and not to the immediate physical results to any special society at any given period.

The nature of social development is to increase the complexity of the social organism, and consequently the requirements of the individuals composing society. The development of those characteristics of our nature which tend most certainly to fit us to enjoy this complex social condition is the end to which social and moral training should tend, and the best means of building up these characteristics is the secret of which we are in search. The object of progress, as we understand it, is the amelioration of the conditions of society, the elevation of its moral tone and the intellectual and moral refinement of the people; and it is within the easy reach of proof that, this high moral development secured, the mere physical accompaniments will naturally follow, and that the development of the mere physical and individual comfort, regardless of the higher qualities, tends to the disintegration and destruction of the social organism. That the development along this high moral plane, although constantly interrupted by undue regard given to the material progress at times, constitutes all that there is of real importance in man's progress. You may deck an idiot or a villain with all the jewels of a monarch, surround him with all the luxury and magnificence that the ingenuity of man can conceive, but he will be still only an idiot or a villain. It is just so with societies.

Having made thus as clear a definition as we can of the nature of what we term morals, let us make a metaphysical analysis and learn what we can of the correlation existing between moral developments, or codes, and social organisms; and right here it becomes necessary to come to an exact understanding as to what meaning is conveyed by the word self.

In the metaphysical sense, the word self is taken to mean "the conscious subject, the whole stream of feelings which make up a consciousness regarded as bound together by association and memory." In the more common and restricted ethical sense, what we call self is "a selected aggregate of feelings, and of objects related to them, which hangs together as a conception by virtue of long and repeated association." This is the definition given by one of the most eminent English sociologists.

My self does not include all my feelings, because I habitually separate off some of them; I say they do not properly belong to me, and treat them as my enemies. On the other hand, it does, in general, include my body regarded as an object, because of the feelings which occur simultaneously with events which affect it.

My foot is certainly a part of myself because I feel pain when anybody treads on it. When we desire anything for its somewhat remote consequences, it is not common for these consequences to be represented to the mind in the

form of the actual feelings of pleasure, which are, finally, to flow from the satisfaction of the desire; instead of this they are replaced by a symbolic conception of the thing desired as good to the complex abstraction self.

This abstraction, self, serves in this way to support and hold together these complex and far removed motives which make up, by far the greater part of the life of the intelligent races. When a thing is desired for no immediate pleasure that it can bring, it is generally desired on account of a certain symbolic substitute for pleasure, the feeling that this thing is suitable to this abstract self. This feeling, which at first derived its pleasurable nature from the faintly represented simple pleasures of which it was merely the symbol, ceases after a time to recall them and becomes a simple pleasure itself. In this way the self becomes a sort of center about which our remoter motives revolve, and to which they always have regard, in consequence of which they become immediate and simple from having been complex and remote.

If we now consider the earlier social organizations of the simpler races of men, we shall find, not only that immediate desires play a far larger part in their lives, and so that the conception of self is less used and less developed, but also that it is less definite and more wide.

The savage is not only hurt when anybody treads on his foot, but when anybody treads on his tribe. He may lose his little belongings and his opportunities of getting food. In this way the tribe, the society to which he belongs, becomes naturally included in that conception of self which renders remote desires possible by making them immediate. The actual pains or pleasures which come from the fortune or misfortune of the tribe, and which were the source of this conception, drop out of consciousness and are remembered no more; the symbol which has replaced them becomes a center and an aim of immediate desires, powerful enough to override the strongest suggestions of individual pleasure or pain.

The cause which brings about this condition is apparent. The tribe as such, the society, has to exist, and it can only exist by aid of such an organic artifice as the conception of the tribal-self in the minds of its members. Hence we see the triumph the natural selection of those races in which this conception is most powerful and most habitually predominant, as a motive over immediate desires.

In the process of time it becomes a matter of hereditary transmission, and is thus fixed as a specific characteristic in the constitution of social man. With the settlement of countries, and the aggregation of tribes into nations, it takes a wider and more abstract form; and in the highest natures, the tribal, the social self, includes nothing less than humanity. Short of this grand philanthropy it fixes itself in the family, the city, the state, the nation.

This characteristic, springing originally from a desire to secure immediate pleasure to the individual self, has now reached a development which entitles it to a distinct name and designation. We now term this quality, or disposition of man, which consists in the supremacy

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

of the society or "social self" as a mark of reference for motives, *patriotism*, and define it as self-sacrificing, philanthropic, unselfish, and yet the development was ultimately from the original individual selfishness. A new characteristic has been evolved; and yet we retain the original term self, as related to the individual self, and the motive for the gratification of purely individual desires, regardless of the weal or woe of society or the effect upon our fellows.

All actions approved by this social self, or, as we say, instigated by patriotic motives, have the good of society as their prime factor, although the individual may be unconscious of the fact, acting, as has been shown, under the influence of heredity, it has become natural to be guided by such action. On the other hand, the actions resulting from the impulses directed by the individual self do not take into the consideration the common good in any manner, but, on the other hand, may be injurious to society. These impulses we say are purely selfish. The individual self utterly disregards the weal of society and may even be an enemy to it. The actions approved by the social self must invariably result in benefit to society, while the actions of the individual self may or may not be, the good of society being merely a secondary consideration, or may be entirely ignored.

Having thus, it is hoped, come to a definite understanding as to the exact shade of meaning intended to be conveyed by the words *patriotism* and *selfishness*, let us go still further and examine the correlation between morals and society, and how each is influenced by the other.

## The Cotton Tare Question.

Society must necessarily exist. Such primitive, and later societies, as failed to see this necessity for existing have ceased to live. To exist, a society must encourage patriotism; there is a method of doing this through the moral sense.

We do not like a man whose character is such that we may reasonably expect injury from him. This dislike of a man on account of his character is a more complex feeling than the mere dislike of separate injuries. A cat may like your lap as a comfortable place of repose, she may like the food you give her, but may not, and most probably does not, have any conception of you. On the other hand, a dog may like you, even when you beat him, though he does not like the beating. Now such likes and dislikes may be felt by the "social self." If a man does anything generally regarded as good for society, his "social self" may say in the first place, "I like that thing you have done." By such common approval of individual acts the influence of patriotism as a motive becomes defined and clear; and natural results will, in the long run, preserve those societies which have approved the right things; that is, those which tend to their preservation, which gave the society at that time an advantage in the struggle for existence. But, in the second place, a man may, as a rule, and constantly being actuated by patriotism, do things good for society, and in that case the social self will say, "I like you." The feeling expressed by this statement on the part of any individual composing the society, "In the name of society,"

## Question Column.

Please tell me through the ECONOMIST whether or not the colored people have been organized into the Farmers Alliance.

If organized, who by, and when?

With many wishes for information on colored organizations.

AARON RAWLS,  
San Augustine, Texas.

There are two or three Alliance organizations among the colored people. They are said to be very similar in laws and usages to the Alliance as organized among the whites, but have a different ritual and secret work. The different Farmers State Alliances and the National Farmers Alliance have at their meetings shown that they appreciated the necessity for having the colored farmers organized, and as an outgrowth of this sentiment the following statutory law was passed at the last regular session of the National Alliance at Meridian, Miss.:

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Whereas, a large per cent. of the products of this country are produced by the colored farmers and laborers, and a large proportion of supplies are purchased by them; therefore,

*Be it resolved*, That it is detrimental to both white and colored to allow conditions to exist that forces our colored farmers to sell their products for less and pay more for supplies than the markets justify; therefore, we recommend that the following plan of co-operation be adopted:

1. That a common secret work be formulated, to be given to all farmers' organizations which shall comply with the following conditions: That they admit none but farmers, farm laborers, country mechanics, country doctors, and country school teachers, and country ministers, and any member engaging in any occupation that would render him ineligible, shall be given a withdrawal card; provided, it shall not apply to members employed to transact business for the organizations.

2. That they shall strictly forbid partisan, political, and sectional or religious discussion or action within the organization.

3. That white organizations shall positively prohibit the admission of colored men to membership into their organizations. Colored positively prohibit the admission of white men into their organizations.

4. We recommend further that this co-operative effort be left entirely to State organizations.

5. That State organizations desiring to avail themselves of this plan shall appoint a committee of five to meet in conference for their mutual benefit, and that each county organization, white and colored, appoint a like committee for their mutual benefit.

G. L. CLARK, Chairman,  
A. F. POPE.  
A. COLEMAN LYLES.

A correspondent from Buena Vista, Miss., requests to know what is the indebtedness of the Southern States, also some of the adjoining Northern States, and what is the amount of mortgage indebtedness.

The only full report of State indebtedness which is at hand is the census report, which is far from an illustration of present conditions. The statistical abstract issued by the Treasury Department for 1888 gives a table of State indebtedness taken from Spofford's American Almanac for 1889, which does not seem to harmonize with the census report, and is liable to mislead, as it only gives the amounts of the State debts proper, and does not include the county and municipal indebtedness, in which

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

1888, is as follows, and is to the close of the year 1888:

State.	Aggregate Debt.	Rate State Taxation.
Alabama	\$9,498,500	.55
Arkansas	4,861,115	.40
Florida	1,275,000	.40
Georgia	8,752,305	.35
Kentucky	674,000	.475
Louisiana	11,982,621	.60
Maryland	10,960,535	.35
Mississippi	2,935,250	.35
North Carolina	14,540,115	.30
South Carolina	7,411,021	.524
Tennessee	17,000,000	.30
Texas	4,297,780	.40
Virginia	81,863,043	.40
Ohio	3,416,465	.29
Illinois	None	.44
Indiana	6,470,608	.12
Iowa	245,435	.25
Kansas	1,161,776	.41
Michigan	239,998	.154
Minnesota	8,965,000	.15
Nebraska	449,267	.75
Wisconsin	None	.151
Missouri	9,525,000	.40

Compare the States represented in this table as out of debt with the column showing total indebtedness in the first table.

## CENSUS REPORT OF 1880.

State.	Net State Debt.	County and Municipal Debt.	Total Debt.	Debt per Capita.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Alabama.....	9,071,765	5,656,780	14,728,545	11.67
Arkansas.....	4,039,737	3,009,038	7,048,774	9.89
Florida.....	1,134,881	1,407,929	2,542,810	9.75
Georgia.....	9,000,000	9,730,403	19,831,903	12.76
Kentucky.....	1,980,586	13,888,029	14,877,881	9.08
Louisiana.....	23,437,640	19,428,312	42,865,952	45.60
Maryland.....	7,627,668	3,268,338	10,890,006	11.65
Mississippi.....	379,455	1,638,705	2,018,130	1.78
Missouri.....	10,259,000	41,172,332	57,491,322	26.48
N. Carolina.....	5,706,616	2,487,990	8,194,606	13.81
S. Carolina.....	6,639,171	6,706,760	13,345,931	13.81
Tennessee.....	27,440,431	9,387,955	36,837,900	24.25
Texas.....	5,568,228	3,037,985	11,809,913	7.29
Virginia.....	29,000,000	12,754,576	42,099,802	27.83
Ohio.....	6,732,500	43,021,464	48,743,954	15.24
Illinois.....	No debt.	45,189,922	45,189,922	14.63
Indiana.....	4,498,178	13,455,559	18,353,737	9.28
Iowa.....	370,435	7,592,332	7,962,767	4.90
Kansas.....	1,087,700	14,927,153	16,005,853	16.07
Michigan.....	No debt.	8,833,144	8,833,144	13.03
Minnesota.....	2,565,000	5,911,064	8,476,064	10.86
Nebraska.....	375,582	7,050,175	7,425,757	16.41
Wisconsin.....	2,252,057	10,023,935	11,876,992	9.03

Before going to the next table let it be noted that State, as such, may be shown to be out of debt, and yet the people of the State be burdened by an enormous county, township, school district, and municipal debt, which does not appear in the report of the State indebtedness, as has been shown in the case of Illinois, and will be noted in several of the other States where the net State debt is small, but the county and municipal indebtedness runs into tens of millions. It is the latter class of debt that burdens the agricultural classes, and it will be noted that this class of debts are greater in the Southern States where cities are few.

Just here it seems pertinent to ask why the Treasury Department of the United States should go to Spofford's, or any other almanac, for its statistical information. The same question may be asked in regard to the railroad statistics taken from Poor's Railroad Manual.

The report of State indebtedness taken from Spofford's Almanac and published in the statistical abstract of the Treasury Department for

Michigan, \$350,000,000; Minnesota, \$175,000,000; Iowa, \$351,000,000; Nebraska, \$140,000,000; Kansas, \$203,000,000; Missouri, \$237,000,000. These are all farm mortgages. We have no reliable reports from the Southern States. However, fortunately for the people of the South, the mortgage fiend has not been able to get a strong hold in that section up to this time, but it is only a question of time as to when he will begin to set his snares for the unwary.

W. S. Morgan, in his history of the Wheel and Alliance, gives some startling figures in regard to this subject. His estimates are made after careful research and based upon the most reliable information. He gives the amount of most mortgages in this way: "Ohio, \$350,000,000; Indiana, \$175,000,000; Illinois, \$200,000,000; Wisconsin, \$100,000,000; Michigan, \$125,000,000; Minnesota, \$70,000,000; Iowa, \$100,000,000; Kansas, \$50,000,000; Missouri, \$25,000,000." He remarks that "this estimate is probably too low," and judging from the vast difference between this and the Binder's estimate it is probable the real figure lies somewhere between the two extremes.

The Chicago Tribune says, with regard to the estimate given by Bro. Morgan: "According to this moderate, careful estimate, the farm mortgages in the ten Western States mentioned amount to the tremendous sum of \$1,200,000,000, and the interest can not be less than \$90,000,000 per annum."

The aggregate of mortgage indebtedness throughout the United States, estimated from the most reliable sources, and only those resting on homes and farms considered, can not amount to less than \$16,000,000,000. The most liberal estimate of the private indebtedness of the people, including mortgages on personal property and not secured will show an aggregate of about \$11,000,000,000.

Attention is called to the fact that in the States shown by the Treasury abstract to be out of debt there is a large county and municipal indebtedness, besides enormous mortgage debts. This sort of statement is nothing more nor less than a trick to mislead. Who is responsible?

The total number of acres of land granted to railroads is 209,344,233 acres, estimated at \$1,674,000,000. This territory is greater than the whole of England and France combined; more than all the Southern States.

One landlord, Colonel Church, owns and collects rents for 180 farms in the State of New York, some of them containing over 500 acres each, while his tenants, after paying the rents, can hardly live. How does this compare with Ireland?

W. Pitt, one of the greatest of English statesmen, said in 1791: "Let the Americans adopt the funding system and go into banking institutions and their boasted independence will be a mere phantom." Was he a prophet?

## THE REFORM PAPERS.

Views and Expressions Upon Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Alliance Tocsin, of Lockesburg, Ark., has discovered that—

The tendency of the minds of the people at the present time is toward purer politics. There has been in the past, and is yet, too much of a disposition to appeal to prejudice rather than reason to carry the party to success. There must be a return to principle, and upon that ground must the battles hereafter be fought. There are clearly defined questions upon which the parties must divide, and the people must say which they will follow. The parties are what the people make them. It is one of the objects of the Alliance to educate its members in all matters pertaining to their interests, and prepare them to act intelligently in the field of politics.

Speaking of the result of its adherence to principle, and the penalty, the Tocsin says:

By adhering to strict principle and defending what it understands to be the rights and interests of the people—the toiling masses who are the wealth-producers of the country—we have incurred the displeasure of the merchants and the professional men, and as a consequence none of our patronage comes from them. It

The Progressive Farmer of Raleigh, organ of the North Carolina State Alliance, has discovered "the greatest trust of all."

Has not the financial policy of our Government alienated the people? Has it not operated seriously against the industrial and wealth-producing classes? When it charters thousands of National banks and loans them money at 1 per cent. and allows them to charge the industrial and business interests of the country enormous and ruinous rates of interest, how can it claim the heart-allegiance of its citizens?

When it makes it possible for a few of its citizens—the wealthy few, to invest in its bonds and thereby elude the tax collector, while the multitudinous many have to contribute their full share to the support of the Government, how can we expect anything but discontent among the people? We have trusts and trusts, but the greatest of all these is the money trust—the National banking system of the Government. To the people are beginning to think.

The following editorial, from the same paper, is most opportune:

Anarchy is again rampant in Chicago, but this time it is rich men who defy law, and the prostitute press is silent upon it. All the wealthy packers and beef trust men disregarded the summons to testify before the investigating committee of the United States Senate, and openly defied the power of the United States Government to make them obey the law. Railroad managers are in a similar state of rebellion against the authority of the United States as represented by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

An Alliance man, of Plymouth, N. C., will be married October 3d, in a full suit of cotton bagging.

Our Opinion, of McPherson, Kan., advises the delegates to the Union Labor Convention of that county:

Keep your eyes open. The agents of monopoly may be where we least expect them and ready to take advantage of every circumstance that can be used to disrupt the party or destroy its usefulness. They will stop at nothing to distract or cripple us. Swallow your personal feelings, keep your eyes and your ears open, and if possible make one grand strike for honest government. Let this be the beginning of the end of corporation and ring rule.

The Gerard, Kansas, Herald:

As one result of the organization of the farmers, we would cite our readers to the Dakota farmers, who by organization have been able to reduce the price on binders from \$250 to \$300 down to \$115, and sworn evidence has been produced by them showing the actual cost of constructing a binding machine to be \$65. Now let the weak-kneed, prejudiced farmers open their eyes and no longer say "they can't see any benefits in the order."

The Alabama Alliance Advocate has come to a sensible conclusion:

No member of the Alliance need be discouraged because there are bad men in the order. As long as human nature is as weak as it is, perfection in human affairs need not be expected. In every department of life, in all social organizations, bad men are found; they bring into disrepute the noble Masonic fraternity, disgrace the Church, and cast reproach upon the priestly office. Among the twelve immortal men whom a blessed Savior selected to promulgate his gospel of love and to establish his kingdom on earth, there was a Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his loving Master or the paltry sum of thirty pieces of silver. Then can the Alliance, composed of frail humanity, expect its membership to be pure and better than that of the Masonic lodge and the Church of Christ? As long as man is so pitifully weak, erring brothers may be expected, to whom charity should be exercised, but when their conduct is a menace to the order the Alliance should purge itself of them. But the principles of the Alliance are too grand and noble, and the number of good men and women in its ranks is too large, to allow it to be severely injured by unworthy members.

The principal question with the Southern Alliance papers is the covering of cotton and the disposition of the present crop. The Liberal, of Cuthbert, Ga., is in line in Alliance work, and asks—

Why should not the cotton committee of the National Alliance know as much about the extent of the cotton crop and the need of spinners as the speculators? Why should not the farmers take their advice rather than the advice of speculators?

The Liberal also says to its readers:

The farmer who says he hasn't time to read the newspapers acknowledges that he has turned the management of his business into the hands of those who make their living by speculating upon him.

Just here we reach the point we wish to impress upon the farmers. They have been accustomed, all their lives, to going to these speculators for information and advice. They have had no means of getting information or advice from their friends. But a change has taken place. The farmers now have an organization for their own protection. At the head of this organization are men as capable of giving advice and information as are the speculators.

The interests of these farmers who are at the head of this organization are identical with the interests of the poorest farmer in Randolph county. They are in position to know as much of the extent of the crop and the needs of spinners as the speculators. They are men of intelligence, capable of reasoning from cause to effect, and as the information and advice they give affect their individual interests as much as the interests of those to whom they give them they can not have any motive to deceive. Farmers should read more. They mistake greatly when they say they haven't time to read. The time spent in informing themselves is not thrown away. That they are not informed accounts for the ease with which they are duped by those who prey upon them. They should read the newspapers—such papers as are friendly to them. Every farmer in Georgia ought to read THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, be he Alliance man or not. It is published by the National Alliance, in the interests of farmers. Every farmer ought to read his county paper. One hour or more of each day spent in gaining information, such information as will enable him to intelligently dispose of his surplus crops (if no more) were better spent than if spent in making more cotton to sell to speculators at less than it cost him to make it. In conclusion, read more and think more for yourselves. Go to your friends for information and advice. Stick together. Defraud no man nor allow any man to defraud you. Make as few debts as possible and pay what you owe promptly.

bagging with their hooks in the roughest manner, pull it, twist and jerk it with all their power, and that they could not have handled it more roughly if they had made a contract to do so; and he intimated clearly his opinion that such was the case.

There is a large jute mill in Charleston, and we have noticed that the largest paper of that city is by no means favorable to cotton bagging. Charleston may yet see the day when it will be glad to get cotton in cotton bagging. Fortunately for the farmer, he can soon place himself in position where he will sell and deliver his cotton in his own yard if he shall so choose. In the meeting of the exchanges referred to was a scene as rare as it was significant. It was the presence of representatives of the Alliance—genuine live farmers—who were invited and welcomed by the exchanges. The cotton farmer will be recognized hereafter in the management of this great Southern crop, and it will be all the better for him, for the dealers, the manufacturers, and the South.

The principal question with the Southern Alliance papers is the covering of cotton and the disposition of the present crop. The Liberal, of Cuthbert, Ga., is in line in Alliance work, and asks—

Why should not the cotton committee of the National Alliance know as much about the extent of the cotton crop and the need of spinners as the speculators? Why should not the farmers take their advice rather than the advice of speculators?

The Liberal also says to its readers:

The farmer who says he hasn't time to read the newspapers acknowledges that he has turned the management of his business into the hands of those who make their living by speculating upon him.

Just here we reach the point we wish to impress upon the farmers. They have been accustomed, all their lives, to going to these speculators for information and advice. They have had no means of getting information or advice from their friends. But a change has taken place. The farmers now have an organization for their own protection. At the head of this organization are men as capable of giving advice and information as are the speculators.

The interests of these farmers who are at the head of this organization are identical with the interests of the poorest farmer in Randolph county. They are in position to know as much of the extent of the crop and the needs of spinners as the speculators. They are men of intelligence, capable of reasoning from cause to effect, and as the information and advice they give affect their individual interests as much as the interests of those to whom they give them they can not have any motive to deceive. Farmers should read more. They mistake greatly when they say they haven't time to read. The time spent in informing themselves is not thrown away. That they are not informed accounts for the ease with which they are duped by those who prey upon them. They should read the newspapers—such papers as are friendly to them. Every farmer in Georgia ought to read THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, be he Alliance man or not. It is published by the National Alliance, in the interests of farmers. Every farmer ought to read his county paper. One hour or more of each day spent in gaining information, such information as will enable him to intelligently dispose of his surplus crops (if no more) were better spent than if spent in making more cotton to sell to speculators at less than it cost him to make it. In conclusion, read more and think more for yourselves. Go to your friends for information and advice. Stick together. Defraud no man nor allow any man to defraud you. Make as few debts as possible and pay what you owe promptly.

Make your obligations as good as corporations' bonds and you can get credit, when it must be had, as cheap as corporations get it. Above all, listen to your friends rather than to your enemies.

The Toiler, of Nashville, organ of the Tennessee Farmers and Laborers Union, says:

The joint proclamation consolidating the Wheel and Alliance will be published next week, signed by Evan Jones, president of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and by President MacCune of the Alliance and McCracken of the Wheel, but the difficulty yet in the way is that no one seems to have the new secret work perfectly, and no arrangements have yet been made for any rituals for the new order; therefore, as a matter of necessity, organizers of the Wheel and Alliance will have to continue under the old work and rituals now in use, until some arrangement is made for the new secret work and new rituals, of which due notice will be given in the Toiler.

The proclamation has been made and the difficulty is met by the fact that a new secret work was adopted at Meridian with the constitution, and imparted to the following members: Bone and Honeycutt, of Alabama; Turner and Beck, of Georgia; Stallings and Hatcher, of Louisiana; Glass and Hearne, of Mississippi; Alexander and Payne, of North Carolina; McRae and Lyles, of South Carolina; Buchanan and Castles, of Tennessee; Baggett and Pickett, of Texas; Charles Roberts, of Indian Territory; Johnson and Page, of Missouri; Brush, of Kansas.

IN Alabama, when money is borrowed by mortgaging farms, the rate of interest ranges from 18 to 24 per cent. per annum as a rule; the tenants and croppers get about 35 per cent. of the cotton made in the State, but it is all pledged for supplies before it is gathered; on an average 90 per cent. of the whole crop is pledged, before grown, for supplies and interest. The same is true of Mississippi, and, to a great extent, of all the cotton States.

IDLE capital and idle labor are frequently classed as equal forces, and it is not uncommon to hear the assertion made that money capital can not endure idleness any better than labor can.

The fact is that the ability of money capital to remain idle depends upon the stability of the gross volume in circulation. If the volume be rapidly diminishing as a result of "contraction," the money capital is rapidly enhancing in value even though idle, and it generally is gaining more, even though hoarded in idleness, than it could earn if no contraction was in process. Under such conditions there is a premium on it sideliness, and labor can not cope with it.

THE power that great corporations have to hinder, if not influence, legal proceedings against them, their ability to thwart the endeavors of the public authorities to prevent great monopolies or to subject them to proper restraints, are among the most alarming developments of the times and a danger to which all the people must be aroused at once if we would preserve our free institutions and insure the future independence of our children.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## The Bagging Question.

NEW ORLEANS, September 21, 1889.

To the Editor of the Times-Democrat:

It is evident that there is a concerted effort being made on the part of those interested in keeping down the value of cotton to misrepresent the results that will follow the enforcement of the resolution adopted at the convention of the cotton exchanges here and to beguile and bewilder the farmers still further as regards the merits and demerits of the proposed and existing rules governing the tare question.

From the very fact that the opposition to the sale of cotton by net weight is strongest on the part of buyers and exporters the farmer naturally suspects that the proverbial Ethiopian is concealed in some part of this particular woodpile. It does seem strange that cotton buyers should object so strenuously to having to pay for 24 pounds less weight on every bale of jute-covered cotton than they are being charged for to-day.

As far as is known, cotton buyers are not generally so philanthropic as to refuse an allowance of twenty-four pounds per bale for any sentimental reasons, and it is perfectly certain that they understand their own interests thoroughly, so that it may be taken for granted that they see their way to making more money under the present system of tare than under the 24-pound and 16-pound rule.

Every one knows now that while no deduction in weight has been made to cover tare on cotton, a deduction in price has been invariably, though unwittingly, submitted to by the producer to protect the buyer in this respect, and whether the deduction be applied to the weight or the price the result to the producer is the same, for a buyer with a purchasing limit of 10 cents per pound of actual cotton pays to-day only 10 cents, less 6 per cent., for gross cotton, or 9.40 cents per pound.

A 500-pound bale, gross weight, at 9.40 cents, will bring \$47, and 500 pounds, less 6 per cent., 470 pounds net at 10 cents, will bring \$47.

To compare the existing 6 per cent. tare on price and the new fixed tare of 24 pounds per bale, it will be more convenient to assume that the deduction in both cases is made from the weights. The 6 per cent. allowance was adopted when the average bale of cotton weighed about 400 pounds, and when 7 yards of 2-pound jute bagging were more generally used than is now the case. The 6 ties and 7 yards of bagging made 24 pounds tare or 6 per cent. on a 400-pound bale. This tare was adopted by the buyers themselves, and was quite satisfactory to them then, and is still more satisfactory to them now.

The Farmers Alliance has always been desirous of making arrangements to settle this vexed tare question, in connection with new standard cotton bagging, in such a way as to cause the least hardship to all interested.

The buyers apparently did not realize that the Alliance was in thorough earnest when the Birmingham convention in May last declared in favor of standard cotton bagging, and an allowance of 8 pounds on each bale covered with this fabric; and they now insist that the cotton producers must not only continue to submit to the injustice of the 6 per cent. tare, but that they must also make a further sacrifice of 8 pounds of cotton on every bale that wears a home-made coat! This would be protection with a vengeance for jute bagging!

There will be not less than 1,500,000 bales,

of the present crop covered with light bagging,

so that the cotton producers are to be asked to sacrifice about \$1,250,000 because the cotton buyers failed to understand that the National Farmers Alliance was capable of knowing its own mind.

And there are Southern men and Southern papers that take sides against the producers, and do their best to bamboozle them into submitting to such a loss.

Let the cotton buyers come forward and propose some other way to equitably adjust this matter, and they will find the Alliance as fair-minded and as accommodating as it has shown itself determined and strong.

As simple obstructionists, their position is neither dignified nor tenable.

If the cotton raisers of this grand country can not get justice given them, they will take it.

Yours respectfully, T. A. CLAYTON,

State Agent Louisiana Farmers Union, Chairman National Alliance and Wheel Committee on Cotton Bagging.

producer loses 6 per cent. on every pound of cotton over 400 pounds that he puts into a bale, and at 10 cents per pound the loss in this way last year amounted to about \$325,000.

This was a nice margin for the buyers in itself, without calculating the additional margin they had on all bales covered with cotton bagging and other light wrappings.

And they take full advantage of this margin, for where the actual tare is ascertained in Liverpool to fall short of 6 per cent. bagging is added to the bales to make up the deficiency.

It must surely be plain to our farmers from the foregoing statement that the existing tare of 6 per cent. is excessive on any bale weighing over 400 pounds, and that if they wish to put up heavier bales without paying tribute to the cotton buyers for that privilege they must insist on the fixed tare of 24 pounds for jute and 16 pounds for cotton bagging, and at the same time see to it that sufficient covering is put on their bales to make up these weights.

Six yards of 1 1/4-pound jute bagging and six ties will weigh only 20 1/2 pounds, and this is about the average used in covering a bale to-day. Consequently, even under the 24-pound tare rule, it will be false economy to the extent of 3 1/2 pounds of cotton on each bale to use only this quality of wrapping.

Under the present system of 6 per cent. tare such false economy must have cost the planters last year about 85 cents on every bale of cotton thus marketed.

Entirely apart from the cotton-bagging question, the existing tare system needs correction, and the cotton producers are, to a certain extent, under obligations to the jute trust for having forced them to fully consider the subject.

It is stated in the papers that the cotton buyers here claim that the adoption of the net-weight rule would entail on them very severe losses, as they have made contracts ahead on the 6 per cent. basis, and that they will not agree to the net-weight basis. Whose fault is this?

The Farmers Alliance has always been desirous of making arrangements to settle this vexed tare question, in connection with new standard cotton bagging, in such a way as to cause the least hardship to all interested.

The buyers apparently did not realize that the Alliance was in thorough earnest when the Birmingham convention in May last declared in favor of standard cotton bagging, and an allowance of 8 pounds on each bale covered with this fabric; and they now insist that the cotton producers must not only continue to submit to the injustice of the 6 per cent. tare, but that they must also make a further sacrifice of 8 pounds of cotton on every bale that wears a home-made coat! This would be protection with a vengeance for jute bagging!

There will be not less than 1,500,000 bales, of the present crop covered with light bagging, so that the cotton producers are to be asked to sacrifice about \$1,250,000 because the cotton buyers failed to understand that the National Farmers Alliance was capable of knowing its own mind.

And there are Southern men and Southern papers that take sides against the producers, and do their best to bamboozle them into submitting to such a loss.

Let the cotton buyers come forward and propose some other way to equitably adjust this matter, and they will find the Alliance as fair-minded and as accommodating as it has shown itself determined and strong.

As simple obstructionists, their position is neither dignified nor tenable.

If the cotton raisers of this grand country can not get justice given them, they will take it.

Yours respectfully, T. A. CLAYTON,

State Agent Louisiana Farmers Union, Chairman National Alliance and Wheel Committee on Cotton Bagging.

## 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.

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 to guarantee that they will faithfully carry out all 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.

THERE has not been much said in the columns of the ECONOMIST about the consolidation of the Alliance in the Northwestern States with the Farmers and Laborers Union, because it is generally known that at their national meeting, held in DesMoines, Iowa, in January last, they amended their constitution by unanimous vote so as to have their next regular annual meeting at St. Louis and during the same time that the F. and L. U. meets. All the Alliances and Wheels of the South have no doubt regarded that action as such a favorable indication of a willingness to consolidate as to leave no doubt of their doing so when convened, and the consolidation arguments have generally been directed to the Southern organizations that until recently have not been committed.

It would be the greatest possible advantage to the cause of reform if we could have a National exhibition of our political bosses and allow the people to behold the true personality of the "shapers of the Nation's destiny." Such an exhibition would be unique, to say the least.

"DISCRIMINATIONS between Localities," the subject of Mr. Hudson's article on railways this week, is of vital importance, and his conclusions thereon deserve consideration at the hands of every producer.

The opposite of socialism is anarchy. Democracy finds its place in a happy medium between the two. Socialism, or all law and force, would entirely merge the individual into the social body, while anarchy carries the doctrine of individual rights and liberty to the extreme of condemning all law and force. The Individualist, of Denver, Col., is a paper evidently devoted to scientific anarchy. It announces as opposed to everything that does not harmonize with Herbert Spencer's first principle for the government of human social action: "Every person has a natural right to do whatsoever he wills, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal rights of any other person." This doctrine, carried to extreme, demands the abolition of all law or force. They call Socialists and Communists, "Collective coercionists," and Anarchists, "Rational individualists."

## Not the Kind of a Trust.

THE New York Sun makes editorial mention of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America by the consolidation of the National Farmers' Alliance of the South and the National Agricultural Wheel, and commenting on the Union as a great trust, says:

"It is amusing to see men denouncing monopoly and at the same time trying to get a monopoly; but such is the humor of human nature. Trust-fighting trust is nothing surprising, and the Southern-farmers are imitating the methods they condemn."

The Sun is entirely wrong as to the objects, purposes, and methods of the Union. Trusts are wholly combinations of capitalists made for the purpose of using the power of money to oppress labor in order to extort all that labor produces over a bare subsistence, to the end that the capitalist may secure large and unearned accessories to his wealth thereby. A trust must necessarily be composed of "capitalists," because to wield the power of money to oppress, they must control a certain percentage of the entire volume of money in circulation, probably one-tenth or more. They are "unholy combinations to oppress labor in order to extort," because they must be made to control some article of prime necessity that labor must have, and therefore leave him only what he must have for a bare existence. The members of a trust not only organize, but they pool their wealth that is invested in that line of business, and make the fight strictly of cold, unscrupulous, greedy, selfish capital against labor. God forbid that the Union should ever be a similar organization, or use like methods, or desire such

until recently have not been committed.

The facts are that the Farmers and Laborers Union of America is exactly the opposite of a trust. True, its members are organized into a strong secret society, but it is a righteous combination of producers to resist the troublesome depredations of the robber trusts. The Union can, and does, call upon God to bless its every step, because it is taken in behalf of down-trodden and oppressed humanity. Selfishness is in no sense the object of its effort, but pecuniary gain up to a standard of exact justice to labor is demanded as a right. Instead of pooling the wealth of its members, it pools their heads and hearts, their strong right arms, and leaves the property of each undisturbed. Instead of a combination of capitalists to oppress labor for selfish and unjust gain, it is a combination of producers, who will in time show that the honest, industrious citizen is sovereign in this country, and not the dollar.

## The Treasury Report.

The United States Treasury Report of August 31st shows gold coin and bullion on hand, \$304,048,189.30, against which there was in circulation gold certificates amounting to \$123,393.519, leaving a net balance of gold in the Treasury, over and above gold liabilities, of \$180,654,670.30. Silver coin and bullion, \$283,583,864; silver certificates out, \$268,580,626; net balance silver on hand over and above silver liabilities, \$19,262,840.20; United States notes on hand, \$48,810,935.08; certificates out against same, \$16,545,000; net

balance United States notes on hand, \$32,325,935.08; trade-dollar bullion on hand, \$6,083,537.70; National-bank notes on hand, \$153,836; deposited in National-bank depositories, \$48,342,006.47. In addition to this there is an item listed as "assets not available: Minor coin, fractional silver coin," amounting to \$25,030,875.49, and National-bank notes in process of redemption, \$4,436,824.60. All these assets added together show the total

money actually in the Treasury and depositories over and above silver and gold certificates and Government-note certificates to be \$316,290,525.84. The report shows assets in addition to above, of "registered and coupon interest prepaid," and interest on District of Columbia bonds amounting to \$1,001,305.31. The balance of the liabilities listed amount to \$248,771,046.02, which, subtracted from the gross assets, shows a net balance of assets of \$68,520,785.13. Of the above liabilities the following are prominent items: Interest on the various bonds, \$10,076,482.75; reserve for redemption of United States notes, \$100,000,000; fund for reduction of notes of National banks "failed," "in liquidation," and "reducing circulation," and 5 per cent. fund for redemption of National-bank notes, \$79,278,591.78; and sundry items of departments and disbursing officers' balances, amounting to \$59,415,971.48.

There is unquestionably a great public necessity now existing for some competent person to rise and explain in such a manner as to defend a financial policy that keeps \$25,000,000 in fractional silver coin locked up in the Treasury as "not available" assets, and locks up \$317,000,000 of the circulating medium of the country with which to pay its indebtedness of \$248,000,000, a large percentage of which will never have to be paid. It is wrong, however, to blame Congress or the administration for this policy, because the people return the men who perpetuate it, and when public sentiment demands a change the change will come.

An examination of the salaries paid in the Treasury Department, in the article on Washington this week, suggests that there is a recognized aristocracy in official employment. The officials and clerks of a given grade are paid much more in some cities than in others. Just why a man should be paid more to perform a given duty in New York than in any other city is hard to comprehend, but it is law, or it would not be. Following New York in the social grade of office-holding are the other cities, no two equal.

It must not be understood that the action of Texas making its affirmation of consolidation conditional expresses any objection to anything proposed thereby. Texas merely reserved the right to retain the present name of its State organization, which was expressly reserved at the meeting where consolidation was arranged.

In North Carolina the average farmer, in many instances, is compelled to pay from 20 to 40 per cent. more than cash prices for supplies to enable him to make a crop.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## Distribution—Continued.

BY N. A. DUNNING.

The theory of distribution so universally practiced is so little understood that the general conception of the term is a misconception. While of itself the most important factor in every human enterprise, it is nevertheless considered by a majority of the people as something beyond the reach of ordinary minds, or as being connected in some manner with the various isms which at the present time are making assaults upon our social conditions. Instead of its being a new idea, or a modern cranky notion, it is one of the primitive subdivisions of the first lessons in political economy. The past ten years has developed an increased desire on the part of the people to know more concerning these economic lines of thought. This fact alone is a most hopeful sign for the future. When the abstract principles which underlie all questions of civilization and progress are carefully and intelligently examined by the masses, there will be no fear of the long continuance of unjust laws or unfair discriminations. In order to explain fully the correct interpretation of the term, I will select a certain farm product, and through its production and sale give an example of what is meant by unjust distribution.

Farmer A in Kansas has 1,000 bushels of wheat (this year's crop) in condition to sell. He goes to his market town to ascertain the price. It makes no difference what his wheat has cost, or what profit he ought to receive for his trouble, risks, and labor. These important features are not taken into consideration, as further developments will show. His wheat may have cost in labor value two dollars or even three dollars per bushel; no matter if it cost twenty, it fails as a factor in any argument where the money price is to be established, as commercial value or price considers no cost in production. The following is the usual method of obtaining the information farmer A is seeking:

The New York dealer ascertains the price of wheat in Liverpool. From this he deducts the freight between New York and that city, together with the insurance, interest, waste, and his own profits. The remainder is given as the New York price.

The Chicago dealer deducts from this the freight between Chicago and New York, also insurance, interest, waste, and his profits, and the remainder is quoted as the Chicago price.

The home dealer subtracts from this the freights to Chicago, insurance, interest, waste, and his profits, together with an extra slice for fear something has been left out, and the result is given farmer A as the highest price for his wheat. If he declares it too low, that it will not repay him for his labor, he is informed that such assertions don't count; that he ought to understand, while he and his farm can produce the wheat, it requires the consent of the whole business world to put a price on it. Farmer A goes home discouraged and disgusted. He realizes something is wrong somewhere, but never for once thinks of the unfair distribution that lies at the bottom of the whole difficulty. Naturally he locates the trouble somewhere; not so much with the idea of being correct as that of having something to find fault with, and thus give vent to his indignation. Usually, if a Republican, he charges it to the agitation of free trade; or if a Democrat, to the doctrine of protection, and in either case becomes a stronger partisan than ever.

At this time we will suppose the New York market to be 90 cents. The 1,000 bushels under consideration would bring \$900 delivered in that city. The price paid farmer A is 60 cents, or \$600 for his crop. It is not difficult to see that somewhere between the home market and New York \$300 has been distributed

to other persons than farmer A. The point to consider now is, what portion of this \$300 was distributed for value received? Of course there are various opinions upon this subject, but those who have made a careful examination contend if the same rigid economy were practiced in the handling of grain after production that is enforced during production, this 1,000 bushels of wheat could have been marketed at either of the seaboard points, with all charges paid, for \$75. A little figuring will show an unjust distribution of \$225; that is, instead of paying this amount to farmer A in addition to what he received, it was paid to other persons who did not return an equivalent. If, by certain manipulations in business, farmer A on 1,000 bushels of wheat is robbed of \$225, who can estimate the vast amount of money taken from producers each year through similar methods?

I have before me a statement of a car of oats sold in this city (Washington), from Chicago. The price paid was 24 cents per bushel delivered here. The car was billed at \$410, of which \$105 was for freight. A careful estimate showed that the producer could not have received over 12 cents per bushel for the oats. This condition is made plain when we consider the immense tribute production is compelled to pay the numerous trusts, corporations, combinations, and syndicates which control the various means of distribution.

There are 120,000 miles of railroad in this country, capitalized and bonded for \$60,000 per mile on the average, that can be duplicated for less than \$18,000 per mile. This difference between real and fictitious value is \$5,040,000,000. The telegraphs and telephones are capitalized at \$120,000,000, one-half of which, or \$60,000,000, is fictitious. The dividends paid upon these two items alone, figured at 7 per cent., amounts to \$357,500,000. Add to this the profits of insurance companies and the vast sum absorbed by the banks, and we have a grand total of more than one billion of dollars that is taken from the pockets of just such men as farmer A, and unjustly distributed to the four classes of business named above.

Space will not permit me to give in detail the endless number of devices calculated to divert the product of labor from its proper channel. The example already shown ought to convince any person that the subject of distribution should be carefully studied, to the end that a peremptory demand be made, backed up by a thorough understanding of the subject, that the whole system of distribution be reorganized upon lines of justice and equality to all.

To do this, united action is absolutely necessary, and united action only comes through intelligent research and combination.

## Maryland State Alliance.

Wednesday, September 25th, the Maryland Farmers Alliance was organized by Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, of Washington, State organizer, at Upper Marlboro. The following officers were elected: President, Hugh Mitchell; Charles County; vice-president, F. Louis Griffith, Anne Arundel County; secretary, T. C. Jenkins, Charles County; treasurer, Dr. Joseph H. Blandford, Prince George's County; lecturer, Dr. W. W. Waring, Prince George's County; assistant lecturer, H. G. Cowan, Caroline County; chaplain, Thomas R. Halley, Charles County; executive committee, A. T. Brooke, Z. W. Halley, and Alvin C. Wilson; business agent, Dr. Joseph A. Mudd; delegates to National Alliance at St. Louis, December 5, 1889, Hugh Mitchell and Dr. Joseph H. Blandford; alternates, A. T. Brooke and F. Louis Griffith.

The District of Columbia was represented by delegates from Capital Alliance No. 22, and will be considered as a Maryland county for purposes of Alliance work.

## 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. 22.

## DISCRIMINATIONS BETWEEN LOCALITIES.

While, as argued in the preceding article, the evil of rebates and secret rates, under competition which gives all shippers equal opportunities, does not involve the injustice of vital advantages to the favorites of the railway, it should be specified that such an injustice may be inflicted when one shipper is located at a point where the competition between the carriers secures him that advantage, and the other is placed where there is no competition and where, therefore, he must depend solely upon the favor of the railway. In this case the injury may arise either from the favoritism of the railway managers or from the constitution of the business; but it is equally vital in either case.

Whether the favorite shipper on any such railroad at the favored point obtains his favored rate because the railroad official desires to give him an advantage over his rival at the non-competitive point, or whether he obtains it simply as the result of competition between the railroads seeking business, his advantage over the unfavored shipper is permanent and decisive. The shipper who has but one carrier on whom to rely for doing business for transporting his product is forced to accept just such rates as that carrier will accord him. The railroad may undertake to maintain an equal cheapness of transportation for him with his rival at the competitive point, but it is almost impossible, in the present constitution of the railroad business, that such an undertaking will be fulfilled. The shipper at the competitive point has freight which is an object for the railroad to get, and therefore for which it offers advantages in return. That of the shipper at the non-competitive point is regarded as a certainty. Whether the favorite shipper is subject to vital discrimination, extinction is his necessary doom, and the railroad will thus lose the business of which it regards itself as assured. But, as it is shown by the most remarkable and notorious discriminations on record, namely, those in favor of the Standard Oil Company, that the most intelligent railway managers in the country were unable to perceive the force of this consideration with regard to the refineries on their own lines of railroad, which they allowed to be frozen out of existence, it is plain that such a consideration affords no protection to the shippers who, by their location, are removed from competition between the carriers.

Even though there is no direct intent of favoritism on the part of the railroad which fails to give to the non-competitive shipper the full advantages in rates which the shipper at the competitive point enjoys, the ethics and constitution of the railroad create the advantage to

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

the latter. There is some justice in the assertion that the railroad transporting the product of a certain point, which we will designate as A, is not to be blamed if two or three other railroads, competing for the same traffic at a rival point, to be known as B, perform an equal service at much lower rates. A hundred considerations may enable the roads at the competing point to do business much more cheaply than the one road can or will do it at the non-competitive point. But the greatest and most controlling consideration in such cases is the practically accepted rule in railway operation, that points where there is competition for the traffic transported by railroads are, naturally and in the legitimate constitution of the business, entitled to lower rates than the local points served by a single railroad. This has had the practical effect of establishing the secondary rule deduced from the first—that all important industries, and every large shipping interest, must seek locations where there is competition between the railroads. This results in the concentration of business at the large shipping points, and lends additional weight and importance to the discussion thus opened up of the question of discrimination between localities.

In discussing this branch of the railroad question it is well to recognize, at the very start, that it does not involve the direct and apparently willful assault upon the principles of public justice that are presented by such examples of discriminations between individual shippers as have been considered in the recent articles published in the ECONOMIST. The large advantages and disadvantages which are produced by the establishment of low rates at certain points, and of high rates at others, constitute, as I expect to show in considering the subject, a public evil, and the cause of some of the gravest tendencies of the times. But, to a certain extent, it arises out of the necessities of the case, so long as the present constitution of railway organization remains as it is. The discrimination of a railway in favor of one locality, or against another, rarely arises, as individual preferences do, out of the wanton or selfish determination of the railway manager to build up one interest at the cost of another. That may be the practical result of the discrimination.

This branch of the subject is further complicated and distorted by the tendency of each locality to regard the arrangement of rates which is advantageous for it as the only just one. Probably there is no phase of the railroad question in which views are more distinctly swayed by self-interest than this one of the relative justice of rates between various and competing localities. There are doubtless an immense host of examples in which the press and commercial organizations of various localities have claimed, as a discrimination against their district, rates which were, perhaps, nearer a just and normal adjustment than those urged by the representatives of the locality in question; and there are no less prominent instances in which the localities favored by radical and even violent discriminations of this class have taken the position that they are justified in urging their maintenance. The commercial organizations of the Pacific coast, as was shown by their convention which recently took action on the subject, regard it as legitimate that their freight shall be carried across the continent for an actually less charge than is made to cities half-way across, and involving half the amount of transporta-

tion. The people of Colorado, Montana, and the intermediate Territories consider it just that their cattle and meat products shall be transported to the Atlantic seaboard at the same or less charge as on the same products of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, involving half the transportation; but regard it as a violation of justice that the same discrimination should be imposed against the leading staples of their commerce and in favor of the same articles when carried to and from the Pacific coast. In the famous case of discriminations in cotton rates, which formed a leading subject of discussion in Congress during the debates on the interstate commerce law, and in which the low rate of \$1 per bale from Memphis to New Orleans was contrasted with the high rate of \$3.25 per bale from a local station one-half the distance from New Orleans. I have no doubt that the Memphis shippers regarded the arrangement as perfectly tolerable and legitimate. So, in all the discussions of the relative claims of different sections for a low rate, as compared with other sections, the entire question is clouded, if the discussion is confined to any one section or district, by the interests of that section. The people of any given district or of any city have a predisposition to claim that adjustment of rates to be equitable which works to the advantage of their section, and that whatever adjustment does not give them all the advantage which they consider it possible to obtain is unjust and should be prohibited by law. If the question is to be judged simply in the light of conflicting self-interest, each section taking that rule which will advance its own prosperity, without regard to the legitimate foundations of justice which should prevail over all, the determination of the question upon broad and National grounds will be impossible.

I regard it as fortunate, therefore, that we can take up the consideration of this complicated and difficult question in a journal which is not confined in its views to the representation of the interests of any particular section or district. The views which THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is bound to advance are those which will work to the benefit of the whole Nation. The farmers of the Northwest, the cattle growers of the far Western Territories, or the planters of the South, each class considering the question as applied solely to their own district, might be prejudiced in favor of local discrimination which would work to their advantage; as well as against those which work to their disadvantage. But THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, representing the farmers of the whole Nation, and by its very name pledged to a National policy, is privileged to assume the function of discussing this question upon a basis superior to all prejudice and interest of particular localities, and to advocate the principles which will decide this question in accordance with the best interests of the farming population of the entire Nation. That policy which is for the best interests of the farmers of the whole Nation is for the interests of the whole Nation itself. The agricultural industry is not only the largest in the Nation, both in respect to the numbers of persons engaged in it, and in the value of its

products, but it is the foundation upon which the entire commerce and industry of the Nation must rest. Decrease its prosperity, burden it with excessive charges, or tax it with the cost of unnecessary service, and the diminution of its prosperity must extend to the diminution of the prosperity of all the other interests of the Nation which found their existence upon it. These considerations make it not only a great privilege, but a high duty, in discussing this branch of the subject through the columns of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, to base the discussion not upon the interests of any particular section, but upon the purpose of discovering and advocating that policy which will establish natural justice between the various sections of the country, and which will most surely advance the interests of the Nation as a whole.

In other words, when we find that the great influence which if permitted full and free play will distribute production in accordance with natural economy, will locate industries at the points where they can be carried to the best advantage, and will force the services of commerce to be carried on in the way that involves the least cost, is hampered and smothered in its operation on this branch of the railroad question, the problem is, how the conditions that obstruct are to be reformed, and the great natural regulating force is to be restored to its full-and-free working power.

## Iowa Farmers Alliance.

The following from the committee on resolutions at the Iowa Farmers Alliance will be read with interest:

**Transportation—1.** Whereas the Iowa board of railroad commissioners have decided that they have no warrant of law for making and compelling joint tariffs upon Iowa railroad traffic, therefore we demand of our twenty-third general assembly such legislation as will empower and instruct our board of railroad commissioners to make and compel such joint rates as may be found necessary to protect the business interests of the State.

**2.** Inasmuch as the transportation of passengers is conducted upon the main lines of our Iowa railroads at an average of not above two cents per mile, and inasmuch as the railways of the State have chiefly reduced the passenger service upon their branch lines of road to a third-class service, therefore we demand of the twenty-third general assembly the reduction of passenger fares to two cents per mile upon all first-class roads and their branches, and a corresponding reduction upon all other roads.

**3.**

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

LOCO PLANT AND THE DISEASES IT PRODUCES.

MANGUM, TEXAS, September 6, 1889.

For National Economist:

In No 25 NATIONAL ECONOMIST, under the head, "The Loco Plant and the Disease it Produces," you seem to doubt the reality of its existence and make light of it. I assure you it is no "myth," but a stern reality. It seems strange that the recent report from the bureau of animal industry fails to botanically identify the weed. As long ago as 1878 the American Agriculturist, page 320, we find a description and illustration by Prof. Asa Gray. He calls it *Astragalus mollissimus*. His specimens were gathered in Colorado. The Texas species is *Astragalus distortus*. It is a great pest in some localities, and is not over the plains generally. I first made its acquaintance near Fort Davis in the spring of 1882; stopping at a horse-ranch some two miles from the fort. The proprietor was having great trouble to keep his horses away from loco, having lost over twenty head. We have it in this county in patches, and last winter and spring several hundred dollars worth of horses were ruined by it. It is perennial and quite hardy, growing in winter, in mild weather, and is quite luxuriant before grass generally is high enough to afford a good bite for stock. I find it easily killed by cutting the root below the crown. If you will take interest enough to analyze and report, I will, the coming spring, send you sufficient quantity to experiment with.

H. C. SWEET.

We thank our friend for the foregoing letter and the excellent specimens of the "loco" plant; also for Dr. Gray's article from the American Agriculturist inclosed with the specimens. Our friend is mistaken in supposing that we considered the loco plant a myth and were disposed to treat it lightly in our article referred to. We referred to the fact stated in the report we were quoting, that some stock men who have had experience deny the connection between the eating of this plant and any disorder or disease of horses or other animals. Dr. Gray, in his article, names the specimen of "loco" sent to him from Colorado. It is *Astragalus mollissimus*. Of this species Dr. Gray says, "We never found it on the mountains, but there the same disease was attributed to an allied plant, *Oxytropis*." This last, he says, abounds also in Wyoming and Nebraska, and there is no harm attributed to it. Professor Gray further says that the same sort of disease as the loco disease prevails about Salt Lake, and that thereabouts the "crazy grass" pointed out was red canary grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*). But there are "crazy grasses," suggests the learned and lamented professor, even in the most reputable families. It seems, therefore, that similar disorders of range animals are in different places, and even in the same place by different persons, attributed to different plants of different genera and different families. It does begin to look, since reading Professor Gray's article, as if the true, "loco" has not been located very definitely. It is suggested by one of Professor Gray's correspondents that the plant does no harm when cut and dried as hay. This scarcely indicates the presence of a poisonous

alkaloid in that particular species. There is an easy, simple, common-sense plan whereby to settle these questions. Let a lot of old mustangs be put in a yard or stable and fed on the various "locos" successively, and see what follows in each case. In this way it can be settled whether there is a hurtful "loco," or more than one, and precisely which is the one, or which are the ones. Send these to the Department of Agriculture, botanical division, for identification and botanical history, and then send sufficient quantities to the chemical division of the Department to be examined for poisonous alkaloid, also as to the physiological effects of the same in medicinal or fatal doses. We make to Mr. Sweet the above suggestions, and to all other persons interested in the scientific settlement of the questions, What is the "loco"? Is there more than one sort, and if yea, how many, and which are they? Do they all produce the same disorder? Are mules exempt from the characteristic effects, as intimated by some, and if yea, why? seeing that medicines and poisons generally affect mules as they do other animals. That the same or a very similar disease prevails in many widely separated localities, attributed to different plants of different genera and different families, indicates a great want of precision in observation. If some competent observer will feed some animal in each affected locality on the plant blamed for the mischief in that place, it will quickly be discovered which plants are the real cause and which are wrongly suspected, and there seems in the midst of the present conflict of statements no way to settle such questions except actual trial of the different plants, separately fed to confined animals.

## GREEN FALLOW.

Upon what does the value of a green fallow depend? Perhaps it will not be possible in the present state of knowledge to make to that question a satisfactory reply, from a scientific point of view. It appears to the writer that it acts beneficially to the growth of the succeeding cereal in three principal ways:

1. As an arrester of combined nitrogen of the soil, which would otherwise be lost by leaching.

2. As an assimilator of phosphoric acid of the soil, possessing much greater assimilative powers for mineral phosphate than the cereals, and leaving the assimilated phosphate in the soil in a form much more easily assimilated than the natural mineral phosphates of the soil.

3. As a physical improver of the soil as to its porosity; its capacity for hydroscopic moisture and its capacity for heat.

The most useful fallow crops appear to be red clover, various field peas, and other clovers. At present we are unable to prove that any plant is able to assimilate free nitrogen. All experiments and all known facts seem to disprove such an opinion. It is, however, known that during the growth of a fallow crop the combined nitrogen of the soil increases in forms assimilable by the succeeding cereal crop. If the fallow crop does not derive its nitrogen from the free nitrogen of the air in part, how does it increase the amount of combined nitrogen in the soil during its growth? There is constantly being deposited, on the surface, combined nitrogen from the atmosphere, and as constantly another portion is leaching out below. It may be said that there is, as it were, a current of combined nitrogen passing through the soil from above downward. Certainly,

then, any arrest of the outflow of that current below is equivalent to an accumulation of combined nitrogen in the soil. Does the growth of hay clover arrest or check that outflow? The experiments of Lawes seem to establish conclusively that the drainage water from the soil contains far less combined nitrogen when occupied by growing plants than when unoccupied, or when active vegetation is suspended. Early in spring the legume begins active vegetation and continues to grow actively through out the season until all vegetation is suspended by freezing weather. If these facts be true, as seems certain, it is evident that the green fallow does arrest or check the loss of combined nitrogen by leaching into the subsoil. Thus it does benefit the succeeding cereal by arresting within its reach an amount of escaping combined nitrogen. In this connection, note that combined nitrogen escapes from the soil almost entirely as nitric acid. This nitric acid of the soil appears to be largely the product of the activity of the nitric ferment, the activity of which is suspended by the same fall of temperature which suspends the vegetative activity of the legume. The loss of combined nitrogen is, therefore, minimized by this very striking provision of nature. At the resumption of the activity of the nitric ferment in spring, the legume begins to grow again and to take up the nitric acid as formed, holding it over until such time as the cereal which follows the fallow crop is able to secure it. Is any portion of the nitrogen of ground air oxidized to form nitric acid in the condensed condition of the gases in porous soils? Does the growth of plants rooted in the soil promote such oxidation of nitrogen? It is likely that these things are true, and that, therefore, a green fallow is not only an arrester of combined nitrogen for the benefit of the following cereal, but is one of the factors in the increase of the nitric acid of the soil to be assimilated and held by it for the benefit of the cereal. Reflect generally on the power of porous bodies to promote chemical action. Palladium in the spongy form absorbs a great volume of hydrogen, and when this hydrogen is liberated in the presence of oxygen, the oxygen is thereby converted into ozone and its combining power enormously increased. Spongy platinum acting as an inorganic ferment is able to cause ammonia to be oxidized to nitric acid. Spongy rhodium or iridium saturated with hydrogen change formic acid to carbonic, and convert calcium formate into calcium carbonate. These spongy metals seem to possess these powers by virtue of their extreme porosity. Seeing that fertile soils are also extremely porous bodies, these well-known chemical actions seem very significant, of similar actions taking place in the soil. Instances of the power of physiological action to induce chemical action are not lacking. Now, if into the midst of the chemical activities of the porous bodies of fertile soils millions of the capillary rootlets of plants in active growth are intruded, an immensely complex situation is produced, and we know far too little of the powerful play of forces induced to enable us to say that no portion of the nitrogen of ground air is oxidized to nitric acid, or forced into combination with hydrogen to form ammonia. Scientific study of a physico-chemical situation thus complex is a thing most abstruse and difficult. The writer believes that one of the results is an addition to the supply of combined nitrogen existing in the soil, which accounts for certain agricultural facts, he thinks, better than by invoking the supposed power of plants of the leguminous family to assimilate large quantities of the free nitrogen of the air, or ground air; a supposition opposed to all that we do actually know on that subject. All attempts—

and many attempts have been made—to prove that any plant is, under any circumstances, capable of assimilating the smallest quantity of free nitrogen have failed. It can not be shown that any plant is capable of assimilating any element except in the nascent state thereof, or at the moment of its dissociation from combination by the physiological forces of the plant.

Our views of the points under discussion will be much enlarged by a re-study of the spongy metals, acting as inorganic ferments, and of the analogous action of porous bodies in general.

We think, then, that by its long season of growth the green fallow acts as a most effectual arrestor of nitrogen, its season of growth coinciding very nearly with the period of activity of the nitric ferment, its radication being very extensive and its assimilative powers very great. Moreover, when plowed into the soil, especially in the green state, it is almost immediately in condition to be attacked by the nitric ferment, producing nitric acid to nourish the succeeding cereal, and yielding in its ash phosphates in the most minutely divided state, and therefore in form most assimilable by the cereal. Lastly, when the fall-sown grain is made quiescent by the low temperature of winter, then also the green fallow ceases to be acted on by the nitric ferment, and produces no nitric acid to pass out with the drainage water. Again, in the spring, when the temperature rises, and the nitric ferment resumes activity, simultaneously the cereal resumes active growth and appropriates and feeds on the nitric acid thus formed in the very presence of and in actual contact with its enormous mass of active roots.

As to the ash minerals, it is evident that the legumes possess a greater power of assimilating them than do the cereals. In particular is this true of crude mineral phosphates as they exist in the soil. Not only is the area occupied by the feeding roots of the legumes deeper and more extensive than by the roots of the small grains, but the season of growth being double as long, probably, also, the physiological and chemical dissolving and absorbing powers of the feeding roots are more potent and efficient. Hence may be seen how the power of the green fallow to get more phosphate than the following cereal is one of its most important functions in a rotation.

In the aggregate it is clearly shown that a full crop of clover contains largely more ash minerals obtained from the soil than the wheat crop. When, therefore, the clover is turned beneath the soil by the plow and undergoes decomposition under the influence of the plant action, the soil action, and the microbial action of ferments, these ash minerals are left in the soil in the minutest state of division, and are therefore in precisely the condition in which they are most readily taken up by the osmotic action of the root membranes of the following cereal crop. As far as the physical changes of the soil wrought by the green fallow are concerned, they are more obvious. In the first place, the escaping gases of the decomposing green substance must increase the porosity of the soil, and thereby increase its chemical energies very greatly. Moreover, the alteration of color, as well as of compactness and texture, will, to an important extent, influence the capacity of the soil for both moisture and heat.

The hygroscopic powers of organic matter, especially in a fermenting state, are remarkably great. These alterations of temperature and moisture must very profoundly influence the nature and amount of ground air; and whereas the relations of ground air to plant nutrition have scarcely been successfully studied, nevertheless it can not be doubted that the importance of changes in the composition and amount of the ground air must be very great to growing plants. If the ground air be completely excluded, the plant will be suffocated and perish. It ought, therefore, to be apparent that great diminution of the amount of ground air would greatly retard the vegetative activities of growing plants. It is known, also, that the

a low ground-water level, say 15 to 20 feet, is healthy; high level, say 3 to 5 feet, unhealthy, and a level which fluctuates suddenly and considerably, more unhealthy still. Now, above this ground-water level, and between it and the surface, the interstitial spaces of the soil are occupied by the ground air. It is obvious that as the ground-water level rises, the ground air will be expelled, and that the gases which compose this ground air will be diffused, according to the law in all cases governing the diffusion of gases, into the superincumbent atmosphere, for the gases composing the ground air are by no means in the same relative proportion to each other as in the atmosphere.

Ground air is very rich in carbonic acid and very poor in oxygen, and by composition especially unfit to maintain the physiological energies and functions of higher organisms. In other words, it is unfit for respiration. The oxygen even of ground air seems to be devitalized, and its power of sustaining life when respired either impaired or destroyed. If the ground air is mixed with miasmatic poisons generated within the soil, such poisons escaping with it further vitiate the atmosphere into which they are exhaled. It will hence be easily perceived that a sudden and considerable rise of the ground-water level, followed by sudden and copious exhalations of ground air, will be accompanied almost constantly by a rise of the sick-rate and death-rate in the locality, both among men and animals. It has been ascertained that the ground air moves in various directions under the soil, and to very considerable distances, through beds of sand and gravel and other materials forming pervious strata beneath clay or other less pervious material. Such strata leading from a marshy tract under a hill, reaching the surface on the sunny slope facing east and south, will be certain to act as flues for the escape of ground air from under the marsh as often as the morning sun warms up the sloping hillside where these flues open upon the surface. And if a house is located upon such a stratum, as often as fires are kindled within the house a copious draught of ground air will be drawn into all parts of the house from under the distant marsh beyond the hill, above the level of which marsh the dwelling may be elevated many feet. Consider the further fact that at every drop in the mercury of the barometer there is a copious exhalation of ground air, very likely accompanied by a rise in the level of the ground water. Even our great globe itself may be conceived as having a regular respiration, and nothing can be more certain than that the poisonous exhalations of its breath are deadly to mankind.

Every well-informed agriculturist should study the great natural phenomena connected with ground air and ground water. Probably then he will not send for a fellow to come with his divining rod to locate the ground water for him when he wants to sink a well, and probably, furthermore, he will be disposed to exclude the ground air from his dwelling by cementing the floor and walls of the cellar. Being familiar with the facts and phenomena, he will do for his own safety, and that of his family, and of those depending on him for guidance and protection, what is suggested by his own common sense as necessary and wise precaution in view of his knowledge. It is not necessary that a scientific agriculturist should be a crank or an alarmist, but he ought to be a wise and prudent man; a man thoroughly informed of the chemistry and physics of the atmosphere and the earth, and capable of reducing his information to practical account. In general, granite soils are those most to be desired as places of abode, on account of their healthfulness. The rocks are not stratified, nor is there a tendency to separation of the soils formed from them into compact layers with loose sandy and gravelly layers interspersed. Hard-pan of

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## WASHINGTON.

## Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 23.

Impervious clay is absent, as well. The ground water has a low level; the ground air is not in contact with much decomposing organic matter; there are no genuine marshes, and miasmatic exhalations do not occur. But, whatever the nature of the soil, no one should build a dwelling without taking measures to exclude ground air and the ascent of moisture from the ground water into the walls or lower apartments of the house. In warm climates probably the best mode of accomplishing both is by elevating the house several feet from the ground on pillars. In cold countries, however, this method can not be employed, and impervious cements must be used. If the necessity of exclusion be clearly recognized, the means of its accomplishment will be readily provided.

## A WISE PLAN.

A few days ago the writer enjoyed the privilege of a visit to the great valley of Virginia, and the greater privilege of spending a couple of days with Major George Chrisman, of Rockingham County. Major Chrisman, taking advantage of the dull times, is reducing his herd of short-horns to choice and select specimens of great individual merit, so that when reaction sets in he will be at once in a position to satisfy the demand for the very best type of these magnificent animals. He realizes that the reverse policy of letting the herd run down in character, because times have been dull, sales slow, and prices moderate, or, as some would say, ruinously low, would be most unwise. He believes that the range cattle business has reached its highest development and will decline; that the foreign shipments will greatly increase, and that the rapid increase of our population will, in view of these facts, soon begin to tone up to the home market for beef.

He believes that for furnishing the best beef at the lowest cost of production, the best short-horns and their grades are the best cattle; others may and do differ; that is his opinion, the result of his experience. The bull Hogarth, now at the head of Major Chrisman's herd, is one of the finest specimens of his breed. This bull is of the late Abram Renick's illustrious family of short-horns, his dam being that most beautiful cow, Illustrous 5th, bred by Mr. Renick and owned by the writer's esteemed friend, Major W. W. Bentley, Pulaski, Va., who bred Hogarth. The sire of Hogarth was Raleigh, the inbred Rose of Sharon bull belonging to the Virginia Agricultural College. Hogarth represents, therefore, the skill of America's most famous breeder, the late Abram Renick, in all his lines, and is a specimen by which Mr. Renick himself would doubtless have been willing to be judged as to the success of his principles of breeding.

THE very worst form of indebtedness is that contracted by securing advances on growing crops. It makes life a burden, labor a punishment, without hope of enjoying its returns. It reduces the farmer and his family to a state of veritable slavery. No people can prosper under such a degrading and debasing system.

THE farmers of the United States received \$48,000,000 less for raising 76,000,000 acres of corn in 1886 than they did for raising 68,000,000 acres in 1883, though the crop of 1886 exceeded that of 1883 by 116,000,000 bushels. Such contrasts in value are shown from year to year in all crops.

If money can, even in the least degree, influence legislation it is only a question of time as to when it will control it exclusively.

contingent expenses of the Post-Office Department, and various accounts of the Department of State and Patent Office.

The employees and salaries are: Fifth Auditor, \$3,600; deputy auditor, \$2,250; two chiefs of division at \$2,000 each; two clerks at \$1,800 each; five clerks at \$1,600 each; four clerks at \$1,400 each; five clerks at \$1,200 each; two clerks at \$1,000 each; and three clerks at \$900 each.

The Sixth Auditor examines and adjusts all accounts relating to the postal service, and his decisions on these are final, unless an appeal is taken in twelve months to the First Comptroller.

He superintends the collection of debts due the United States for the service of the Post-Office Department and all penalties imposed; directs suits and all legal proceedings, civil and criminal, and takes all legal means to enforce the payment of all moneys due the United States for services of the Post-Office Department. There are eleven subordinate divisions:

Examining Division—Receives and audits the quarterly accounts current of all post-offices in the United States.

Registering Division—Examines the work of the Examining Division, and registers the balances and exhibits in the register, ending June 30th of each year the total amount of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year.

Stating Division—Has charge of the general postal accounts of late and present postmasters at \$1,000 each, and five clerks at \$900 each.

Collecting Division—The collection of balances due from late and present postmasters and the final settlement of postal accounts.

Book-keeping Division—Keeping the ledger accounts of the Department.

Pay Division—The adjustment and payment of all accounts for the transportation of the mails, both foreign and domestic, and all post-office supplies.

Review Division—Reviews all accounts reported by the Pay Division, except those relating to transportation by ocean steamers.

Foreign Division—Has charge of all accounts with foreign countries; also accounts for transportation of foreign mails.

Money-order Inspecting Division—Accounts of money-orders and postal-notes paid are received and examined.

Money-order Checking Division—Checks upon the issuing statements, the domestic money-orders, and postal-notes paid.

Money-order Recording Division—Has charge of the adjustment of money-order accounts, and directs the collection and payment of balances thereon.

Internal Revenue Division—Accounts of collectors of internal revenue, including salaries, contingent expenses and compensation of storekeepers.

Miscellaneous Division—All miscellaneous internal revenue accounts, including salaries and expenses of agents, surveyors of distilleries, fees and expenses of gaugers, stamp agents' accounts, counsel fees, drawbacks, taxes refunded, redemption of stamps, accounts for the manufacture of paper and stamps, and for salaries of the office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue; also accounts of the Census Office, Smithsonian Institution, and National Museum,

The Treasurer of the United States is charged with the receipt and disbursement of all public

moneys that may be deposited in the Treasury at Washington, and the sub-treasuries at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, and in the National bank United States depositaries; is trustee for bonds held to secure National bank circulation, and custodian of Indian trust-fund bonds; is agent for paying the interest on the public debt, and minor coin clerk, \$1,000 each.

Assistant treasurer at Cincinnati, \$4,500; cashier, \$2,000; book-keeper, \$1,800; receiving teller, \$1,500; check clerk and interest clerk, \$1,200 each; fractional currency and minor coin clerk, \$1,000 each.

Assistant treasurer at New Orleans, \$4,000;

cashier, \$2,250; receiving teller, \$2,000; book-keeper, \$1,500; one clerk, \$1,000, and one

porter, \$900.

Assistant treasurer at New York, \$8,000; cashier and chief clerk, \$4,000 each; deputy assistant treasurer, \$3,600; chief of coin division, \$3,600; chief of note-paying division, \$3,000; chief of note-receiving division, \$2,800; chief of check-paying division, \$2,800; chief of registered interest division, \$2,600; chief of coupon interest division, \$2,400; chief of minor coin division, \$2,400; chief of bond division, \$2,250; chief of canceled check and record division, \$2,000; two clerks at \$2,250 each; six clerks at \$2,100 each; ten clerks at \$2,000 each; eleven clerks at \$1,800 each; four clerks at \$1,700 each; seven clerks at \$1,600 each; four clerks at \$1,500 each; twelve clerks at \$1,400 each; five clerks at \$1,200 each; keeper of building, \$1,800; chief detective, \$1,800; two assistant detectives at \$1,400 each; one engineer, \$1,000.

National Bank Division—Has custody of bonds held for National bank circulation, for public deposits and various public trusts, and makes collections of semi-annual duty.

Loan Division—Interest checks prepared and bonds redeemed.

Accounts Division—The accounts of the Treasury, the sub-treasuries, and the United States National banks depositaries are kept.

National Bank Division—Has custody of bonds held for National bank circulation, for public deposits and various public trusts, and makes collections of semi-annual duty.

National Bank Redemption Agency Division—Notes of National banks are redeemed and accounted for.

The force employed in the Treasurer's office and salaries paid are as follows: Treasurer of the United States, \$6,000; assistant treasurer, \$3,600; cashier, \$3,600; assistant cashier, \$3,200; chief clerk, \$2,500; five chiefs of divisions at \$2,500 each; one principal book-keeper, \$2,500; one assistant book-keeper, \$2,400; two tellers at \$2,500 each; two assistant tellers, \$2,250 each; twenty-five clerks at \$1,800 each; seventeen clerks at \$1,600 each; fifteen clerks at \$1,400 each; twenty-three clerks at \$1,200 each; five clerks at \$1,000 each, and eighty clerks at \$900 each.

Assistant treasurer at St. Louis, \$4,500; chief clerk and teller, \$2,500; assistant teller, \$1,800; book-keeper, \$1,500; assistant book-keeper, \$1,200.

Assistant treasurer at San Francisco, \$5,500; cashier, \$3,000; book-keeper, \$2,500; one chief clerk, \$2,400; assistant cashier, \$2,000; assistant book-keeper, \$2,000; one clerk, \$1,800.

Depository at Tucson, in addition to his pay as postmaster, \$1,500; one watchman, \$900.

THE first Farmers Alliance in New Jersey was organized Monday evening, September 2d, at Centerton, Salem County, with thirty-four members. Dr. C. P. Atkinson, an enterprising farmer and an educated physician, was commissioned to continue the work. While the organizer was in that State several other meetings were held, notably one at Vineland, under the auspices of Mr. John Warr, a very intelligent and energetic farmer of that vicinity. The field is ripe in south Jersey.

THE following are the numbers of persons over ten years of age engaged in the various lines of industry, as reported by the census of 1880: Agriculture, 7,670,493; trade and trans-

portation, 1,810,256; professional and personal services, 4,074,238; manufacturing, mining, and mechanical, 3,837,112. The total employed in all occupations is 17,392,099. From this it will be seen that vastly more are engaged in agriculture than in either of the other divisions of industry; in fact, almost as many as in all combined, and really as many if the females be deducted from the number engaged in professional and personal services. The females in this division number 1,361,295, leaving only 2,712,943 men. The manufacturing class alone is 2,732,595 persons, about one-third of the number engaged in agriculture; yet the entire National legislation seems to be directed to the interest of this class.

## 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 18 and 19, 1889.

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.

SCHOOL GIRLS. Make \$100 a Month, others \$2,500 a year. Worklight. Outfit only 10 cents. Address THE WESTERN WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

## PREMIUMS FOR CLUBS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is now prepared to offer the following premiums, to be sent postage paid, from this office, for clubs of subscribers at one dollar per annum.

## CLUBS OF FIVE.

One copy of "Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery," by Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, of Georgia, bound in paper.

One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

## CLUBS OF SIX.

A copy of Volume 1 of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in strong paper.

## CLUBS OF TEN.

One copy of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price," in cloth.

One year's subscription to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## CLUBS OF TWENTY-FIVE.

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

To secure either of these club premiums it is not necessary to send all the names at once, but notice of intention to claim the premium should accompany the first order.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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

The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance,

AND

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

By W. S. Morgan.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

The Grandest Book of the Year.

A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twine trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and endorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonials are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

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

Yours for the right,

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

The book contains 774 large octavo pages, is full cloth bound, lettered in gilt, with gilt side stamp; and is printed on fine plated book paper. In counties where we have no agents the book will be sent postpaid to any address at the low price of \$2.25. Agents wanted in every county.

Address all orders for books, or further particulars, to—

W. S. MORGAN, - Hardy, Ark.

## ALLIANCE AID ASSOCIATION.

PURELY MUTUAL

NATIONAL

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

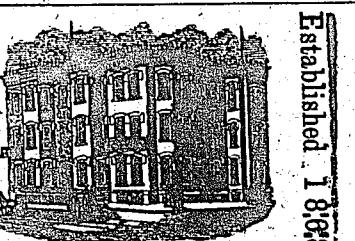
Authorized by National Alliance. Organized to assist in upbuilding and perfecting the Farmers Alliance of America. Conducted by each State Alliance as a State department, but under central supervision.

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

ALONZO WARDALL, President.

S. D. COOLEY, Secretary,  
Huron, South Dakota.

111f



Norris's Patent Offices  
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.

Only \$1.00 for this "Little Beauty."  
Weighs from  
1/2 OZ to 4 lbs.



This Steel Bearing Beam-Balance little Scale with  
Pewter Plates is made of Japanese and is just the thing  
for House, Store or shop. We will send one only,  
by Express, to any person sending us \$1.00 (not  
its value). Catalogue of 100 articles sent free.  
Address CHICAGO SCALE CO., Chicago, Ill.

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-MS

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.

STEEL

FINE CATTLE FOR SALE.

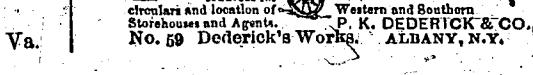
I have some fine thoroughbred SHORT-HORN COWS, BULLS, and CALFERS for sale. They are well bred and good individual animals. Also some high grades. Prices to suit the times. Correspondence solicited.

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

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  
charters and location of  
Stockhouses and Agents:  
No. 59 Dederick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.



## 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 12, 1889.

No. 4.

## Relation Between Foreign and Domestic Markets.

We have been asked if the foreign market governs our domestic market. That is, if the price of wheat in Liverpool controls the price of wheat in New York. We answer, Yes; it does.

The reason for it is based upon the business principles of competition. When certain rules and regulations are complied with, in most cases the whole world is a commercial battlefield, in which the buyer and seller are the contending forces and the products of labor the weapons. In answering this question two points must be settled. First, can the product, whatever it is, be exported? and second, is there probability of a surplus? We will select wheat as an illustration. If the foreign price be high and exports are permitted regardless of a home demand, competition will force all wheat to be bought at as near the foreign price as cost of handling will permit, because it can not be determined what portion of the wheat produced will be consumed at home and what portion shall be sent abroad. Neither

can one buyer, because of competition with

other buyers, say to Mr. A., "I will give you

\$1 per bushel for your wheat to be con-

sumed at home," and to Mr. B., "I will

give you \$2 for your wheat to send abroad."

for the reason that Mr. A. would seek some other buyer. The consequence is that all wheat is bought at the export price, and there is no discrimination in the portion exported.

On the other hand, if there be a surplus and exportation is permitted, no matter what the foreign price may be, the seller must accept, as the surplus must be disposed of. As in the other case the buyer can not determine which portion of the wheat shall be retained at a higher price, and what part shall be sent abroad at the lower price, it is beyond his power to do so. Therefore, knowing that some part must be sold in the end at the price offered in the foreign market, the whole crop is bought at the export price, in order to prevent a possible loss.

Competition to sell decreases the price, and competition to buy increases it, both depending on the same foreign market.

## Ballot Reform.

It is generally recognized that defects exist in the voting system hitherto general throughout the States. The system of party bossism is one of the evils based upon the opportunity which it permits to scrutinize the ballot of the voter. That there should be party bosses is, however, rather an evidence of a state of demoralized public opinion than of inherent evil in the present voting system. But the condi-

tion requires remedy, and the Australian system of voting seems a practical application in that direction. In The Forum, Edward Wakefield, a native of Australia, describes the method of voting in vogue in that country:

Prior to the day appointed for the election a sufficient number of conveniently situated buildings or rooms are publicly announced as polling booths, and early on the morning of the election these places are taken possession of by the "returning officer" and his deputies, none of whom have a vote or are in any way concerned in the election. The returning officer (or deputy) seats himself at a table, with his poll clerk, and one scrutineer, appointed by each candidate if he choose, the scrutineer being a non-voter. Nobody else is allowed in the polling booth, which is thus absolutely private for the purpose of voting. The returning officer has before him the electoral roll, on which are registered the names and descriptions of all qualified electors, arranged and numbered from No. 1 upward, in alphabetical order. He also has a corresponding number of ballot papers, which are small sheets of printing paper, containing the names of the candidates in alphabetical order, and a direction to the voter, plainly printed, instructing him to draw a line through the names of the candidates whom he does not wish to vote for. The ballot-box, which is simply a large wooden box with a slit in the top, stands on the table in front of the returning officer, who alone has the key of it. In another part of the room, but in view of the returning officer, there is a screen, behind which is a writing table or shelf, and a supply of blue pencils. At the hour appointed for opening the poll (the polling hours differ in different colonies, but are generally from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M.) a constable opens the door of the polling booth, and the voting begins. The elector walks in, states his name in full, and answers any questions, the returning officer may put to him for the purpose of identifying him on the electoral roll. The returning officer then ticks him off on the roll and gives him a ballot paper, having first written the elector's number, from the electoral roll, on the corner of the paper, and gummed it down. I mention this detail here for a reason which will appear afterward. The elector takes the paper, goes behind the screen, draws a blue pencil line through the names of the candidates whom he does not wish to vote for, comes out with the paper folded in his hand, drops it in the lid of the ballot-box, and goes about his business. A constant succession of voters repeat this process all day until the hour for closing the poll, when, on the stroke of the clock, the constable shuts and locks the door of the booth. Blind or otherwise physically incapable electors, or those who can not read, are entitled to the assistance of the returning officer if they ask for it. The voting over, the returning officer unlocks the ballot-box and, with the assistance of his poll clerk, and in the presence of the scrutineers, counts the votes. All papers are rejected as informal on which the names of all the candidates beyond the number to be elected are not struck out, or on which all the names are struck out, or on which anything has been written or

marked except the pencil mark through the names, or which have been tampered with in any way. The candidate whose name has been left without a pencil mark through it, by the greatest number of electors, at all the booths in the district, is the successful candidate. As soon as the poll has been officially declared the returning officer, who has the papers in his possession all the while, seals them up and posts them to the clerk of parliament, a highly responsible non-political officer at the seat of government, who, after keeping them for the time prescribed for disputing elections, burns them.

While the farmers may assume a somewhat indifferent attitude in the matter of form in balloting, there is a class in cities and manufacturing towns, often a majority in the latter, who may be relieved of an espionage more hateful than that of the party boss. The wage-workers are practically driven to the polls by employers in some lines of industry, and any exercise of independence, or even refusal to vote, is cause for discharge, which means destruction to the family of the offending worker. This is an evil so far-reaching as to justify the earnest solicitude of all who really desire the welfare of the country, and unless remedied may nullify all efforts at reform by the farmers and independent producers. As the proposed Australian system is strongly advocated by men most familiar with this kind of intimidation, and promises a fairer expression of political opinion in the manufacturing centers, it is worthy of most serious consideration at the hands of all who propose to see justice done to all whose industry adds to the volume of production.

But the reform method is not without its objections, or, rather, not without possibility of evasion, as the writer further recites:

Here is one which has often been employed, though at great risk of legal penalties, in a closely contested election. An agent who knows his men—probably a number of wandering laborers or loafers who do not care which way the election goes—arranges with them that they are to receive so much for their vote, say £1 a head, which, I believe, is the usual price. He then brings them to the booth in a body, and sends the first in with instructions to put a piece of blank paper into the ballot-box instead of his ballot-paper, and to bring the ballot-paper out to him, the agent. This involves the sacrifice of one vote, but it insures all the others. The second man puts the first man's ballot-paper, which has previously been examined by the agent to make sure that it is correct, into the ballot-box and brings out his own. The third man puts that in and brings out another; and so on until the tale is exhausted. The agent then has one ballot-paper on his hands which he can not use—a sad sacrifice at a close finish, but he feels sure of his twenty or thirty votes, or whatever the number of his hired voters, less one, may be. Another and more insidious mode of bri-

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

bry is for a candidate's agents to go through a district where large numbers of poor electors are to be got at easily, and to offer to bet £1 to a shilling that the other candidate will get in. The electors take the long odds, and of course vote in the way that is most likely to win the bet for them. I have known a large sum of money to be laid out in this way.

The recent demand by prominent Knights of Labor for the Australian system, together with the admitted evils of the plan it is proposed to replace, brings this forward as one of the live topics of the day. One-fourth of the States have accepted the plan in a more or less modified form, and it will in turn be brought before all for discussion.

A SCHEME of dodging taxes, almost as ingenious as that of purchasing votes under the Australian system, detailed in another column, is quoted from the Chicago Express:

Millionaires in the different States have an understanding among themselves by which the man whose property is in taxable stocks, or other property subject to taxation, just before the time of assessment in his State, transfers the same to his brother millionaire in another State, receiving in payment untaxable United States bonds, and when the assessor comes around has nothing to tax. After the assessment is made, the property again changes hands and the same bonds may perform like villainous service in several different States.

THE Agricultural Department is testing various kinds of grasses at the experiment stations to discover which are best adapted to various localities. The result of these experiments will undoubtedly be of great importance to the farming classes.

THERE is great inquiry at the Department of Agriculture, in regard to grasses and forage plants. There seems to be great demand for such as are adapted to the various localities, and the Department is giving the subject special attention.

#### Notice to the Parish Secretaries of Farmers' Unions in Louisiana.

Your attention is called to the following resolutions adopted by the State Union at Alexandria:

"Resolved, That the secretaries of parish Unions be required to furnish the State secretary a copy of the roll of Unions in his parish, with the name and number of the sub-unions, also the number of members, male and female, and on the receipt of these reports, the State secretary shall compile a directory and have 1,000 copies printed, and mail one copy to each sub-union, each officer of the State Union, and to each member of the executive committee."

I especially ask all secretaries who have not sent in these reports to do so at once. I have mailed to each private secretary a number of circulars, "cotton indications," one copy for each sub-union. If in any case there are not enough the secretary will please notify me, and I will mail the required number.

I most especially ask the private secretaries in making out their reports to give the name and post-office address of the parish president at the head of the report, and his own at the bottom, even if he does write a letter, and send with the report. Please attend to this matter.

J. W. McFARLAND,  
Secretary F. S. U., Homer, La.

#### Origin of Property in Land.

It is to Scandinavia that we must look for an explanation of the feudal nomenclature introduced into England in the fifth century. In this investigation the researches of the latest and ablest English sociologists are our authority. The word *feudal* has a Norwegian origin, which country was the native land of Rollo, the progenitor of William the Norman. The *Odhall*, right of Norway, and the *Udhall*, right of Finland, came from the word "*odh*," which means proprietors, and "*all*," which means the whole. A transposition of these syllables makes all *odh*, or *allodium*, which means absolute property. *Fee*, which means pay, united with *odh*, or *oth*, thus forming *fee-odh* or *fee-oth*, or *feodum*, denoting stipenday property, or property for the use of which a return is paid. This is the analysis given by Pontoppidan in his history of Norway. Wactems states that the word *allode*, *allodium*, which applies to land, in Germany is composed of *an* and *lot*, meaning land obtained by lot. From this it appears that the terms are Scandinavian, and not Teutonic, and that the people who fixed them to represent their institution were Scandinavian. The lands won by the swords of all were the common property of all; they were the lands of the people, hence the term *Folk-lands*; they were distributed by lot at the *Folk-genot*; they were the *Odh-all lands*; they were not held of any superior, nor was there any service, except that imposed by the common danger. The chiefs were elected and obeyed by the people, because they represented the whole people. Hereditary right seems to have been unknown. The essence of feudalism was a *life estate*, the land reverted either to the sovereign or to the people upon the death of the occupant. At a later period the monarch claimed the power of confiscating land and giving it away by charter or deed; and from this arose the distinction between *Folk-land* and *Boc-land* (the book land, or land of the charter), a distinction similar to the free-hold and copy-hold of English law to-day. King Alfred the Great bequeathed "his *Boc-land* to his nearest relative, and if any of them have children, it is more agreeable to me that it go to those born on the male side." He adds: "My grandfather bequeathed his land on the spear side, and not on the spindle side; therefore, if I have given what he acquired to any on the female side let my kinsman make compensation." From this beginning dead men began to control the conditions under which the living should exist.

The several ranks under the Anglo-Saxon, or, more literally, the Scandinavian, system seem to have been graded to a scale of wealth, and those of the lower ranks were advanced to higher grades as their fortunes increased, making the system to some extent plutocratic, as well as military. Athelstan, a writer of that era, thus describes the different ranks in the quaint language of the time. . . .

1. It was whilom in the laws of the English that the people went by ranks, and these were the counsellors of the nation, of worship-worthy each, according to his condition, earl, ceorl, thegur, and theodia.

2. If a ceorl thrive, so that he had fully five hides (600 acres) of land, church and kitchen, bell-house and back-gate scal, and special duty in the king's hall, then he was thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

3. And if a thane thrive so that he served the king, and on his summons rode among his household, if he then had a thane who him followed, who to the king utward-five hides, had, and in the king's hall served his lord, and thence with his errand went to the king, he might thenceforth, with his fore oath, his lord represent at various needs, and his plant lawfully conduct wheresoever he ought.

4. And he who so prospered a vice gerent had not, swore for himself according to his right or it forfeited.

5. And if a thane thrived so that he became an earl, then he was thenceforth of eorl-right worthy.

6. And if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means (or vessels) then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy.

The oath of fealty ran thus: "Thus shall a man swear fealty: By the Lord, before whom this relic is holy, I will be faithful and true, and love all that he loves, and shun all that he shuns according to God's law, and according to the world's principles, and never by will nor by force, by word nor by work, do aught of what is loathful to him, on condition that he me keep, as I am willing to deserve, and all that fulfill that our agreement was when I to him submitted and chose his will." This seems to have been a one-sided agreement, as the lord was merely to keep the man as he deserved, and, of course, was himself the judge of the desert.

In the division of the conquered lands (or *Odh-all lands*) the nobles got by far the greater portions, and these were divided into two classes: The *in-lands* were those which lay nearest the mansion-house of the noble, and were cultivated by slaves, under bailiffs, for the purpose of raising provisions for the thane or earl. The *out-lands*, which were those more remote from the mansion-house, were let to ceorls for one or more years. The rents were paid in kind, and were a fixed proportion of the produce. The amount of this rent varied, of course, at different periods, and in different localities. Ina, king of the West Saxons, fixed the rent of ten hides (1,200 acres), in the beginning of the eighth century, as follows: Ten casks of honey, twelve casks of strong ale, thirty casks of small ale, three hundred loaves of bread, two oxen, ten wedders, ten geese, twenty hens, ten chickens, ten cheeses, one cask of butter, five salmon, twenty pounds of forage, and one hundred eels. In the reign of Edward the Peaceable (tenth century) land was sold for about four shillings of the currency of the times per acre. The Abbot of Ely bought an estate about this time, which was paid for at the rate of four sheep or one horse per acre. The greater part of the crown lands or *Folk lands* in every county were farmed under these terms by ceorls, who in general appear to have been freemen and soldiers.

These freemen, or as they are called in the law, *liberi homines*, were a very numerous class. The *Folk-land* or crown land which they cultivated was held under the penalty of forfeiture if they did not take the field whenever

required for the defense of the country. In addition, a tax called *Danegeld* was levied at a rate varying from two shillings to seven shillings per hide of land (120 acres); and in 1008 each holder of a large estate, 310 hides, was called on to furnish a ship for the navy.

Land was liable to be seized upon for treason and forfeiture; but even after the kings had assumed the power to divide the conquered lands they were not allowed to give away land without the approval of the great men. Charters were consented to and witnessed in council.

There has been much discussion on the question whether the land system of this period was feudal, and much research and study spent in deciding the matter. Even the English courts have been engaged in the discussion, and yet the most learned differ still, some holding that it was, and others that feudalism proper was not introduced until after the Norman conquest. The features of the case are about these: There seemed to be no separate order of nobility under the Anglo-Saxon rule, as any citizen might rise to the rank of thane or earl through his financial success, as was the case under the laws of Solon in Athens. The king had his councillors, but there appears to have been no order between him and the *Folk-genot*. The earls and thanes met with the people but did not form a separate body. The thanes were country gentlemen, not senators. The outcome of the rule was the earls or *oldermen*; this was the only order of nobility among the Saxons; they corresponded to the position of county rulers, and were appointed for life. In 1045 there were nine such officers, and in 1065 there were but six. The crown relied upon the *liberi homines* or freemen. The country was not studded with castles filled with armed men. The house of the thane was not a fortified structure, and while the laws relating to land were essentially feudal, the government was different from that to which is commonly the term feudalism, which seems to imply baronial castles, armed men, and onerously oppressed people. The *Folk-land* seems not to have been confined to the commonages or unallotted portions, but at the beginning it comprised all the land of the kingdom, and the occupant did not enjoy it as owner in fee; he had a good title against his fellow-subjects, but he held under the *Folk-genot*, and was subject to continuous rent to the crown. This is about Mr. George's plan.

The consolidation of the sovereignty, the extension of laws of forfeiture, the assumption by the kings of the rights of the popular assemblies, all tended to the formation of a second set of titles, and *boc-land* became an object of ambition. Let the reader note here the tendency of centralization which it will be finally shown overthrew the liberties of the people and made them mere creatures of the will of the centralized power, and this through the absorption of the right of property in land. By arbitrarily controlling the land, the people were literally enslaved.

Many who are familiar with this subject seem to have failed to grasp either the object or genius of feudalism. It was the device of

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## History and Government.

## No. 30.

The expression of a like or a dislike is a different thing from the mere feeling itself. It is connected with the feeling by links of association, and when this connection or association has been modified by experience, whether consciously or unconsciously, the expression serves a purpose of retaining or repeating the thing liked, and of removing the thing disliked. Such a purpose is served by the expression of social approval or disapprobation, however little it may be conscious of the effect of such expression to any individual.

It is necessary to society that the patriotic character be encouraged, preserved, and developed, and the unpatriotic, the utterly selfish, be discouraged and removed.

There are two processes by which this result is accomplished: the direct, and what might be termed the reflex. In the direct process the social dislike of the offender is similar to the dislike of a dangerous and noxious beast, and it expresses itself by his prompt removal. In what we have termed the reflex process we find the first evidence of that wonderful judgment by analogy, which ascribes to other men a consciousness similar to our own. Now, it must be borne in mind that it has been shown that all these impulses of the social self have grown to be unconscious, and come to act, as it were, by a natural instinct; but were this reflex process of which we speak a conscious one it might be described in this way: The social self says: "Put yourself in this man's place; he is also patriotic, but he has offended, and that proves that he is not patriotic enough. Still he has some conscience, and the expression of social dislike to his character awakening his conscience, will tend to change him and make him more patriotic, more moral." But the process is not a conscious one, the social craft, or art, of living together is learned by the society and not by the individual, and the purpose of improving men's characters is provided for by complex social arrangements long before it has been conceived by any conscious mind. The social self learns to approve certain expressions of social liking or disliking; the actions, whose open approval is liked by the social self, are called *right* actions, and those whose open disapproval is liked are *wrong* actions. The corresponding characters are called good or bad, virtuous or vicious.

Here comes in a further complication to conscience. Self-judgment, in the name of society, becomes associated with very definite and material judgment by society itself. On the one hand, this undoubtedly strengthens the motive power of conscience in an immense degree. On the other hand, it tends to guide the decisions of conscience; and as the expression of public approval or disapproval is made, generally by means of some organized machinery of government, it becomes possible for conscience to be knowingly directed by the wise, or misdirected by the wicked, instead of being driven along the right path by the slow process of experience. Now, let it be remembered that right actions are not always those

which are familiar with this subject seem to have failed to grasp either the object or genius of feudalism. It was the device of

which the public would approve (for it has just been said that conscience may be misdirected by the wicked and the public conscience may be thus misdirected), but they are such actions as whose public approbation a well and wisely instructed self would like. Still it is impossible to avoid the guiding influence of expressed approbation on the great mass of the people; and in those cases where the machinery of government is approximately a means of expressing the true public conscience, that influence becomes a most powerful help to improvement.

Let us note now the very important difference between the direct and reflex processes.

To clear a man away as a noxious beast and to punish him for doing wrong, are two very different things. The purpose of the first is merely to get rid of a nuisance or a danger; the purpose in the second is to improve the character, either of the man himself or of those who will profit by this public expression of disapprobation. The offense of which the man has been guilty leads to an inference about his character, and it is supposed that the community may contain other persons whose characters are similar to his, or tend toward becoming so. It has been found that the expression of public disapprobation has a tendency to awake the conscience of such people, and so improve their characters. If the improvement of the man himself be aimed at, it is assumed that he has a conscience which can be worked upon and made to deter him from similar offenses in future.

When a man can be punished for doing wrong with approval of the social self, he is said to be responsible. Responsibility implies two things: First, the act was a product of the man's character and of the circumstances, and his character may be inferred from the act. Second, the man had a conscience, which might have been so worked upon as to prevent his doing the act.

Unless the first condition be fulfilled, we can not reasonably take any action at all in regard to the man, but only in regard to the offense. In the case of crimes of violence, for example, we might carry arms to protect ourselves against similar possibilities; but unless the man's having once committed murder made it possible that he would do the like again, it would clearly be unreasonable to lynch him. That is to say, we assume a uniformity of connection between character and actions; infer a man's character from his past actions, and endeavor to provide against his future actions, either by destroying him or by changing his character. From what has been demonstrated it will be recognized that moral maxims are conditional, hypothetical. Ethical maxims are learned by society and not by the individual. Those societies have, on the whole, survived in which conscience approved such actions as tended to the improvement of men's characters as citizens, and therefore to the survival of the society. Hence it is that the moral sense of the individual, though founded on the experience of the society of which he is a citizen, is purely intuitive; conscience gives no reasons.

Having thus made clear what idea is intended to be conveyed by the word progress, and it is hoped the exact shade of meaning conveyed

ways must be straight, you must seek the truth and love no lie."

There are two reasons why moral maxims appear to be unconditional. First, they are acquired from experience, not directly, but by social selection, and therefore in the mind of the individual they do not rest upon the true reasons for them. Secondly, although they are conditional, the absence of the condition in one born of a social race is rightly visited by moral condemnation.

By this analysis we are led to conclude that:

First, ethics is a matter of society, and therefore there are no self-regarding virtues. The qualities of courage, prudence, etc., can only be rightly encouraged in so far as they are shown to conduce to the efficiency of the citizen; that is, in so far as they cease to be self-regarding. Any diversion of conscience from its sole allegiance to society is condemned *a priori* in the very nature of right and wrong.

Next, that the chief end of ethics is not directly the greatest happiness of the individual. Your happiness is of no use to society, except in so far as it tends to make you a more efficient citizen—that is to say, that happiness is not to be desired for its own sake, but for the sake of something else.

If any end is pointed to, it is the end of increased efficiency in each man's work, as well as the social functions equally pertaining to all. A man must strive to be a better citizen, a better workman, a better son, husband, or father.

Again, this morality is not altruism, it is not doing good to others as others, as distinct entities, but the consideration of the good of society by a member of it whose broad humanity regards the elevation of the race above petty personal gratification.

The social organism, like the individual, may be healthy or diseased. What is a healthy and what a diseased state may be difficult to decide. When we have even a very imperfect list of conditions that are clearly and certainly diseases, we may form a rough preliminary definition of health by saying that it means the absence of all these conditions. Now, the health of society involves, among other things, that right is done by the individuals composing it. Certain social diseases consist in a wrong direction of the conscience. Hence the determination of abstract right depends on the study of healthy and diseased states of society. A vast amount of light can be got for this end from the records of history. The matters of fact on which rational ethics must be founded are the laws of modification of character and the evidence of history as to those kinds of character which have most aided the improvement of the race. For, although the moral sense is intuitive, it must for the future be directed by our conscious discovery of the social purpose which it serves, and this discovery can best be made by studying and analyzing the experiences of nations which have passed away.

These propositions and conclusions, it is believed, are fully borne out and sustained by history.

Having thus made clear what idea is intended to be conveyed by the word progress, and it is hoped the exact shade of meaning conveyed

by the word selfishness, it will be less likely that there can be any misapprehension as to the exact impression intended to be conveyed in this review. It is important that we should have a clear idea of the constitution of society and the close relations between morals and politics, in order that we may understand what seems to be most necessary to the accomplishment of that character of progress which is deemed of the greatest importance. Such an idea it has been attempted to convey in this analysis; with what success remains to be seen.

The question of morals has only been looked on from a scientific standpoint, as this feature is all with which we have to do. There are other ethical relations of the individual, but all tend to the same end so far as we have to consider. It is hoped with this explanation that we may go on with our investigation with better mutual understanding.

It may be well, and probably is best, while indulging in this apparent digression, to set out the theory proposed to be sustained as to the lesson taught by history in regard to governmental or political influence upon the progress of the race. What we are to infer from the teachings of history is the natural tendency of civilization and the natural direction of the changes in governmental policies to best aid that natural tendency, and what is the most probable final result so far as we at this time are able to judge; in other words, to set out a synopsis of the theory of political philosophy to be maintained by the historical proofs to be brought forward.

We have set out with the proposition that human progress is the result of one grand and complete scheme that has been steadily unfolding and developing from the beginning, by regular and systematic stages from age to age;

that all marked features in history are but links in the grand chain of progress, and all are inseparably connected and related the one to the other. That all history is but a lesson showing the real tendency of civilization, and that in the changes and marches of the past we have an index to the proper direction of affairs and societies to insure their continuance upon the right road to the grand end nature has set to be accomplished by man.

We have set out to show that this grand connected scheme of progress has gone on developing steadily and certainly in one direction, and in this development is a clear indication of the direction that naturally should be followed in the future, and by clearly understanding the progress of the past, and its direction up to the present, we have only to follow the plan best fitted to complete this connected chain to insure the best and most acceptable results in the future, and thus be relieved of the great misfortunes ignorance and mistaken policies will surely entail.

Change is the prime necessity of progress and the mistakes in making these changes are the source of all the evils which befall societies. These mistakes in the character of the necessary change and the maintaining of conditions beyond the time of their need or usefulness are dangerous.

We are now living in an age which is the

development of ages of successive changes. There is scarcely a department of science, art, or industry which is not almost entirely different from what it has ever been before in the experience of the race; and yet each is the result of innumerable changes in the past which have led up naturally to the present condition by a connected series of steps.

A new world of inventions, of railroads, of telegraphs, of steam, of electricity, of widely-extended intercourse between the various nations of all parts of the world, of combinations and gigantic commercial and industrial undertakings, of social and individual relations has grown up around us.

Every branch of science evidences the influence of these changes, every art has been revolutionized, all the surroundings of the individual and society have been materially affected, and yet social and political institutions wear very much the same appearance and are governed by very much the same laws and customs which formed and controlled them under vastly different conditions and surroundings.

Is it not reasonable to consider that these great and vital changes in all the other features of our civilization should command and require proportionate and fitting change in the two institutions which so seriously and immediately affect the individual? Can science, art, thought, indeed every means by which man improves and progresses, change immeasurably and yet the systems which control his individual interests and capacities remain unchanged—as it were, stereotyped? Must the whole scheme of human advancement not develop in harmony, in order that the beauty of the grand final result may not be impaired by fault or blemish?

Surely it is but reasonable that all the harmonies be preserved; that all the factors which go to make up the grand whole of civilization should develop evenly and proportionately; and that the science, art, mechanics, and other giant developments of the nineteenth century

be not burdened and hampered by the social and political forms and prejudices of the earlier stages of man's progress.

But what is the nature and direction of the changes which seem to be demanded?

is the question that staggers even the wisest of our modern statesmen and sociologists.

To endeavor to discover something of the nature of these requirements is the object of this investigation. In what direction shall we look for the knowledge we are seeking?

This wonderful development of man is not a sudden and instantaneous change from one extreme to another; it was not accomplished by a fortunate accident, or instantaneously by the command of omnipotence. Man did not awaken suddenly from the slumber of barbarism to find himself dazzled by the blaze of enlightenment.

This condition was the result of slow, unceasing growth, having its roots fixed in the nature of man and drawing its vitality from his intellect and characteristics as well as his surroundings. It was governed by fixed natural laws, and those laws are eternal and unchangeable.

If we desire to learn the best means of developing and improving a plant we must study its nature, its peculiarities of growth, the nature of

sweeping river bearing upon its breast the fortunes of the race. What is best to be done to guard against the many dangers still ahead until we reach the great ocean of enlightened perfection is the subject that demands the most earnest consideration.

First, let us endeavor to discover the distinguishing marks which separate the various stages of man's development and endeavor to discover the characterizing feature of each era which aided in his progress to the next in advance, and so endeavor, by comparison of the past with the present and the probable future, to discover what possible changes would best serve to insure progress, stability, and the greatest good.

In going back to the prehistoric state of man we find the race a heterogeneous chaos of individuals, without the most remote idea of obligation to or interest in each other. To comprehend such a state requires considerable mental exertion on the part of civilized man, and yet the teachings of geology prove that it must have been so and that man, prior even to the Paleolithic age, must have existed without the least conception of social or moral obligations, even in a crude and most primitive form.

It was an era of strict individualism, the quintessence of anarchy. It is probable that this condition existed through the paleolithic age, and even into the neolithic and the age of cave dwellers. The first step toward progress seems to have been the grouping into families, and from this to the gradual development of the patriarchal system, which is found existing at the dawn of history.

This, although the crudest form, was yet government; consequently the establishment of government was the first step man made in his social development. What was the effect of this first step on the condition of man? is the question which next occurs; why was it taken?

For the reason that two men are better capable of defending themselves against aggression than one man.

Why should these combinations be made between members of the same family, rather than individuals not so connected? Evidently on account of the unity of interest and the natural instinct of attachment, the similarity of taste, character, and disposition. The next step was a combination of separate families into tribes.

Why? Evidently for the same reasons extended to contiguity of location. It was easier for a combination of families, located near together, to defend themselves against outside force than for each family to act independently.

From these, by natural progression, grew nations. With the abandonment of the individual existence grew up another necessity—definite law.

IN 1880 there were 75,972 farms in the United States which contained over 500 acres and less than 1,000 acres, and 28,578 contained more than 1,000 acres. The census shows that at that time there were 1,024,000 tenant farmers in the United States, 200,000 more than Ireland ever had, and the number has increased enormously since that time.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## THE REFORM PAPERS.

## Views and Expressions Upon Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Alliance, of Lincoln, Neb., is now edited by Mr. J. Burrows, president of the National Farmers Alliance; with Mr. J. M. Thompson, secretary of the Nebraska State Alliance, as business manager and associate editor. Under this able conduct the value of the Alliance as an educator and disseminator of patriotic truths can not be overestimated. The Alliance discusses live question:

With corn at 15 cents a bushel, the farmers of Nebraska may devoutly pray that the reduced rates may reach this State. Many able thinkers are reaching the conclusion that there is only one solution to this rate question, and that is Government ownership of the railroads. When that day comes four thousand millions of watered stocks will be eliminated, ornamental presidents will disappear, country editors will cease to be railroad employees, and consequently will have a little more manly independence; free passes to judges and legislators will be unnecessary; a fixed rate per ton per mile will send freight anywhere in the United States, as a postage stamp now sends a letter, and the value of farmers' property will not fluctuate from day to day, as at present. Ticket scalpers will go to that unknown bourse where no rates are cut and from which no excursions ever return. The evils of competition would disappear, because the Government would neither compete nor combine.

The Alliance shows that the Nebraska State Alliance is putting affairs in shape for the final consolidation:

It will be seen by the secretary's minutes of the meeting of the State Alliance executive committee, held at Lincoln, September 10, that the committee assumed the duty of appointing delegates to the annual meeting of the National Alliance, to be held at St. Louis, December 5. The Southern Alliance and the proposed Farmers and Laborers Union meeting in December, and the proposition for the National Alliance to join this new body, made it necessary for the National Alliance meeting to be held this year at the same time and place, viz: St. Louis, December 5. Hence our executive committee had the alternative of calling the State Alliance annual meeting in November, a time when our members are very busy picking corn, and when it would be very difficult for delegates to attend, or itself appointing delegates. After a very full discussion of the subject the latter plan was adopted. The delegates were selected with a view to fairly representing all portions of the State, and securing as large a representation as possible. The St. Louis meeting will be a grand gathering of representative farmers from every State and Territory in the Union. To be present at that meeting will form a red-letter day in any man's lifetime. We hope every man appointed will surely attend. But all who cannot attend are requested to so report to the State secretary at once, so that new appointments may be made.

The Colorado Workman is a neat, seven-column paper, published at Pueblo, the first number of which has come to this office. The following extract from its salutary gives promise of usefulness in its field:

We realize that individually our strength is as a drop in the bucket, but give us the hearty co-operation of the working class, or of the various labor organizations of Pueblo, and something is sure to drop. It was not till we were urged and entreated on all sides, that we mustered courage enough to take the helm and attempt to steer the ship Labor through the rough waters and hidden breakers of a rapidly approaching contest between labor and monopoly, and through a city, county, and National campaign; that we would dare attempt the publication of a paper destined to the education of the people, and to the leadership (officially) of the trades unions and other labor organizations in and about Pueblo. We have no great promises to make. All we have to say is that we will do our best, and if we should err (as all are apt to do) we ask our patrons to bear with us, for we are young, but have the welfare of our home and country at heart.

The Progressive Farmer, of Raleigh, believes the Alliance of North Carolina should build a bagging factory:

It requires about two and a half millions of yards to cover the cotton crop of North Carolina. To make this would require nearly 4,000 bales of cot-

ton. Three thousand bales more would put up and equip a mill worth \$100,000. This 7,000 bales would be 1 bale out of every 50 that is produced in the State. Can not the Alliance of our State subscribe 7,000 bales as stock to such an enterprise, and thus, with North Carolina capital and a North Carolina product, furnish every yard of bagging with which to cover our North Carolina crop? We base our estimate on yellow, stained, or dirty cotton.

The Nonconformist, published in Kansas, where a most plentiful crop has blessed the efforts of the husbandmen, says:

It is a common sight on our streets now for a farmer to bring in a load of wheat, and while waiting on one side for a purchaser, the loan agent on the other side is watching him to get the money loaned on the crop some time ago.

Paying interest is quite a heavy tax, and whether the big harvest will sell for enough to do it, besides supporting the families of farmers, is a grave question.

The Local News makes a statement which seems as an object lesson in its way. Can its truthfulness be denied:

When there was \$50 of money per capita in circulation a farmer could take a load of 50 bushels of wheat to town, sell it, and with the proceeds pay:

Taxes ..... \$20.00

For one ton of coal ..... 5.00

For one barrel of flour ..... 11.00

For one barrel of pork ..... 12.00

For one suit of clothes ..... 20.00

Clothes for the family ..... 20.00

Subscription for newspapers ..... 2.50

Subscription for magazine for wife ..... 3.00

A pair of shoes for the baby ..... 1.50

And have left ..... 4.40

Now there is less than \$9 of money per capita in circulation, and a farmer can take a load of 50 bushels of wheat to town, sell it, and with the proceeds pay:

Taxes ..... \$20.00

For one ton of coal ..... 6.00

For one suit of clothes ..... 8.00

And have left ..... 50

How do you like it, Mr. Grangers?

These are painful facts that can not be soothed by the sophistry of overproduction.

The Washington (D. C.) Craftsman has concluded that—

If labor toiled as hard and as industriously in its own cause as it labors for the good of capital, this world would undergo a marvelous change.

The Southern Alliance Farmer, of Atlanta, Ga., says:

The outside world is very much afraid the Alliance will go into politics and ruin itself. They are so deeply troubled that every officious quill-driver is writing long articles on the subject. Now why is all this? Is it possible that the world is so very anxious for Alliance success? We fear not. Beware of "Greeks bearing gifts." The Farmers' Alliance can take care of itself. If it wants to take a hand in politics enough to say that true friends of the people shall hold office, we do not see why it should not. Let those solicitous friends keep their own skirts clear, keep free from bribery, trickery, and corruption, and perhaps it will not be necessary for the Alliance to take any hand in politics at all.

The Iowa Tribune says:

Under the robber system of to-day, fortunes are made out of the misfortunes of neighbors. Every selfish man who has abundance is rejoiced to hear of famine among his neighbors, because it enables him to take advantage and extort enormous prices for his supplies. A war delights the rich, because it floods the market with bonds at a low price which they can buy and force to high price, besides living on the coupons.

The cut-throat mortgagors hold the Western farmers down while the railroads, Armour, and other trusts go through his pockets. They keep him quiet by a large dose of tariff opiate.

The Dakota Ruralist, appreciating the necessity for friends in Congress, says:

South Dakota can make no mistake in sending A. Wardall to the United States Senate. He is truly a representative man. For years he has been at the head of our work and by his energy and honesty has proved his worthiness of the trust. We urge our farmers everywhere to demand of their representatives to give to him their staunch support. Let South Dakota take the lead in the reform movement

that will place our friends in Congress rather than corporation lawyers and bankers. There is no use of bemoaning our condition unless we make an effort to help ourselves. We make no attack upon the other gentlemen who are working for this position, but we appeal to every Alliance man, every farmer, every laborer, every man who would see the poor man have a chance in financial matters, if Mr. Wardall, above all other candidates, would not more truly represent us than any of those who ask your suffrage. If you believe this, then we ask you to work for him, and see that you make your representative understand your sentiments.

The election in Dakota is over, and it is hoped that candidates for the Legislature were sufficiently impressed with the importance of the demands of the farmers to remember their pledges when a Senator is to be elected.

The Alabama Alliance Advocate has found how it is, despite its short career in the cause of reform, "Agronomic agitators" is a very happy conception.

The person who unselfishly devotes his energies to the improvement of the farmers condition is regarded by some as a crank and stigmatized by others as a pessimist. But he is neither a crank nor a pessimist. He is a philanthropist and a reformer. If the failures of his predecessors are prophetic he has undertaken a Herculean task. But these unfavorable results emanated from conditions that have existed until the present. There has been a change. The South is on the eve of a revolution in agricultural matters, and will soon witness the achievement of a grand triumph by agronomic agitators.

The New Era, of Amherst, Va., says:

The Farmers Alliance is working harmoniously all along the line in Amherst, and its membership is increasing at a rapid rate. Who can estimate the great good in store for the Alliance men of the county?

The Farmers Exchange, a new paper at Fayetteville, Cumberland county, N. C., is an appreciated addition to the list of reform papers, and is welcomed into this sanctum. The Exchange says:

We are often asked why farmers are organizing? We reply: To attend to their own business; something they have not been doing in the past. Other people have been attending to our business for us, and just for a change we will swap bosses, and try bossing ourselves awhile.

The Exchange evidently favors political action by the Alliance, as it says that—

When the farmers elect men to Congress who are farmers or in sympathy with farmers, then they may expect a law that will make gambling on their products a crime. As long as they refuse to do this, they have no right to expect such laws. While they support and select men whose every interest is in entirely a different channel, and whose industrial occupations are in direct opposition to their own, they do not expect legislation in their interest and they are never disappointed. Do men gather figs of thistles? As well may they expect such an unnatural phenomenon in the vegetable kingdom as to anticipate reform with a Congress full of financial manipulators and servants of that mighty kingdom of Wall street. How long will laboring men commit their destiny to those whose interest and their own there is no analogy whatever, and consequently no mutual sympathy in a business sense? When this question is finally and forever settled, then the duration of trusts is measured.

The Early County (Ga.) News believes that:

It is about time the farmers were doing a little thinking and studying for themselves. The speculators have been controlling the price of cotton for many decades. They buy up all the cotton, and then dole it out to the mills at their own price. It is estimated that it takes 500,000 bales of cotton per month to supply the mills of the world with sufficient to keep them running. Now, why not the farmers hold their cotton and dole it out to the speculators just as the speculators have been doing.

What the mill men for lo! these many years? The National Cotton Committee of the Farmers' Alliance propose to show how this may be done. Let the farmers stand by their leaders' instructions, and their pocketbooks will be bettered considerably.

The Rural Messenger, of Petersburg, Va., favors true men for the legislature, and suggests that the Alliance see that such represent the counties of the Old Dominion:

We want to see the good old custom restored of having the office seek the man and not the man the

office. Farmers, without losing much time from their farms, or growing wild in the least over politics, can express their wishes and preferences, and the right man in every county can be found. There are true men, good men, in every section. Hunt them up; bring them out. Modest merit, not brazen boasting, is what the State needs some of now.

The Mercury, of Dallas, Texas, makes a point applicable to that State:

With cotton as king and Hogg as governor, the farmers have only to add hominy to make Texas boom.

The Charlotte, Va., Gazette announces the candidacy of John D. Shepperson, State Lecturer, for the House of Delegates. A most fitting selection, and worthy of success.

## Have We a Government of the People?

BY HON. A. J. STREETER.

It will not be seriously denied that it was the intention and central thought of our fathers, when they ordained and established a government for these United States, to make it distinctly a government of the common people, in contradistinction to the aristocratic government then in the Old World. Their purpose was to reverse the order of kingly government, wherein the king or sovereign was the supreme head, and the people his servants or subjects, and make the people the sovereign, and all officials from President down to postmaster servants of the sovereign people.

What are the results of this scheme? It has contracted the money in circulation from about forty dollars per capita, at the close of the war, down to about seven. It has contracted the price of labor and of all products of labor more than two-thirds. It has driven the people into debt, and crippled their ability to pay by contracting the value of their means of payment, while debt and interest remained the same.

Such form of democratic government has been tried at periods in the world's history and has failed. Failed on the part of the people or themselves for want of cohesive force and unity. Must there be another failure? I hope not. I have, all my life, been an earnest supporter of our American form of government, and, for that matter, am the same yet. I have from early youth waved flags, fired guns, made bonfires, hurrahed, and celebrated as best I could on each recurring natal day. I hate monarchy, aristocracy, plutocracy, and anarchy, and have believed our form of government the best ever made. Nevertheless, I can see, and others see, that our government of the people is drifting away from us; that aristocracy, plutocracy, and anarchy are on the increase, and are sapping and mining the very foundations of the government of our fathers. This change has gone on, and is still going on, until our boasted government of and by the people is, to an alarming extent, a hollow pretense and a sham.

This change has come upon us mainly within the last twenty-five years, and not wholly unforeseen.

The lamented President Lincoln, a true friend of the common people, saw this change coming, and warned the people in his message to Congress, substantially as follows:

"There is one thing to which I desire to call the attention of Congress and the people. An effort is being made to make capital equal to,

if not above, labor in the affairs of government. Labor was prior to capital. Capital could not exist if labor had not first existed, and therefore is entitled to the higher consideration."

How true and clear is this statement. What President Lincoln then foresaw is now an established fact. Capital has been placed above labor in the affairs of our government.

What the facts were which prompted President Lincoln to thus warn Congress and the people, is more than I can tell; but I presume one cause was the "Hazard Circular," which, at that time, was being secretly circulated among bankers and capitalists.

"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 our plan is for capital to control labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling

money. The great debt that capital will see to it is made out of this war must be used as the means to control the volume of money. To accomplish this the money must be bonded and the bonds used as the banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make the recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenbacks to circulate as money for any length of time, for we can not control them, but we can control the bonds, and through them the bank issue."

Then what followed? The Secretary of the Treasury did recommend the scheme. The Congress did enact laws to put the same in force—furnished the banks money at 1 per cent., exempted the same from taxation by State, local, or municipal authorities; enacted laws to retire the greenbacks from circulation, and stealthily demonetized silver. The administrations from that day to this have indorsed these measures, and to make the results more pronounced, have locked up in the Treasury about one-third of the remaining money intended for circulation.

What are the results of this scheme? It has contracted the money in circulation from about forty dollars per capita, at the close of the war, down to about seven. It has contracted the price of labor and of all products of labor more than two-thirds. It has driven the people into debt, and crippled their ability to pay by contracting the value of their means of payment, while debt and interest remained the same. In other words, it has squeezed more labor or products of industry into a dollar, until it takes three times as much labor to pay a dollar of taxes, interest, or debt as before. It has made agriculture, the basis of all other industries, a losing business. It has compelled us to sell each annual crop since 1880 at a loss on the cost of production. (See agricultural reports for Illinois.) It has lowered the value of good farming lands in Illinois \$15 to \$20 an acre, and caused more than half the farms to be mortgaged. It has made our young men and maidens dissatisfied with farming life, and they are leaving by thousands for the cities and towns. This exodus has gone on until eighty-seven of the richest agricultural counties in the State of Illinois have lost population since 1880. (See statistical reports made and published by the Chicago News.) These facts, and more that might be presented, are mainly the results of the class laws which are sapping and mining the government of our fathers, and supplanting it by a moneyed aristocracy.

I hold that a government which has for more than twenty years maintained a policy that has brought the above unnatural and distressing conditions upon the country is not a government of the people and is no longer worthy of their support. Are they not both responsible for these conditions? Did the change of administration in the election of President Cleveland give any relief, as promised? No, none whatever. At the close of his administration we were worse off than at the beginning of it. Have we received any relief from President Harrison's administration, as promised? No, none whatever. We are still worse off now than when he was inaugurated. President, annually sinking deeper and deeper, no matter which party may be in power, for the cause still remains.

Does some one ask what party I would recommend for support? I do not recommend any party, for it may be that the party best calculated to do this work is not yet born. I think this may be true.

The Prohibition party has failed to grasp the great issue, and seems to be impressed with the thought that they can regulate these things through prohibition. It is a vain thought.

But the great issue which must be met is, shall the Government of our fathers perish from the earth? If it fails, the people themselves will be most to blame, and in its failure prove their inability for self-government.

A government that went back on its contract to pay its soldiers in coin, when they were risking life and health and everything dear to maintain the life and honor of the Government, and which paid them in a less

valuable money than the contract called for, is not a government of the people.

A government that changed the contract with the bond-holding aristocracy and paid them in a dearer money than the contract called for, thus robbing the boys in blue for the benefit of untaxed bondholders, can not be a government of the people, and is no longer worthy of support by the boys in blue, nor sons of fellow-braves who died that it might live.

A government that has long enforced such wicked policy—robbed every industry between the cradle and the grave, and calmly sees the same policy continued, presumes much on human nature.

I do not blame the aristocracy so much; they love wealth. Who does not? It gives power, influence, and gratifies every human desire. In this they are aided and sustained by the Government and the laws. They admit the inequality—that something is wrong in the distribution of wealth, but excuse it by saying, "If the people are fools enough to put saddles on their own backs and invite us to ride, do you think we are fools enough to walk?" Hence, I say, they are not so much to blame as the people themselves.

What is in the future is more than we can tell. Still I would not present this indictment against our Government without prescribing a remedy. There is only one remedy—peaceable remedy, I mean—and I hope for no other; only one remedy under heaven, and that is with the industrial people, in their ballot.

The farmers, mechanics, and wage-workers comprise three-fourths of all voters. If these would unite and vote for their interests, their families, and country, our Government would soon be restored to the people, to whom it belongs. But there comes the rub, and the test, too, of the people for self-government. Disguise it as we may, the trial test has come. Are we, the people, prepared to meet the issue?

Let me repeat, there is but one remedy, and that is in your hands. Will you organize anew, lay aside

## 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.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

&gt; 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 Farmers and Laborers Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all contracts and other contracts.

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

BOUND copies of volume I of the ECONOMIST is now ready for delivery, and all who have sent for it as a premium for six paid subscribers will receive it at once.

THE county Alliances, Wheels, and Unions meet quarterly, and, as a rule, their meetings are held in January, April, July, and October, and perhaps a majority of them convene during the first week in the month. This system has its advantages and disadvantages. A prominent advantage is that action can be had in all the counties at about the same time, provided they have been well notified early enough to get the question before them, and a great disadvantage in having so many county meetings at practically the same time is that it prevents State and district officers from attending more than a small per cent. of the meetings. This observation is unquestionably true, and the truth it contains is most assuring as to the future of the Nation. It means that the people are awake to the necessity for action upon their part, and they are fitting themselves to take that action intelligently, wisely, and cautiously. This indication proves that the American people are fully capable of self-government, and that they see the necessity of taking affairs in their own hands, and are determined that what they do shall be done right.

THE ECONOMIST is receiving resolutions passed by Alliances from different sections of the country to the effect that they favor making all contracts payable the 1st of January instead of during the month of October, as has been the custom heretofore. Others recommend the use of no guanno except it be put up in cotton-sacks; others that they will positively abide by the action of the National cotton committee relative to holding and selling cotton. The profusion of these resolutions would take too much space to publish in the ECONOMIST, but they show that the rank and file of the order are determined to stick by the principles involved, although it entails some sacrifices on them.

FOR the past five years the Department of Agriculture has been carrying on a series of experiments with a view of testing the feasibility of profitable silk-reeling in this country, thus promoting, if successful, a market for American-grown cocoons. So far, although there has been much unforeseen interruption in the investigation, the prospect is encouraging, and it is probable that soon this profitable industry will offer a field for American enterprise.

STRANGE that prominent papers that pretend to advise the farmers will tell them that since a scarcity of cotton in England has made high prices they should hasten to market the crop. This practically means that enough has been held back to compel the spinner to come on the market as an active competitor for cotton, and they would have the farmers turn loose and demoralize prices. Common sense will show that the only proper course for the farmer is to sell no faster than there is a de-

mand to consumers, thereby keeping up prices. Advice to turn loose and demoralize prices is instigated either directly or indirectly by those who buy cotton to speculate upon.

comes regularly with two or three pages of advertisements of sale under foreclosure, and, notwithstanding the immense wheat crop, farmers seem to be going to the wall.

ALL friends to the growth, development and success of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America can assist the cause by helping to swell the subscription list of the official organ. It devotes its whole space to the good of the great cause. It is making a wonderful growth and receives hearty words of commendation from every section, but it can add to its efficiency as it grows; therefore the more patronage it receives the better paper the order will have.

The Commissioner of Agriculture, in his annual report for 1888, says:

In the history of no nation before have there been such a thirst for knowledge on the part of the great masses of the people, such high and just appreciation of its value, and such wide-reaching, successful, and popular schemes for self-education; never before has the great agricultural public been so willing, and indeed so anxious, to receive with respect and use with intelligence the information which science offers; never before has science had so much to give.

This observation is unquestionably true, and the truth it contains is most assuring as to the future of the Nation. It means that the people are awake to the necessity for action upon their part, and they are fitting themselves to take that action intelligently, wisely, and cautiously. This indication proves that the American people are fully capable of self-government, and that they see the necessity of taking affairs in their own hands, and are determined that what they do shall be done right.

A brother writing from Lincoln County, N. C., says that the people "now begin to feel that politics is not such an abstruse science as they have been taught to believe, but is a question of how their affairs of government shall be conducted; and that the condition of their personal affairs is in many ways dependent upon the laws which are made for the government of the country—that trusts, combines, prohibitory tariffs, railroad rates, etc., are not an infliction of providence, but are the results of the acts of those chosen as representatives of the people, enacted either by their connivance or ignorance."

## Practical Politics.

A correspondent from Bienville Parish, La., wants to know how much the cotton planters have lost since 1876, raising 5,000,000 bales annually, weighing 480 pounds per bale, real value 12 cents, price received 8½ cents.

## A Question of Easy Arithmetic.

A correspondent from Bienville Parish, La., wants to know how much the cotton planters have lost since 1876, raising 5,000,000 bales annually, weighing 480 pounds per bale, real value 12 cents, price received 8½ cents.

Col. L. L. POLK, of Raleigh, N. C., vice-president of the F. A. and C. U. of A., chairman of the executive committee, spent Wednesday and Thursday, October 2d and 3d, in Washington examining the books and reports of officers incident to the final closing up of the affairs of the order. Colonel Polk expects that all the quarterly reports of the State secretaries to October 1st will come promptly, and thus he will be enabled to finish his duties in a short time, preparatory to the final disposition of the affairs of the Alliance.

INVESTIGATIONS have been made by the chemists of the Agricultural Department of butter

## 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. 23.

## AN OLD ISSUE REVIVED.

One of the most recent declarations in favor of railroad discriminations as between localities was afforded by a convention of the commercial bodies of the Pacific coast, which passed a resolution calling for the suspension of the fourth section of the interstate commerce law. This is the provision which forbids a railroad to make an actually greater charge for a short haul, or distance, of freight transported, than for a longer one of the same class of freight, which includes the last. This amounts to an extreme assertion of the principle that the relation of charges as between localities should not be made a controlling consideration in the adjustment of rates, where other circumstances and forces render it difficult for the railroads to do so.

West Virginia

has not yet a State organization, it having been thought best to make haste slowly; but one may now be organized at any time. Hampshire is entitled to the palm, Brother Barbee says, as the banner county.

The Commissioner of Agriculture in his last report speaks as follows of the importance of good roads and highways:

A wise and well-regulated system of public roads and highways throughout the United States is daily becoming a greater necessity for the material development of the resources of the country and merits the attention of Congress.

The common roads of the country are the veins and arteries through which flow the agricultural products and the commercial supplies, which are the life-blood of the Nation, to those great ducts of travel and transportation, the railroads of the country. While our railway system has become the most perfect in the world, the common roads of the United States have been neglected and are inferior to those of any other civilized country in the world. They are deficient in every necessary qualification that is an attribute to a good road; in direction, in slope, in shape and service, and most of all in want of repair. These deficiencies have resulted not only from an ignorance of the true principles of road-making, but also from the varied systems of road-building in force in the several States of the Union; due to defective legislation. The principle upon which the several States have based much of their road legislation is known as the road-tax system of personal service and commutation, which is unsound as a principle, unjust in its operations, wasteful in its practice, and unsatisfactory in its results. It is a relic of feudalism borrowed from the "statute labor" of England, and its evil results are to-day apparent in the neglected and ill-conditioned common roads of the country.

It is a question of vast importance to the welfare of this Nation that these arteries of agriculture and commercial life should receive the attention that their importance deserves, and that an effort should be made to remedy the defects now existing and establish a system that could be made uniform and efficient in all the States of the Union.

He recommends that Congress provide for this investigation so that the outlines of a system could be prepared to establish a uniform condition of highways.

Union Pacific Railroads charge \$1 per hundred on freight from San Francisco to Chicago, it can not charge \$1.50 per hundred on the same freight from Omaha to Chicago. It can, under the operation of the clause which is assailed, charge \$1 per hundred, or as much for a thousand, five hundred, or even one hundred miles as it does for a transportation of two thousand, but no more. The misrepresentation is so cheap, and has been so frequently exposed, that it is not worth while to pay much attention to it. The point which is worthy of discussion is the repetition by a prominent commercial organization of the railroad claim that railroad interests and the welfare of commerce are consistent with and even demand the right of charging actually more for a fraction of the through transportation than for the whole of it.

The practice which is thus restrained by the interstate commerce law and indorsed by the commercial bodies of the Pacific coast is one of which the Pacific railroads have long and persistently presented the most extreme examples.

Five years ago an official report of the New York Chamber of Commerce called attention to the remarkable establishment of rates prevailing at that time upon the Pacific railroads which levied upon a certain class of goods transported to San Francisco a charge of \$2.25 per hundred, and to Salt Lake City, eight hundred and fifty miles nearer, a charge of \$4.95. If the freight was hauled to Ogden City it must pay a rate of \$4.65, but if it was carried to Dillon, Montana, four hundred miles further, the railroad actually took off a dollar and twenty cents from the rate which was assessed if it had stopped at the first-mentioned point, and made the rate only \$3.55.

In the discussion just before the passage of the interstate commerce act, Senator Stanford, the president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, made the assertion that a certain class of freight was taken by his road from San Francisco to New Orleans at 10¢ per ton; but if the same freight was shipped from El Paso to New Orleans, one-third of the distance, the charge was trebled and made \$30 per ton. Within the past thirty days a case has been on trial before the Interstate Commerce Commission in which the rate from San Francisco to Kansas City was 65 cents per hundred, while the rate from San Francisco to Humboldt, Kansas, one hundred and seventeen miles nearer San Francisco, was 85 cents. These examples, in all of which the railroad interests have made the assertion that such remarkable differences between the charges to respective localities are legitimate and necessary, afford radical illustrations of the railroad practice of discriminations between localities which, as has just been cited, the commercial interests of the Pacific coast are desirous of seeing re-established and free from the slight restraint of the interstate commerce law.

Such claims upon their face appear to put our railroad friends in the attitude of claiming that the whole of a thing is less than one of its parts, and to represent them as so desirous of transporting the freight of the public, that when a given portion of a haul has been performed they will actually pay back something

for the privilege of carrying the freight further on to the more distant station. In all fairness, it is necessary to recognize that they take no such ridiculous positions. The principles on which they seek to justify these remarkable discrepancies are based upon the prevailing conditions in the establishment of rates. I will make the effort to state the railroad attitude as fairly and succinctly as is possible. The railroads make the claim, which is legitimate enough at the start, that they are obliged to assess upon the freight which originates along their lines such rates as will pay for the expenses of hauling and all the incidental expenses of transportation, including the maintenance of tracks; and, in addition thereto, a fair margin for the net earnings to pay their interest on their bonds and dividends upon their capitalization. Upon that basis, it is asserted that the local rates are calculated, and so far it appears that the position is correct enough.

But at the terminal points each Pacific railroad comes into competition, not only with other Pacific railroads, but with the cheap water carriage around the Horn or by way of the Isthmus of Panama, and they are, therefore, frequently unable to obtain the full rate which they would charge by the calculation stated upon their local traffic. "Now," the railway advocates assert, "we can not obtain the freight to pass over the whole length of the line from the competitive point, at the full rate which we would charge local freight; if we do not reduce it to the level at which the freight can be carried by the other route, we will not get the freight at all. Our cars may be at that point seeking a haul, and if we do not get freight they may have to be hauled back empty. The obtaining of that freight, even at the reduced price, may represent a slight addition to our net earnings. It will not pay anything like the full proportion which it is necessary for the entire bulk of our freight to yield in order to secure the fixed charges and dividends upon our stock; but the question in reducing our rate is whether we shall take the slight addition to our net earnings, which upon the total freight so hauled may represent a considerable sum, or whether we shall have no revenue from that source whatever. If we reduce our local rates to correspond with the through rates, then it is certain that we will not earn interest and dividends. For this reason we claim that it is just and legitimate for us to charge what is necessary to secure a fair profit upon the freight which we have, of which we are assured at our local points, and to take what we can get upon the freight which, unless we make such reduction to shippers, will be transported by some other road."

I am constrained to admit that, in the present constitution of the railroad system, there is a good deal of force in this railroad argument, so far as it applies against the principle of steadily progressive rates in proportion to the distance. Of course, examined with very little reference to the light of reason, it contains no justification for such travesties upon the science of rate-making as are presented by the extreme examples of the practice on the Pacific railways already cited. When

Senator Stanford attempts to justify the rate of \$10 per ton upon a certain class of freight from San Francisco to New Orleans, he does so upon the fundamental assumption that that rate yields some profit to the railroad. Make the profit as slight as you will; suppose it to be but \$1 per ton. It is evident that the cost of service, \$9 per ton, must be greater than the cost of hauling exactly the same freight one-third of the distance from El Paso to New Orleans. Let us suppose that the greater proportion of terminal expenses in the rate on the shorter haul should raise the cost of the lesser service from one-third that of the greater to one-half, or \$4.50 per ton, and it remains; as a demonstration, that the profit to the railroad on the El Paso freight is \$25.50 per ton, out of a charge of \$30; while the railroad is charging the profit of but \$1 upon the same freight from San Francisco.

In other words, whenever the railroad seeks to impose upon the short haul a charge actually in excess of that for which they seek freight as yielding a profit on hauls of two or three times the distance, the presumption is evident that the charge on the shorter or intermediate point represents an exorbitant and excessive profit. There may be exceptions to this rule, but it is not difficult for the lay mind to perceive that the Pacific railroad freight rule presents no such exceptions. In fact, it is one of the avowed principles, in the operation of some of those railroads, that they have a right to exact upon intermediate points the charge which would be made upon their freight if hauled from the Eastern States clear to San Francisco, or another Pacific coast terminal point, and back to the local stations. The claim is that the terminal points are the proper distributive points for the trade West of the Rocky Mountains, and that the economy of stopping the goods off at the local stations on their way from the East, and saving their transportation to the Pacific coast and back again, should not be permitted to rob the railroad of its revenue, first on the haul clear through, and then back again to the points where the goods are needed.

Claims of this character, made in connection with such discriminations as are here cited, carry their own confutation. They are shown, by the violent discrepancies in rates which they attempt to justify, to merely uphold the practice of unbridled and unlimited extortion from the shippers and the consuming public who are unable to escape such exactions. It is plain that that part of the public which is unable to find any other method of transportation than that afforded by a single railroad must yield whatever profit on the transportation the rapacity of the railroad managers may ordain, subject only to the limitations imposed by their capability of bearing the extortion without the extinction of their industries; and against rates imposed in this manner we have the contrast of rates upon freight which is not subject to the monopoly of any single road, that yield a profit one-half to nine-tenths less in proportion to the amount of service rendered.

To say that the cost of transporting freight one hundred miles is only one-fifth of that

where it is transported a thousand would be rash and sciolistic; to assert that the railroad should charge the same proportion of profit with regard to distance in all cases would be to ignore the conditions and necessities of the railroad system. But to assert that when a railroad charges \$30 for a given service from El Paso to New Orleans, and then going three times the distance charges but \$10 for the same service, from San Francisco to New Orleans, it is not rash or ignorant, or in any way forgetful of the different phases of the question, to assert that the concession that the less rate on the greater distance yields a profit establishes the conclusion that the three times greater rate on one-third of the distance imposes an unjust and violent extortion upon the El Paso shippers, and that the producers of the staples at that point are thus forced to bear an unjust burden on the transportation of their products to market.

The same conclusion is not difficult to draw, although it may be less obvious, in regard to the declaration of the Pacific coast commercial bodies in favor of permitting the Pacific railroads to make their own through rates actually less than their intermediate ones. This position is justified by the prevailing and fashionable reference at present in vogue among railroad circles to the fact that the Canadian Pacific railroads can take freight from the Pacific coast to Eastern points without regard to the long and short haul provision of the interstate commerce law. That is, that while making a specified rate from San Francisco or Portland to New York, it can, if it chooses, charge the people along its line in Canada an actually greater rate for only a portion of the same service. This results, it is said, in a state of affairs in which, if the Canadian Pacific makes a low through rate, the Pacific roads of the United States, in order to meet it, must reduce their intermediate rates correspondingly, while the Canadian Pacific need not reduce its local rates at all.

If no other interests are to be consulted in the matter except the railroads, this argument would have a good deal of force in favor of repealing any restraints on the railroad practice of local discrimination; and if the only other interests outside of the railroads were the commercial interests of the Pacific coast, there is no doubt that the arrangement of charging less for carrying their freight clear through to and from the Pacific coast than for dropping it off at the local stations would be equally satisfactory to the members of the commercial bodies whose trade would be thus augmented by the practice which they have recently indorsed. But,

as the entire subject of the relations of the railroads to Government and legislation is based upon the principle that the interests of the public have a legitimate right for consideration in that view, the argument that while the Canadian Pacific Railroad can make up for low through rates by extortions upon its local traffic, and the American railroads can not, makes the answer somewhat evident, that while this may be hard upon the United States railroads, it is a great deal harder upon the Canadian people. Without taking into consideration whether it is

founded on fact that the local traffic furnished by the wilds of British Columbia, Assiniboia, and Manitoba is sufficient to support that railroad in the transportation of transcontinental freight at rates which will yield it an insufficient return on its capital, this old argument, revived with regard to the latest phase of the long and short haul clause, brings out two points. The first is that it overthrows the long-standing railroad contention that high local rates do not support a railroad in the competition for which it makes the exceptionally low through rates. During the discussion on the long and short haul of the interstate commerce law this declaration was solemnly and forcibly made by the railroad interests. It was asserted, especially upon the authority of Mr. E. P. Alexander, that no case had ever been known in which local rates were advanced for the purpose of sustaining a railroad in carrying through freight at the bottom prices; and the argument was filled out with the declaration that the slight addition to net earnings secured by carrying the through freight at the low prices which were claimed to be impossible upon local freight actually enabled an eventual reduction to be made upon the local charges. But in this case we have an exactly opposite contention. United States railroads are unable to compete with the Canadian Pacific, it is asserted, because the Canadian Pacific is supported by its ability to charge the high rate upon the local traffic. Saying that the local traffic of the Canadian Pacific railroad is unimportant, and therefore that it relies solely upon its through traffic for revenue, is estopped by the fundamental nature of the railroad argument, that the low proportion of net earnings obtained from the low through rates which it charges are not sufficient to yield interest and dividend upon its debt and capital. That is the argument upon which all railroads base the necessity of charging the high rate upon the local traffic. Consequently, unless the Canadian Pacific Railroad were able to assess on its local traffic its failure to obtain full net earnings on through traffic, the competition in which it got all the through business by cutting transcontinental rates lower than the United States railroads can do would inevitably result in its bankruptcy. So that the whole argument in favor of permitting transcontinental traffic to be carried at actually less charges than local traffic involving one-half the carriage rests entirely upon the assumption that the local traffic must pay the expense which is not met by the through traffic.

The contention that the United States railroads should be enabled to do this because its competitor, the Canadian Pacific Railroad, is, loses sight entirely of the popular interests in the United States. I do not know whether there are any well-authenticated instances in which the Canadian Pacific Railroad is charging more for transporting freight between Vancouver and Manitoba, or between Manitoba and Toronto, than it does upon freight from San Francisco to New York; but if there are any such cases, it is plain that it is an extortion and injustice to the local shippers

subjected to this discrimination that the arguments by which it is supported must be carefully reviewed; that we must inquire how far the discriminations are produced by the conditions and methods of railway organization, and how far by the blindness and errors of railway policy. By such an inquiry we may obtain light, not only upon the extent of the evil, but upon the possibility of effecting a reform.

#### The Signs of the Times.

In 1765 a half dozen or more families settled on the upper Potomac. We need not tell you what this little valley is in beauty and fruitfulness. These families have held on here by their industry and probity till the present time, enlarging their possessions by opening up extensive grazing lands in the adjoining mountains. They have sent out from time to time representative men to the sections of this State west of the Alleghanies, to the rich valleys of Ohio, to the Missouri bottoms, to the broad prairies of the great West, and in every county which they have occupied they have maintained their home reputation as first-class agriculturists. To leave to their children a fair proportion of these lands; to build the first cabin in Chillicothe, Ohio; to drive the first lot of fatted cattle from the far West to the Eastern markets, the first lot from Texas northward; to be first-rate merchants and bankers; to serve with distinction in the pulpit, at the bar, in the halls of legislation; to stand in the center of Ohio, a venerable gray-headed old farmer, a legislator and jurist who learned his first lessons in law and politics from Judge Marshall, with his shotgun in his hand, and there to defy the Federal army to violate the sanctity of his home—these are some of the distinctions to which our people may justly lay claim to. And yet the present generation of these families, in every way worthy of their ancestors, are forced to surrender their homes to a mismanagement of public affairs which defies individual prudence and industry. Such a condition of things is utterly incompatible not only with civil freedom, but with political existence as well. It is simply anarchy, the arbitrary substitution of artificial rules for natural laws, and big gambling concerns for legitimate business. To call this thing republicanism, to call it democracy is an insult to common sense. Compared to this, beneficent and merciful is the stern rule of the Iron Chancellor, whose great heart throbs in unison with every aspiration of the fatherland, and whose ardent patriotism guards with sleepless vigilance every material interest of his country. Bismarck is a royal king, our king is Shoddy.

#### A LOOKER ON IN VAIN.

Note.—One of the many sufferers is a granddaughter of General Nelson, who, at the siege of Yorktown, upon learning that Lord Cornwallis occupied his own fine residence, ordered the gunners to concentrate their fire upon it and bring out the red coats. Spirit of America, whither have you fled?

MOORFIELD, W. Va., Sept. 9, 1889.

It may be of interest to cotton planters to know something of the distribution of the cotton exported to foreign countries. The census of 1880 shows the distribution of American cotton exports to be as follows: England gets of each crop 1,192,259,737 pounds, or about 2,650,000 bales; France, 179,840,277 pounds, or about 400,000 bales; Germany, about 350,000 bales; Russia, about 230,000 bales. The balance is scattered among all the various nations in very much smaller amounts.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## COMBINED NITROGEN.

With a few thoughts and suggestions as to farm-yard manure it was proposed to conclude our sketch of the agriculturally interesting sources of combined nitrogen. It is necessary to turn aside from that purpose very briefly to note some inquiries from readers of the ECONOMIST concerning the position taken as to the imperfection of present modes of analysis of nitrogen compounds and the statement of the results thereof. The question asked is this, viz.: "If the sources of nitrogen in the complex commercial manures are not revealed by the present methods of analysis, are there any methods known which will reveal them?" "And if not, what then is the value of an analysis?" We reply that there is no known method whereby the sources of the nitrogen of such a complex mixture can be certainly determined, nor the quantity derived from each or any of several known sources of that substance composing the "ammoniate" of the fertilizer, and that therefore the analysis is only of value in determining the gross amount of nitrogen from all sources. The law can not compel any man to reveal the secrets of his business to the public, and no law has been passed to compel a man to state to the public through an analyst or certificate how he composes his "ammoniate" in manufacturing ammoniated superphosphate. The common method of statement, viz., so much nitrogen yielding ammonia on combustion with caustic alkali, reduces all materials to one level both as to cost and agricultural value; a mode of estimate known to be wholly erroneous; a method known to place good, bad, and indifferent ammoniating materials on the same footing; a method, therefore, misleading and unreliable, and only of value so far as it shows that some material containing combined nitrogen has been put into the fertilizer, and the law to that extent complied with.

The writer is asked "what he recommends to be done in the premises." Let the chemist state what he knows; let him explain the significance and value of the data furnished by his analysis. Let him not state that the ammoniate in A's fertilizer is worth \$10 as compared to B's fertilizer worth \$15. The data of his analysis do not enable him to know the value of either of them, nor the comparative value of the two, and any figures which imply that they do are misleading. "Well," say our farmer friends, "is there no help for the farmer? If the chemist can not help him, who can?" The difficulty of the situation is very great. One thing seems abundantly clear, viz., that unless we can get at the sources of the materials used in ammoniating superphosphates we can not approximate what the chemists have styled their commercial value, which seems to mean their wholesale price at which the manufacturers buy, or, from the agricultural standpoint, the retail price at which they sell. It is very certain that the data furnished by analysis do not enable us to determine this question. Is there any other way of getting at it? Can manufacturers be induced to reveal it? Can the farmers employ experts to manufacture for them, using such materials as they name in their contracts? Finally, can farmers, by combination, control the manufacture of such articles as the members desire? Can a county or State Alliance or Grange operate a factory guaranteeing to state to the members precisely what materials are used in ammoniating their goods and subject to inspection by the officers of the order? If, then, any farmer dealing with that factory desires to know what materials he is buying he can have the information. Would

a movement in that direction compel all manufacturers to reveal the sources of their nitrogen? It seems that the law is powerless to get at the information.

That existing legislation has failed to secure valuable results to the farmer is certain. The pretense has been put forward by public analysts that their work has resulted in prodigious saving to agriculture, and that the standard of commercial fertilizers on the market is greatly higher; but does the farmer realize that he gets larger increase of crops per ton of fertilizer than ten years ago? The sum and substance of the whole matter seems to be that gross frauds can be detected by chemical analysis; but, on the other hand, a manufacturer or dealer can easily supply an article to analyze well, at low cost, by ammoniating with such articles as leather-scrap, hoof bones, or damaged black blood, and getting phosphoric acid from the cheapest sources known. The methods of analysis indisputably place a manure thus compounded on a level with the best on the market, or that it is possible to make out of the best, the most costly, and most valuable fertilizing materials. Claims are often put forth that so many thousand, so many millions, of dollars, it may be, have been saved to the farmers of a given State by the public analyst or State chemist. All such statements are loose and reckless. No data can be obtained to prove them correct, and no such statements ought to be put forth. Will any analyst guarantee the crop-producing power of a fertilizer upon the data obtained by analysis? The contrary is well known. Why will he not do it? He will not do it because the nature of the raw materials entering into the composition of the manure remain unknown after the analysis as before. Is it not possible to duplicate precisely the analysis of raw bones by ammoniating a cheap phosphatic guano with leather scrap? Beyond all doubt, it is not only possible, but easy to do. Why else do manufacturers offer their raw ground bone cheaper than unground bones can be bought by them? Are these men supposed to be grinding bones for nothing and finding themselves? The

President of The Association of Agricultural Chemists said a few days ago, in his annual address, that his association would, in a few years, be able to virtually dictate all legislation on the subject of chemical inspections in America. Let us hope not. In all chemical inspections the public analyst is a party in interest. To his comprehension his fee may be the greater part of the law. Who was responsible for a silly law in North Carolina which classed insoluble phosphate in the analysis as worthless and without value, rejecting it in the computation of values, along with water and insoluble sand? What then would be the value of raw ground bones? Who was responsible for a Georgia law, still more silly, forbidding absolutely the offering for sale of any manure containing only insoluble phosphate, upon penalty of confiscation of the foods? Raw ground bones, well known to be the best manure for the money now on the market for many uses, could not, under that law, be offered for sale in that State. In what way do such laws protect the farmer? Such a law puts a fee into the pocket of the public analyst, and does harm to both farmer and manufacturer, and dealer in fertilizers. The cost of the whole thing has to be paid by the farmer, as all taxes and costs are paid ultimately by the consumer. Another State has passed a law recently, doubtless dictated by some public analyst, or an association of them, making the analysis of the State chemist proof of the composition of a fertilizer. What will be the effect of this law? If the farmer buys a lot of manure that analyzes well, but which is nearly worthless, he has got it to pay for. If the public analyst is demonstrated by expert testimony to be in-

competent generally, or to have made an error in the particular case, the statute nevertheless requires the judge to rule out of the case all testimony offered to prove this error. The effect of such a statute is to prevent the State's witness from being cross-examined to expose his ignorance and his error. That's not law; it is statutory folly. Lack of a technical cross-examination of a technical witness for the commonwealth has often been a lamentable error of defense, whereby more than one person has been sent to the gallows who ought not to have been hanged. But what shall be said of a law which makes any man's evidence conclusive of a fact without regard to what incompetency or error may be shown? It is obviously contrary to the fundamental principle of law, which is justice. And what if collusion or conspiracy between the manufacturer and the public analyst to defraud the farmer be the thing behind this legal screen? What if the analysis be of design and purpose falsified by the analyst? Even in that case the law says it is a correct analysis, and shall not be called into question. Is it a presumption of law that a chemist is something more or less than a man? Is it a presumption of law that a manufacturer of commercial manures is a thief; must he prove that he is not a thief, contrary to law? Is there no danger in setting a State chemist upon him, a thief may be set to catch a thief? This whole thing is wrong and without defense. The potent influence of agriculture should be withheld from such legislation. This is a good question for intelligent discussion in the Granges and Alliances, and farmer's clubs and assemblies. Discuss your State fertilizer inspection laws and see if you understand their effect. Discuss the reports the State chemist sends out, and see if you had best buy your fertilizers according to the analysis and valuation put upon them. Inquire whether any member has done so with profit.

## THE SCIENCE OF SIZE IN ANIMALS.

In a former article on this subject, the principle was stated that, in general, animals consume a ration in proportion to their live weight, and it was maintained that heavy animals on scant, thin pastures were compelled to take so much exercise in filling themselves that they could not be kept to advantage on such pastures. It is admitted that upon theoretical grounds two sheep, for example, which weigh 100 pounds each, will require rather more food than one sheep weighing 200 pounds, seeing that the functional activity of two organisms will be greater than that of one of twice the live weight, and will demand a somewhat larger force-forming ration. But, on the other hand, the gathering of the ration for a 200-pound sheep will require very nearly double the movement that is expended in gathering and masticating the ration of a 100-pound sheep, whereas the weight to be moved is twice as great. Theoretically, therefore, the pasture may become so scant that the larger sheep can not live upon it, while the smaller may still do well. In practice, this conclusion is abundantly verified. Another conclusion follows, that is to say, on scant pastures and thin soils large breeds of live-stock, being habitually underfed, will be more liable to disease, and their diseases will more frequently prove fatal than will be the case with smaller and more active breeds. This is the lesson taught by the fact which is notorious, viz., that small breeds stand what is called hard stocking, or keeping in large flocks, very far better than large ones. It is true that small breeds of all sorts are harder and more prolific under the conditions imposed upon them by ordinary farm practice than are the large breeds. On very rich lands, where all the conditions are favorable to high keep, but which is nearly worthless, he has got it to pay for. If the public analyst is demonstrated by expert testimony to be in-

medium and ordinary thin lands will involve expenses too great to leave a margin of profit, and involves the risk of heavy pecuniary losses when purchased foods are high and animal products low, an artificial condition of the markets often produced by the unchecked manipulations of speculators. An artificial scarcity of feeding stuffs always drives the farmer to glut the market with butcher's meat and dairy products, as well as store stock, draft animals, etc. Such a situation is especially hard on the handlers of heavy breeds; for if allowed to run down and become lean, not only will a large percentage be lost by disease, but the survivors can only be restored to that high condition which a big beast must have, either to show or to sell to advantage, at a very great cost of food and loss of time. Whoever has tried to get up a lot of big, poor, run-down animals knows the truth of this statement by experience. It ought to be admitted, it can not be denied, that light, active, hardy breeds when run down can be restored to their best condition in shorter time, at less expense, than is probable with breeds of great size. If we compare individual animals of the same breed we shall find that those much above or much below the standard size of an average specimen are apt to be unprofitable to handle; very large specimens and very small specimens are nearly certain to be less hardy and less prolific than those of standard size. If the standard average weight of the stallions of a draft breed of horses be 1,600 pounds, then a stallion of that breed of 1,200 is too small, and one of 2,000 pounds too large to be healthy and right in all particulars. Especially should the gigantic specimen be avoided as a breeder. His extra growth has been at the expense of that balance of physiological energies essential to the highest health and vigor. Especially is excessive activity of the nutritive functions opposed to a due vigor of the reproductive powers in living organisms of every class, obesity itself being a well-known and very common cause of barrenness and impotency. Gigantic size, like excessive fatness, is the result of excessive activity of the nutritive forces, and is almost equally opposed to fertility. Gigantic individuals, whether obese, or, as they often are, overlean, are very apt to be short-lived. Neither are such specimens strong at all in proportion to their excess of size.

## THE RIGHT MOVE.

The discussion of important technical subjects in the theory and practice of scientific agriculture by experts, as a part of the programme of agricultural fairs, will give dignity and value to the exhibition. It is noticeable that such a movement is beginning, and it is to be hoped will be generally adopted. It will be a combination of a holiday and an "agricultural institute;" of scientific lectures or practical lectures, with abundant illustration or exhibition. It will certainly do much to revive the interest of intelligent and scientific farmers in these annual shows. Political oratory on such occasions has undoubtedly outlived its usefulness; if any it had to outlive. This movement means that it is becoming recognized slowly that agriculture is a science and a profession, and that its problems can only be elucidated by a person who has a scientific and professional grasp of them. There never yet was a day's work intelligently and efficiently done on any farm which did not involve the application to practical results of numerous and important scientific principles. Does the State medical society meet to hear speeches by stump orators, or discussions of professional subjects by medical experts? There is a time for all things; a time for the stump orator to hold forth, and a time for him to refrain from holding forth. There is a time when the agricultural expert may be heard with appropriateness and advantage, and that time is as often as agriculturists hold an assembly for recreation and improvement combined. Every dog show, for the matter of that, has expert judges, sometimes fetched from England, and always a consulting veterinary practitioner. Agricultural fairs are also progressing. *Festina lente*; they make haste slowly.

## COMPARATIVE ANATOMY.

Perhaps no error in farm practice is more common than preference for gigantic specimens as breeding animals. If such specimens possess satisfactory fecundity they seldom transmit their extra size to their offspring. Their offspring only in rare instances exceed the average size of the breed or race. In the Hambletonian family of trotting horses the average height of the stallions is not much, if at all, in excess of 15½ hands. Some of them reach nearly 17 hands; they are gigantic specimens; scarcely one such has done anything in the stud; their stock do not exceed the average of the family in size. In both health and symmetry of form, and also in the matter of speed, they are very uniformly deficient. A big Hambletonian must be regarded a *lusus naturae*, and a thing to be avoided. In the Clay family of trotters a little horse is apt to be one that has seen hard times. If used in the stud his offspring will very likely be of the standard size of the family; that is to say, about double as big as himself. The principle here illustrated is of universal application among all animals. The experienced and judicious breeder will not seek increase in the size of his animals by selection of gigantic specimens as breeders. The inexperienced and injudicious are very nearly certain to fall into that mistake. There is a certain degree of imposing grandeur in mere size itself. Littleness of stature produces the impression of insignificance. Carried away by these instinctive feelings, practi-

cal men who should be guided by sound judgment and the results of experience frequently err greatly to their cost. In the writings of authors on the theory and practice of scientific agriculture the attention which this subject merits has not been accorded to it. The fact is that, with few exceptions scientific agriculture has been regarded and treated as a kind of chemistry consisting mainly of analysis and recipes. It is in fact greatly more than that.

## INTRODUCED SPECIES OF GAME AND FISH.

The successful introduction of the German brown trout into American waters by the United States Commissioner of Fisheries is an interesting and important fact. It is a fine and beautiful game fish, and one most excellent for the table. It is likely to do well in larger and more open waters than our own brook trout. Very possibly, as has happened with the German carp, after acclimation here, the species may do better than in its native waters. The addition to our fauna of the German carp and brown trout is no small achievement. No doubt other valuable species will be successfully introduced in future. Game birds may also be tried with every prospect of success, as well as song birds; but it should not be undertaken by uninformed and irresponsible parties, in view of the sparrow nuisance, rapidly developing into a curse. The introduction of English pheasants by the Jekyl Island Club shows a greater success in handling that elegant species than is often attained in England. The successful introduction of the Chinese pheasant on our Northwestern coast is another valuable enrichment of our fauna. We suggest to the Jekyl Island Club to try the European woodcock, probably the finest game bird extant. Is it not worth while to try the chamois in the Rockies? And are there not many other species in many lands which would add a charm to field and forest and water in this great and busy land? For Jekyl Island might be suggested the peacock and the guinea-fowl as species of wild game of great value in their native country. A public sentiment has been created hostile to the extermination of our native species, and it is a favorable time to attempt the systematic enrichment of our fauna by the introduction of valuable species from all other countries.

THE wealth of a man is the amount he would be able to pay were his entire possessions converted into cash, and no more. He can not bind his children to make good obligations incurred before his death. A nation, being merely a collection of individuals, can have no more rights than the aggregate of all the individuals possess, and its wealth is determined in the same way as that of the individual—that is, is equal to the aggregate of all the individual wealth and no more. An individual has a right to use the entire aggregate of his wealth in conducting his financial affairs and can use the various kinds of property as security for cash. Just so a nation; its circulating medium should be equal to its aggregate wealth and no more nor less, in order that each citizen may be able to obtain a representative of value equal in amount to his possessions if he should require it free from tribute to any individual or institution. The basis of the circulation should be the actual values of the nation, as this is all it is able to pay on demand; and a nation no more than an individual has the right to pledge the credit of coming generations or make obligations for unborn children to meet, because propagation to great wealth of a present generation is the progression towards slavery of generations yet unborn. The making of such obligations is the enslaving of our own children.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## Distribution—Continued.

BY N. A. DUNNING.

Emerson said, "The farmer stands at the door of the bread room and weighs to every man his loaf." This is a beautiful figure of speech, but like much that is written concerning the glories and pleasures of farm life, is wanting in some very essential particulars. While the farmer may produce the bread and deal it out, as he certainly does to the whole world, he has absolutely nothing to say regarding the remuneration he is to receive. He may plow and sow, reap and thresh, but the moment he places his products on the market, other factors step in and determine the reward. But the wrong does not end here. When he attempts to make a purchase, he ascertains very quickly that the price has been established without any reference as to what he might deem just or reasonable. The price put upon his wheat was final; he could take it or haul his wheat back home. The price asked for sugar and salt is also absolute; he can take them or not, just as he pleases. After a time the idea begins to obtain that so far as the buying and selling is concerned his part is of little importance. He has the privilege, however, of doing all the work, running all the risks, and wearing all the poor clothes, without dictation or assistance, and appears thankful.

He finds some one else makes the price he receives for what he sells, as well as the price he pays for what he buys. He ascertains after a time that the more he pays for what he buys the less profit he gets on what he sells. This discovery leads to investigation, and that in turn makes trouble for those who are thriving upon his disasters.

If we could have cheap land, cheap labor, and cheap money, together with fair prices for everything else used in production, we could afford to sell cheap. But the same factors that makes his products cheap makes his purchases correspondingly dear. As it now stands, the same railroad managers who fix the rates of freight on the wheat he sells establishes it also on the sugar and salt he buys. The same unjust distribution which lessens the price of his products in nearly every case increases the price of what he consumes. The whole matter has been so cunningly manipulated that the farmer is made to stand at the wrong end of the route in both instances. Distribution is really an exchange of products. If the wheat of the West could be exchanged for the cotton of the South by paying a fair compensation for services rendered, the distribution would be just. But this is not the case. The wheat goes South burdened with the tribute paid to corporations for which no equivalent has been rendered, thereby increasing its cost to the consumer. In like manner the cotton of the South goes West, made dearer to the consumer by unjustly distributing a per cent. of its value without receiving an adequate return. This wrong could be easily corrected by united action, but the difficulty which prevents that lies in the inability of the farmer to realize whence come these adverse forces. They seem to surround him on all sides, and anticipate his every movement. The nature of his occupation exposes its every phase to the public; there is nothing hidden under cover, nothing hid. Because of this he generally expects to find the causes operating against him as being equally exposed and easy to discover. Here is found a grave mistake. Those powers which control the price of his efforts are not in sight; they are hidden so completely that it is only by careful searching their discovery is possible.

Unscrupulous men who have found the secret keep it to themselves. This secret is guarded in a most cautious manner, and protected from the common observer by all the strategy known

to law and greed. This has been going on for many years. While the farmer labored they planned to despoil, not by force, but through the medium of an unjust distribution of wealth. With the increase of productive forces has come an increase of devices for plunder. As it is, there are doubts as to whether any or all of what is called labor-saving machinery ever benefited the laborer. Many are convenient and the world could hardly do without them, but a day's work is as long and as hard as ever, and it brings no more of the comforts of life, all things considered, than before. Our whole system of government seems to be at present operating on lines directly antagonistic to the best interests of the farming community. They pay taxes far in excess of what is right, because their property can not be concealed from the assessor. The condition, amount, and kind of crops, the probable increase or decrease of the same, together with many other matters pertaining to his affairs, are kindly collected at Government expense, carefully tabulated and then given to those whose sole interest and welfare lies in making his labor as profitless as possible. Being nothing but a farmer, he is compelled to answer correctly such questions as he may be asked concerning his business, while the men who are despoiling him, like Armour, of Chicago, can defy the power of the Government when called upon for similar statements. The fact, then, seems to be clearly proven that the farmer not only suffers from an unjust distribution in the sale of his products, but his profits are decreased by this same unjust distribution through the increase in cost of what he consumes.

## Proceedings of Maryland State Alliance.

Wednesday, September 25, 1889, delegates to the first session of the Maryland State Alliance met at Upper Marlboro, Prince George County, pursuant to call by Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, State organizer.

With Dr. W. W. Waring as temporary chairman, the report of the committee on permanent organization was adopted, and the following officers elected: President, Hugh Mitchell, Charles County; vice-president, F. L. Griffith, Anne Arundel County; secretary, T. C. Jenkins, Charles County; treasurer, Dr. J. H. Blandford, Prince George County; lecturer, Dr. W. W. Waring, Prince George County; assistant lecturer, H. G. Cowan, Caroline County; chaplain, Thos. R. Halley, Charles County; doorkeeper, A. K. Starlings, Anne Arundel County; assistant door-keeper, L. McK. Griffith, Calvert County; sergeant-at-arms, J. W. F. Hatton, Prince George County; executive committee, A. T. Brooke, Prince George County; Z. W. Halley, Charles County; Alvin C. Wilson, Anne Arundel County; business agent, Dr. Joseph A. Mudd.

President Mitchell in the chair. Motion made and carried that a committee of three be appointed to frame a constitution and by-laws, to report at the next regular meeting: Committee, Jos. A. Mudd, W. W. Waring, Louis Griffith. Motion made and carried that this Alliance be governed, until the next regular meeting, by the constitution and by-laws adopted by the State of North Carolina. This constitution was referred to a committee of three—Jos. A. Mudd, R. F. Gray, and J. H. Blandford—for such amendment as they deemed fit. The committee reported as follows:

Art 1, sec. 2, amend by striking out 2,000 and inserting 100, and striking out 1,000 and inserting 50; art. 2, sec. 12, amend by striking out all after the word "Alliance"; art. 3, sec. 1, strike out the words "on the first Friday," in fifth line; art. 5, sec. 4, strike out the word "eight" and insert "seven"; art. 9, strike out sec. 1 and insert: "The State lecturer shall be

organizer for the State, with power to appoint deputies where deemed necessary"; art. 9, sec. 2, strike out all after the word "otherwise," in the fourteenth line; strike out art. 11; strike out sec. 4, art. 12; art. 1, sec. 3, amend by striking out the word "ten," in second line, and insert the word "five."

Upon motion regularly made, two (2) delegates were elected, by ballot, to attend the meeting of the National Farmers Alliance at St. Louis on the first Tuesday in December. The delegates selected were: Hugh Mitchell and Dr. J. H. Blandford; alternates: A. T. Brooke and F. L. Griffith.

Motion made and carried that the executive committee, in conjunction with Dr. W. W. Waring, Dr. Jos. A. Mudd, and Richard T. Estep, consider the question of forming an Alliance Exchange, and report the result of their labor at the next meeting.

Motion made and carried, that the secretary of this body notify the different county Alliance secretaries of a resolution offered by Dr. J. H. Blandford and adopted by the body, requesting each sub-Alliance to send in a statement of the amount of patronage it may be expected to give the Alliance Exchange, this information to be sent to A. T. Brooke, Upper Marlboro, Prince George County, Md.

Motion made and carried, that this meeting, when it adjourns, adjourns until the second Wednesday in November (13th), at Upper Marlboro.

Upon question, the chair decided that the present delegates to the State Alliance would hold over to the next meeting, and that Alliances organized in the meantime would be entitled to representation.

Resolution offered and adopted, that we adopt THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST as the best exponent of the principles of our order, and commend it to the patronage of our members.

Whereas, the Courier and Farmer, of Federalsburg, Md., has espoused the cause of the Alliance—

*Resolved*, That we appreciate the step thus taken, and advise our members on the Eastern Shore to patronize that paper.

Resolution offered and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Alliance are due, and are hereby extended, to the press of the State for the very efficient aid it has rendered the Alliance cause.

Meeting adjourned until the date mentioned in the proceedings, the secretary being requested to furnish the several county Alliances and those sub-Alliances where no county Alliance exists with a copy of the proceedings.

## The Florida Alliance.

Representatives from thirty counties met at Jacksonville, Fla., Wednesday, September 25th, and did excellent work for the order in that State. Conferences with the business men of the city justify the assertion that a cotton factory and warehouses are assured facts. Thus

Florida farmers are preparing to hold their cotton, and reap the advantages of the advance which usually comes in the spring months. The brethren had a most delightful time, including a railroad excursion, and adjourned with a tender feeling for the city of the domicile of their business effort.

THERE have been experimental stations established under the direction of the Agricultural Department in thirty-seven States and one Territory. The appropriation for the support of these was made by act of Congress, March 2, 1887, and apportioned to each \$15,000 per year.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## The Cotton Committee.

The National cotton committee met at Atlanta, Monday, September 30th, and adopted the following resolutions, which have been published generally by the daily papers:

Whereas the Association of American Cotton Exchanges met in New Orleans on the 11th, and in conjunction with various commissioners of agriculture and representatives of the farmers' interests, did recommend that cotton be sold by net weight as a solution of the tare question;

and whereas information now received shows that said action has not received the approval of a sufficient number of cotton exchanges, and to enable the New Orleans Cotton Exchange to carry it out, commencing on the time agreed upon, to wit, October 1, 1889; and whereas the action taken by the New Orleans Cotton Exchange in favor of assisting the farmers to get paid for the eight pounds more cotton that each cotton-wrapped bale contains than the jute-covered, is highly appreciated, but for said Exchange to contend for the cause in spite of the fact that many leading Exchanges had deserted, is especially commendable and will be co-operated in by the interests we represent; and whereas the justice and equity of the farmers claim on the tare question is based on one fact, which stands boldly and undisputed and indisputable, that every cotton-wrapped bale actually contains eight pounds more of lint cotton than it would if covered with jute;

Therefore, it is hereby *Resolved*, That the action had by the Shreveport Cotton Exchange be adopted in the present emergency, and every farmer is hereby instructed, when offering for sale cotton wrapped in cotton bagging, to demand payment for eight pounds more of cotton than the actual gross weight of such bale.

*Resolved*, That this action is intended to supersede and take the place of the previous action and instructions in regard to the tare question. In no case shall a bale of cotton be sold subject to a dock of sixteen pounds for cotton bagging or twenty-four pounds for jute bagging as agreed upon in New Orleans unless the cotton be sold at half a cent per pound in advance of the current price at that time, and place.

Further instructions will be given the order by the National cotton committee on the 26th of October, through the president of each county Alliance, Wheel, or Union at their county sites; where the president of each primary Alliance, Wheel, or Union will meet them to receive the same.

Signed: R. J. Sledge, chairman, Texas; M. L. Donaldson, South Carolina; W. J. Northen, Georgia; T. T. Hatcher, Louisiana; Oswald Wilson, Florida; S. B. Alexander, North Carolina; B. M. Hord, Tennessee; S. P. Featherstone, Arkansas.

## Alliance Notes.

State Alliances have recently been chartered in New Mexico, Arkansas, and Maryland.

The first sub-Alliance in New Jersey was recently organized, with 32 male members.

Organization is progressing rapidly in West Virginia and Indiana.

Members of the Alliance, Wheel, and Union who visit the National Capital at Washington can enjoy the association of kindred spirits by calling upon the "Capital Alliance No. 22," now organized and ready to open its doors for the affiliation of a farmer president, which is an object much to be desired.

Harry Tracy has completed a lecture tour of the States of Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and covering a pe-

riod of eight months. The great good he has accomplished can never be estimated.

Bro. Ben Terrell, National Lecturer, is finishing up a lecture tour of South Carolina. The press and people are highly pleased with the good work he has done, both there and in Georgia.

Delegates from the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association participated in the conference meeting at Meridian, when the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America was framed, and were recognized on terms of perfect equality. The constitution, therefore, of the Farmers and Laborers Union belongs as much to the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, if they choose to ratify, as it does to the Alliance and Wheel. It was expected that all three would ratify, and then consolidate under instructions from President Jones,

## Book Notices.

The splendid series of publications composing the Humboldt Library of Popular Science again demands special attention. These splendid publications are a never-failing source of interest and information. No. 7, "The Conservatism of Energy," by Balfour Stuart, F. R. S., is a compend of philosophical knowledge.

It treats of natural philosophy, mechanics, force scientifically considered, electricity and its mechanical and scientific application. It covers the field of mechanics and gives much valuable information in regard to electricity, while the appendix considers the correlation of nervous and mental forces. No. 8 is an essay on the study of Languages, by C. Marcel. The various heads under which the subject is treated are as follows: The art of reading, the art of hearing, the art of speaking, the art of writing, on mental culture, and on routine. The work is clear, exhaustive, and able, and is a valuable study for young men who have an ambition to fit themselves to appear to advantage in society and in public. It is just such a work as should be in the hands of every young man and woman in the country. The study of such works will do much toward the literary and social improvement of our young people. It should be in the library of every Alliance. No. 9 is entitled "The Date of Ethics," by Herbert Spencer. The title conveys a clear idea of the work. It is an elaborate treatise on the subject of ethics, and is not only instructive but the close reasoning is made entertaining at the same time that it is held rigidly in direct line of the conclusion. No. 4 is entitled "Man's Place in Nature," and is by Professor Huxley. The author's name is too well known to the scientific world to require any comment on his work, and those interested in the subject of evolution should not fail to read this masterly treatise. Either of these works can be had for 15 cents by addressing Humboldt Publishing Co., 23 Lafayette Place, New York. Either of them bound would cost at least \$1.50 in the regular market.

11-ff

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

THE LANE MILLS,  
New Orleans.

SCHOOL GIRLS Make \$100 a Month, others \$2,500 a year. Work light, Outfit only 10 cents. Address The Western World, Chicago, Ill.

## PREMIUMS FOR CLUBS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is now prepared to offer any one of the following articles as premiums, to be sent postage paid, from this office, for clubs of subscribers at one dollar per annum.

## CLUBS OF FIVE.

One copy of "Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery," by Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, of Georgia, bound in paper.

One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

## CLUBS OF SIX.

A copy of Volume 1 of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in strong paper.

## CLUBS OF TEN.

One copy of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price," in cloth.

One year's subscription to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## CLUBS OF TWENTY-FIVE.

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Allure, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

To secure either of these club premiums it is not necessary to send all the names at once, but notice of intention to claim the premium should accompany the first order.

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

THE monopolist and the robber are both enemies to civilization, because if every man followed the example they set, society would be destroyed, no matter how refined their manners or mode of living. It is the violation of their obligations to others that makes both dangerous and detestable. On an uninhabited island neither would be dangerous, but in society both are common enemies.

## 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 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.

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

The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance,

AND

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

By W. S. Morgan.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

## The Grandest Book of the Year.

## A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twine trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and indorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonials are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 8, 1889.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

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

Yours for the right,

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

The book contains 774 large octavo pages, is full cloth bound, lettered in gilt, with gilt side stamp, and is printed on fine plated book paper. In counties where we have no agents the book will be sent postpaid to any address at the low price of \$2.25. Agents wanted in every county.

Address all orders for books, or further particulars, to—

W. S. MORGAN, - Hardy, Ark.

## ALLIANCE AID ASSOCIATION.

PURELY MUTUAL

NATIONAL

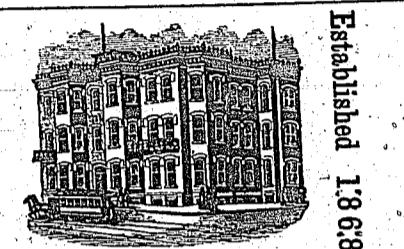
LIMITED TO MEMBERS OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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.

111f

Norris's Patent Office  
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.

Only \$1.00 for this "Little Beauty."  
Weighs from  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz to 4 lbs.



This Steel Bearing Brass Beam Little Scale with Brass Scoop is nicely japanned and is the thing for House, Store, or Shop. Send us \$1.00 (not its value). Catalogue of 1,000 articles sent free.

Address CHICAGO SCALE CO., CHICAGO, ILL.

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., 10-13m<sup>2</sup>

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.

J. B. DINES,  
Missouri Farmers Alliance Business Agency,

317 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.  
Central point for purchase and sale of Flour, Grains, Provisions, Machinery, and Merchandise.

Best rate yet obtained on Alliance seals and badges.

24-6m



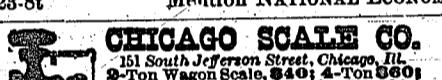
QUEEN OF THE SOUTH  
PORTABLE  
FARM MILLS  
For Stock Feed, Meal  
Family Use.  
10,000 IN USE.  
Write for Descriptive Circular.  
Straub Machinery Co., CINCINNATI, O.

OBTAINT 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,  
23-8t  
Mention NATIONAL ECONOMIST.



CHICAGO SCALE CO.

151 South Jefferson Street, Chicago, ILL.

4-Ton Scale, "Little Detective," \$3. Send for Price List.

\$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 SALEM IRON WORKS, SALEM, N. C.

FREE HOMES At the rate they have been going the

last few years. Now is the time to secure Rich

Land at the Sun Shine on \$125 per acre.

What better could be left for the farmer to do than to get there, as well as for information about Homes or Employment in all States and Territories. Send 10 Cents and receive the Farmers and Laborers Union of America Address THE WESTERN WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

equa Fratres of America. Address THE WESTERN WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

Mention ECONOMIST.

Holton Stock Farm,

ROBERT E. PARK, PROPRIETOR,

HOLTON, BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA,

E. T. V. & G. R. R. 8 Miles from MACON.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

2-2-1y

DEADERICK'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.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

Full Circle Belt Presses, all sizes.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

2-2-1y

H. C. EZELL, WILKERSON, TENN., Importer and Raiser of

FINE BLACK SPANISH JACKS.

Seventy-five head on hand. Starlight, Sr., Starlight

Jr., at head of stand. Write for catalogue of what you want.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

2-2-1y

DEADERICK'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.

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

2-2-1y

STEEL

Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.

2-2-1y

WESTERN & SOUTHERN STOCKHOUSES AND AGENTS.

P. K. DEADERICK & CO.,

No. 59 Deaderick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.

## 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 19, 1889.

NO. 5.

Cotton.

they strained the stock market by the forced depression consequent upon the exportation of the large amount of gold, cotton, being already weak and declining, would become demoralized and let the bottom drop out, so that the cotton speculators could fill up. But they were doomed to disappointment, and cotton went up an eighth. They are not yet defeated, but will rally again; and now, farmers of America, mark the prediction. The money in the United States Treasury will be thrown behind the New York bankers, so that they can take care of the precious speculators, who might suffer from a fall in general prices in the range of stock gambling, and then the volume in circulation will be forcibly and quickly diminished in order to compel the farmer to turn that cotton over to the speculator. True, it may break many legitimate business enterprises that can not resort to the United States Treasury for backing, but the "anointed" must be cared for.

This is a fight between the farmer and the speculator, to get what the spinners are going to pay for cotton, and not to raise prices. The spinner does not generally buy till he needs the cotton to spin. If the speculator can make money scarce, and thereby reduce prices and compel the farmer to sell at once, he will gain the difference between such price and what he can run it up to by the time the spinner needs it. If the farmer can hold till that time he will make that gain.

The buyer interest early in the season flooded the papers of the country with articles advising the farmer to sell his cotton while prices were high; and later they had long articles published showing that the cause of the high prices was a corner in the Liverpool market by a German speculator, and immediately on the heels of that they had the Liverpool corner to break all to smash, and in consequence spot cottons in New York only dropped a quarter of a cent in two days, and the next day went up an eighth, thereby proving the folly and falseness of the claim that the Liverpool corner was the cause of the high prices. But these efforts having failed, the next move was to resort to a more effective and certain method, and that was to reduce the volume of money in the country, and thereby force a reduction in the value of cotton. This they accomplished by "selling" a million dollars in gold for export to Great Britain and really exporting one and a half millions of dollars in gold; but, as that had a tendency to produce a general depression in prices, stocks of all kinds went tumbling down also, and came very near producing a panic in New York, as the demand for money to make good the margins on declining stocks ran up the rate of money on call to from 8 to 12 per cent. The whole thing had been planned to follow immediately after the break of the cotton corner in Liverpool, and it was thought that when

he is worthy of death and damnation according to the laws and usages of the speculative class. But what say the intelligent, conservative, thinking farmers of America? What should be the attitude of the Government when the interest of the agricultural producers of this country and the interests of the stock and future gamblers conflict? Should the interests of the farmer give way?

Until the December meeting at St. Louis the time should be devoted to discussion of topics of general interest.

The Alliance and Insurance.

Hon. A. Wardall, of Huron, Dakota, in response to an inquiry from President Burrows, writes briefly of the insurance plan, of which he is president, organized by the State Alliance and under its supervision and control:

We have three distinct features, viz., fire, hail, and life, each entirely separate and independent of the other, but carried on in the same office and by the same officers, agents, and clerks, thus minimizing expense and increasing efficiency. The fire is a stock company, insuring on the usual plan; and at standard rates, with this difference—a very important one—that only one-half the premium is collected, the balance being in a non-interest-bearing note due in one or two years, with a provision that all profits over necessary expenses and losses (the expenses include 10 per cent. to the capital stock) are returned as dividends to the policy holders, thus making it practically mutual, with the additional safety of a stock company, the 10 per cent. to the stock on our immense business being more than an offset by the great decrease in expense of our combined system. We also make a specialty of promptness, fairness, and spot-cash settlement without discount. Our hail company is purely mutual, and confined to growing grain. We take an assessable non-interest-bearing note for 25 cents an acre on all crops insured secured on the crop. Our limit of loss is \$8 per acre. We have paid about 2,600 losses in the past three years. Average of cost, 20 cents an acre. Our life plan is similar to the United Workmen, Odd Fellows, and Masons, and is purely mutual. It is intended to be National in its character. We wish to establish a Nebraska department in all these branches, under the entire control of your State Alliance, and managed in its interest. It can not but prove satisfactory and economical, and will greatly assist in building up and maintaining interest in Alliance work. This is intended to be a distinctively Nebraska company and to insure only members of the Farmers Alliance in good standing. Our company and system are meeting with grand success in both Dakotas and Minnesota, and giving unqualified satisfaction.

The farmers in many counties of Virginia, Michigan, and other States are using a system of mutual fire insurance confined to farm property, and usually limited to certain territory. So far it has proven very successful, and much cheaper than any other method. In addition to the above, Texas has a system of life insurance called the Alliance Mutuals. A correspondent of the Progressive Farmer suggests that something be done in that line, which appears to be both sensible and timely. It is evident that some people are sizing up the possibilities that await this organization. In the near future all the agricultural States of the Union will be fully organized. Millions of honest men and women will be enlisted in this great contest against trusts and monopolies.

Then why not begin the fight at once against the common method of insurance, which, like banking, is a most consuming monopoly? There are but two points to consider in this matter: First, is there a necessity for it? and second, can this organization meet that necessity?

Insurance at cost is an excellent savings-bank. It is also one of the most equitable means for a just distribution of wealth. The time is not far distant when the Government itself will insure its citizens against loss by fire or death. The insurance method of the present is a prolific source of profit to the insurers, and loss to the insured. There is an apparent want of confidence in all insurance companies which prevents many who ought to carry policies from doing so. For this distrust, insurance companies are alone responsible. Their plans are difficult to understand, their statements misleading, and their agreements master-pieces of technicalities. They consider all losses as unfair and unnecessary. Every loss by fire is looked upon as incendiary, and every loss by death as purely through personal motives. Let the least flaw or the slightest disregard of the numerous provisions in their iron-clad policy appear, and all is lost. Not content with enormous premiums, it is their settled purpose to take from each policy-holder enough to pay running expenses, and the adjuster who does not come up to this requirement is soon dismissed. As a rule, there is no competition among the companies. Insurance boards establish the rate, from which none will deviate. At the same time, the banks, usually stockholders in the insurance companies, make it known that men who are insured are more favored than those who are not; this ends the matter, and they are left to spoliate to their hearts' content.

A system of life and fire insurance could be inaugurated among the members of the Alliance that would in time be its pride and glory.

The cost would be trifling, the security beyond question, and its benefits incalculable. With insurance at cost, all can afford to insure. It means the protection of property against loss, as nothing but insurance can protect; it means that the desire of every man to leave something for his family shall be realized, whether his labor has been successful or not. There is humanity in such undertakings which makes success almost assured. If four or five millions of farmers and laborers, bound together by ties of mutual care and protection, will not furnish sufficient basis for insurance purposes, where can we look for better? At the present time there is not a single trust, corporation, or monopoly that is not bottomed on the products of the soil. What we want is a system of insurance that the poor man can use, that with his limited means he can afford. As it is, he is worked to his utmost ability, for the least possible remuneration, and when old and feeble he is cast aside like any other piece of worn-out machinery. Being without income, and unable to work, the grave or the poor-house is the only alternative. This organization is destined to eliminate from society

such selfish and cruel conditions. Among the most practical means of accomplishing this are fire and life insurance at cost. There is not a bushel of wheat, pound of cotton, or an ounce of meat sent to market but pays tribute to this monopoly. The poor help to pay the insurance of the rich, and they in turn are swindled by the companies. It is time the whole system was wiped out, and a better one adopted in its stead. To formulate a plan requires much thought, and careful examination. In order to provoke discussion, and bring out suggestions, this article is written. Let each Alliance take up the subject and discuss it thoroughly. No doubt, from among the many suggestions made, some one will be found that just meets the demand. When once formulated, its application will be simple and inexpensive. The whole matter can be attended to through the present organization, in connection with other duties, which would save both time and expense. Insurance at cost is the question; how shall it be done?

#### THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Educate the Voters and Purify Public Opinion, or the Republic Perishes.

BY M. J. N.

Add to the power of discovering truth the desire of using it for the promotion of human happiness, and you have the great end and object of existence.—HERBERT SPENCER.

Some time after the revolution of 1830, the abdication of Charles X. and the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the throne, a Government minister, in a speech in the French Chamber of Deputies, referred to the people as "the King's subjects." "There are no subjects in a country where the people make the king," exclaimed scores of the members of the Chamber in chorus. No doubt the French legislators and people, then proud in the conscious possession of the power of making and unmaking kings, deemed it absurd to be considered as subjects to their own creation. So in the United States, where the people are presumed to possess the power, and to exercise the right through their representatives, of making the laws, it sounds strikingly strange to hear the assertion that a large majority of those self-governing people are oppressed by the laws which they themselves have made. Strange indeed, but unfortunately too true. That the people are oppressed, that privileged classes, feudalism, less brutal, exploits the proletariat and builds hospitals for him. Who would dare to say which of the two deserved the palm of virtue?

Note, too, how selfishness and egotism blind men so that while professing deathless devotion to liberty and justice, they are yet ready to inflict injustice upon, and make slaves of others. When they talk of love of liberty, they mean love of self. Says Macaulay: "None of those Roman patriots who poniarded Julius Cesar for aspiring to be a king would have had the smallest scruple about crucifying a whole school of gladiators for attempting to escape from the most odious and disgusting of all kinds of servitude. None of those Virginian patriots who vindicated their separation from the British empire by declaring it to be a self-evident truth that all men were endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty would have the smallest scruple about shooting a negro slave who had laid claim to that inalienable right."

Hear Senator Morton explain how the people make the laws: "There is gathered around the Capitol of this Nation a gang of miserable stock-jobbers with no more conscience than pirates, inspired solely by a greed for gain, and they thundered successfully at these doors until they drove this Government into the most preposterous acts of bad faith and legalized robbery that ever oppressed a free nation since the dawn of history."

Hear Senator Allen G. Thurman describe how the people do it: "I have been nearly nine years in the Senate of the United States, and if there has been any financial legislation here for the benefit of the widow, the orphan, and the laboring classes, I have been too obtuse to discover it."

Such are some of the achievements of the

people in practical law-making. It will be said that the legislators, and not the people, are responsible for those unjust laws and this class legislation. But the people are responsible for the acts of their representatives. Nor can they evade that responsibility. The primitive times when individuals or communities felt conscience-stricken on account of sins of omission or commission, they went, and piled all the blame, so to speak, upon a goat, and then sacrificed the goat. It was a convenient method of evading responsibility for their sins. It is convenient still to have a scape-goat on which to cast all the blame for our faults and failings. And human nature has not yet risen out of the old-time practice of sacrificing a scape-goat occasionally. And perhaps the sacrifice of a few Congressmen might be a less costly and more beneficial proceeding than cutting the throats of innocent goats, as did our benighted ancestors. This, however, will not avail. No doubt legislators are to blame, but equally so are the people who selected them. It is important that this should be clearly recognized. As long as the people blame others for the political and social ills, and look to others for relief therefrom, there will be little progress in the way of reform. While the people leave to others to rule them, they will be robbed; just as soon as they have the sense to rule themselves they will be free. But no sooner.

Ye have tried and failed to rule us;  
In vain to direct have tried;  
Not wholly the fault of the ruler  
Not utterly blind the guide;  
Mayhap there need not a ruler,  
Mayhap we can find the way.  
At least ye have ruled to ruin;  
At least ye have led astray.

were at the same time subjecting dependent and subject peoples to injustice and cruelty fit to make Satan himself blush with shame. Such one-sided selfish and distorted ideas of justice and liberty could not exist, or at least manifest itself, in the presence of a clear, intelligent, honest public opinion. In the presence of such a public opinion the present scrambling savagery and corruption of American politics would be impossible. When, in 1833, an ex-President of our Republic wrote of his party, "It has no observable policy, except to peddle out patronage to sore-heads to bring them back into the pool," it only showed that public opinion was viciously weak. When Senator David Davis said of the political parties, that "both are controlled by monopolists, and neither dare assert its own will, or that of its constituents," it was only an assertion in substance that public opinion was diseased or dead. When Mr. Windom, now Secretary of the Treasury, asked, "What shall be thought of a free people that will thus submit to be bound hand and foot?" he knew that the people were not really free, and that no public spirit existed. What is the lesson to be learned from those facts? That in a representative government like ours an intelligent, honest, positive opinion must be created before wise and just laws can be secured. And this brings us to the practical purpose and application of this article.

The Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers Union, the Knights of Labor, and other agricultural and labor orders, have been organized for the special purpose of effecting reforms in existing systems and laws. They have adopted platforms of principles and made certain legislative demands. They know that they must create public opinion in favor of those measures before they can hope to have them adopted. What are they doing or have they done in that direction? It must be confessed they have done comparatively little. They know that the press is the most powerful and effective agent for creating public opinion. They know that there is a powerful press, employing some of the brightest intellects in the country, arrayed in support of existing systems, and in opposition to the reform demands; that this press is creating public sentiment in favor of the continuance of the systems which have impoverished the producers and workers. Yet were it not for the self-sacrifice of a few individuals, there would not be to-day a single reform paper to advocate the measures those orders profess to favor. And then those few papers are left to struggle along in a weakly condition. It is painful, it is disgusting, to see a State Alliance, Wheel, or other reform body spending days discussing and splitting hairs over a question of saving a few cents per yard on bagging, or of raising some money for an Exchange enterprise, and then pass over the question of providing for the education of its members and the purification of public opinion in a few minutes. If they have a paper and it manage to live, that seems to satisfy them. Note the inconsistency here. They denounce legislators, and with reason, for pandering to capital and fostering wealth while sacrificing humanity to Mammon; yet they themselves follow on parallel lines. They make the question of the education of the members and the enlightenment and consequent elevation of the public a secondary consideration to cheap bagging, Exchange projects, and other such matters. In the words of Sir William Hamilton, "There is nothing great on earth but man, and nothing great in man but mind." When the mind is uneducated, humanity is enslaved, and, as Byron asserts, "The worst form of slavery is the slavery of the mind." When those professed reform orders subordinate the question of the education of their minds to other matters, moneyed or otherwise, they are

imitating the example of the unfaithful politicians, whom they condemn, who sacrificed humanity to the Mammon of monopoly. Their conduct and course in this regard is not only inconsistent, but under the circumstances it is worse than criminal. They know that it was the ignorance of the voters upon economic and political questions, and the consequent perversion of public opinion, that permitted the unjust laws that have so sorely oppressed them to be passed. They know that it is only through the education of the voters and the purification of public opinion that those unjust laws can be repealed and the passage of other oppressive measures prevented. They know that in order to effect this they must have an able press established and supported. They know that ignorance is the most costly national institution that can be maintained. A celebrated writer has said: "Ignorance is the sworn friend of demagogues, oppressors, and tyrants; the foe of liberty, freedom of thought, and free government."

It is related of Cato, in the Roman Senate, that at the close of every discussion in which he took part he would use this expression: "But, senators, whatever may be our conclusion with respect to this particular question, one thing is certain, Carthage must be destroyed." Ignorance is a far greater menace to this Republic than was Carthage to Rome. Every member of the Alliance, Wheel, Union, Knights of Labor, and other kindred organizations who is honest and in earnest in the reform movement should say and determine that "ignorance must be destroyed." He should not only say it, but mean it and do his part to destroy it. "Ignorance is the curse of God," says Shakespeare. It is the curse of the ages. When, centuries ago, the poet exclaimed, "*hominum paucis vivet genus*"—humanity lives only for a few privileged beings—it was ignorance that enslaved the many to the few. To-day, when as Dr. G. M. Gould said in his address last May to the Medical Jurisprudence Society of Philadelphia, "only one who combines the qualities of an ass with those of an hyena can forget or deny that a civilization is unjust and doomed wherein thousands of *roues* and rake-hells can live lives of debauchery, idleness, and luxury, whilst the millions who feed them drag out their sad days in want, wretchedness, and ceaseless toil," the primal cause is the same curse of ignorance. Gentlemen of the reform organizations, there is needed in your ranks a more serious earnestness, a more practical thoroughness, a clearer comprehension of the necessary requirements. Do not strive to build the dome of your improved social edifice before laying the foundation. It will be in vain. Build first the foundation firm and strong. That foundation must be the education of the citizens. To attempt to build upon any other basis would be as silly and ineffective as was the effort of Dr. John De Gaddesden, the great court physician of Edward II., to cure the King's child of small-pox by hanging scarlet drapery around the little patient's bed. Many of the remedies offered for our social ills are just as harmless. Dr. De Gaddesden, although a professional with a big reputation, seems to have known very little more about medicine or the remedies for small-pox than our professional legislators, also with big reputations, know about political economy or the remedies for the industrial and political ills which are crushing the people.

It was the cynical Carlyle who said that of all social pests "the one unforgivable is the quack." Our country has been cursed with the most vicious and dangerous of all quacks—pretended statesmen elected by alleged sovereigns. It was the same Scotch-seer who, deplored the lack of universal education, said, "That there should one man die ignorant who had capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy were it to happen more than twenty posted on such matters."

## History and Government.

No. 31.

This was an age of conflict, of force, and to gain the full effect of combined action it was necessary that such action be harmonious; the more perfect the harmony the more effective the result: law was the force which perfected this binding together. The will of the patriarch, although crude law, was law; and any law was better than no law.

Man's first step in advance, then, was the binding together of bodies of men for the purpose of united and harmonious action, and the binding together was a necessary step, as this was an age of force, and the great object was

the securing of this in the most effective manner. In this primitive society the great requirement was a power which could command, without possibility of failure, the entire force of the social body—rigid, definite, unquestionable law. The great object in view was to call out the greatest military power possible, to bind the body firmly together, to form all the individual fractions alike, to make them think alike, act alike, and keep them in this condition of harmony, ready to respond promptly and effectively to every command.

In this early age the quantity of government was of more importance than the quality. What was wanted was a power to bind men together, to secure implicit obedience to the directing head. The interest, rights, or comfort of the individual did not come into the calculation, society as a unit only was regarded, and this, although appearing to us a degrading and unjust system, was proved by the sequel to be the great necessity of the times. The more perfect the tyranny the more perfect the harmony of action of the military body, and the more assured the success. The age was a military one, and every soldier knows that the more perfect the discipline the more probable the success. From this necessity grew autocracy, absolute monarchy. To gain that implicit obedience, that perfect similarity of thought and action, it was requisite that there should be no conflict with the dominant power. No army could succeed directed by a board of advisors; everything affecting the minds and actions of the people must be subject to that power and act in concert with it; church and state must form but one influence. Man is naturally religious, or at least primitive man was highly superstitious. His deities and priests had a vast influence over him. It was necessary that king and priest should teach the same thing, that there should be no difference between spiritual penalties and legal penalties; consequently the religion of the times tended to impress the greatest reverence for the central power. Through the influence of this teaching was established hereditary custom, which had a most powerful effect upon man's future, as will be noted later on.

Centralized, absolute power, then, was a necessity for man's development at this stage, and the force of necessity developed that class of government.

The first requisite to prepare men for free-

dom was tyranny. The nation at this time was a unit.

Next came the era of conflict; when these organized bodies, these centralized societies, performed the part nature had destined them to play in the development of the race. This conflict grew primarily from a feature of man's nature—selfishness—the wish, on the part of one, to possess something desirable held by another.

Even this era of conflict, although apparently at enmity with our ideas of progress, was a necessary part of the great plan of man's development, as it was the means of eliminating those least fitted to carry out the grand scheme. The best fitted for advancement prevailed.

This assertion may appear inconsistent, as the general impression is that the fiercest and most savage triumph in physical conflict, but it can be clearly shown that the societies best fitted for war, and consequently successful, were the best fitted for the development of the higher, the intellectual qualities of the race.

It is an admitted fact by military scientists that the most perfectly disciplined army is most likely to succeed; that perfect unity and harmony of action is most likely to triumph. Such was the case in the early history of man; the more perfect the authority of the commanding power, the more assured the unity and harmony; the more perfect the binding together, the more certain the triumph.

The reason of the fitness for civilization of these conquering societies will be found, in man's animal nature, and can be illustrated by noting the means used for domesticating the lower animals.

It is an invariable custom among stock-breeders to slaughter the wildest and most unmanageable of their animals and preserve the more quiet and docile; this is the means used by savage tribes, and has always been the custom followed. The reason is found in the fact that the effect of heredity is to reproduce in the offspring the characteristics of the parents. This rule, although not invariable, is sufficiently general to accomplish the desired result. The desired characteristics are not only preserved, but improved and increased by cultivation. Just so with primitive men.

The most savage were the most antagonistic to restraint and the more difficult to unite and control as a body. The more quiet, and consequently best fitted for a civilized life and the peaceful development of intellectual power, more readily submitted to the binding together; were more easily controlled and organized into power.

In the conflicts which came on among these primitive societies, of course the most perfectly disciplined, united and larger bodies triumphed, the more savage and untractable were killed off, or brought under subjection, and the survivors assimilated among the better organized societies. Of course, centuries were occupied in these conflicts, this taming process.

Man was obliged to tame himself, and he did this by gradual cancellation of the most unfit for civilized life.

From this it is evident that centralized power, unquestioning tyranny, had its time of neces-

sity, and the ages spent in conflict, in savage, devastating warfare, were a necessary period of preparation for a higher state.

It has been shown that the lowest state of man was that of the most perfect individual liberty, and that his first step toward a higher plane was the creation of a centralized power, the establishment of tyranny. The first ages of his progress were ages of conflict, oppression, and servitude, and yet, reasoning on the same line, it will become clear that the true condition of his most advanced state, so far as we are capable of judging of the limits he may reach, will necessarily be one of freedom.

It must be borne in mind that we are passing over vast periods at a leap, in this hasty review, and that ages on ages were passed in this preparatory stage. During this period of conflict and extermination the sword of the warrior was not the only weapon employed; another influence, which we are accustomed to look upon as even more repulsive and hateful than war, was brought to bear and had its effect, another instance where good did come out of most execrable evil. Slavery, that most abhorred condition of man, was a powerful means of fitting him to meet the requirements of a higher life. This hideously ugly aid to civilization operated in two ways: First, it made it possible for a certain portion of society to abstain from work and gave them the time to think, while it supplied a class which was not required to think, but to work.

This condition in these primitive times was necessary, because land and labor were the one dependence of all alike, and each individual labored for his own support and the support of those dependent on him; labor could not be hired, because there was a sufficiency of free land, to which it could be applied by the man exercising it. In such a community there could be no leisure class, and the labor of all was employed in supplying the necessities of life. The conducting of successful campaigns and the directing of social and political policies required constant and uninterrupted study; besides, the refinement of feeling and the more delicate traits which distinguish civilized men grew up first among the leisure class which was made possible by slavery. Again, it was the custom for ages for victorious nations to make slaves of the men and marry the women of the conquered people, and thus, by subjecting them forcibly to the customs and laws of the conquerors, they were gradually brought up to the standard of the dominant race. In this way an evening-up process was established; which finally brought all these contending societies up to the same general level; strengthening the qualifications for more advanced conditions, and wiping out the unfit element. The qualities of the most fit, the conquerors, were thus gradually transferred to the less fit for civilization. There is really nothing strange in this seeming unnatural result of good from evil, as the whole history of civilization is full of instances where institutions and means, which were valuable at first, were deadly and poisonous after the time of their usefulness was past, and for this very reason the greatest caution should be taken in directing our political

movements, not to retain a beneficial institution after the time of its usefulness has expired, and to examine closely the proposed change, to see if it is in the right direction and in every way suitable to the requirements.

The societies best fitted for civilization having triumphed and taken on something of stability, there succeeded intervals of armed truce, which were then called peace. It is scarcely probable that the old civilization which was born of war could have revolted at the horrors of war, but it is probable that individuals made endeavor to render life more bearable and to ameliorate their condition, to improve their place of abode, directed their energy to the creation and production of articles of comfort and convenience, as well as those of necessity.

The demands on the ingenuity of man became great and various. The combined force of society was not required in this stage of progression. Versatility and individual ingenuity and industry became the great requirements. The age where centralized power was a necessity was past. The combined army had completed its duty in the great campaign; it now became necessary to scatter it as scouts and foragers, to search for means of subsistence and supplies, and to seek out and open up the various hidden paths upon which the advance was to be made. The combined mass was useless in such service; individual exertion and personal ingenuity were the reliance.

The needs of society were innumerable, the various sources from which these needs must be supplied were equally so. The common need was the incentive, and its supply the object of this age of varied exertion and enterprise. The pathways of science, of art, of philosophy were almost as numerous as the researchers after knowledge. Each took his own path along which to seek his contribution to the general need of society. And so the various industries were gradually made known. The freer the individual, the less hampered in his endeavors, the more signal his success; the better the results realized from his labors. In consequence of this fact, freer forms of government were gradually evolved. The primitive forms of autocracy gradually gave way, step by step, until popular government was arrived at; and as a rule, the freer the government, the more untrammeled the individual—the greater the progress and the greater the diversity of national industry.

The age of conflict, of arbitrary power, had given place to the age of discovery, of individual independence. The greater the number of occupations and of workers, the more paths leading to more perfect knowledge were followed, and the greater the variety of the results accomplished.

The age of centralization, of binding together, had given place to the age of dispersion and the political institutions adapted themselves to the age, as also did social conditions.

It will be noted that in Europe, where the conflict was most severe, the advance has been greatest, and that the changes in political institutions have been more numerous, the forms of such institutions more varied, than in Asia, where the conflict began earlier.

## History and Government.

No. 31.

This was an age of conflict, of force, and to gain the full effect of combined action it was necessary that such action be harmonious; the more perfect the harmony the more effective the result: law was the force which perfected this binding together. The will of the patriarch, although crude law, was law; and any law was better than no law.

Man's first step in advance, then, was the binding together of bodies of men for the purpose of united and harmonious action, and the binding together was a necessary step, as this was an age of force, and the great object was

the securing of this in the most effective manner. In this primitive society the great requirement was a power which could command, without possibility of failure, the entire force of the social body—rigid, definite, unquestionable law. The great object in view was to call out the greatest military power possible, to bind the body firmly together, to form all the individual fractions alike, to make them think alike, act alike, and keep them in this condition of harmony, ready to respond promptly and effectively to every command.

It is an admitted fact by military scientists that the most perfectly disciplined army is most likely to succeed; that perfect unity and harmony of action is most likely to triumph. Such was the case in the early history of man; the more perfect the authority of the commanding power, the more assured the unity and harmony; the more perfect the binding together, the more certain the triumph.

The reason of the fitness for civilization of these conquering societies will be found, in man's animal nature, and can be illustrated by noting the means used for domesticating the lower animals.

It is an invariable custom among stock-breeders to slaughter the wildest and most unmanageable of their animals and preserve the more quiet and docile; this is the means used by savage tribes, and has always been the custom followed. The reason is found in the fact that the effect of heredity is to reproduce in the offspring the characteristics of the parents. This rule, although not invariable, is sufficiently general to accomplish the desired result. The desired characteristics are not only preserved, but improved and increased by cultivation. Just so with primitive men.

The most savage were the most antagonistic to restraint and the more difficult to unite and control as a body. The more quiet, and consequently best fitted for a civilized life and the peaceful development of intellectual power, more readily submitted to the binding together; were more easily controlled and organized into power.

In the conflicts which came on among these primitive societies, of course the most perfectly disciplined, united and larger bodies triumphed, the more savage and untractable were killed off, or brought under subjection, and the survivors assimilated among the better organized societies. Of course, centuries were occupied in these conflicts, this taming process.

Man was obliged to tame himself, and he did this by gradual cancellation of the most unfit for civilized life.

From this it is evident that centralized power, unquestioning tyranny, had its time of neces-

sity, and the ages spent in conflict, in savage, devastating warfare, were a necessary period of preparation for a higher state.

It has been shown that the lowest state of man was that of the most perfect individual liberty, and that his first step toward a higher plane was the creation of a centralized power, the establishment of tyranny. The first ages of his progress were ages of conflict, oppression, and servitude, and yet, reasoning on the same line, it will become clear that the true condition of his most advanced state, so far as we are capable of judging of the limits he may reach, will necessarily be one of freedom.

It must be borne in mind that we are passing over vast periods at a leap, in this hasty review, and that ages on ages were passed in this preparatory stage. During this period of conflict and extermination the sword of the warrior was not the only weapon employed; another influence, which we are accustomed to look upon as even more repulsive and hateful than war, was brought to bear and had its effect, another instance where good did come out of most execrable evil. Slavery, that most abhorred condition of man, was a powerful means of fitting him to meet the requirements of a higher life. This hideously ugly aid to civilization operated in two ways: First, it made it possible for a certain portion of society to abstain from work and gave them the time to think, while it supplied a class which was not required to think, but to work.

This condition in these primitive times was necessary, because land and labor were the one dependence of all alike, and each individual labored for his own support and the support of those dependent on him; labor could not be hired, because there was a sufficiency of free land, to which it could be applied by the man exercising it. In such a community there could be no leisure class, and the labor of all was employed in supplying the necessities of life.

The conducting of successful campaigns and the directing of social and political policies required constant and uninterrupted study; besides, the refinement of feeling and the more delicate traits which distinguish civilized men grew up first among the leisure class which was made possible by slavery. Again, it was the custom for ages for victorious nations to make slaves of the men and marry the women of the conquered people, and thus, by subjecting them forcibly to the customs and laws of the conquerors, they were gradually brought up to the standard of the dominant race. In this way an evening-up process was established; which finally brought all these contending societies up to the same general level; strengthening the qualifications for more advanced conditions, and wiping out the unfit element. The qualities of the most fit, the conquerors, were thus gradually transferred to the less fit for civilization. There is really nothing strange in this seeming unnatural result of good from evil, as the whole history of civilization is full of instances where institutions and means, which were valuable at first, were deadly and poisonous after the time of their usefulness was past, and for this very reason the greatest caution should be taken in directing our political

movements, not to retain a beneficial institution after the time of its usefulness has expired, and to examine closely the proposed change, to see if it is in the right direction and in every way suitable to the requirements.

The societies best fitted for civilization having triumphed and taken on something of stability, there succeeded intervals of armed truce, which were then called peace. It is scarcely probable that the old civilization which was born of war could have revolted at the horrors of war, but it is probable that individuals made endeavor to render life more bearable and to ameliorate their condition, to improve their place of abode, directed their energy to the creation and production of articles of comfort and convenience, as well as those of necessity.

The demands on the ingenuity of man became great and various. The combined force of society was not required in this stage of progression. Versatility and individual ingenuity and industry became the great requirements. The age where centralized power was a necessity was past. The combined army had completed its duty in the great campaign; it now became necessary to scatter it as scouts and foragers, to search for means of subsistence and supplies, and to seek out and open up the various hidden paths upon which the advance was to be made. The combined mass was useless in such service; individual exertion and personal ingenuity were the reliance.

Let us briefly review the effects of power thus wrongly continued, and it will be readily understood why these great nations have failed to restore themselves to their right position under the law. It is the duty of these organizations to devise and adopt the methods which, after cautious council and due deliberation, they may decide to be best adapted for the accomplishment of the desired end. This inequality in National taxation is the means by which the class unjustly oppressed may act in harmony and with the full power of their numbers to restore themselves to their right position under the law. It is the duty of these organizations to devise and adopt the methods which, after cautious council and due deliberation, they may decide to be best adapted for the accomplishment of the desired end. This inequality in National taxation is the means by which the rich have drawn their substance from the poor, and this the readers of the *Economist* can see by studying a diagram presented by Harry Hinton, page 246. I would be pleased to have some mathematician show the readers of the *Economist* the amount the poor have given to millionaires in the last thirty years.

There is no other means by which organized labor can so much relieve the great strain as to secure the equalization of taxation, and nothing will enlist capitalists on the side of economical government so completely as to make them pay their equal and just share of the National taxes. When a millionaire finds that he must pay vast sums every year as his proportion of the equal taxation he will become interested in how it is expended.

The attention of the masses must be centered on the necessity and justice of restoring perfect equality under the law. This claim is so reasonable that the rich can find no grounds upon which to sustain an objection, because there can be no question so important and reasonable as the question, "Are all the people paying their equal and just share of National taxes in proportion to the property protected?" No answer should be accepted save the assurance that they are. When this just and reasonable demand is made by labor organizations in a mild yet determined manner, it will be so readily perceived that they ask nothing that is not reasonable and just, the public sympathy will naturally turn in their favor and the object be easily accomplished. All the millionaire Senators and Representatives in Congress, as soon as they see the handwriting upon the wall, will declare that they had often thought of bringing forward and passing a bill to equalize National taxation.

The influence of long-established custom also has the effect of hampering and confining a people to one established and constantly observed routine; and the power of long-observed custom is fixed by autocratic systems. It may be well here to examine the influence of fixed and venerated custom, and the means by which it is fixed and enforced; see how hard it is to break from its power, and how it tends to hold men in one beaten path, while it destroys all versatility and originality.

## Equal Taxation.

BY WM. B. GAROUTTE.

The *Economist* seems to be unusually fortunate with its corps of correspondents; all seem to be able thinkers and writers, and in the multitude of council there should be wisdom. But,

as Franklin says, "When you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all of their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinions, their local interests, and their selfish views; and from such an assemblage a perfect production can not be expected." It

therefore behoves labor organizations to look well to the bases upon which they build structures of economic government and political reform. They must sink deep their gravel rods and be sure they have found solid rock upon which to build. The Constitution being the sheet-anchor of our liberty, the people will be slow to accept any reforms not reached through Constitutional methods. Hence any schemes not found plainly within the purview of Constitutional limitation should not be thought of or agitated, as such agitation will only tend to prevent the adoption of methods clearly Constitutional.

The very first endeavor labor organizations should make should be that to compel an equalization of National taxation. Equality before the law is the fundamental principle of our Government, and the destruction of that equality by vicious legislation has caused the necessity for labor organizations in order that the class unjustly oppressed may act in harmony and with the full power of their numbers to restore themselves to their right position under the law. It is the duty of these organizations to devise and adopt the methods which, after cautious council and due deliberation, they may decide to be best adapted for the accomplishment of the desired end. This inequality in National taxation is the means by which the rich have drawn their substance from the poor, and this the readers of the *Economist* can see by studying a diagram presented by Harry Hinton, page 246. I would be pleased to have some mathematician show the readers of the *Economist* the amount the poor have given to millionaires in the last thirty years.

There is no other means by which organized labor can so much relieve the great strain as to secure the equalization of taxation, and nothing will enlist capitalists on the side of economical government so completely as to make them pay their equal and just share of the National taxes. When a millionaire finds that he must pay vast sums every year as his proportion of the equal taxation he will become interested in how it is expended.

The attention of the masses must be centered on the necessity and justice of restoring perfect equality under the law. This claim is so reasonable that the rich can find no grounds upon which to sustain an objection, because there can be no question so important and reasonable as the question, "Are all the people paying their equal and just share of National taxes in proportion to the property protected?" No answer should be accepted save the assurance that they are. When this just and reasonable demand is made by labor organizations in a mild yet determined manner, it will be so readily perceived that they ask nothing that is not reasonable and just, the public sympathy will naturally turn in their favor and the object be easily accomplished. All the millionaire Senators and Representatives in Congress, as soon as they see the handwriting upon the wall, will declare that they had often thought of bringing forward and passing a bill to equalize National taxation.

Such a measure will relieve the poor sooner and more effectually than any other practically within their reach, especially the very poor, the millions who have nothing but what they earn from day to day and spend at night to support themselves and those depending upon them. We can not afford to exhaust our energies in advocating chimerical theories, such as the single-tax theory, which has no application in our free institutions, as it is our policy to have every man a land-owner instead of having every man a tenant. The perpetuity of our free institutions depends upon this, and Henry George would find a better field for advocating his rent theory in a land where all are tenants and not try to bring about a condition repugnant to the mind of every farmer in America.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## The Reform Press.

The Southern Alliance Farmer, of Atlanta, Ga., has discovered a trap, set by outside politicians who are writing to Alliance men all over the State; endeavoring to induce them to pass resolutions that no officer of the Alliance should run for office. The Farmer concludes:

If any member of the Alliance is guilty of conduct of which any brother or any sub-Alliance does not approve, there is only one way to deal with them and that is privately, through the orders, and not by resolutions in public prints. The fact that some few Alliances have passed resolutions about Alliance candidates shows that they have fallen into the trap set for them. Our enemies exult over every such resolution.

The Farmer criticises Bradstreet's statement that there "is nowhere any stringency in money, the supply being ample for all legitimate needs."

Representing, as Bradstreet does, the commercial world, and being an especial guardian of the money bags of the millionaires, it is not surprising that he should see things thus, but the average farmer does not look through the same kind of glasses. When a man's pocket book is so hollow that a nickel dropped into it would rattle and ring worse than a footfall in an empty church, he is in no condition to appreciate Bradstreet's encouragement.

Viewed in the light of the recent "furry" in New York, such remarks as that of Bradstreet's sound like what the boys of the streets call a "gag."

The Alliance Journal is a new weekly paper (or magazine) published at Montgomery, Ala., of neat appearance, and devoted to "agriculture and the material interests of Alabama."

The Craftsman (Washington, D. C.) has closed its sixth volume of service to the cause of reform, and looking to the future, says:

The future of six years ago is now the present. We thank God that we still live, and we look still further into the future with renewed hope and confidence. We can see a labor press strong of sinew, quick of perception, vigorous in action, and well equipped with munitions of war. We can see the hosts of labor rallying to the support of this powerful auxiliary, which has been too much neglected in the past. We can see an association of these papers, with lines of communication extending all over the land, all co-operating for the general good.

The Iowa Tribune (Des Moines) says:

Three electoral reforms are now imperatively necessary with us, if we would preserve our liberties. These are: The Australian ballot system, the election of United States Senators by the people, instead of by the legislatures, and proportional representation. When these great reforms are secured, we can then talk about the rule of the people. The Iowa Tribune favors them all. "We sound the advance!" Let all good people help us.

The Texas (San Antonio) Labor Journal says:

Never was there a time in the history of the labor movement when the necessity for brainy, strong-minded, stout-hearted, determined, unselfish, true and fearless advocates was greater than now. The crisis is rapidly approaching, and the time is not far distant when the very souls of men will be tried. It behoves all those who cherish the memory of the fathers of 1776, who, through rivers of blood, fought to bequeath to them and their children independence and liberty, to think of the present condition of the great masses of mankind, and come to the rescue at once.

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

The Alliance Motor, the first number of which is to hand, is published at Broken Bow, Custer County, Neb., and the property of the Alliance. R. J. Ryan is editor and manager. It says:

We wish it to be distinctly understood that this is no partisan paper. It will boor no politician for office. It will, however, criticize freely the action of all political parties, and as the party in power may receive the most attention, do not accuse us of working in the interest of any other political party. We expect to approve the good and condemn the bad in all political parties, but at all times and under all circumstances you will find us working in the interest of and for the good of the Farmers Alliance.

The Pacific Union, of San Francisco, says:

It would be well for all who are desiring and laboring for reform to carefully consider what are the true elements of success, and how they may be

made strong and effective. The first question, as a matter of course, is to have a good cause, one that is grounded in truth and justice, and which appeals to the moral sense of those whose condition we would seek to improve. Without these basic principles no true courage can exist and no effective work of reform can be carried on. To allow our effort to carry about it, even in a slight degree, the suspicion or coldness or indifference to truth and justice, is to render it certain that in the hour of emergency the prize for which we toil will elude our grasp.

The Rural Messenger (Petersburg, Va.) says:

Correspondence between the leaders of the Tennessee Peanut Association and the Alliance Peanut Union of Virginia and North Carolina leaves no room for doubt that a National Peanut Union, at the earliest practical moment, is the necessity of the day for the peanut-growers of the South. It is the oft-expressed need in all quarters, and only the tardy movement of farmers, unused to work in convention, has prevented its consummation before this time.

The Messenger also says:

Twenty-five years ago wages were high, farm products were high, the farmer was on a boom, and the whole country was prosperous. Taxes were no higher, and were ten times more easily paid. There were then in circulation about \$40 per capita; that is, about \$40 to every man, woman, and child in the Nation, had it been equally divided. Now there are less than \$7 per capita. The tariff has not been materially changed since then; the natural demand for no industrial product has ceased; there are more people to feed and clothe now than there were then; everything is practically the same, except the amount of money in circulation. That has been reduced by legislation from \$40 to \$7. Need we preach a sermon from this text? Go out to the grain-house, and look at your 15-cent oats; to the pastures, and see your 2-cent cattle; to the fields, and see the stalks weighed down with 20-cent corn. If these do not preach you a sermon, we could not.

The Twentieth Century (New York), a journal proposing reform through a system of nationalized industry, defines the distinction between two often-used terms:

Socialism would say: "Co-operation is best, therefore you must co-operate." While anarchism would say: "Co-operation is best, therefore you will co-operate." Whether either system would correct the evil of not is stated by the Century in the following paragraph:

Babies are now selling in and about New York at prices ranging from \$3 to \$10 apiece. Young puppets bring much higher prices, and grown-up house dogs of certain breeds can not be had, in some instances, for what would buy twenty babies.

The Southern Cultivator (Atlanta, Ga.) says:

The agricultural industries of the country are confronted by great combinations of corporate and individual interests under the indefinite and irresponsible name of "trusts" which have for their objects the limitation of all other production except agricultural production. The effect of this is to enhance the cost of everything the farmer has to buy. On the other hand this industry is assailed by combinations of capital organized to come between the producer and the consumer and fix the prices for both, so as to levy tribute upon both the producer and the consumer.

The Asheville (Ala.) Advance says:

St. Clair County farmers seem disposed to stick to cotton-bagging. This is treating their cotton crop white, to say the least. The 30,000 yards of cotton bagging manufactured every day in the South bids fair to become the winding sheet of the jute trust.

The Southern Mercury (Dallas, Texas) says:

Speculators take advantage of farmers by exaggerating crop reports. There is never any deficit until products pass from the hands of the farmer, and then something always happens to increase the demand and raise the price. Such speculators find a pliant coadjutor in many papers who pretend to give a disinterested report.

The Arkansas Economist (Searcy) discovers a need for good men in office:

It matters not if party organizations are as ancient as Sinai and their traditions as sacred as the Decalogue, if unfaithful men are chosen as leaders neither their age nor saintly past can avert the evils of a present misguided policy. No party, true to its traditions, if dominated by candid men, would long impose a measure, custom, or theory demonstrated by experience to be oppressive and wrong.

The Liberator (Dallas, Texas), makes a lively market review each week, which is a marked feature of the paper. From a late issue we quote:

Where do the cotton exchanges get their information from to place a price on the production of the soil twelve months before there is a seed of cotton planted or grain of wheat sowed? These wise men that can see so far in the future get their information from men that they have traveling through the country as spies. As far as the supply and demand is concerned, those professionals can create a demand and supply the demand before the farmer has plowed a furrow or planted a seed. How can they do this? Not by honest means, to be sure, but by general consent, with a powerful monopoly at their back and what few papers they can buy up in New York, Liverpool, Europe, and America.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) soundly concludes:

The logic of events is doing a better work to-day than all the arguments that can be brought to bear. Men do not have to be told that times are hard—they know it. \* \* \* Men who have any sense know that times have grown worse instead of better. This fact is forcing itself on the minds of men whether they want to accept it or not, and is compelling them to think.

Letter From Hon. J. J. Furlong.

Hon. J. J. Furlong, of Austin, Minn., writes to Hon. J. Burrows, president of the National Alliance, who has recently assumed editorial charge of The Alliance, of Lincoln, Neb.:

Allow me to congratulate you on accepting the position of commander-in-chief, editorially, of the spicy and fearless advocate of the farmers' cause, The Alliance. I feel that I can clearly see a bright future for this organ, as I have interestedly read its pages since its first issue came to my office. The title itself demands its perusal. The term "Farmers Alliance" means farmers' cause, farmers' interests, and the advancement of this country in the defense of the masses of the people. Especially do I welcome it to my State and office when my superior officer takes control of its management; a man whom I well know to be a strong advocate of the farmers' cause in this great

country. I quit Sam then, and there went on to the widow Goins. May Goins, the widow's daughter, came tripping up the lawn as proud as a hollyhock. She is not near so beautiful as Mintah, yet she thinks she is the pink of

perfection, and some other folks who are color blind think so too. But, as I told you, there is no turning of Mintah down. They say Colonel Samson's son has been over there, but I don't believe a word of it. Getting the clevis pin, I concluded to go home another way.

I say this, that old mare has been standing in that furrow long enough. You'll make neither bread nor meat by bothering your noodle skull with such claptrap. Now I want to know what paper said such a thing.

It was headed THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST?

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST! Why, my Mintah the other night, after I had got tired of reading, read that paper to me through from A to Z, and I'll be blown over the river Jordan if there was any such thing in it. Poor child! She read till her eyes got plumb full of water.

[By the by, Mr. Editor, let me tell you about my daughter, Mintah. She was a child once, but she is a lady now, full-grown and as plump as a partridge. I don't know as it becomes me to say so, but

of the beautiful girls in this part of the moral vineyard she takes the rag off the bush... As limber as a willow, as straight as a beanpole,

and as active as a cat, she can outrun a greyhound, sing like a bird, and her laugh is the joy of angels. This much I will say for Mintah, without the fear of favor or the hope of reward from any man. Colonel Samson's son

came over the other day just on business like, you know, and I saw he kept one eye on Mintah all the time he was talking. By some hook or crook they got out in the yard talking over the flowers and she talked square up to him and looked him in the eye as if she had been the Queen of Sheba and he her little boy Absalom. There is no turning Mintah down.

Now let me finish telling you what that rascal Sam Shannick said and done.]

Tom Tubbyew, says he, I particular know what I am saying, and I know that paper did

what I told you. It said if each head of a family lost \$50 it would amount to \$600,000.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## Neighborhood Discussion.

"And the children of men multiplied upon the face of the earth."

MR. EDITOR: I've come to the shores of human patience and longsuffering. This is the most doggoned and blasted country that I ever lived in. In my troubles and trials, I studied over to see if there was one who remembered me. No, not one. But when I come to think, says I to myself, Yes, there is one, and that is you, Mr. Editor. For you have sent me one or two papers and didn't ask for a cent of pay, either. How I've fought and bled and almost died in the cause of freedom is heart-rending to tell. They've been telling tales on you and I took 'em up. I squelched 'em. I'm not one of those coward-skunks who'll stand by and hear one of his friends talked about behind his back and tuck down his bristles and not say a word.

No sir, Mr. Tubbyew; I say what the paper said and you may say what you please. Get up, Blaze. I must to work.

No, sir, Mr. Shannick; this thing must be settled right here. You can't leave me in the lie. If you say that that paper said each head of a family lost \$25, \$50, or \$100 by cliques and rings scotching the market, you tell a black, infernal lie.

Let my horse go. You are a fool, and a liar to boot. Get up, Blaze.

Prepare for war, Sam Shannick. I don't take that from any man, white or black, says I. Cut your patching. At it we went, Mr. Editor, like two hoary mastiffs, up and down and around and around. Nip and tuck, hip and thigh, now over and now under. For fully one-quarter of an hour by old Joshua's sun we fought, bled, and suffered. Had not old Blaze taken a fright right about the climax of the battle; I would have licked Sam clean out of his shirt. You just ought to see the ground we fought over. With corn rows torn down and stalks and blades strewn around, you could not have told that cornfield from turnip patch. Well, well, well, old Blaze took a fright and ran away like a hailstorm. She ran close to an 'oat-stack' and the plow plugged into said 'oat-stack,' and oats flew like a whirlwind scatters corn-blades in a fodder-field. No sooner than I saw this, than I says to Sam, Sam, let's quit this. If we don't stop, there'll be a catastrophe here directly. And Sam was very glad to quit; you may be sure. Had it not been for the draw-bars which stopped old Blaze certainly would have happened.

I quit Sam then, and there went on to the widow Goins. May Goins, the widow's daughter, came tripping up the lawn as proud as a hollyhock. She is not near so beautiful as Mintah, yet she thinks she is the pink of

perfection, and some other folks who are color blind think so too. But, as I told you, there is no turning of Mintah down. They say Colonel Samson's son has been over there, but I don't believe a word of it. Getting the clevis pin, I concluded to go home another way.

I say this, that old mare has been standing in that furrow long enough. You'll make neither bread nor meat by bothering your noodle skull with such claptrap. Now I want to know what paper said such a thing.

It was headed THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST! Why, my Mintah the other night, after I had got tired of reading, read that paper to me through from A to Z, and I'll be blown over the river Jordan if there was any such thing in it. Poor child! She read till her eyes got plumb full of water.

[By the by, Mr. Editor, let me tell you about my daughter, Mintah. She was a child once, but she is a lady now, full-grown and as plump as a partridge. I don't know as it becomes me to say so, but

of the beautiful girls in this part of the moral vineyard she takes the rag off the bush... As limber as a willow, as straight as a beanpole,

and as active as a cat, she can outrun a greyhound, sing like a bird, and her laugh is the joy of angels. This much I will say for Mintah, without the fear of favor or the hope of reward from any man. Colonel Samson's son

came over the other day just on business like, you know, and I saw he kept one eye on Mintah all the time he was talking. By some hook or crook they got out in the yard talking over the flowers and she talked square up to him and looked him in the eye as if she had been the Queen of Sheba and he her little boy Absalom. There is no turning Mintah down.

Now let me finish telling you what that rascal Sam Shannick said and done.]

Tom Tubbyew, says he, I particular know what I am saying, and I know that paper did

what I told you. It said if each head of a family lost \$50 it would amount to \$600,000.

ooo; but if they lost each \$100, it would amount to \$1,200,000,000.

Julius Caesar and Mount Zion! Then I suppose, says I, that I've told a lie; that you are the wise man, the truthful Sam Shannick, and I am lying Tom?

No sir, Mr. Tubbyew; I say what the paper said and you may say what you please. Get up, Blaze. I must to work.

No, sir, Mr. Shannick; this thing must be settled right here. You can't leave me in the lie. If you say that that paper said each head of a family lost \$25, \$50, or \$100 by cliques and rings scotching the market, you tell a black, infernal lie.

Let my horse go. You are a fool, and a liar to boot. Get up, Blaze.

Prepare for war, Sam Shannick. I don't take that from any man, white or black, says I. Cut your patching. At it we went, Mr. Editor, like two hoary mastiffs, up and down and around and around. Nip and tuck, hip and thigh, now over and now under. For fully one-quarter of an hour by old Joshua's sun we fought, bled, and suffered. Had not old Blaze

taken a fright right about the climax of the battle; I would have licked Sam clean out of his shirt. You just ought to see the ground we fought over. With corn rows torn down and stalks and blades strewn around, you could not have told that cornfield from turnip patch. Well, well, well, old Blaze took a fright and ran away like a hailstorm. She ran close to an 'oat-stack' and the plow plugged into said 'oat-stack,' and oats flew like a whirlwind scatters corn-blades in a fodder-field. No sooner than I saw this, than I says to Sam, Sam, let's quit this. If we don't stop, there'll be a catastrophe here directly. And Sam was very glad to quit; you may be sure. Had it not been for the draw-bars which stopped old Blaze certainly would have happened.

I quit Sam then, and there went on to the widow Goins. May Goins, the widow's daughter, came tripping up the lawn as proud as a hollyhock. She is not near so beautiful as Mintah, yet she thinks she is the pink of

perfection, and some other folks who are color blind think so too. But, as I told you, there is no turning of Mintah down. They say Colonel Samson's son has been over there, but I don't believe a word of it. Getting the clevis pin, I concluded to go home another way.

I say this, that old mare has been standing in that furrow long enough. You'll make neither bread nor meat by bothering your noodle skull with such claptrap. Now I want to know what paper said such a thing.

It was headed THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST! Why, my Mintah the other night, after I had got tired of reading, read that paper to me through from A to Z, and I'll be blown over the river Jordan if there was any such thing in it. Poor child! She read till her eyes got plumb full of water.

[By the by, Mr. Editor, let me tell you about my daughter, Mintah. She was a child once, but she is a lady now, full-grown and as plump as a partridge. I don't know as it becomes me to say so, but

of the beautiful girls in this part of the moral vineyard she takes the rag off the bush... As limber as a willow, as straight

## 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.

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 and Laborers Union 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.

BOUND copies of volume 1 of the ECONOMIST is now ready for delivery, and all who have sent for it as a premium for six paid subscribers will receive it at once.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST will issue promptly on the 15th of December an almanac for 1890. The object in delaying the issue until that date is to get in the gist of the proceedings of the Farmers and Laborers Union that meets in St. Louis December 5. This almanac will comprise about one hundred pages of closely printed matter, carefully collected and condensed, so as to make a complete and valuable handbook on the subject of the Farmers and Laborers Union. It will be given to all yearly subscribers free, provided they send one new subscriber, or given as a premium for two new subscribers, or offered for sale at fifteen cents each; two copies for twenty-five cents.

## Jute.

THE address of the president of the Alliance, issued in August, in regard to the cotton situation, has been extensively copied by the press of the cotton belt. One Texas paper essayed to pass some severe strictures upon the document because Mr. Macune's crop estimate was smaller than that issued in the interest of the cotton buyer, but facts have since sustained the Alliance estimate as the nearer correct of the two. If the cotton-raisers of the order were instructed to hold their cotton as a means of keeping up prices, the instructions were given by the National cotton committee, and not by the president of the Alliance or THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and still a few papers in the South, and especially in Texas, that have never answered a single argument in favor of the holding policy, or been able to gainsay a single proposition in the address above referred to, have in consequence commenced to misrepresent

Mr. Macune and the ECONOMIST by publishing false statements as to the position of this paper on the land question and other matters. The only effect of such publications will be to convince the farmer that the papers which publish them are enemies to the farmers' cause, and are actuated by spleen to attack his representative. All who have read the ECONOMIST know that it has never uttered an expression that could fairly be construed as an endorsement of the single-tax theory or any other ism.

By reference to the ECONOMIST's premium list, on another page, it will be seen that a club of fifteen will secure Morgan's "History of the Wheel and Alliance," instead of twenty-five, as heretofore. Better arrangements with the publishers has enabled this reduction. Of the books in the premium list lecturers and other students of current topics of discussion are particularly referred also to "Philosophy of Price," the most complete analysis of practical questions pertaining to currency ever published.

Judge Norwood's novel, "Plutocracy," is also entitled to circulation for its genuine humor and power of description.

## The Farmers Mutual Benefit Association.

A letter from T. D. Hinckley, Esq., of Hoyleton, Ill., speaks confidently of the proposed consolidation at St. Louis. There are no State organizations of the F. M. B. A., but the county organizations in the States have a general (National) assembly, the next meeting of which will be at Mount Vernon, Ind., Tuesday, November 19. At this session the representatives who attended the Meridian conference will report, and it is expected that delegates will go to St. Louis instructed to participate. By this means the work of the F. & L. U. can be given these associations and little time lost be in solidifying the several organizations. So far as developed, the sentiment is in favor of consolidation, the instructions of the counties being to that tenor. By this acceptance of a uniform ritual by the M. B. A. and the National Farmers Alliance, the consolidation will be complete and one grand order substituted for the several heretofore existing.

especially commendable and worthy of emulation by all the cotton States. The advantages in early action are numerous and great.

Cotton-bagging factory machinery is not very expensive. It is said that \$50,000 will put up a very good factory, and that the machinery manufacturers frequently take 10 per cent. in capital stock. The looms only cost about \$60 each, and weave 150 yards per day. While the raw cotton costs a little more per yard than jute butts would, the cotton can be woven into bagging with a much cheaper plant and at about one-third the expense of weaving jute, which insures a permanent advantage as to cost, and ultimately it will be subjected to no dock because the thread from which it is made is what the mills call loose roving, which they can spin over.

Will all the cotton States follow the example of Georgia and commence at once to organize their forces for next year? This is now an important question.

## Wall Street Anxiety.

NEW YORK, Oct. 3.—Money on call has been tight, ranging from 6 to 12, last loan at 6, and closing offered at 5. Sterling exchange is quiet and steady, with actual business at 4.83 for sixty-day bills, and 4.87 $\frac{1}{4}$  for demand. Posted rates, 4.84 and 4.88 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Government bonds have been dull and steady. State bonds have been entirely neglected. Throughout it was a day of tight money, loans being made as high as 12 per cent. on call, and the majority of loans being at a higher rate than 7 per cent. More apprehension is felt in regard to the situation than on any previous day this week, and fears of trouble are expressed should the stringency continue to-morrow.

Comment on the above seems unnecessary. Yet we venture the prediction that should this stringency increase, the disaster will be averted by simply supplying the market with more money. In this same connection we would ask if more money will stay the progress of a panic, why will not a sufficient supply prevent even the apprehension of a money crisis?

## From the Northwest.

The following official notices have been published to the National Farmers Alliance:

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE,  
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,

FILLEY, NEB., September 28, 1889.  
To all Officers of State and Territorial Alliances in North and South Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Washington Territory, and to all subordinate Alliances in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, California, Oregon, greeting.

BROTHERS: In February, 1888, a meeting of the executive committee of the National Alliance was held at Des Moines, Iowa. An invitation had been sent to the Southern Alliance and Co-operative Union to send representatives to this meeting for the purpose of considering the question of a union of the Northern and Southern Alliances; and in response to this invitation Bro. Evan Jones, president of the Texas State Alliance, attended the meeting as such representative. At this meeting action was taken in favor of a union of the two Alliances, and a committee of the National Alliance was appointed to attend the meeting of the Southern Alliance at Meridian, Miss., in the following December. Unfortunately no members of the committee attended the Meridian meeting, therefore the National Alliance

was not represented. But action looking to the union of the two bodies and the Agricultural Wheel was taken, and a declaration of purposes and constitution were adopted. The matter was then referred to the different State Alliances and Wheels of the South for their action, and a meeting of delegates was appointed to be held at St. Louis, Mo., December 5, 1889.

At the last annual meeting of the National Alliance, held at Des Moines in January, 1889, representatives from the Southern Alliance were present, and laid before the meeting the action taken at Meridian. Our meeting received this report favorably, and referred the question of union to the different State Alliances, their final action to be reported by their delegates to the next annual meeting of the National Alliance, which was appointed to be held at St. Louis, December 5, 1889.

It has thus come about that the final decision of the question of union between the Northern and Southern Alliances will rest with your delegates in the next annual meeting, and that you can approach that question entirely free and unpledged. Your president has favored the union—the first, in fact, as far as he knows, to take any active official step to promote it. My opinion on that subject remains unchanged; but it is not my purpose now to advance arguments in favor of it.

It is my duty now to lay this matter before you, and to ask that you will, in your annual meetings, carefully consider the whole subject, and instruct your delegates as to their action at St. Louis, if you should deem it wise to do so. It may be wise, however, to leave them some discretionary powers. The constitution adopted at Meridian has been furnished you. You need not, however, confine your action to the adoption or rejection of that document, but rather instruct your delegates upon the broad principle of union, upon whatever terms may be agreed upon at St. Louis.

Your president desires to urgently request that full delegations from all the States and Territories be sent to the St. Louis meeting. This is the first time in the history of the country when the plain farmers from so many States and Territories have been called together for consultation and united action. Brawny and brainy men of the frozen North and the tropical South, men of the East and men of the West, and men of the great interior basin, will meet at St. Louis in friendly and fraternal intercourse. Many of them will bring their wives and daughters, to cheer the meeting with their smiles, and to greet their sisters from remote but united climes. But the meeting will not be one for pleasure and enjoyment alone. Business matters of momentous import will be discussed in a broad and statesmanlike spirit. It is yet to be decided whether men or dollars shall rule this country—whether the Republic shall be maintained or a moneyed oligarchy be established. A successful meeting at St. Louis will be a long step toward the solution of this question.

All members of the Alliance will be cordially welcomed to the meeting.

Sincerely and fraternally, your most obedient servant,

J. BURROWS,  
President National Farmers Alliance.

## SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

LINCOLN, NEB., September 28, 1889.

To all Officers and Members of the Subordinate and County Alliances in Nebraska, greeting:

By order of the executive committee, your State secretary invites your attention to the annual meeting of the National Farmers Alliance at St. Louis, December 5, 1889, and also to the important question to be decided at that meeting, viz: Shall the National Farmers Alliance join the Farmers and Laborers Union

which has been formed by the Southern Alliance and Agricultural Wheel?

President Burrows, of the National Alliance, has, in a circular letter printed this week, outlined the action to be taken by each State Alliance on the question of union; and as our State meeting does not convene until after the St. Louis meeting, we ask the local Alliances of the State to take individual action in this matter at once, and report to the State secretary as early as November 15th. The action taken by the Alliances will be tabulated and form a basis of instruction for your delegates, and it is therefore very necessary that definite action be taken.

J. M. THOMPSON,  
Secretary Nebraska State Alliance.

## ANNUAL ALLIANCE MEETING.

The annual session of the Dakota Farmers Alliance will be held in Aberdeen, commencing at 10 A. M., Tuesday, November 19, 1889.

With the increase of power and prestige each session of our Alliance becomes more important. The coming session should be the most important yet held, for several reasons. When we meet we will in all probability have been admitted as two States. Should it be deemed best, the example of other institutions may be followed, and two State Alliances organized. If we divide, it will only be because we think the work can be pushed more effectually by division. Delegates to the National Alliance are to be elected. The paramount question there will be the union of as many of our farmers' organizations as possible. As this may require some changes in our constitution, delegates should come prepared to discuss the necessary changes. Perhaps the most important work that will devolve on us will be the discussion of our legislative work for the ensuing session. The great railroad corporations are organizing for concentrated legislative work, and we must be prepared to meet and resist their encroachments. The magnificent gift of the city of Watertown will enable us to proceed with our manufacturing industry much sooner than we had hoped for, and plans to push this work should be perfected at the earliest practicable date. There is much that should be done at this session. We have arranged for a series of meetings in as many counties as possible, and will try and have one or more of our workers, who can spare the time, to assist at the meetings. We want every farmer to turn out and take part in these meetings, that we may know just what you want. See our constitution for number of delegates you are entitled to. According to our past custom, we cordially invite the several assemblies of the Knights of Labor to send full delegations to meet with us. Please make the usual effort to send your very best members as delegates, and have every local Alliance and assembly fully represented.

Yours fraternally,

H. L. LOUCKS, President.

C. A. SODEBERG, Secretary.

FLEXIBILITY of political institutions is one of the most important features of the requirements of the age, when startling changes are constantly taking place in all the conditions of life. Easy adaptation to changed conditions is one of the requirements of the times, and is a requisite which must be considered in all advanced political systems.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac will contain a manual of parliamentary rules and usage that will be more useful than the large works on that subject. It will also contain many carefully prepared tables of statistical information and choice and suggestive facts collated from history.

## 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. 24.

## THE ARGUMENT FOR THE LONG HAUL.

One of the arguments supporting the practice of carrying through freight at low rates, as contrasted with higher charges upon local traffic, is the necessity of low through rates in order to enable the products of the far West to be transported to the seaboard and European markets. "To charge the full rate per ton per mile," say the railroad people, "which we find it necessary to charge upon our local traffic in order to obtain interest and dividends upon the capitalization, and to make the grain, pork, and cattle of the far West, which are transported 1,500 or 2,000 miles, pay five times as much as the grain and cattle of the central States, which are transported 300 or 400 miles, would simply be to place an embargo upon the shipments of the Western products. If such an embargo existed the result would be, first, that the agricultural interests of the West would languish and perish from inability to reach the market; next, that the railroads would entirely lose the business which they now obtain from the Western producers, and would have to go without the slight proportion of net earnings which amounts to an immense sum in the aggregate on the traffic which they carry for those interests."

In other words, the railroad interests represent in this aspect of the case the ability to make radical and extreme local discriminations, as the best horn of the dilemma between making such discriminations in favor of the long haul and wiping out the traffic which the long haul represents.

From the public point of view this is the most respectable, if not the most sincere, argument which is advanced in favor of the practice under discussion, and there is so much foundation for it in reason that I am constrained to admit, under the present condition of the railroad system, with business transacted by the prevailing methods, and rates determined by the influences which are controlling in railroad management, that the public should perceive that the practice is one which it is difficult for railroad managers to avoid. But, so far as the public benefit from low through rates which must be denied to the traffic that furnishes the shorter haul is concerned, it is necessary to recognize that, while there is a good deal of force in the position just stated, considered by itself, it is so surrounded and modified by considerations that are not stated as to reduce the public value of the argument very nearly to sophistry.

The first point which the railroad argument omits to state is that, so far as the law has at present gone in placing a restraint upon the practice, the argument does not apply with any respect to ordinary reason. If a certain through rate be necessary to secure

the transportation of the grain and cattle of Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota to the seaboard, it is evident that at least as low a rate is required to enable the transportation of the same products from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. All that the fourth section of the interstate commerce law, which is so much berated by the railroad interests, enacts is that the intermediate rate shall not actually exceed the through rate. Placing the rate, say, of 25 cents upon grain from the farthest Western shipping point to the seaboard, as one which is necessary and for the public advantage, in order to enable that grain to be transported to the Eastern markets, it is evident that a rate of 30 cents upon the grain of Illinois and Indiana would be prohibitive. If the high rate is prohibitive upon the far Western product, it is prohibitive upon the product of the Central States. Looking at the case in the light of the public interests, it is as fair to put the prohibitive rate upon the product of one section as it is upon the product of another. The fact is that grain raised upon the cheap and productive lands of the far West can bear a higher rate than those raised upon the more expensive and in many cases less productive lands of the Central States. All that the present enactment absolutely forbids is the levying of a prohibitive rate upon the shorter haul, while a lower rate is afforded to the longer one; and therefore, so far as this argument applies to the present restraints upon local discriminations, it is of no value at all.

Another point which this argument in favor of local discrimination entirely overlooks is the fact that under the present system even the freight which is shipped from the farthest Western point has, on some portion of the transportation, to bear the burden of the high local charges. When it reaches the competitive point from which the low through rates are made, under the practice which the railroad interests uphold, it will undoubtedly obtain the benefit of this remarkably cheap transportation upon the long haul. I have among my data a memorandum of an exceedingly low through rate in the shape of a charge of 15 cents from Kansas City, Mo., to New York, on corn. Taken by itself there is no question that this is calculated to encourage the shipment of corn from that Western district to the seaboard, although there may be a very important question as to whether such cheapness is not at the expense of the intermediate sections; and there is, besides, the fact that this exceedingly low rate was a transitory and entirely temporary state of affairs arising out of a railroad contest. But, in addition to this, there was the contrast with that low through rate of a far higher rate (I think, 25 cents) on the corn from Abilene, Kan., to Kansas City. The rate of 25 cents on the local haul of 150 miles, and of 15 cents upon the through haul of 1,500 miles had their counterparts throughout the entire district which shipped corn to Kansas City. So that it is evident that, under the present system, the products of the West, for whose advantage this exceedingly low through rate is represented to be established, must, before they obtain its benefit, bear the equally high local rate which

exists both as a contrast and a supplement to the cheapness of the longer haul.

This fact, as an argument upon the justice of the practice, may work both ways. In the first place, it indicates, to a certain extent, that the inequality created by the low charges upon the products that are transported the long distance is partially equalized by the fact that the far Western products, as well as the intermediate ones, must, at some stage of their transportation, bear the burden of high local charges. On the other hand, it shows that the public benefit of the cheap and long through hauls is invariably modified by the fact that the imposition of high local charges can not be escaped by any product which either originates itself, or draws its raw materials from, points or districts where these high local charges are imposed. The issue as between the justice and public benefit of two methods of doing business involves the question whether it would be better to have rates on each portion of the hauls imposed with some reference to maintaining the due proportion between the charges and the actual cost of performing the transportation, or whether it is better to leave the old method of maintaining the excessive contrasts between through and local rates which are presented by the phenomenon of an actually less charge upon the transportation of twice the distance than is charged upon the smaller and shorter service. It is a vital part of that question whether, if a reform should bring local rates and through rates more nearly to a parity, the actual aggregate charge upon taking the products of the West from the local station to the ultimate market would be very much in excess of what it is at present under the system of high charges for the local haul and merely nominal rates upon the rest of the transportation.

The third point which the railroad advocates overlook in this argument of the public benefit of low through charges is the very decided doubt, as a question of fact, whether the railroads really establish these low rates upon the long haul for the purpose of affording the Western product an opportunity of reaching the market which they could not otherwise obtain. To say positively that no such idea has any weight in the railroad councils would probably be extreme and untenable; but in a large number of the cases where those rates are established such an assertion would have a great deal of truth. It is safe to say that, in the majority of cases where the railroad makes a rate upon through transportation which is a mere fraction in proportion to the rates which it declares to be necessary upon its local traffic, the real reason is the fact that unless it makes such a cheap rate upon the through traffic the freight will seek some other route by which it can be taken to market. This is clearly the case upon the transportation of transcontinental traffic, for which the Pacific railroad claims the privilege of exemption from the long and short haul clause of the interstate commerce act. It is the first plea there that unless the railroad can make this cheap through rate, the freight will take the water route, or go by way of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In the transportation of agricultural products from the West and

Northwest the same consideration is most frequently the conclusive one. The freight has the benefit of the river and lake routes, by which it is certain that it can obtain a cheap through rate, and the railroads make that rate solely for the reason that if they do not do so the grain of the Northwest will go to market by the water lines of transportation. This state of affairs leaves the important and vital question to the railroad whether they should not keep the freight at the low through rate. Their own circumstances may make it desirable for them to do so. Upon the supposition that the transportation of the traffic yields them a profit at the low rate, solely in the light of the interests of the railroad, this consideration has a great deal of importance; but it takes away the public value of the railroad plea for cheap through rates. If the traffic will be transported at the low rate by some route, whether the railroad make the rate as cheap as that route or not, the public necessity of these cheap rates upon the railroads is taken away.

Beyond that it is necessary to recognize that there may be some cases in which the railroad makes the cheap rates for freight which could not reach any cheaper route, simply upon the consideration that if those cheap rates are not made, the freight can not be shipped at all. I have no doubt that there are railroads reaching out into the agricultural districts of various remote sections of the country where the cheap rates which are made upon the long haul have been established solely for the reason that if higher rates were made the freight would not bear the expense of transportation to the market of consumption in the East, or in Europe. But even in those cases, where the railroad argument of the public character and public service of these cheap rates seems to be most fully realized, the rate is always unnecessarily subject to the qualification that there must be some profit in it for the railroad. If the railroad is transporting this freight at a loss, it will not continue it long. Here, as in the case where the cheap rate is made in order to obtain its carriage in competition with some other and cheaper route, the consideration of a profit for the railroad is the controlling one in most cases. The existence of the low through rates creates the presumption of a profit to the railroad in the transportation at such charges, and provokes the contrast with the profit of five or six times the amount, in proportion to the service, obtained from the transportation of local traffic at the high local charges.

Thus we see that the argument of the public importance and necessity of the low charges in order to enable the products of the country to be transported for immense distances from the farms of the far West to the seaboard is modified and robbed of half, if not a greater part, of its strength, by the following facts:

1. The staples for whose benefit these low rates are represented as being made are not able to escape the burdens of the high local rates which are a necessary accompaniment of the low through charges, and, therefore, the benefit of this system, as contrasted with one which would maintain a nearer approach to parity between local and through rates upon

the entire transportation, is very much decreased, if not entirely taken away.

2. In a vast majority of these cases, the traffic upon which the low through rate is made can be transported by some competing route at the low through charges whether the railroad in question takes it at those low rates or not. In all such cases the point at issue is not whether the traffic shall be transported at the low rates or not, but whether the railroad shall transport the traffic at those rates of charges or permit the traffic to take the other route which is open to it.

3. Both in such cases, and in those where the freight has no other route for shipment, the presumption that the low rate yields the railroad some proportion of profit is a vital one. The railroad claim has never taken the position that the corporations should operate their lines merely as a philanthropic enterprise for the transportation of the products of the country at less than cost.

Now, giving the railroad's position its full weight, subject, of course, to the modifications and drawbacks thus set forth, what is the public interest in the matter? The interests of the various sections, it is claimed, are very conflicting. The commercial interests of the Pacific coast are all in favor of permitting the shipments which they receive and send to be carried at actually less charges than those imposed upon the intermediate and local traffic of the Pacific railroads. The farmers of the far West, it is probable, will see in the levying of rates upon their traffic much less than those which are charged to the farmers of the Central States, an arrangement to which they are entirely able to yield their assent. And, in cases almost without number, certain sections and communities will be found to whom one form of the practice of discriminations between localities may be entirely satisfactory, while another, involving the same principle, may be regarded as odious and burdensome.

But, considering the interests of the Nation as a whole, or taking merely the best welfare of the agricultural districts of the entire country, the matter must be judged on broader lines than by the selfish desire of each particular section. It must be seen that the public view will be in the direction of such adjustment of rates as will give each particular section the natural advantage belonging to it, of either requiring less transportation than others or of the cheapness of production arising out of the greater distance from market. To transport the products of one section cheaply will be of advantage to that section alone; but to secure the best interests of the whole country, the cheapness should extend to all sections with equal reference to natural conditions. Those which require a less amount of service to get their products to market should be given the benefit of the economy on their freight traffic; while those which command the services of water routes are entitled to the cheapness of that form of transportation. But taking into consideration only the relative charges of rail transportation, it is evident that an even distribution of charges in due relation to the cost of service required will insure the most even development of production and the best interests of the Nation as a whole.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

It is remarkable how men continue to hold in reality doctrines which they have rejected in name. One will be astonished to find on investigation how many there are who think that an act of legislature can do anything, when in fact the powers of legislative bodies are very closely limited by constitutional provision.

There is too much inclination to rush to the law-making powers for relief in every case of popular discomfort, when in fact it is beyond the constitutional power of the legislative body to provide such relief, and the remedy lies directly in the hands of the people. Much of our law is merely mistaken attempts to gratify popular demand, and is really the cause of evil rather than a remedy. Another misfortune arising from this mistaken regard for such means of relief is that shrewd exploiters are quick to secure legal sanction for their schemes, well knowing that the popular veneration for law will protect them at least long enough to accomplish their purpose. There are many social and financial evils that live under sanction of law that popular opinion, and action could crush were it commonly known that such legislation was really beyond the constitutional limit of authority possessed by the legislative body. This mania to remedy all evils by legislation is a great misfortune. It is not so much new law that we want as the repeal of all suspicious legislation, and the confining of all legislative enactment to strictly constitutional limitation.

THE mistakes of a physician are visited by the most serious penalties. The mistakes of a legislator are looked upon with leniency and are without penalty, though such mistakes involve, in many instances, suffering to thousands, and often death to many, where the mistake of a physician concerns only one life. The cases of the two are strikingly similar. The physician diagnoses his case and prescribes his remedy. The patient places his faith in the physician, based on his qualification to judge and prescribe. Should the physician mistake, or should he fail to possess the requisite qualifications, the patient must suffer or die. Just so the legislator; he is supposed to be qualified to diagnose cases of social disease and prescribe remedies. Should he fail in the requisite qualifications the society must suffer, and the evils such inefficient legislators are capable of inflicting upon communities go on multiplying their effects beyond calculation. Would it be more than reasonable caution to provide severe penalties for the mistakes of legislators? Would it not render them more cautious and less ready to rush recklessly into actions without careful and earnest study of all the immediate and remote results of their deeds?

It is singular how the public estimate of a man changes when he passes from the position of a candidate to the halls of legislation. While he is before the people as a candidate he is ridiculed, lampooned, jeered at, and treated with the greatest familiarity if not disrespect. But when they take their seats in the halls of legislation those who had been freely charged with incompetence and had been held

up to ridicule by the press and party of opponents excite unlimited faith, and their suggested remedies are looked upon as infallible. Judging from the prayers made to them, one would think there is nothing which their wisdom can not compass.

BEFORE the term, just or unjust, can be applied to law, there must first have been an agreement among the people binding them to submit to control within certain specified limits set out in the agreement. All laws created within this limit are by recognized authority and worthy of respect and obedience; if found objectionable, there is a proper means of reform provided, but they should be honored until this reform is properly brought about. If originating without the limit of the delegated authority, they are unjust and should be resisted until repealed. It is time for the people to be on their guard against legislation growing out of assumed authority on the part of legislative bodies.

CHANGE is the prime necessity of progress. Fixed customs, ideas, and systems tend to mold a people after one pattern, to cause them to go on in the same unvarying round, to hold them in one position. Ideas, customs, and systems must be flexible to insure progress, and must adapt themselves readily to the necessities created by increasing knowledge. It is well enough to be cautious, but not irrationally antagonistic to new developments; to consider with deliberation and careful scrutiny all proposed changes, but yield readily and cheerfully when reason shows a need of change.

THE great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of capital. In the past all was subservient to royal interest, now all is subservient to capital. To insure profit to capital seems in the minds of modern political scientists the chief end of government. The earlier superstition was no less fatal to the best interests of societies than the present one.

DISCUSSION is the most effective means for breaking the yoke of fixed custom. It was discussion that first showed the way from despotism to liberty, and it is discussion still that discovers the best paths by which to advance toward better conditions and systems.

THE most marked distinction between the despots of the East and the free governments of the West is free discussion. Despotism can not exist where the right of free discussion among a people is recognized.

ONE of the great dangers of the times is the demand for too much unnecessary legislation. Less legislation, and that more carefully considered, is the great need.

SUPERIORITY is the premium-given-by-nature to those nations most readily adapting their customs and systems to advanced conditions.

It is quite as requisite that bad legislation be repealed as that good laws be enacted.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## FARM-YARD MANURE.

When a practical farmer feeds animals on concentrated feeding stuff, and applies the manure so made to the land he cultivates, he needs no chemist to protect him from fraud; he knows precisely what he is about. If he has established a scientific and skillful rotation of crops, sustained by a scientific and skillful system of fertilization, he knows that the appreciation of his land constitutes a safe investment of his earnings. In these times, when masses of capital control and have controlled legislation, the tendency has been to double the value of these vast accumulations by severe contraction of the volume of money in existence. The prices of bread-stuffs and butcher's meat are reduced to the lowest point, and to persist in their production involves continual shrinkage of the capital employed until finally it is exhausted, and the landed proprietor descends to the wage-earning class, without capacity to earn wages. He is apt to become a chronic office-seeker, a tramp, a pauper, a criminal, or a suicide. But the legislative policy which lowers the prices of the necessities of life also builds up a class of rich men who in all lines of consumption will have the best at any price. The opportunity is thus created for special skill in various lines of agricultural industry, and especially the animal industries. Therefore we hear that an offer has been refused of \$75,000 for a two-year-old colt. Therefore some breeders are able to sell their yearling colts by public auction for an average of \$1,000; whereas \$500 is not an unusual fee for the service of a stallion. Therefore a Kentucky stock-farm containing 150 acres was very lately sold for \$105,000. Inside these extreme limits the shrewd farmer will be able to develop a live-stock business which will at least support his family, and he will accumulate small gains by the improved condition of his lands and consequent increase of their value.

The animal industries, therefore, seem to be the only branch of farming in which the outlay for commercial manures may be reduced to a minimum. The writer is of opinion that in all branches of agriculture the scientific system of fertilization will include green fallows, animal manures, and commercial fertilizers. As far as the mere making of farm-yard manure is concerned, it can be done as effectually by feeding scrubs as by feeding well-bred stock, but a well-bred animal may be made to pay a considerable profit on the food, while a scrub may be, and generally will be, fed at a loss on the food which being charged against the manure makes its cost exceed its value. Let it be remembered that if the farm-yard manure used is made exclusively from food supply grown on the farm only a part of what is removed from the soil as crop can in practice be returned as manure. Let it be further remembered that beyond a temporary arrest of the leaching out of combined nitrogen a fallow crop adds nothing to the soil, only it changes the form and position of the ash minerals of the soil so as to render them more available for the nutrition of the succeeding grain crop. Therefore both the fallow crop and the farm-yard manure from feed raised on the farm being fully utilized there remains a loss of the plant food of the soil, a progressive diminution of its fertility which is to be arrested by one of two plans, viz., by either feeding out purchased food to increase the supply of farm-yard manure, or by the direct purchase of commercial fertilizers. In general the partial adoption of both these plans, the purchase of food to make manure and the purchase of commercial

fertilizers for special uses, will reach the highest results. To do all this so as to obtain the highest results obtainable demands great scientific knowledge, great practical skill, as well as the possession of the mercantile faculty. It demands besides scientific, commercial, and practical skill and ability, industry and constant, careful attention to business. Does any man suppose that because he carefully saves and applies to his land all the manure made by feeding only a small part of the crops grown on his own farm, he need do nothing more than this to maintain the fertility of his soil? He can not so suppose unless he is very ignorant of his business. If a farmer has a thousand dollars' worth of corn and buys a thousand dollars' worth of cotton seed and linseed and bran and feeds out the whole, the manure would be worth more than the best commercial fertilizer that can be had for \$250, which would leave \$1,750 to be charged against the animals fed \$2,000 worth of feed. Whether this sum, and how much more than this sum, which would be profit over and above the value of the manure, will be realized over and above the prime cost of the animals would depend on the skill, the scientific knowledge, and the business capacity of the farmer. The value of the manure depends in some slight degree on the kind of animals fed, but to a much greater degree on the kind of feed, and perhaps in as great a degree upon the care and skill with which the feeding and saving the manure is managed. Valuation of farm-yard manure produced by feeding a ton of various kinds of feed may be arrived at approximately by calculations based on analytical data. Such values have been calculated for nearly all foods known by various experimenters, and tables have been constructed showing these comparative values as thus computed. But as the manure has to undergo complete decomposition in the soil before it is reduced to the forms in which it can enter into the nutrition of crops, the data for the complete solution of the question of the actual value realized will vary with soil, climate, season, mode of application, and tillage, as well as with the crops to which the manure is applied. As nitrogen is the most costly substance in commercial fertilizers, it is assigned the highest value in the computation of the value of farm-yard manure. Analysis gives in each case the aggregate of combined nitrogen yielding ammonia upon destructive distillation in contact with caustic alkali, and the incorrect inference is often drawn that the whole of this combined nitrogen of the food supply may finally become available to the nutrition of crops. It is certain that the percentage of it which does in actual practice finally enter into the nutrition of the crops varies materially with many varying conditions over some of which the farmer does, and over some of which he does not, control. This much is well established, that manure produced from food rich in nitrogen is of more value than that produced under like conditions from food poor in nitrogen. It is certain that manure produced by feeding cotton seed and linseed is of more value than such as is produced by feeding bran, whereas that produced from bran is of more value than that from corn or hay. The agricultural value or the value of the farm-yard manure, in use to the farmer, is inferred from the commercial value or selling price of its ingredients as found in commercial fertilizers. It is, however, certain that the whole of the nitrogen of a good commercial fertilizer will become available for the nutrition of crops in a much shorter time than the nitrogen of farm-yard manure. Moreover, it is certain that a larger part of the nitrogen of the manure fails ever to enter into the nutrition of crops, perhaps lost by resumption of the state of free nitrogen, than is the case with the fertilizer. The dollar-and-cent valuations are therefore

unworthy of confidence. As in the case of green fallow, the organic matter of the manure incorporated with the soil produces very important effects independently of the plant food it contains, altering largely the capacity of the soil for both heat and moisture; altering, likewise, its porosity, which alters largely the play of chemical and physical forces, as well as the vital or physiological forces of the plant. It has always appeared to the writer that sufficient importance has not been attached to the presence of organic matter in the soil independently of the plant food it yields, or may yield, on complete decomposition. The presence of organic matter as organic matter appears to be much more important in this country than, according to Valle, it is in France; or, according to Lawes, it is in England. When we reflect that the English seed their wheat on an average about thirty days earlier in autumn than we do in Maryland and Virginia, and that our harvest begins about the 20th of June, theirs not until the middle of September, we ought to admit that the conditions of such questions are very different there and here, and whereas many of the conclusions reached by these great experimentalists are of universal application many of their results can not be reproduced under the conditions which prevail here. Chemical salts used separately and apart from organic matter can not be made to produce such increase of crops as reported in France and in England. The inference must be admitted that the agricultural value of farm-yard manure is higher here than there in proportion to the commercial value or selling price of the elements of plant food, as sold in commercial fertilizers.

## NOTES ON FREDERICKSBURG FAIR.

At the recent fair of the Rappahannock Valley Association at Fredericksburg, Virginia, the writer had the honor of being selected to judge all the live-stock on exhibition, and thereby the opportunity to observe the adaptation of breeds to the region of which Fredericksburg is the chief town. There were on exhibition the following breeds of cattle, viz., Short-horns, Devons, Jerseys, Guernseys, Holsteins, Ayrshires, and Suffolk Red Polls. Of these the smaller breeds, Jerseys, Ayrshires, Devons, Guernseys, and Red Polls were in predominating numbers, evidencing their superior adaptation to that section. This is a general natural selection, bringing into general favor the breeds most in harmony by physical adaptation with the environment. In sheep the smaller of the Down breeds largely predominated, though some fine long-wooled sheep were shown. In horses, thoroughbreds and their crosses largely predominated. Some good trotting stock was shown and a few heavy draught horses. In swine, Jersey Reds, Poland Chinas, Chester-Whites, Berkshires, and Essex were shown. There is no doubt the general predominance of the smaller and more active breeds was the result of unconscious adaptation by owners of their stock to the physical and climatic features of their environment, which are favorable to small and medium-sized active breeds, and unfavorable to heavy, inactive breeds. A very conspicuous feature of the exhibition was the predominance of race-horses over trotters, and of running over trotting races. The whole region under consideration is pre-eminently a country of bad winter roads, and during a great part of the year driving is a slow and difficult method of getting about. There has been a very great improvement in the saddle-horse in recent years. Half-bred nags are everywhere, and not a few are to be seen having two, three, and even four thoroughbred top-crosses. Many of these are or could easily be made first-rate hunters. They are the stock of such horses as Old Granite, Abdel Kadir, Merimack, and other first-rate horses. The influence of Major

Dowell's thoroughbred stables is everywhere

## LESPEDIZA STRIATA.

This plant, otherwise called Japan clover, enjoys about Fredericksburg, in Virginia, a new *alias*. Down there they call it "Rowe's Elixir of Life" for the resurrection of dead poor land; this in honor of our excellent friend, Mr. A. P. Rowe, to whose boundless enthusiasm its introduction thereabout was due. Accordingly, some days since, we rode out with Mr. Rowe to see this plant growing on some worn-out lands not far off. We went the more willingly because experience has taught us that when a man of strong practical sense, the result of large practical experience, insists

that he has a good thing, it is best to go and see it. It is not safe nor wise to set such as man's opinion at naught. The writer does not fear that he is going to be set down as an Eureka! He has never been known to leap out of the bath, just as he was, and run madly forth shouting, "I have found it! I have found it!" when nothing has been found. Having carefully examined the growing plant, fully inquired into the particulars of its growth, and seen stock grazing upon it with great relish and in high condition, he makes report that, in his opinion, it is of value, and of great value in many localities. He now believes that his former opinion was not well founded, viz., that the power of this plant to displace from the soil other and more valuable plants was to be dreaded. Unquestionably it possesses digestive and assimilative powers which enable it to thrive on soils too poor to grow anything else of value. This is a capital fact in its favor. It shows that it may be made to lay the foundations for the progressive improvement of any soil which can be turned by the plow. It produces a dense mass of herbage on the coldest, poorest, waxiest clays which anywhere exist, and the expanse of its roots is equally as great beneath the soil. It does not shun the most arid sands. It is not to be doubted that the nourishment it succeeds in extracting from the crude minerals of such soils and the organic matter left in and upon them must be available to succeeding crops of less vigorous digestion and assimilation. Its value, therefore, as a green fallow must be admitted. Its value as an annual self-seeding pasture plant is demonstrated beyond a doubt. The writer saw sheep grazing on it in Mr. Rowe's field, where they had been at pasture all summer, and they were fat and healthy. They were cropping the lespediza with the utmost relish. There are millions of acres of wild and barren land from Washington southward to the confines of our territory, where, by means of this plant, from four to six times as many sheep may be pastured as could be maintained without it; and within five years, moreover, the productive capacity of these lands could be increased very greatly, while at the same time yielding a large revenue in proportion to the investment. This plant, as has been said, is an annual legume, which, in the locality of Fredericksburg, starts rather later than the native grasses. By June 20th it yields a full bite, and about the first of September blossoms and forms seed. The first severe frost kills the plant. It is well adapted for the dairy. They, however, take on fat readily when dried off, and afford a very excellent quality of beef. The best specimens are long, low, level cows, with very straight top and bottom lines; having square, massive hips and large, soft udders, with good teats. They are light at the fore end, with neat, long, but not loose and flabby, necks. Their heads are long, bony, and neat. The typical wedge-shape of the great dairy cow is very clearly seen in this breed. They are first-class handlers and quick feeders. They are very handsome and attractive, mild in disposition and practically harmless to other stock, and we think well adapted to the South.

## PECULIARITIES OF HEREDITY.

We are accustomed to say that an animal is intermediate in character between its two parents. We are accustomed even to give that statement a mathematical form of expression. If, for example, the mother of an ox is a Short-horn, and the father of it a Devon, we say the ox is a cross-bred one, half Short-horn and half Devon; but if one parent be cross-bred, as above, and the other a full bred Short-horn, we say it is three-quarters Short-horn, one-quarter Devon. That which is implied by these mathematical terms is not true in fact. Perhaps no animal ever was, in all respects, inter-

mediate in character between its two parents. If we examine obvious physical characters in detail, the common error at once becomes apparent. The ass, as all know, hath an ear proverbially long; the mare one short, small, pointed, and very beautiful; but does the mule have an ear exactly half as long as the combined lengths of the ears of its mother, the mare, and its father, the ass? The mule's ear is as long as his father's, not unfrequently longer. Again, in the matter of voice, the mule takes wholly after his father. How, then, do we say the mule is half horse, half ass? A dog commonly called a dropper, having a pointer for one parent, and a setter for the other, is said to be one-half pointer, one-half setter. But no one ever saw a dog so bred but what had either short-hair like the pointer, or long hair like the setter. This character of the length of the hair never blends in the offspring, producing a coat of intermediate length. Are the wheelps mathematically half and half? No, certainly. Mate a black-and-white setter with an orange-and-white, as often as you like, you can never produce a whelp with three colors; never a black-and-white one with an orange spot or speck; never an orange-and-white one with any black on it. Evidently our nomenclature does not coincide with the facts.

The Cotton Committee and Their Advice to the Farmers.

A. BARNWELL, MACON, GA.

Some criticism from the ill disposed, and even from friends, has been made upon the advice of the cotton committee to farmers to hold cotton. And this is made pointed by the fact that cotton has steadily declined. But, it is remembered, that the advice to hold has not been taken to any great extent, and the decline is the consequence.

With the reasons why the advice has not been taken let us only deal in passing. First and foremost is the pressure of unsympathizing capital urging the claims of lenders at any sacrifice to borrowers. Next, the need of cash to pick out and gin the new crop, then the fact that green cotton loses in weight, and above all the fact that there are more people urging the farmer to sell than there are to hold. But certain it is that there has been a rush to sell and a consequent decline in prices.

The subject under consideration is, however, was the advice good or not? and in spite of the fact that those who sold earliest got the best prices a careful observation of the course of the market will convince the unprejudiced that a conservative course in marketing the crop during the past month would have resulted in much better prices for October. Even with the heavy receipts, prices in Liverpool are being wonderfully sustained, and at this writing chances for an October squeeze are by no means gone; but had anything like a disposition to hold been evinced, there is scarcely a doubt that October-prices would have been more nearly in line with September. The threat of mills to close would have been in vain. For mills can not hold up to any extent in consequence of their contracts to deliver goods at specified times; and whatever the mill owners may think, farmers should have some advantage from the high prices, since they certainly get all the low.

The advice, therefore, was good, and will ever be good in a product which does not spoil. "Hold until the demand causes fair prices, and do not glut the market at period when so doing will depress it unduly." Only time can show if farmers can and will follow sound advice. Meanwhile the leaders do well to give it; even if needed, and only the shallow, will hold them responsible for the results of a failure on the part of their constituents to follow their counsels.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

### WASHINGTON.

#### Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 24.

The Register of the Treasury is the official book-keeper of the United States, and prepares a statement which shows every receipt and disbursement of the public money, which statement is transmitted annually to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. He signs and issues all the bonds and sends to the Treasurer of the United States schedules showing the names of persons entitled to receive interest thereon. He registers all warrants drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the Treasurer of the United States; transmits statements of balances due to individuals after settlement of their accounts by the First Comptroller, or the Commissioner of Customs, upon which payment is made. The work is distributed among the four divisions as follows:

**Loan Division**—In this division registered and coupon bonds are issued, embracing the transfer of all registered bonds; the conversion of coupon into registered bonds; the ledger accounts, with holders of registered bonds, and the preparation of schedules upon which the interest on the registered bonds is paid.

**Receipts and Expenditures Division**—The great account-books of the United States are kept in this division, which show the civil, diplomatic, internal-revenue, miscellaneous, and public-debt receipts and expenditures; also statements of the warrants and transfer drafts issued, and certified transcripts of accounts of delinquent revenue officers for suit.

**Note, Coupon, and Currency Division**—In this division, redeemed bonds, paid interest coupons, interest checks, and interest-bearing notes are examined and registered. Treasury notes, legal-tenders, and fractional currency are examined, canceled, and the destruction thereof witnessed and recorded.

**Interest and Expenses on Loans Division**—In this division, the interest on the various loans, the premiums and discounts on bonds sold, and the expenses of negotiation are ascertained.

The employees of this office are as follows: Register, \$4,000; Assistant Register, \$2,250; four chiefs of division, \$2,000 each; seventeen clerks at \$1,800 each; sixteen clerks at \$1,600 each; eleven clerks at \$1,400 each; fourteen clerks at \$1,200 each; two clerks at \$1,000 each; twenty-nine copyists at \$900 each; messenger, \$840; four assistant messengers at \$720 each; eight laborers at \$660 each.

The Comptroller of the Currency has, under direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the control of the National banks. The divisions of this bureau are—

**Issue Division**—The preparation and issue of National bank circulation.

**Redemption Division**—The redemption and destruction of notes issued by National banks.

**Reports Division**—Examination and consolidation of the reports of National banks.

**Organization Division**—The organization of National banks.

The employees in this bureau are: Comptroller, \$5,000; deputy, \$2,800; four chiefs of law governing National banking associations

division at \$2,200 each; bond clerk, \$2,000; seven clerks at \$1,800 each; eleven stenographers at \$1,600 each; eight clerks at \$1,400 each; eight clerks at \$1,200 each; two clerks at \$1,000 each; twenty-five clerks at \$900 each; messenger, \$840; two assistant messengers at \$720 each; engineer, \$1,000; foreman, \$720; three laborers at \$660 each; two night watchmen at \$720 each.

The following salaries are reimbursed by National banks: Superintendent, \$2,000; teller and two book-keepers at \$2,000 each; nine clerks at \$900 each, and one assistant messenger, \$720.

The Director of the Mint has general supervision of all mints and assay offices. He prescribes regulations, approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the transaction of business at mints and assay offices; the distribution of silver coin, and charges to be collected of depositors. He receives for adjustment accounts of mints and assay offices, superintends their expenditures and annual settlements, and makes special examinations when deemed necessary.

All appointments, removals, and transfers in mints and assay offices are subject to his approval. The purchase of silver bullion and allotment of its coinage are made by the Director, and, at his request, also transfers of

public moneys in the mints and assay offices, and advances from appropriations for the mint service. Tests of weight and fineness of coin struck by mints are made in the assay laboratory under his charge. The values of standard coins of foreign countries are annually estimated for custom-house and other purposes. Two annual reports are prepared by the Director, one for the fiscal year, and printed in the finance report of the Secretary of the Treasury; the other for the calendar year, on the statistics of the production of the precious metals. The employees and salaries in the office of the Director of the Mint are as follows:

Director, \$4,500; examiner, \$2,500; computer, \$2,500; assayer, \$2,200; adjuster of accounts, \$2,000; two clerks at \$1,600 each; two clerks at \$1,400 each; three clerks at \$1,200 each; translator, \$1,200; clerk at \$1,000; copyist, \$900; messenger, \$840; assistant in laboratory, \$1,000; helper, \$500. The officers and employees of the different mints and assay offices number upwards of 950; space will not allow a mention in detail.

The Solicitor of the Treasury takes cognizance of all frauds or attempted frauds on the revenue. He is charged by law with a supervision over suits for the collection of moneys due the United States, excepting those due under internal-revenue laws. His approval is required of official bonds of United States Assistant Treasurers, Department disbursing clerks, collectors of internal revenue, the chief clerk of the Department of Agriculture. As the law officer of the Treasury Department, many matters are referred to him for examination and opinion arising under the customs, navigation and registry laws, and in the administration of the Department. He also is charged by law with the supervision of suits and proceedings arising out of the provisions

of law governing National banking associations

in which the United States and any of its agents or officers are parties.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue assesses and collects all internal-revenue taxes; prepares instructions and forms for stamps, and pays into the Treasury daily all moneys received.

The business of his office is divided into the following heads and distributed among seven divisions.

**Appointments Division**—Discipline of official force, general files, registering and copying letters, distributing mail, issuing commissions and leaves of absence, printing, advertising, and distributing blanks, blank-books, and stationery.

**Law Division**—Seizures, forfeitures, compromises, suits, abatement and refunding claims, taxes on incomes, legacies, dividends, etc.; distraint and lands purchased on same for the United States, also lands forfeited otherwise than by distraint.

**Tobacco**—Matters relating to tobacco, snuff, and cigars not in suit or in bond.

**Accounts**—Revenue and disbursing accounts, allowances to collectors of internal revenue, their advertising and purchase of blank-books, and other supplies for collectors and revenue agents; examination and reference of bills of

agents, gaugers, etc.; miscellaneous claims under appropriation acts (except for abatement, refunding, and drawback); estimates for appropriations by Congress, and statistical records.

**Distilled Spirits**—Matters pertaining to distilleries, distilled spirits, fermented liquors, wines, rectification, gaugers' fees and instruments, approval of bonded warehouses, assignment of storekeepers, etc.

**Stamps**—Preparation, safe-keeping, issue, and redemption of all stamps, accounts pertaining thereto, all business with Adams Express, and preparation, custody, and issue of steel dies for canceling stamps.

**Assessments**—Assessments, bonded accounts, warehouse reports of storekeepers and gaugers, exports, drawbacks, and general supervision of oleomargarine tax.

**Revenue Agents**—Supervision of agents (under Commissioner's direction), examination of their reports and accounts, and discovery and suppression of violations of internal-revenue laws.

Under the oleomargarine act of 1886, this bureau has a laboratory, where a chemist and microscopist make the required tests.

The employees and salaries in this bureau are as follows: Commissioner, \$6,000; deputy, \$3,200; chemist, \$2,500; microscopist, \$2,500; two heads of division at \$2,500 each; five heads of division at \$2,250 each; superintendent of stamp vault, \$2,000; stenographer, \$1,800; twenty-four clerks at \$1,800 each; twenty-four clerks at \$1,600 each; stamp agent, \$1,600; chief of agents, \$10 per day; nineteen agents at \$7 per day; thirty-four clerks at \$1,400 each; twenty-four clerks at \$1,200 each; thirteen clerks at \$1,000 each; forty clerks at \$900 each; counter, \$900; two messengers at \$840 each; fourteen assistant messengers at \$720 each; thirteen laborers at \$660 each.

In the office of construction of standard

weights and measures there is one adjuster, \$1,500; one mechanician, \$1,250; and watchman at \$720.

**Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey**:

This bureau is charged with the survey of the coast of the United States and rivers emptying into the ocean and Gulf of Mexico, and with the interior triangulation of the country, including that of connecting the surveys of the Eastern and Western coasts, determining geographical positions in latitude and longitude, and furnishing points of reference for State surveys.

Besides the annual reports to Congress, the Survey publishes maps and charts of our coasts and harbors, books of sailing directions, and annual tide tables, computed in advance for all the ports of the United States.

The employees are: Superintendent, \$6,000; two assistants at \$4,000 each; fifty-eight assistants at from \$900 to \$3,600 each. An office force of about one hundred and twenty accountants, draughtsmen, computers, engravers, photographers, mechanicians, clerks, etc., at compensation varying from \$2,400 per year down to \$1.50 per day.

**THE divine right of legislatures is a fiction much too general for this enlightened age.**

**Notice to the Parish Secretaries of Farmers Unions in Louisiana.**

Your attention is called to the following resolutions adopted by the State Union at Alexandria:

**Resolved**: That the secretaries of parish Unions be required to furnish the State secretary a copy of the roll of the Union in his parish, with the name and number of the sub-unions, also the number of members, male and female, and on the receipt of these reports, the State secretary shall compile a directory and have 1,000 copies printed, and mail one copy to each sub-union, each officer of the State Union, and to each member of the executive committee."

I especially ask all secretaries who have not sent in these reports to do so at once. I have mailed to each private secretary a number of circulars, "cotton indications," one copy for each sub-union. If in any case there are not enough the secretary will please notify me, and I will mail the required number.

I most especially ask the private secretaries in making out their reports to give the name and post-office address of the parish president at the head of the report, and his own at the bottom, even if he does write a letter, and send with the report. Please attend to this matter. J. W. MCFARLAND,

Secretary F. S. U., Homer, La.

#### 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.

#### State Business Agents.

Texas, S. D. A. Duncan, Dallas; Alabama, H.

P. Bone, Mayville; Mississippi, B. G. West;

Missouri, J. B. Dines; St. Louis; Arkansas,

R. B. Carl Lee, Little Rock; Florida, Oswald

Wilson, Jacksonville; North Carolina, W. A. Dar-

den, 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; Maryland, Joseph A. Mudd, Wash'n, D. O.

#### Odenheimer Cotton Bagging.

#### THE LANE MILL IS READY NOW TO RE-

CEIVE 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 18 and 19, 1888.

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 orders 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.

#### FREE HOME

At the rate they have been going the Public Domain will all be gone in 8 years. Now is the time to secure a home. The cost of a home at \$1,250 per acre. What better could be left for children? Where there hands are; how to get a home. Write for information. Send 10 cents and receive the beautiful "Graphic Picturesque of America." Address THE WESTERN WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

#### 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.

Step 1.

#### J. B. DINES,

Missouri Farmers Alliance Business Agency,

317 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Central point for purchase and sale of Flour, Grain, Provisions, Machinery, and Merchandise.

Best rate yet obtained on Alliance seals and badges.

2-4-6.

#### SCHOOL GIRLS

Make \$100 a Month, others \$2,500 a Year. Work light. Outfit only 10 cents. Address The Western World, Chicago, Ill.

#### PREMIUMS FOR CLUBS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is now prepared to offer any one of the following articles as premiums, to be sent postage paid, from this office, for clubs of subscribers at one dollar per annum.

CLUBS OR FIVE.

One copy of "Plutocracy" or, American White Slavery," by Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, of Georgia, bound in paper.

One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

#### CLUBS OF SIX.

A copy of Volume 1 of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in strong paper.

#### CLUBS OF TEN.

One copy of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price," in cloth.

One year's subscription to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

#### CLUBS OF FIFTEEN.

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

To secure either of these club premiums it is not necessary to



long continued the object is at last accomplished, your rejoicing will be the greater.

This revolt among farmers and laborers is unprecedented, and, as the monopolists declare, somewhat out of character. The fact is they are in doubt as to the most effective manner of attacking it. For this reason they are "ignoring" for the sole purpose of gaining time to formulate a plan of battle; meantime they are indulging in the hope that some unwary brother may commit an overt act that will assist them in their work of disintegration. Let us hope the good sense and better judgment of the members of the order will disappoint them in that particular. This movement among the farmers and laborers is receiving the keenest scrutiny from the money power. They are investigating it thoroughly but secretly. The result will be a long, bitter fight or an abject surrender. We must be prepared for either. At the present time more than three thousand newspapers, read by fully three million people, are showing up the rascality of the money power, and the rottenness of legislation. The press, politicians, Congress, and even the administration may, for the present, "ignore" our demands, but the near future contains a "rude awakening" for these people of which they had no conception. If we will but "continue in well-doing," push on the work of education, keep down all extreme propositions, prevent the introduction of partisan politics in our midst, be satisfied to let well enough alone, nothing can prevent the ultimate triumph of our cause, and the final overthrow of the reign of monopoly and ruin.

#### An Example in Interest.

The banker deposits his bonds with the United States Treasurer, has them kept safely and the interest sent him when due. Besides this he receives \$90 in National-bank currency for every \$100 deposited. He pays the Government 1 per cent, for the use of the National-bank currency so obtained. He also deposits bonds with the same Treasurer and has sent to his bank such an amount of the surplus money in the Treasury as will equal to the full face value of his bonds; upon this amount he pays no interest whatever. From the above facts let us give an example to which we call the attention of every farmer.

\$216,000,000 bank's using at 1 per cent. is \$2,160,000  
47,000,000 surplus without interest is - 0,000,000

253,000,000 costs the bank's interest - 2,160,000  
This same \$253,000,000 loaned to farmers at 8 per cent. costs them - \$20,240,000  
Less amount paid Government - 2,160,000

Net gain to the banks - \$18,080,000

This amount represents 36,160,000 bushels of wheat, the products of over 120,500 average farms; the net earnings of more than 200,000 average American farms. It means 36,160,000 hard days' work, or 120,500 years of toil and the average working life of 30,125 men. This has been going on for a long time. Is there no way to stop it? Is there no method by which the farmer can obtain this same privilege? What say you, Alliance brethren? Will it not pay to make the effort? What is the matter with your farm and its products as security for cheap Government loans?

#### History and Government.

No. 32.

A comparison of the progressive nations with those which have stopped at a given point will illustrate this: Civilization began its marked advance along the Mediterranean Sea; the conflict was most severe among the nations most accessible by the conquering groups which swarmed from this center. The countries inaccessible to this invasion have remained, as it were, in the first stage of advancement. For instance, those of Asia, Africa, America, and the islands of the South seas. Here the arbitrary power, which was necessary to the first advance, met no rivalry, and in this way man continued to exist. Had they been within access of the better races, within the field of fierce rivalry, they could not have existed; they would have been destroyed or assimilated. This condition was strengthened and fixed by natural results arising from natural causes. Absolute power tended to make all men alike; the laws of heredity tended to fix and strengthen in the descendants the peculiar characteristics of the ancestors, and so generation after generation fixed manners of thought, and action became almost irresistible. These arrested civilizations, then, tend to kill out all variability, even before birth. The tendency of the religion of the age, as has been said, was to strengthen the centralized power and cultivate this sameness of character, which is the enemy of progress. The primitive man was full of fear; he was afraid of everything; of the attacks of wild animals, of near tribes, and of more distant savages; but in a still greater, a more effective degree, he was afraid of the phenomena of nature. The visible world about him filled him with awe and dread; he imagined that there were invisible powers controlling each of the wonders of nature, which must be pleased, flattered, and placated, and often by the most hideous and revolting rites; he feared the malignity and cruelty of these imaginary powers. From this feature of man's nature grew up the most powerful superstitions, which were fixed and strengthened as generation succeeded generation, until finally every superstition and prejudice, grown into custom, was received and accepted as unquestionable. The mythological religions of the classic nations, of the Scandinavians, and even the horrible rites of the Aztecs, illustrate the enormous influence religion had over the mind of man. This influence had a powerful effect in fixing the yoke of custom thoroughly on mankind, and customs so controlled and fixed permeated every feature of his life, as will be seen by noting the superstitions of the peasantry in Europe, and the folk tales of all nations. The religion of primitive man put upon a fixed law a sanction and a penalty so fearful that no one would dream of not conforming to it, and this veneration for law so fixed grew with the generations. The tendency, then, of such conditions is to destroy all originality, to crush every tendency to change, so that when variability and originality became the prime necessity for progress, fixed custom stood a most powerful and dangerous enemy. It was unlucky to do

this, or sacrilegious to do that; a departure from the fixed way of thinking about or doing even the simplest things had its awful penalty, either in the shocked public opinion, or some indescribable way provided by superstition. The violent oppositions to every innovation on established custom during the Middle Ages furnish almost innumerable examples. Every one knows how every new step in the development of science has been combated; and even today, how much courage it requires on the part of an inventor or reformer to advance a new idea or propose any measure not consistent with common custom or fixed ideas. The conservatism of the people is immediately excited, and often the most patent truths can establish themselves only after a bitter conflict with prejudice and fixed manner of thought. If custom is such a strong enemy to progress in this enlightened day, how much more powerful must it have been in times of great antiquity and dense ignorance? And yet, when we realize that in time all things will become antiquities, we can understand that, to the advanced man of the future, our customs and prejudices will appear in the same light as those of our progenitors do to us. Custom to-day is a powerful enemy to progress, and become the more powerful, as we are born with the conviction that it is founded on reason and not prejudice or superstition.

It becomes evident, then, that this prejudice against new things and ways must be overcome; this yoke of custom must be broken before any step in advance can be taken, and the more readily these fixed customs and manners of thought give way the more rapid the advance of society.

So long as fixed, unalterable custom remains so long must the Nation remain in a stationary condition.

What is the safest means to use to break these bonds of custom? Not force, because that would be but changing one tyrant for another. What, then, is the means? To arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on this subject it would be well to study the nations which seem to have been the first to break the yoke of custom and to have begun the advance on the new line of development. It was the small states of Greece which were the first to break loose from the stereotyped forms and manners of the age, and strike out a path over a new and untried field. A free state, no matter what name it is called, is a state in which the sovereign power is divided between the people, and in which there is discussion among the people as to the means to be adopted to further their common interest. The Greek republics are the first of such states of which history gives an account. It is easy enough to see what were, the means which accomplished a result after the result is an accomplished fact, but to those who have the undertaking in hand it is by no means so easy to decide upon the means. In early society originality, as we have shown, was repressed by fixed custom and prejudice, and it was a bold man who dared propose any innovation. Law then presented itself to men's minds as something venerable and unchangeable, as old as the nation; it had

been delivered by the founders; sometimes was represented as having been delivered by the patron deity, and an ordinary man who dared to begin a new and important system of life even by himself would have been required to abandon his heresies on pain of punishment, probably death. Common opinion would have told him that he was deviating from the ordinances imposed by the gods on his nation, and he must not do so for fear not only of affliction to himself and his, but the entire nation. The desire of a man to better his condition was not then permitted to work; man was required to live as his ancestors had lived. This in vastly modified form is the case still. This was the condition among the early Greeks, where free thought was born, and the first and most natural subject upon which it could have exercised itself was the problem of human destiny, to find out whence we came and whither we go, to form the most reasonable idea of the power which creates and governs the universe. This was usually what ancient custom would not allow a man to do, and this the Greeks were the first to do. This free thought gradually developed discussion, and this discussion broke the bonds of custom which bound the versatility of the people and gave free play to the intellect of man. Religion and government being so closely allied, the subject of human government so intertwined with the divine, that naturally this free thought fell to speculating upon that, and the result was fatal to the primitive autocracy. Discussion is "like the grave: it takes, but does not give." Once a subject is submitted to the ordeal it can never be withdrawn, it can never again be clothed with mystery or fenced by consecration, it remains forever open to free choice and exposed to profane deliberation.

The subjects first submitted to discussion were questions representing a pressing interest of the community, involving as they did the nature of the power exercised over society. Thus by means of discussion much of wrong, recognized and sustained by custom, was laid bare and exposed to the view of those who had suffered by it. The first relief experienced stimulated further investigation and brought further relief until political measures became the great subject of thought; men began to understand their true natures and the true character of the forces and institutions by which they were controlled: they began to adopt means to the end, and so governments became more rational and less arbitrary. A nation which had gained the ability to discuss these questions of polity with freedom and to describe them with discretion, to argue constantly on politics and not wrangle ruinously, had made an immense advance in civilization. The great danger to which this stage of civilization was exposed was the outbursts of passion to which the masses were liable, and the playing upon this passion and tendency to irrational action by designing demagogues whose shrewd knowledge of the disposition of the people gave them great influence.

Primitive men were passionate savages, and it was only by the exercise of effectively coercive power that they were compelled to act harmoniously. How much more difficult, then, was it to induce such action by force of reason. Often this inherited passion broke the bonds of reason and brought about results retrogressive in their effects, and time and again man retrograded into worse conditions, but the tendency, in the main, was forward. There is not time or space to particularize, but the reader will readily recall a sufficiency of examples.

From what has been noted it becomes evident that political and social institutions must be adapted, as best they may, to the development and requirements of the age of progress in which the society stands. Primitive systems are as ill adapted to advanced conditions as advanced systems to primitive communities; and we find the communities most advanced which have undergone most changes. Every change has been merely experimental, and in all cases the fittest has succeeded. The aggregate is an immense improvement, while, in his present state, man has the advantage of the experiences of his predecessors. The best guide for adapting the policies of the future is the experience of the past.

In summing up it will be noted that civilization has, up to the present time, passed through three principal eras: First, the era of preparation, as it might be termed, when the binding together of societies and nations was accomplished by centralized power; second, the era of conflict, when the most fit combinations established themselves; third, the era of discussion, of variability and individual exertion.

In this last stage we find the most advanced nations to-day, but even the most careless thinker will not admit that man and his political systems have reached their final limit; indeed it appears to the student of sociology that man has but gained firm footing upon the pathway of progress, and that there lies before him a future, grander than his fancy had ever dreamed of, even in its wildest flights. The idea of constant advance is firmly fixed in the minds of the people, the masses realize the necessity of constant change, of a continual readaptation of means and systems to desired ends. Discussion discovers the most beneficial manner of making this adaptation and accomplishing this advance.

The present universal restlessness is indicative of dissatisfaction with present conditions, and a desire for change which will aid more effectively the unavoidable forward movement. Conservatism points to the established customs, the long venerated institutions of our fathers; progress demands an abandonment of such of these as interfere with the irresistible impulse to advance; we have still the old contest between custom and progression; custom stands still, progress never rests. What is the object of what we term progress? Nothing more than the amelioration of the condition of man. The object of discussion is to decide what political and social changes will best aid the accomplishment of this object. We, as a nation, and indeed the advanced nations of the civilized world, are in the last stage noted in our summing up, the age of individual and independent action, but we have gone far on this stage of

our advance; many think that we have reached the limit at which it can be made most effective, that individual enterprise and ingenuity have opened up all the paths of industry, and developed them to the limit of individual capacity; that the requirements in each field are beyond the power which the individual can command, and that combination is requisite to accomplish the necessary results. The great commercial, manufacturing, and financial combinations are evidence of this necessity. The requirements in the various fields are too gigantic for individual capacity. It is proclaimed that again an age of combination has dawned. Discussion must decide this question; and if change must take place, what shall be the nature of the change?

What are the general indications as to the nature of this change? First, we find man in his primitive state living in a state of anarchy, unhampered individual freedom; next, we see him grouped into families, then into tribes composed of families, next into nations composed of tribes, the grand whole made up of social units. Next, during the age of conflict, we find nations augmented by other units—i.e., the conquered tribes and nations. This condition added another class of units—the political unit—and, here the progression stops. These groupings have never been changed, and governments are still composed only of social and political units, such systems as have been developed considering only these in their formation. In our system the States, Congressional districts, municipalities, etc., forming the political units.

Since the great development of the various industries, there has always been a tendency to combination in each line of industry, and this tendency is now especially prominent. Is this tendency not indicative of the necessity for the addition of another feature to political systems, another unit or factor in the political whole—the industrial unit? In other words, has it not become necessary that the great industries, as such, have representation in political systems as well as groups of families and political divisions? The condition of men depends more directly upon the industry from which they gain their support than upon any social or political relations, and should these industries, as such, not be represented in the political system which controls them and through them affects the individual?

The progress of man has ever required the co-operation of men, and nations are but co-operative groups. The industries affect men directly and vitally, and it is greatly through them that legislation affects the individual. These industries, not having especial representation in the political system, are liable to fall under the tyranny of individuals whose interest alone is capable of being represented in the legislative body, and this great oppression be brought upon the people even under the most liberal political institutions. Should each industry be represented as a factor in the political whole, the people composing this industry would not only be benefited, but the combined energy of all so engaged intelligently directed to one end would accomplish vastly more than

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

when each is divided into warring factions, each endeavoring to destroy the other. The tendency seems to be again toward combination, but not centralization; toward the nations becoming more a combination of various subordinate combinations, a combination and cooperation among those engaged in the same field of industry, and thus the even development of all to the full capacity united action could accomplish. Each industry might be directed in the interest of all engaged in it by a council, chosen from among those who live by that industry, and through this council be represented in the political head; in this way the workers in each particular field be protected from the oppression of individual exploiters, who devise means to absorb the earnings of the entire class engaged in that particular field.

Innocent babies of coal miners at Streator, Ill., die of starvation. Their fathers would gladly mine coal at 75 cents per ton. You pay for this same coal from \$5 to \$7 per ton. The principal feeling inspired in the breasts of our politicians by the suffering of our miners is as to how their misery may be turned to partisan account. Frank Lawler, Democratic Congressman, with a salary of \$5,000 per annum—\$15 per day—goes to Streator with a car-load of provisions and a brass band. To checkmate this Democratic move Fred. H. Wines, Republican, secretary of our State board of charities, with a salary of \$3,500 per annum—\$10 per day—hies himself to Streator and makes a thorough “house-to-house canvass.” Lawler and Wines vie with each other in their protestations of friendship for the suffering miners. Lawler and his contemptible crew of blood-sucking vampires draw sweet consolation from the fact that Illinois is a Republican State, and that the suffering took place under a Republican administration. Wines and his equally contemptible crew of buzzards roll “as a sweet morsel under the tongue” the fact that William L. Scott, Democratic Congressman from Pennsylvania, and Cleveland’s right-hand man, is president of the company that is heartlessly starving innocent children to death. And so it goes. At last accounts the partisan capital drawn from the slowly-drying life’s-blood of helpless women and children was about a stand-off. All this is according to law—I mean man-made law.

Gopher-eating farmers and starving coal miners not only suffer according to law, but because of law. This statement is as absolutely, as strictly, and as completely true as the statement is that water will run down hill. And since this is so, it is a duty incumbent upon you and our starving coal miners, and, in fact, all wealth-producers, to require at the hands of our law-making power a thorough readjustment, and, in hundreds of instances, a complete and ruthless abrogation of existing statutes. There are hundreds of men in whom you place all confidence, who are abundantly able to tell you what laws ought to be repealed and what legislation enacted in order to change your condition for the better. The lawyers, the bankers, and railroad presidents, and the shrewd party managers upon whom you delight to shower political favors, and in whose integrity you place unbounded, unlimited, child-like confidence, are smart men. They know the why of your suffering. But they will not tell you. Because to do so would be to kill the goose that lays them their golden eggs.

FROM the Census Bureau it is reported that the list of manufacturers in the United States is completed now and shows a total of 5,218. The most noticeable thing about the figures is the increase in the number of mills in the South. They have more than doubled since 1880. Another notable thing is that whereas there were 1,000 cotton-mills in the United States in 1880, 1,477 have already been reported. The Superintendent of the Census has issued a circular calling general attention to the fact that church statistics will be included in the next census, and that he desires to make the inquiry broad and complete. Mr. H. K. Carroll, of New York, is the agent in charge.

## A Closing Talk to Dakota Farmers.

T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

In concluding this series of disjointed letters, let us summarize a little. You sell wheat for 50 cents per bushel, wealth-producing wage-workers of the East pay for bread made out of your wheat at the rate of \$1.50 to \$2.00 per bushel; you pay for the products of your Eastern brethren three to four times as much as they receive. You pay from 2 to 4 per cent. per month interest on money which your Government furnishes to banks at 1 per cent. per annum, when it charges them anything at all. When you have used all you have made in any one season in paying these huge profits and usurious interest and fail to produce a crop the succeeding season you know what it is to suffer and, perhaps, to even eat gophers and field mice.

Innocent babies of coal miners at Streator, Ill., die of starvation. Their fathers would gladly mine coal at 75 cents per ton. You pay for this same coal from \$5 to \$7 per ton.

The principal feeling inspired in the breasts of our politicians by the suffering of our miners is as to how their misery may be turned to partisan account. Frank Lawler, Democratic Congressman, with a salary of \$5,000 per annum—\$15 per day—goes to Streator with a car-load of provisions and a brass band. To checkmate this Democratic move Fred. H. Wines, Republican, secretary of our State board of charities, with a salary of \$3,500 per annum—\$10 per day—hies himself to Streator and makes a thorough “house-to-house canvass.” Lawler and Wines vie with each other in their protestations of friendship for the suffering miners. Lawler and his contemptible crew of blood-sucking vampires draw sweet consolation from the fact that Illinois is a Republican State, and that the suffering took place under a Republican administration. Wines and his equally contemptible crew of buzzards roll “as a sweet morsel under the tongue” the fact that William L. Scott, Democratic Congressman from Pennsylvania, and Cleveland’s right-hand man, is president of the company that is heartlessly starving innocent children to death. And so it goes. At last accounts the partisan capital drawn from the slowly-drying life’s-blood of helpless women and children was about a stand-off. All this is according to law—I mean man-made law.

Gopher-eating farmers and starving coal miners not only suffer according to law, but because of law. This statement is as absolutely, as strictly, and as completely true as the statement is that water will run down hill. And since this is so, it is a duty incumbent upon you and our starving coal miners, and, in fact, all wealth-producers, to require at the hands of our law-making power a thorough readjustment, and, in hundreds of instances, a complete and ruthless abrogation of existing statutes. There are hundreds of men in whom you place all confidence, who are abundantly able to tell you what laws ought to be repealed and what legislation enacted in order to change your condition for the better. The lawyers, the bankers, and railroad presidents, and the shrewd party managers upon whom you delight to shower political favors, and in whose integrity you place unbounded, unlimited, child-like confidence, are smart men. They know the why of your suffering. But they will not tell you. Because to do so would be to kill the goose that lays them their golden eggs.

Ask one of these gentlemen why it is that wealth-producers all over the country are producing wealth at a loss to themselves, while a few idle schemers are amassing wealth with a rapidity never before heard of, and if you could whisper to me the name of the party to which he pledges fealty, I could tell you his answer as well, though perhaps not so elegantly, as he

could. If he train with the party calling itself Democratic, he would earnestly swear by all that’s grand and glorious that the only reason why things are so is because of our high protective Republican tariff. If he belongs to the party calling itself Republican, he would swear just as ardently that the only reason of distress among wealth-producers is because the country has been alarmed by Democratic-British free-trade talk, and the moneyed men, upon whom everything depends, refused to invest their capital upon an uncertain market. You know as well as I do that this would be the style of answer your party politician would give you. And you know, if you have any ability to reason at all, that the answer, whichever it was, would be a cold-blooded, heartless lie. Here is the proof. Republicans tell us that the tariff is levied for the express purpose of increasing the wages of laborers to the end that their enhanced ability to consume may create for you and all other farmers a market at home for your produce.

Democrats claim that, so far is the tariff from accomplishing what Republicans claim for it, that it not only fails in that particular, but is in reality the one cause of the distress among wealth-producers. Their argument is that the tariff, while enabling capitalists to maintain prices for the articles they have to sell, in no way prevents the importation of laborers who compete with each other for the wages paid by the capitalists, and that competition among laborers has reduced wages to the lowest possible point at which laborers can live and continue production, and that capitalists ought, therefore, to be shorn of their artificial power to maintain prices. Here are a few facts. The tariff on coal is 75 cents per ton. According to Republican logic the wages of coal miners ought to be increased by that amount. That is to say, if the labor of digging coal is worth 75 cents per ton, the wages paid to coal miners under our tariff ought to be \$1.50 per ton. The report of the Bureau of Labor statistics of this State for last year shows, on page 326, that the average wages paid to miners was less than 72 cents per ton, or more than 3 cents less than the tariff on coal. This would seem conclusive proof that the tariff, on coal, at least, does not advance the wages of those engaged in producing the protected article. If the tariff, according to Democratic doctrine as stated by Mr. Cleveland in his famous message, be added to the cost of production, and ultimately paid by the consumer, then the account would stand something like this:

Per ton.	
Wages to miners per ton.....	73
Incidental expenses and interest, say.....	53
Tariff.....	75

Total cost to consumer at mine..... \$2.00

The report referred to above shows, on the same page, that the average price of coal at the mines last year was less than one dollar and thirteen cents. These figures show that the tariff on coal is of no good to either the mine owners or mine workers. Again, the tariff on potatoes is 15 cents per bushel. The crop in this State in 1887 was eight million bushels short. The farmers who were fortunate enough to produce a surplus sold them as high in some instances as \$1.25 per bushel. Our local journals of the Republican persuasion seized this opportunity to land the tariff on potatoes, and to declare that it was the tariff which enabled them to receive the big prices they did.

In view of the fact that many of our farmers themselves were under the necessity of purchasing potatoes, it is hard for an ordinarily modest man to comprehend the colossal cheek necessary to the advancing of such tariff argument at such a time. But let that pass. Our crop last year was an enormous one. And the effect of our immense supply was that we were not only unable to add the tariff of 15 cents

to the cost of production, but we were utterly unable to sell thousands of bushels of our potatoes at any price. Vast quantities held over until this (last) spring were sold as low as five cents per bushel, some were given to whoever would take them, and tons were used for hog feed. Our local journals haven’t said anything this year about the tariff giving the farmers good prices for potatoes, but perhaps the local journals of Nebraska have. Definite information received from a farmer near Fullerton, Neb., last spring is to the effect that while potatoes in Illinois were a drug in the market, the farmers in the neighborhood of Fullerton paid 75 cents per bushel for them. Coal, mined and potatoes produced in Illinois at an absolute loss to the labor engaged in mining coal and producing potatoes affords two instances—and the list may be prolonged almost indefinitely—in which wealth-producers have completely failed to profit because of the tariff. At the same time, the price of coal to consumers in Dakota and of potatoes in Nebraska shows the utter inadequacy of free trade with foreign nations as a means of relief, and oh! how contemptibly small does the proposed Democratic 5 per cent. reduction look! But

Democrats claim that, so far is the tariff from accomplishing what Republicans claim for it, that it not only fails in that particular, but is in reality the one cause of the distress among wealth-producers. Their argument is that the tariff, while enabling capitalists to maintain prices for the articles they have to sell, in no way prevents the importation of laborers who compete with each other for the wages paid by the capitalists, and that competition among laborers has reduced wages to the lowest possible point at which laborers can live and continue production, and that capitalists ought, therefore, to be shorn of their artificial power to maintain prices. Here are a few facts. The tariff on coal is 75 cents per ton. According to Republican logic the wages of coal miners ought to be increased by that amount. That is to say, if the labor of digging coal is worth 75 cents per ton, the wages paid to coal miners under our tariff ought to be \$1.50 per ton. The report of the Bureau of Labor statistics of this State for last year shows, on page 326, that the average wages paid to miners was less than 72 cents per ton, or more than 3 cents less than the tariff on coal. This would seem conclusive proof that the tariff, on coal, at least, does not advance the wages of those engaged in producing the protected article. If the tariff, according to Democratic doctrine as stated by Mr. Cleveland in his famous message, be added to the cost of production, and ultimately paid by the consumer, then the account would stand something like this:

Per ton.	
Wages to miners per ton.....	73
Incidental expenses and interest, say.....	53
Tariff.....	75

Total cost to consumer at mine..... \$2.00

The report referred to above shows, on the same page, that the average price of coal at the mines last year was less than one dollar and thirteen cents. These figures show that the tariff on coal is of no good to either the mine owners or mine workers. Again, the tariff on potatoes is 15 cents per bushel. The crop in this State in 1887 was eight million bushels short. The farmers who were fortunate enough to produce a surplus sold them as high in some instances as \$1.25 per bushel. Our local journals of the Republican persuasion seized this opportunity to land the tariff on potatoes, and to declare that it was the tariff which enabled them to receive the big prices they did.

In view of the fact that many of our farmers themselves were under the necessity of purchasing potatoes, it is hard for an ordinarily modest man to comprehend the colossal cheek necessary to the advancing of such tariff argument at such a time. But let that pass. Our crop last year was an enormous one. And the effect of our immense supply was that we were not only unable to add the tariff of 15 cents

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

for one man or set of men to levy tribute upon their fellows. And it is this system which the industrial revolution that Rev. George C. Lorimer, before the Masonic Grand Lodge (not Herr Moser before the patrons of a beer saloon) so eloquently predicted will overthrow. Again, brother farmers, what part do you intend to play in the great drama, the final act of which will be the striking of the shackles of industrial slavery from your limbs? Will the election of Republican “Judges” Moody and Edgerton to represent your State in the United States Senate bring you relief quicker than the election of Democratic “judges” somebody else will? Are not our law-making and law-executing halls now filled with judges and generals, bank and railroad presidents? Haven’t our laws been made and executed for lo! these many years by men who wear handles to their names, and who spout eloquently and learnedly about “protection” or “free-trade”? “By their fruits ye shall know them.” Are you content with the harvest of monopolies, trusts, and combinations which originated in the vicious legislation of the past? Don’t you believe that a change in the personnel of your law-makers would be a wise move? Can’t you startle the world and make the eyes of scheming politicians bulge out of their heads by electing a couple of farmers to represent you in the United States Senate? If not, why not? It is true they might not appear so elegant; they might even not be so learned and brilliant as “Judges” Moody and Edgerton are. But between you and me, we could spare a degree of these qualities from our Senatorial chambers if by so doing we could get a little more heart and soul and sympathy there. No doubt if you should combine to accomplish this thing you would raise a howl of virtuous (?) indignation all over the country against your efforts at “class (?) rule.” No doubt the subsidized press and corporation lackeys would condemn your action, and declare that this is as much a lawyer’s country as it is a farmer’s country, and that your effort at a “class party” should be frowned down by all patriotic citizens. No doubt that such action upon your part would bring down upon your devoted heads a perfect cyclone of vituperation and billingsgate; but never mind. There’ll be lots of howling and swearing done before you will be allowed to accomplish any good for yourselves, and the principal weapons of those who will be found fighting the industrial revolution will be drawn from an inexhaustible supply of filthy “cuss words” and hypocritical inconsistencies. The inconsistency of those who argue against a “class” rule that would send one or two wealth-producers to the United States Senate, while three-fourths of the seats of that august (?) body are occupied with their consent by men who belong to the most insignificant “class” of our citizens, is only equaled by the impudence which representatives of that “class” display when arguing the rights of corporations as against the rights of the people.

Yes, an industrial revolution is coming. And its first practical step will have been taken when the people shall have relegated to eternal obscurity the corporation attorneys and leaned “judges” who use their exalted official positions to trade upon the sufferings of their constituents. To you, the citizens of an overwhelmingly agricultural State, may come the high honor of having been the practical pioneers in this grand work. Are you worthy of your opportunity?

AUGUST earnings of the Union Pacific were \$3,816,195, increase \$361,588; net, \$1,692,000; increase, \$265,584. Now wait until Congress meets and hear these leeches swear, when payment is demanded of the millions loaned them by the Government, that there are no net earnings, and, consequently, they can not pay

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## THE REFORM PRESS.

What the Papers in the Organized States Talk About.

The Toiler (Nashville, Tenn.) notes that—

Over two hundred charters for new Alliances have been issued from this office the past sixty days. There has been about forty new Wheels organized also during the same period.

The Toiler realizes the advantage of consolidation:

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

The Ellis County Mirror (Waxahachie, Tex.) makes a vigorous threat. Wrong, brother, as it is evidence of good taste, if not of honest work, to steal from such a paper as the Mirror. Editors generally know a good thing when they see it. We quote:

We were much amused at the rules adopted by some editor, to cut off any exchange who got his paper one year, and didn't comment on or quote some of his editorials, and we have decided to cut off any one who quotes our editorials without credit. This is a very small matter, and when a fellow labors hard for ideas and then produces them, few and far between, he hates to see them stolen. A man would as well take one's money as his thoughts, and, in fact, we have more of the former since cotton has begun to come in.

The American Nonconformist (Winfield, Kan.) gives a whole lecture in the following:

A move is suggested to down the sugar trust by doing without sugar. Why not go one step further and do without pants because you object to the high prices permitted on account of the tariff? Are not the people of this land doing without necessities about as much as reason says they should?

The following from the Troy (Mo.) Herald is squarely in line with the correct principles of government:

Somehow many individuals seem to say to themselves, "I am not specially concerned, the matter does not affect me personally. I will attend to my own private affairs and protect myself, not having time or occasion to look after the rights of others." So saying and acting, such persons shirk their responsibilities and really morally forfeit their right to protection when they may get into trouble. The theory of the Government may be right, the spirit and letter of the laws may be all right, but without this principle of mutual protection operating in the minds and hearts of the citizens equal and exact justice is not done and protection is not had. The laws become dead and inoperative, inequalities ensue, selfishness supervenes, and, eventually, bad and oppressive laws are made by the influence of selfish combinations of persons.

The Chicago Sentinel heads its editorial column with the following:

Homes for the Homeless.—Till every man, woman, and child has home—across the threshold of which no tax-gatherer, creditor, landlord, or master can or dare pass.

The Clark County Democrat (South Dakota) hits the nail squarely on the head when it says:

The chief value of new party movements is the educational effect of the investigations and interchange of opinions incident to the work of platform making and the discussion of the principles enunciated before the people. When the people become educated on issues, then there will be a demand for their adoption, but not before.

In describing the agricultural millennium the Alabama Enquirer says:

No more mortgages, no more credit system, no more crop liens; won't it be a happy day for Alabama when the farmers adopt and strictly adhere to that polity? The farmers are uniting all over the State. They are organizing Alliances in every county. The very best results may be expected from their determined and united purpose to improve their condition.

The Alabama Alliance Advocate publishes the following gem in a late number:

The Alliance is not only binding men together in matters pertaining to the common interest in a manner unprecedented in the history of agricultural organizations, but it is also developing a spirit of in-

dependence, self-reliance, and manliness that has secured the good-will of an unbiased public, and has won the respect of its enemies.

A correspondent in the Alliance Journal (Clarksville, Tex.) believes the farmers may be forced to ask that they be protected by a stay law:

A general stay law for six or twelve months will work no harm to any one, except the trust, so far as we can see. All will be on an equality. The farmer will be relieved from paying the retail merchant; the retail merchant from paying the wholesaler, and the latter from paying the bankers and money-lenders. If all debts be stayed, no credit can be hurt. And as money-lenders owe no one, and as they accumulate by means of interest, and as their interest continues, they are not hurt by a general stay law.

The Headlight (Wheatland, Mo.), rises strong through suffering, and evidently knows the virtue of an abstemious life. Such pluck is necessary when one enters the rugged path before a reform paper:

All the Headlight's enemies can say against it is: "Oh, it can't live." Our ability to fast has often been underrated, but never so much so as now. We have it in black and white that we will live for one year, just as we are, after which we can die if the moral status of Hickory is not strong enough to hold us up another year.

The Chicago Express hands out a good solid chunk of common sense in this statement:

If the people could only come to see and feel that the Government is themselves, and the Congressmen who are administering its affairs their servants, and that, in order to secure faithful service from these servants, they, the farmers, must understand the functions of Government, each and every one of them, and then demand that their servants shall give such service as shall tend to the highest good of all, and not a favored class alone, there would soon be no need of farmers' organizations to protect the people in their inalienable rights against the very Government they are a part of, and which they pay heavy taxes to maintain.

The Rural Messenger (Virginia) sends greeting to other States:

The sub-Alliances in Virginia now number over 500, and are increasing at the rate of fifty or sixty per month. Our organizers are doing splendidly.

The following from the Troy (Mo.) Herald is squarely in line with the correct principles of government:

Whenever we cease to aspire to better things, we begin to die and to rot. When once the tree ceases to grow it begins to decay. When political parties have no reforms to advocate they have outlived their days of usefulness and only exist for the sake of the spoils of office.

The Local News (Mo.) gives the following, which does not require comment:

If every man in the United States owned his own home, free from taxation and execution, it would be a nation of patriots, a nation of temperance men, a nation of workers—full of strength, power, and glory.

The Lansing Sentinel (Michigan) says:

The improvement in the law of realty in the United States over England and its consequent increase in simplicity, is due, says Walker, in his American Law, to two cases: "Our entire disunion of church and state, permitting nothing like a religious establishment, and our total abolition of hereditary personal distinctions."

The Union Banner (Mo.) begins newspaper life in a vigorous and lively manner. We quote the following from its first number:

The upper crust in speaking of farmers' organizations say: "The farmers seem to want the earth. Well, we should smile. What could the farmer do without the earth? What could the upper crust do without the earth, and especially without the sturdy hand that goes forth through the sun of summer and storm of winter, never faltering in the discharge of his profession and calling to feed and clothe the millions? There is a great burden upon his shoulders which the millionaire and bondholder make more burdensome by putting a price upon what he produces, and also fixing the price of what he must consume."

The Inman Review (Nebraska) comes to us with the paragraph clipped below:

The Liberal (Georgia) says in regard to railroads: Unless the present legislature pass some measure to prevent railroad monopoly there will be no rail-

road competition in Georgia when the legislature of 1890 meets.

Macon (Mo.) Times:

The city council of St. Joseph enacted a meat-inspection ordinance, which went into effect Thursday of last week, but the Armour's are shipping dressed meat in just the same as if there was no such a law, and if their agent is arrested, will make a test case of the ordinance.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it. You have no say in pricing the goods you buy, and often the quality is not as represented. You bring your mortgaged produce to market and sell it just for what they see fit to give you. The buyers simply obey their masters. What are you getting for your corn? Just about enough to pay for the gathering and hauling to market, while hundreds of thousands of bushels are wasted for the want of reasonable transportation. This is the fault of the people. The Constitution guaranteed them rights in full, but they suffered themselves sold out by men that had nothing at stake, and cared more for a free ride and free whisky than they did for their country.

Labate County (Kan.) Statesman:

Is this country to be everlasting at the mercy of the idolaters of gold? Why should we not have an American system for the American people—a system that will be uniform and stable and always promote the individual and general welfare? The dethronement of gold as the money standard of the country is the first thing to be done in this direction. American money must be made of something else.

This is exactly the question to be solved.

The Labor Review (Iowa) gives the following item to our review column:

Somehow many individuals seem to say to themselves, "I am not specially concerned, the matter does not affect me personally. I will attend to my own private affairs and protect myself, not having time or occasion to look after the rights of others." So saying and acting, such persons shirk their responsibilities and really morally forfeit their right to protection when they may get into trouble. The theory of the Government may be right, the spirit and letter of the laws may be all right, but without this principle of mutual protection operating in the minds and hearts of the citizens equal and exact justice is not done and protection is not had. The laws become dead and inoperative, inequalities ensue, selfishness supervenes, and, eventually, bad and oppressive laws are made by the influence of selfish combinations of persons.

The Local News (Mo.) gives the following, which does not require comment:

If every man in the United States owned his own home, free from taxation and execution, it would be a nation of patriots, a nation of temperance men, a nation of workers—full of strength, power, and glory.

The Lansing Sentinel (Michigan) says:

The improvement in the law of realty in the United States over England and its consequent increase in simplicity, is due, says Walker, in his American Law, to two cases: "Our entire disunion of church and state, permitting nothing like a religious establishment, and our total abolition of hereditary personal distinctions."

The Union Banner (Mo.) begins newspaper life in a vigorous and lively manner. We quote the following from its first number:

The upper crust in speaking of farmers' organizations say: "The farmers seem to want the earth. Well, we should smile. What could the farmer do without the earth? What could the upper crust do without the earth, and especially without the sturdy hand that goes forth through the sun of summer and storm of winter, never faltering in the discharge of his profession and calling to feed and clothe the millions? There is a great burden upon his shoulders which the millionaire and bondholder make more burdensome by putting a price upon what he produces, and also fixing the price of what he must consume."

The Inman Review (Nebraska) comes to us with the paragraph clipped below:

The Liberal (Georgia) says in regard to railroads: Unless the present legislature pass some measure to prevent railroad monopoly there will be no rail-

road competition in Georgia when the legislature of 1890 meets.

Macon (Mo.) Times:

The city council of St. Joseph enacted a meat-inspection ordinance, which went into effect Thursday of last week, but the Armour's are shipping dressed meat in just the same as if there was no such a law, and if their agent is arrested, will make a test case of the ordinance.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

This is not strange. When Mr. Armour can defy the whole United States, can't his agent defy St. Joseph?

The Quitman (Ga.) Press correctly states:

The Alliance should not allow any politician, or any friend of a politician, to lead it about by its nose.

The Democrat (McKinney, Texas) publishes a letter from Hon. John Johnson:

You will hear men on every corner, who never read the Democrat, cursing the cotton and grain buyers for putting down the price of cotton and grain. Gentlemen, these buyers have no more power to price your produce than you have. The price is set before you have planted, by bloated monopolies. The buyers are only agents for these monopolies, while you are acting as servants to merchants and money loaners to whom you execute a running note, and a mortgage to back it.

of a double trust, there need be no surprise about the opposition developed among this class.

By common consent it has been recognized as a principle that the roads should be run so as to pay dividends on their stock, while the amount charged for the service was to be fixed by competition. The roads, to increase their earnings, watered their stock, and fixed their charges so as to pay dividends on their watered stock. Thus millions were amassed, and capital seeking investment rushed into railroad enterprises. The people, anxious to aid them, voted millions of dollars as bonus, which was added to the actual capital invested by the projectors. When the road was completed it was capitalized at the highest possible figure, and the business run so as to compel the people to pay dividends on the money they had given to the roads, and in addition to this, dividends on as much fictitious stock as the market would float.

The Western Recorder (Mo.) comes out quite plain in the following paragraph:

Our only recognized aristocracy is a plutocracy, and that, alas, is fawned upon with a toadyism not less odious, and far more degrading, than that which beyond seas grovels in the dust before title. The exceptions to this here and there, such as the worship of "blood" in a few old cities, of "culture" in a few intellectual centers, are too far between to count.

Our Opinion (Kansas) comes to the front with some very pertinent suggestions, which should be read by every lover of justice and fair play:

Who, then, is to blame because the miner goes hungry while the farmer burns his corn? Who is it that steps in between the miner and the farmer, and prevents them from exchanging the products of their labor? It is the law-maker. It is the men whom the farmers and miners send to the legislative halls of the country every two years. These men are chosen by parasites, who live by their wits off the labor of their fellow-men. The legislators are the hired tools of syndicates and corporations. They are not elected to stand between the strong and the weak and see that justice is done; they are elected to serve the strong and make the weak foot the bills. They are elected for the purpose of making robbery respectable by legalizing it. They are elected purposely to prevent the producers of wealth from making a free exchange of their productions, and this will continue until the farmers and laborers take matters into their own hands, and select men from their own ranks to repeal and enact laws.

In speaking of the late bankers' convention the Colorado Workman says:

## 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.

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 their contracts.

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

Address all remittances or communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST will issue promptly on the 15th of December an almanac for 1890. The object in delaying the issue until that date is to get in the gist of the proceedings of the Farmers and Laborers Union that meets in St. Louis December 5. This almanac will comprise about one hundred pages of closely printed matter, carefully collected and condensed, so as to make a complete and valuable handbook on the subject of the Farmers and Laborers Union. It will be given to all yearly subscribers free, provided they send one new subscriber, or given as a premium for two new subscribers, or offered for sale at fifteen cents each; two copies for twenty-five cents.

The adjourned meeting of the Maryland State Alliance is to be at Upper Marlboro, Wednesday, November 13. Two or three new county Alliances will be represented, besides several sub-Alliances organized since adjournment.

THE spirit of '76 is again revived among the farmers of North Carolina in their warfare against the jute bagging trust. They are as thoroughly in earnest as those in the ragged ranks who followed Marion, Sumter, and Wynn through the woods of the Carolinas, and fed on roots, while fighting for freedom. They are determined to down the jute trust, and they will do it. Although the trust is now offering bagging there at two cents per pound, yet the farmers will not have it at any price. At Raleigh, October 15, a scene was witnessed and a ceremony publicly performed which shows the depth of public feeling against the jute combination. Mr. William Bateman, secretary of Washington County Alliance, about to be married to Miss Josephine Knowles, in order to give expression to their detestation of trust greed, the young couple resolved that they would be married in suits of cotton bagging. The State Alliance officials hearing of this invited them to come to Raleigh and have the ceremony performed during the State fair and session of the State Alliance. The invitation was accepted, and October 15 they were married at the State fair grounds in the presence of thousands of enthusiastic witnesses. The bride was dressed in white cotton bagging, trimmed with buff satin. Her bonnet was ornamented with cotton blossoms and balls. The bridesmaids, Misses Nellie Partin, Ella

Sanderford, Maud Stephenson, and Florence Stephenson wore cotton-bagging sashes. The bridegroom was arrayed in a full suit of cotton bagging, as were also his groomsmen, Messrs. R. A. Baugh, C. H. Stevenson, R. E. L. Yates, and J. J. Dupree. Gov. Fowle and a number of other State officials were present; also Mr. S. B. Alexander, vice-president of the National Alliance. Rev. J. J. Scott, chaplain of the State Alliance, performed the ceremony. At the conclusion of the ceremony, Gov. Fowle congratulated the newly married couple, and, presenting the wedding gifts, said that "the people of North Carolina took this way of showing their appreciation of this public expression and popular feeling against trusts. This happy couple show in their own persons that jute bagging will never be king in North Carolina." State Auditor Sunderlin said that "the people of the State commended the marriage by these gifts, their presence, their appreciation of the anti-trust spirit of the young couple." Mr. Alexander offered his congratulations on behalf of the National Alliance. THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST takes pleasure in sending its sincere congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Bateman. Of such men and women is the kingdom of liberty.

THE County Alliance of Charles County, Md., met on the 12th inst. Although the farmers were very busy seeding wheat, every one of the eleven Alliances in the county was well represented by good and earnest men. The future of the Alliance in that county is safe.

#### Bribe-Seeking Officials.

An incidental phase of the transportation problem is called to public attention by the publication of a number of letters in a New York paper. These letters were written to President Chauncey M. Depew of the New York Central Railroad, begging for railroad passes. By accident or carelessness on the part of the railroad officials, the file of letters passed into the hands of a junk dealer and thence to a newspaper office. Only those from public officials are published. Many of them are startling in their blunt bribe-seeking directness. A State senator asks for passes for himself and five members of his family from Syracuse to Kansas City and return. A Speaker of the house of representatives of New York State asks for passes for a relative and her two daughters, and also for an annual ticket for himself. A large number of tax assessors ask for passes and intimate that they will give full return in low assessments. Letters from a number of persons in the New York tax office ask for passes by wholesale for themselves and friends. Their applications were indorsed as granted. The mayor of Albany writes for passes for the assessor of Greenbush, volunteering the advice, "I think it would be good policy if you should send passes." An Albany assessor writes to Mr. Worcester, an official of the railroad, for an annual pass. The latter forwards to Mr. Depew with the comment:

"DEAR SIR: In view of our peculiar relations to the Albany assessors, I would recom-

mend this. We are liable there to local tax on capital stock, and by special arrangements succeed in paying nothing."

F. F. Wendell, another official of the road, endorses an application of a Montgomery County assessor for an annual pass, stating that the applicant "had helped to reduce the assessment of the road in that county from \$10,000 per mile to \$6,000." An assessor of Hyde Park in applying for passes for himself and two sons says:

"I hope you are pleased with your assessment this year. If you want to see me please say so, and I will call on you when I am down in New York."

Apparently the Hyde Park assessor was determined to earn his passes by pleasing Mr. Depew in assessing. Evidently the New York Central Railroad corporation and its genial president are blessed in having State and city officials so ready, willing, and able to serve them. It has been hitherto the general impression that in all shady transactions between corporations and public officials, the corporation was the guilty party, and seduced the poor weak official. But if the bribe-seeking correspondents of Mr. Depew are fair samples of the Empire State officials, then indeed it is not to be wondered at that New York corporations are corrupt. No corporation can corrupt those officials.

SOME of our exchanges seem disposed to severely criticise certain members of the late Bankers' Convention at Kansas City, because of their expressed desire to have the treasury notes retired from circulation. Is this criticism deserved? We think not. Those gentlemen did not go to Kansas City for their health. They did not go there to consult as to the public welfare. They went there to look after and consult about their own interests. Did they not attend to it all the time? Some of them asserted that "the Treasury notes constitute the weak point in our monetary system," and that they should be retired. Well, it is true from their standpoint. The Treasury notes do constitute a weak spot in our money system. These notes are the only part of our paper money that costs the people nothing, that pays no tribute to interest-absorbers. And from the standpoint of the interest-absorbing profession it is an outrage that they should exist. Just think of it. The American people have had the free use of those \$346,000,000 of greenbacks for over a quarter a century to do business on; they have absolutely used the public credit for the public benefit to that extent without paying any private parties for permission to do so. Just think of it! Had these notes been withdrawn from circulation at the close of the war and interest-bearing bonds issued instead, as each of our Secretaries of the Treasury and several of our Presidents since that time have recommended, think of how much additional interest our people would have the pleasure of paying. Even at 5 per cent. it would amount to \$17,300,000 yearly, or in twenty-five years to \$482,000,000 even at simple interest. Think of the number of good men that amount would have

made rich! Think of the number of extra millionaires it could have created! And there is really no excuse for the people in failing to pay this, because there are any number of gentlemanly interest-absorbers in the country who were ready at all times to fulfill the duties of their profession. And the people would never feel the additional burden of a few hundred millions, more or less. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the members of the Kansas City convention, proud of their profession and jealous of its interests, should be in favor of removing "the one weak spot" in our money system. Besides, there are many eminent financiers who declare it grossly unconstitutional for the people to use the public credit for the public benefit. Mr. John J. Knox said in the Kansas City convention that he hoped the last decision of the Supreme Court upon the legal-tender notes "would be soon reversed." John J. is an interest absorber, not only by profession, but also by instinct. He judges this world and all the people therein solely by their ability to pay interest. A people unable to pay a good round rate of interest are to him worthless. Where interest is high and secure, is his ideal of a progressive nation. He is therefore always and consistently opposed to every proposition to make currency plentiful or to lower interest. But he is not to blame for this. It is his nature to think thus. He can not help it. Why, then, should he be criticised for attending strictly to his own business? He and his *frères* are correct in considering anything weak that can not bring them a profit. Interest-absorbing is a respectable profession. It has grown to immense proportions, and is to-day the most prosperous business in the country. It deserves and should receive the fostering care and protection of the Government. If the Government does not exist for that purpose, what does it exist for?

#### Typical Trust Methods.

The fluctuations in the certificates of the Sugar Refineries Company—better known as the "sugar trust"—illustrate in a forcible manner the modern methods by which speculative greed preys upon the consumers and at the same time plunders honest investors and demoralizes legitimate business. At the time of the formation of the sugar trust the properties put into the concern were valued, according to their owners' appraisement, at only \$16,000,000—probably several millions above the actual value. But the trust was capitalized at \$50,000,000, and certificates to that amount issued to the owners of those properties—that is more than three times the value of the refineries coming into the trust. At that time certificates of stock were selling at 60 cents on the dollar, or about double their real value. By clever manipulation, however, they were soon run up. The inside operators gave out glowing accounts of the profits being made and of the big prospective dividends. It was positively affirmed that the managers would invest in \$10,000,000 of the certificates of the trust and keep them in the treasury as assets. They pretended to have absolutely more cash

in the treasury than they knew what to do with. Certificates were in big demand; the trust was on a boom. Last June the certificates were run up to 126, and were eagerly purchased at that figure. The inside workers were quietly unloading at fancy prices and making a rich harvest in hard cash, leaving the later and less wise purchasers to pay dearly for their profit-seeking mania. Meanwhile the work of extortion upon the consumers by pushing up the price of sugar was carried to the fullest extent practicable. But even at extortionate rates for sugar it was found difficult to pay high dividends on stock representing less than one-third real value and more than two-thirds water. Besides, the trust was unable to control as large a percentage of the total refining business as its projectors supposed, or at least professed their ability to do. At first the trust controlled about 80 per cent. of the total sugar trade of the country, but it does not now control more than 60 per cent., and probably less. From these and other causes the trust certificates fell last week as low as 70. Of course, this is still more than double the real value of the actual property they represent. The difference between 33 cents—the actual value of the certificates—and 126 cents—the highest figure reached by the certificates, suggests the profits of the original promoters of the scheme. The difference between 126 in June and 70 last week gives an idea of the losses of the late investors. The increased price of sugar represents the loss of the general public so far in the speculative game. Claus Spreckels, the distinguished sugar monopolist of the Pacific Coast, is erecting another large refinery in Philadelphia and publicly announces his intention not only to act independent of the sugar trust, but to fight it. How far reliance can be placed upon Claus to fight monopoly remains to be seen. Judging from his past record, if it be to his interest to fight it, he will do so. It is possible that he aspires to break up the sugar trust and supplant it with a Spreckels trust. For let it be remembered that when his Philadelphia refinery is completed the capacity of his refineries will reach 11,000 barrels daily, while the total daily output of all the refineries in the United States amounts to 26,000 barrels. Be this as it may, the patient people are still paying a vast tribute to the sugar trust and to Mr. Spreckels. Whether the speculators will bear the trust certificates the sugar consumers must still support the sugar trust. How long will they do it?

The last lie of the jute men is to the effect that the cotton bagging is taken from the bale and jute substituted at the city compresses. However well stuck to, this is simply a lie. Cotton-covered bales go through and on shipboard without discrimination.

COL. Harry Tracy is now in Washington. National Lecturer Ben Terrell is engaged in a lecture tour in Kansas.

VOLUME I of the ECONOMIST, bound in strong paper, is now ready for delivery; and all who send for it as a premium for six paid subscribers at \$1 each will receive it at once.

#### 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. 25.

#### THE RAILROAD THEORY OF "VALUE."

One of the most authoritative statements of the railroad position in respect to local discrimination is that made by Mr. E. P. Alexander, in his pamphlet on "Railway Practice." To discuss this question intelligently, especially on this branch of the subject, it is necessary to give a fair consideration to the railway theories and the influences which govern the railroad methods. For that reason I shall try to give a fair condensation here of Mr. Alexander's argument on this point.

Mr. Alexander starts out with stating that one of the principal points at issue between the theoretical railway reformers and railway managers is whether freight charges shall be made upon the cost of the service rendered or upon its value. He acknowledges that "it is the universal custom among railroads, the world over, to make their charges upon the value of the service rendered, and not upon its cost, although the latter would seem to be the safer plan if they could only put it in force." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and the different localities to which the service is rendered. "But few of any railroad's total expenses can be divided and assigned to transportation on the various kinds of freight except by the merest guess-work," says Mr. Alexander; "the results so arrived at would be as unreliable as the distance to the moon, estimated by measuring up to the top of the highest mountain and guessing at the rest." But he regards it as practically impossible to determine the elements of cost of service so exactly as to enable the railroad to distribute its charges impartially among the different staples to be transported and

ported at such lower rates as to afford a large revenue to the railroads and an indefinite increase of the volume of commerce by the movement of large quantities of the low-class freight, which would not be possible if it were required to pay the "single-charge," which Mr. Alexander seemed to consider necessary, if the cost of service is made the sole consideration in the adjustment of rates.

Upon this basis, Mr. Alexander proceeds to consider the subject of discriminations between localities. He begins with the point that nature has discriminated in favor of localities which enjoy the benefit of cheap water transportation, and has discriminated against the inland places which are dependent entirely upon artificial transportation routes. This contrast Mr. Alexander regards as making "the service which the railroad renders to the inland customer far more indispensable and valuable to him than can be rendered to those who enjoy natural transportation, and he can afford to pay more for it." He takes the position which Mr. Fink had expressed before him, that the railroad is built, in general, only for the service of the inland parties, and that it throws its surplus power as it were, or the excess of its ability to transport, after it has performed all the service which the inland localities require of it, to the localities which enjoy the transportation at cheap rates. With regard to one example which we have already made prominent in this discussion, he states that "no one would ever dream of building a railroad between New York and San Francisco for the sake of the through business it could get in competition with the ocean;" but that the transcontinental railroads were built for the sake of performing the transportation in the wide territory lying between those points, and which have no other route of modern and adequate transportation. The basis of the charge to the inland or local shipper, he considers to be the value of the service which they could not obtain from any one else, subject to the stipulated condition that "the charge must not exceed a reasonable profit as a maximum." On the other hand, the sole limit of reduction on the through rates, he asserts to be only the "additional outlay involved in doing it—that is, performing the transportation, as against leaving it alone."

As an example, he takes the charge, similar to those already cited in these articles, of a rate on sugar from New York to Ogden, Utah, involving a haul of 2,400 miles, of \$2.14 per hundred pounds. This is cheaper than the merchants of Ogden can get their sugar transported by any other way, and according to Mr. Alexander's previous statements, we must conclude that he regards it as yielding a reasonable profit to the railroad. On the other hand, a charge of \$1.25 on the regular tariff, down to 87 cents in times of rate-wars, on sugar from New York to San Francisco, a haul of 3,300 miles, is all that the railroad can get. If it does not accept the through rate at those figures, the traffic will simply take the ocean route. On the assumption that this rate of 87 cents to \$1.25 per hundred yields the railroad some net revenue above the additional cost of transporting the freight, over and above what

the railroad must expend anyhow, he claims that it is for the advantage of the public as well as the railroad that it shall have the privilege of taking the freight without reference to the much higher rates which it charges to the intermediate points. If the railroad were compelled to reduce its local rates, in proportion as it reduces its through rates, to meet the competition of other routes, he asserts that the reduction of the intermediate rate of \$2.14 to a level with the San Francisco rate of \$1.25 or less, would make every cent of this reduction a loss out of net revenue. As the local business is much the larger, and yields much the greater net profits, the inevitable results, he thinks, would be that the railroads would abandon their through business, and, keeping up the rate upon the local traffic, leave the through transportation to the water routes, which are, by their nature, enabled to transport it much cheaper. The result would be that the intermediate point must still pay the high rates, the railroad must lose that portion of its net revenue which it obtained from the low-priced through freights, the through or competitive point must rely solely for its transportation on the cheaper route, and that "the only persons benefited are the carriers by water between New York and San Francisco, who are relieved from railroad competition, or have it handicapped with severe penalties."

These are the main points of Mr. Alexander's argument, and, so far as they apply to the methods adopted by the railroad under the prevailing conditions, they must be acknowledged to have a great deal of force. But in considering the subject as to whether the conditions themselves are the best or not, it is pertinent to examine and discuss them, in order to see whether the highest public interest and the best principles of economy do not suggest a reformation from the foundation. In order to do that, the first question to raise is the correctness of the railroad practice of making rates solely upon what Mr. Alexander calls the "value" of the service, and what other writers have termed the practice of "charging what the freight will bear." As Mr. Alexander says, the entire railway issue turns upon the question whether this is the correct method of establishing rates, both with regard to freight classification, and in most instances of local discrimination. The issue between the theoretical-railway reformers and railway managers is whether freight charges shall be based upon the cost of the service rendered, or upon the value represented by what the freight will bear if it has no other means of transportation.

In the discussion of this issue, it is cogent to notice that it is now more clearly drawn than it has been at any previous time in the history of the railway agitation. Eight or ten years ago the most usual reply on behalf of the railways to all criticisms of their policy was that critics of the class which Mr. Alexander calls "theoretical railway reformers" were not competent to judge as well as the railway managers, who were so trained in the technicalities of their profession, and so thoroughly informed in the details of the cost of transportation, that their action in such matters

could not be understood by the uninstructed mind. Nine years ago, I think it was, Mr. Fink testified before a legislative committee that "the proper basis of rates is the cost of the service." The transition from that position to the present one, that the cost of the service can not be accurately ascertained, and that freight rates must therefore be based on the value of the service to the shipper, is an indication of the effect of the disclosures showing the disregard of the cost of service by the railway managers in which they originally claim that they were especially versed. Mr. Alexander's confession that the railroad managers are unable to state the exact cost of service from the different points of transportation which he affords to the public was supported by the subsequent investigations by the Interstate Commerce Commission, before which body not a single railroad official has yet been able to produce an exact and scientific analysis of the cost of performing one service of transportation as distinguished from another. The assertion that railroad rates are based, not upon cost, but upon value, is more nearly an accurate representation of the railway methods than the old one of their scientific and expert methods in fixing rates upon the exact cost. Nor is Mr. Alexander more radical in his adoption of the later view, that the cost of service is impracticable, than the accepted corporate organs. Within the last six months the leading financial organ of Wall street has criticised the Interstate Commerce Commission for its "vicious tendency" in the direction of the theory that rates should be based upon the cost of service.

Now the "value" of the service, or, in other words, "what the freight will bear," must be recognized as an element in the natural and legitimate fixing of railway charges, just as the value to the consumer of any other staple is an element in its price. But it is not the only element. Mr. Alexander's apparent idea that the railway reformers would discard every other consideration but the cost of the service, just as the railway managers have, according to his own statement, discarded every other element but the value, or what the freight will bear, is, so far as I am concerned, a misapprehension of my position. Like the same gentleman's assertion with reference to my previous writings on the subject, that "he objects to any classification of freights," this mistake, unintentional, no doubt, was still produced by a failure to thoroughly comprehend my position before criticising it.

Value to humanity, or to the consumer, is an essential basis of all commercial services or staples. Sand in the Sahara Desert is valueless, but in the glass factories of the civilized nations it has a positive commercial price. Rocks at the summit of some mountain are without pecuniary worth, but in the building of a great city they attain the dignity of a financial investment. So the value to the shipper, or the public, of transportation such as is furnished by railroad is a just and a legitimate element in its charges. But the total failure of Mr. Alexander's argument lies in the fact that

he makes that element alone the ruling one, and disregards all other elements, especially the equally vital one in securing justice as between industries, localities, and individuals, represented in the cost of service, or the limit of expense and labor in supplying it. The value of a service or staple to the consumer is the basis and measure of the want or demand for it. The cost of service is the basis and limitation of the supply; and demand and supply, freely acting upon each other, afford a just and legitimate basis for all charges and prices in a normal condition of industry and commerce.

The utterly unjust and abnormal results of a system of levying charges in commerce which keeps in force on one side the element of value which constitutes and creates the demand, and wipes out the element of cost of service or that which constitutes and measures the volume of supply, can be shown by a few signal instances. What is the one thing within the entire range of creation which has the greatest and most universal value to the human race? The atmosphere. Without it life could not be sustained for an hour. Every individual, however wealthy, would give up all his wealth rather than be deprived of it. Yet it is given to every man without price; and Mr. Alexander would repel with indignation the suggestion that even on his railroad trains, where he can control the supply, he should charge his passengers more for giving them air while in transit than for transporting them in cars which did not furnish them pure atmosphere. Water is one of the next articles of most universal value, but the only circumstances under which a charge is imposed for it are those where the cost of pumping it and distributing it to the consumers requires such a charge. To come down within the range of commercial services, Mr. Alexander could well afford to give all the income which his great abilities can secure to him rather than have his family deprived of food; but he would justly regard it as monstrous and abnormal if some perversion of the laws should enable the producers of food to suspend the factors which permit the expansion of supply, and only to put in force upon the price of food the fact that he will give all that he has got rather than have his family starve.

Even supposing that the conditions were only that, while he was subjected to them so as to be obliged to pay \$30 for a barrel of flour, another person, located where producers of flour had to sell under competition, only paid \$10 per barrel, I think it beyond question that Mr. Alexander would perceive that the theory of basing charges and prices solely upon the value to consumers contains possibilities of the most grotesque injustice.

The examples cited above show that, in the economy of nature, the most indispensable articles, those which have the greatest "value," in Mr. Alexander's use of the word, are those which cost the least, and are the freest to the mass of humanity. The reason is that the supply is so vast, the cost of service or production in giving them to the human race is so little, that the prices or charges are either nothing at all, or are infinitesimal in proportion to the

need of humanity for them. This fact brings out in strong relief the great principle that while value or demand is an undoubted element in the fixing of commercial prices and charges, a much more important element in determining what prices are just and what charges are reasonable is the cost of the service, or the amount of labor and expense involved in rendering the service or producing the staple to be used by the consumer. To discard the cost of service is virtually to say that the consumer must pay a greater amount and render a greater amount of service upon his own part than the cost or labor of the service he receives. Beyond that it involves the necessity of excluding from the right to perform that service those who might compete with the agency which endeavours to ignore that factor in order to obtain the higher prices or charges based upon value.

The first point, therefore, in the examination of Mr. Alexander's statement of the railway position is that it involves and discloses the disregard of a great and vital factor in maintaining the just relation of charges generally represented by the word "supply." Mr. Alexander's correct assertion that the railway charges are based upon value, or demand, rather than upon cost of service or supply, attains the character not of a justification, but of a confession. It does not prove that the railway practices are right, but it lays open the fact that they rest upon an unnatural and inequitable basis. The particular practice under discussion may arise necessarily out of the conditions of the railway system; but it shows the weakness of the system, considered in the interest of the public, in adopting but one element in the fixing of charges and discarding the other equally important element which acts as a balance and adjustment to the first. It brings out in a strong light the fact that the condition which makes possible this uneven and one-sided theory of charges is the absence of competition in supply which would otherwise bring into force the element of cost, and the presence of competition in demand which makes the element of value a vital one.

This branch of the subject can hardly be passed over without stating the conviction that the impossibility of estimating the cost or expense involved in railway transportation is largely imaginary. It is probably correct enough that it is difficult to determine exactly how much of certain items of general expenses or conducting transportation should be assigned to certain branches of traffic. But as the total of such items only amounts to about one-eighth of the total expenses on an average railroad transacting a large business, and as the possibilities of error in distributing them among the various classes of traffic can not exceed one-tenth or one-twelfth of their amount, the result arrived at will be near enough for all practical purposes. In a rate of 50 cents, of which 35 cents is stated to be expenses, the possible error of one-third of a cent in the estimate will not be vital. The difficulty is not greater in the railway business than in many other branches of industry and commerce. It may be rather hard for the steel manufacturer to tell exactly what share of clerical expenses

and superintendence he must assign to the production of steel beams as distinguished from steel rails; or for the merchant to figure down to the last cent how much of rent, heat, and light he must charge to the cotton-goods department and how much to the silk or notions trade. But the merchant and manufacturer are forced by the circumstances of their trade to estimate these expenses with practical accuracy; or if they do not the penalty of loss and extinction will eliminate them from the trade. The railroad by its circumstances is relieved from that necessity, and the penalties of the lack of business exactness fall on those who are unable to escape from the imposition of the one-sided principle of "value."

The difference in circumstances is simply that the ordinary business man must sell under competition. Competition forces him to know the cost of what he sells, simply because if he places his prices far above the cost his competitors will take away his trade; while if he puts them below the cost, he will reach the goal of bankruptcy. The railroad, on the mass of its local traffic, is relieved from competition, and is not therefore forced to an accurate estimate of cost. If it charges undue profits on its local traffic no competitor can take the business away from it; if it carries through freights at less than cost, the profits on the local traffic will prevent the loss from being perceived in the total of net earnings. So that the real cause of the rejection of the cost of service in fixing railway charges is not the inability to estimate but the ability to disregard it.

This fact is proved by the history of the railroad discussion. The practices of disregarding the cost of service was in existence long before the theory was brought out in answer to the criticisms of railroad discriminations. The argument of the impossibility of stating that cost is produced less by the necessities of railway operation than by the exigencies of the railway theories when subjected to public discussion.

THE total amount recommended by General Casey for river and harbor improvements for the next fiscal year is \$30,186,300. The total amount appropriated by the river and harbor bill for the year ending June 30, 1890, was \$21,397,617. The Mississippi River Commission recommends appropriations for the fiscal year 1890-'91 amounting to \$5,586,250, and the Missouri River Commission appropriations amounting to \$2,760,000. This action does not seem to indicate that those who profit by such appropriations think that the farmers who have the bills to foot require any consideration, or that money is much of an object to them.

A CONFERENCE is now in session at the State Department in which all the maritime nations of the world are represented. The object of the conference is to discuss ways and means of avoiding disaster on the sea. The already great and rapidly increasing intercourse between continent and continent and nation and nation demands that every protection against the dangers of the sea, and every safeguard for the protection of human life, shall be provided. This international conference is an important move which may result in much of benefit,

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## NATIVES AND GRADES.

It has become the fashion to utterly decry our native breeds of animals of every kind in comparison with the different pure breeds of the improved sorts. So far has this been carried, that no good of any kind has been admitted as characteristic of the natives, deviously termed scrubs. Yet that they possess local acclimation and consequent hardiness and adaptation to the local environment is a fact palpable and plain. In these respects they are very generally much superior to the thoroughbreds which have been brought to the high excellence which they possess through artificial conditions, and upon the continuance of those conditions their retention of the high form to which they have been brought depends, often to a much greater degree than will be admitted by those whose interest it is to advocate their claims. It will often happen that by judicious crossing of these scrubs with pure-bred males of improved breeds a large share of their excellence may be engrained on the offspring, provided the conditions of keep are at the same time so improved as to render the maintenance of such excellence possible, and not otherwise. It is not too much to say that the value of a pure improved breed will mainly depend on the excellence of the grades with the native breeds. In order to produce these grades with success, the crossings must not be made at random, but upon a definite plan, and by careful selection in accordance with that plan. The plan adopted must have for its result the object of producing grades suitable to the characteristics of the locality, and adapted to the uses of the locality or the markets in which they must be sold. The pure-bred males selected for the purpose must not be taken at random, but carefully selected as most suitable for the purpose in quality and in constitution. Of all animals the most valueless are diseased and defective specimens of pure breeds.

In selecting a pure-bred male for grading native stock the first thing to be done will be to determine to what breed the cross shall be made. What is called a violent cross is to be avoided; as, for example, it would be completely absurd to attempt the grading of Beach ponies with the ponderous stallions of the draught breeds, Percheron, Normans, or Clydesdales, or even with Cleveland Bays. From such a cross the resulting grades would certainly be exaggerated deformities. Their heads would be big enough for a draught horse, their bodies perhaps too small for a good pony, their legs and feet ludicrously too big for their bodies. They would be absurdly ugly to look at, and almost entirely unfit for any conceivable service, and from the entire lack of harmony of parts they must prove short lived and very subject to disease. The older agricultural writers are all agreed that such results follow all violent crosses, and especially so when the males used for grading greatly exceed the native breed in size. Of the general soundness of this view the writer entertains not the smallest doubt. If there is to be a great difference in the size of breeds to be crossed, the males should be selected invariably from the smaller breed. In that case the grades will not gain in size over the native breed, but their symmetry will not be so completely broken up as to render them at once hideously unsightly and practically useless, and they may gain other valuable qualities of the pure breed, as early maturity, aptitude to fatten, increased production of butcher's team of improved quality, of wool, of milk, of butter, of speed, of endurance, as the case may be. In general, if size is to be gained, it must be

through the female parent if symmetry and consequent balance of the physiological forces is to be a characteristic of the offspring. This has been largely denied recently by those soliciting patronage for gigantic males for grading purposes. It is not to the extravagant literature of advertisements that we are to look for correct information. From anatomical and physiological considerations, the deductions are adverse to this claim. The reasonings and the experience of the older writers are against it. The present writer, relying on the results of his own long continued and careful observations and studies, unhesitatingly takes the same position, and combats the views of those who hold otherwise.

He has recently examined a great number of colts and young horses the produce of small native mares by the large specimens of the draught stallions. First, the animals so bred are in general no larger than colts from the same mares by stallions of their own class. They are ill-formed at every point, big heads, coarse muzzles, small eyes, heavy, thick ears, short necks, narrow in the strapple, low withers, upright shoulders, in at the elbows, swaybacks, badly ribbed, steep rumps, cut up high in the flank, big gummy legs, badly formed joints, flat feet, weak and disposed to crack and split. If an equal number of draught mares had been bred to such thoroughbreds as imported Jacobite or Merimack, possessing, along with superior size and substance, the high form of the thoroughbred, and great perfection in all their points, who doubts—at least what horseman doubts that the offspring would have been in every way, at every point, and for every purpose, greatly superior to the lot above described, and indeed for every practical use very superior to their dams. There are thoroughbreds in all respects opposite the horses named, undersized, lacking form and power, restive and fretful, if not vicious; to breed from such horses from dams of any sort would be the height of unwise. Then grades from common native mares would be in all respects inferior to their dams, although infinitely better than the grades from the same mares and gigantic specimens of draught stallions. That injudicious crossing of undersized and otherwise unsuitable mares to such stallions has filled up the country with vast multitudes of ungainly, ill-formed, and defective horses as is as true as it is unfortunate. Where the mares put to these draught stallions have been large, roomy, well formed, sound, good tempered, some very superior team horses and farm horses have been produced. In general it is true that an animal can not be bred to a size much greater than that of its dam without loss of form and constitution; for symmetry of form is but the physical expression of that balance of physiological forces in the organism essential to soundness of all the organs and the perfect performance of their functions. Asymmetry of form declares equally that unbalance of function whereby one organ obtains exaggerated development at the expense of some other or others equally important in the vital economy of the organism as a whole. In this sense ugliness is the physical expression of disease; beauty is the physical manifestation of that perfect correlation and function which constitutes the highest health and vigor. Hence may be understood the malignancy with which ugliness is hated; it is a physiological instinct of aversion.

## MODES OF APPLICATION OF MANURES.

In common farm practice there seems to be no general consent as to the mode of applying manure to the soil or to a special crop which will give the best results in practice, or which is most correct in theory. It is not to be disputed that the best practice must vary to some extent with soil, crop, season, modes of culture, and other varying conditions. The practical method of applying a manure may, under

special conditions, and in the case of special crops, be quite as important as the composition and condition of the manure itself. The best mode of applying a fertilizer may happen to depend on the quantity to be applied. If 200 pounds per acre, or less, is to be used, it may be much more effectual if applied in drills, or by dropping in hills; if 500 pounds or more, it may be more effectual if applied to the land broadcast. Another practical question of great importance often is the comparative advantage of equal quantities of the same manure applied upon the surface and turned under by the plow, or incorporated with the soil by harrows, drills, or cultivators. Upon the decision of any of these questions may depend the difference between a handsome profit and a serious loss. Again, many crops are seeded in autumn, growing sufficiently to form a good mass of roots and gain a good hold of the soil before cold weather checks vegetation; lying dormant all winter, and beginning active growth again in spring. There will, in every such case, arise the question, Is the manure to be applied for the benefit of such a crop best applied to the soil and buried by the plow before seeding; applied after plowing and preparing the seed-bed and worked into the soil by harrowing or drilling; applied upon the surface as top dressing after seeding; applied in autumn at the time of or subsequent to seeding; during the winter, or before or after the starting of vegetation the next spring? or finally, shall a part be applied in autumn, and then during winter and a last top-dressing reserved until spring? We think the importance of these several questions very apparent. However, in technical works on scientific agriculture, they have been neglected or very superficially treated, and but few comparative experiments of any value to determine any of them have been recorded. Here, then, is a very practical, a very important, and comparatively new line of experiments for our experiment stations. The writer some years ago determined to test the question for himself of the comparative advantages of applying to wheat seeded in the fall the usual commercial wheat manures in drills or applied broadcast to the soil in quantities of from 200 pounds to 400 pounds per acre, and obtained a demonstration that, under the circumstances of the test, the advantage of applying the fertilizers in drills over all methods of broadcasting in no case fell below 50 per cent, and in some cases amounted to 150 per cent, as measured by the increase of crop produced above the average of unmanured check-plots. This result obtained whether the grain was seeded in drills or broadcast upon the fertilized plots, the best results being obtained when the fertilizer and grain were applied and seeded in drills together, as in the usual farm practice, except that the highest results were obtained when the fertilizer and seed-grain were equally divided and one-half drilled in first, the other half being drilled in at right angles to the first, across the plots. Two years ago some gentleman on the Eastern Shore of Maryland reported a very high yield by this last method, his report being published, as we remember, in the Baltimore Sun.

In the case of nitrogen in the form of nitrates, the experiments of Lawes justify the English practice of applying them to wheat broadcast in April or May, as the loss of nitric acid by leaching is very great during the suspension of vegetation in winter. Especially is this true of sodium nitrate, in which form the British farmers almost exclusively apply nitrogen to their wheat crop. It is evident that if any of our common ammoniated superphosphates for wheat are ammoniated with sodium nitrate, and applied in the usual manner in the fall, there will be a very serious loss by winter leaching. It is a question whether the phosphates applied raw or dissolved in the fall, and

followed according to the English practice by sodium nitrate in spring, would not be an improvement. It is a question whether small applications of highly ammoniated superphosphate, ammoniated with sodium nitrate, drilled in with the seed-wheat in autumn to start the growth vigorously, say 100 pounds per acre, which might be wholly utilized before the cessation of vegetative activity, this to be followed by raw phosphate and sodium nitrate as a top dressing at the beginning of spring, may not prove the best practice in this country. The phosphates are not applied to the wheat crop in English practice, but to preceding root crops, to which also the farm-yard manure is generally applied. They apply no manure to the wheat in the fall at the time of seeding, and top dress or not with more or less sodium nitrate, according to the appearance of the wheat about the beginning of May. In estimating the probable success of the English practice here, we must remember that their wheat, seeded simultaneously with ours, is harvested the last of September, ours the last of June. On the southern side of our own wheat belt, the harvest is also materially earlier than on the northern side of it.

In England the resumption of active vegetation is several weeks earlier than in America in the same latitudes and the wheat crop takes fully twice as long to mature there as in the United States. Of course the difference, say, between Minnesota and Virginia, in this respect is much less, but sufficiently great, nevertheless, to show that practice correct in Minnesota is not necessarily correct in Virginia. It is therefore apparent that the correct practice must be established for each locality by direct experiment in that locality. In our seaboard States practice must vary between the tertiary sands of tidewater, the granitic clays of Piedmont, and the stiff limestone lands further West. Even State experiment stations must, therefore, eventually establish sub-stations in several localities. The colleges and agricultural societies and associations should each in their several spheres do what is practicable to encourage and extend the making of scientific experiments bearing upon all important questions of agricultural practice. It would be a wise plan for all private experimenters to report their results to the experiment stations of their States, and those of value and importance could be officially reported from the station, so as to find permanent record in an authoritative shape. The subject of this article is one upon which accurate and authentic information is badly lacking, and the purpose of the article is to urge it upon the attention of agriculturists generally, and more especially upon our experiment stations and agricultural colleges and schools.

## THE RADICATION OF PLANTS.

The facts connected with the germination of seeds and the radication of plants are of great scientific interest and of great practical importance. Nevertheless but little is known on this subject by agriculturists in comparison with the attention it deserves. It is obvious that the number, depth, and extent of the roots of any crop have important practical bearings on the depth to which the seed should be planted; the nature and depth of culture employed, including the very important matter of the method of applying the manure for the benefit of the crop. It appears to be established that a very large proportion of all small seeds planted are lost by being buried too deeply. The perfect seed of any plant is a young plant in embryo embedded in an enveloping mass of protoplasmic material, capable of developing the contained embryonic plant up to the point when it can maintain an independent existence through the atmosphere and the soil. To this end are developed a little cluster of hair-like rootlets, which penetrate downward away from the light, and a little stem, at the summit of which are a pair of seed-leaves which pierce their way upward to the light and air. The physiological forces which carry the development thus far belong to the seed, or rather to the embryonic organism embedded in the seed. As soon as all the vegetative organs are formed by raw phosphate and sodium nitrate as a top dressing at the beginning of spring, may be much less than for spring wheat. This is a subject of great interest, and one lacking the study it should have received. It ought now to be taken up for effectual re-study by some of the scientists whose positions make it their duty to advance agricultural science. We commend it to such of our university workers who are lacking a job, and doubt the existence of a great science called agriculture.

## THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

Governor Lee has finally declined the superintendency of the Virginia Military Institute on account of business engagements incompatible with the position. The friends of the school will regret that Governor Lee could not accept, but they will also thank him for not accepting a place so important under circumstances which would prevent him from giving to the work of the school all his time and all his talents. The names of General Stephen D. Lee, Colonel W. E. Cutshaw, and Colonel Walter Taylor, of Norfolk, have been mentioned for the place. We believe it is understood there are to be no candidates, but the board, with suggestions from the alumni, is to seek the best man to be had who can accept the place and give it all his time. As to the importance of this position we have said enough in these columns heretofore. The best man for the place ought to have it, and no doubt will be called to it finally. There is plenty of time to make the selection, and no doubt, as it ought to be, the whole field will be explored. Unless Colonel Cutshaw can be induced to change his views he will not take it. General Stephen D. Lee and Colonel Walter Taylor are well known everywhere. It is not the purpose of the writer to say anything for or against the selection of any particular person. Only to urge once more the importance of the place, and the selection of the man believed, all things considered, to be the most competent.

THE error of statement in what current writers term "fall in values" often misleads and unnecessarily confuses good men. There can be no fall in the value of an article which has not suffered deterioration in some form or other. Wheat, whether selling at 50 cents or \$2 per bushel, has a comparatively fixed value. The change or difference in price by no means affects its value. Even the price may not have changed in anything like the degree indicated by the method of statement. If wheat have fallen to one-fourth, as measured in money, other commodities probably participated in the decline in price, and hence as an article of exchange there has been no real decline in price. For example, if one bushel of wheat will buy as much of all other products, then the difference in statement of price indicates simply a difference in the price of money. But the rub comes when products decline in price and fixed expenses continue unchanged; when the producer undertakes to pay an obligation created on a basis of \$2 for wheat with wheat selling for 50 cents.

**Henry Clay on Contraction.**

"History repeats itself," and "The same causes produce the same results," are both old and true maxims. It is seldom, however, that both are clearly exemplified in a single instance.

The speeches of Henry Clay during the sub-Treasury debates in 1840 not only prove the first, but logically and eloquently defend the second. The quotation given below should be read with the full knowledge that the same causes which called forth that magnificent speech are doing their fatal work at the present time. Have we a Henry Clay to present our case? I fear not. Listen to a plea for more money and less misery made half a century ago:

The proposed substitution of an exclusive metallic currency to the mixed medium with which we have been so long familiar is forbidden by the principles of eternal justice. Assuming the currency of the country to consist of two-thirds of paper and one of specie; and assuming, also, that the money of a country, whatever may be its component parts, regulates all values, and expresses the true amount which the debtor has to pay his creditor, the effect of the change upon that relation and upon the property of the country would be most ruinous. All property would be reduced in value to one-third of its present nominal amount, and every debtor would, in effect, have to pay three times as much as he had contracted for. The pressure of our foreign debt would be three times as great as it is, while the six hundred millions, which is about the sum now probably due to the banks from the people, would be multiplied into eighteen hundred millions! \*

In another speech, later, upon the same subject he spoke as follows:

\*\* Have gentlemen reflected upon the consequences of their system of depletion? I have already stated that the country is borne down by a weight of debt. If the currency be greatly diminished, as beyond all example it has been, how is this debt to be extinguished? Property, the resource on which the debtor relied for his payment, will decline in value, and it may happen that a man, who honestly contracted debt, on the faith of property which had a value at the time fully adequate to warrant the debt, will find himself stripped of all his property, and his debt remain unextinguished.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) has put the case of two nations, in one of which the amount of its currency shall be double what it is in the other, and, as he contends, the prices of all property will be double in the former nation of what they are in the latter. If this be true of two nations, it must be equally true of one whose circulating medium is at one period double what it is at another. Now, as the friends of the bill argue, we have been, and yet are, in this inflated state; our currency has been double, or in something like that proportion, of what was necessary, and we must come down to the lowest standard. Do they not perceive that inevitable ruin to thousands must be the inevitable consequence? A man, for example, owning property to the value of five thousand dollars, contracts a debt for five thousand dollars. By the reduction of one-half of the currency of the country, his property, in effect becomes reduced to the value of two thousand five hundred dollars. But his debt undergoes no corresponding reduction. He gives up all his property, and remains still in debt two thousand five hundred dollars. Thus this measure will operate on the debtor class of the Nation, always the weaker class, and that which, for that reason, most needs the protection of Government.

But if the effect of this hard-money policy upon the debtor class be injurious, it is still more disastrous, if possible, on the laboring classes. Enterprise will be checked or stopped, employment will become difficult, and the poorer classes will be subject to the greatest privations and distress.

Mr. President, of all the subjects of National policy, not one ought to be touched with so much delicacy as that of the wages—in other words, the bread—of the poor man. In dwelling, as I have often done, with inexplicable satisfaction upon the many advantages of our country, there is not one that has given me more delight than the high price of manual labor. There is not one which indicates more clearly the prosperity of the mass of the community. In all the features of human society, there are none, I think, which more decisively display the general welfare, than a permanent high rate of wages and a permanent high rate of interest. Of course, I do not mean those excessively high rates, of temporary existence, which result from sudden and unexpected demands for labor or capital, and which may, and generally do, evince some unnatural and extraordinary state of things; but I mean a settled, steady and durable high rate of wages of labor, and interest upon money. Such a state demonstrates activity and profits in all the departments of business. It proves that the employer can afford to give high wages to the laborer, in consequence of the profits of his business, and the borrower high interests to the lender, in consequence of the gain which he makes by the use of capital. On the contrary, in countries where business is dull and languishing, and all the walks of society are full, the small profits that are made will not justify high interest or high wages.

A Western Deep Harbor.

The deep-harbor convention which recently met at Kansas City continued the work of the like convention at Denver one year ago, and adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas the general welfare of our country, in so far as it relates to navigable rivers, harbors, and commerce, is committed by the Constitution of the United States to the exclusive charge of the Congress; and

Whereas cheap transportation of our commercial products constitutes one of the most important elements of the general welfare; and

Whereas the Congress has donated to private corporations more than one hundred millions of money and upward of two hundred millions of acres of our National lands with which to construct artificial, and therefore much more expensive, highways, owned by private individuals, while they have neglected to make adequate appropriation for even one feasible harbor on the northwest coast of the Gulf of Mexico, which would not only afford very much cheaper transportation, but which, by our organic law, is under the exclusive care and control of Congress; and,

Whereas the vast and rapidly developing area lying west of the Mississippi River, comprising more than three-fifths of the National domain, and yielding largely more than one-half of the agricultural, meat, and mineral products of the entire country, is by this neglect forced to transport its commerce across the continent by way of these artificial and expensive highways subject to such exactions of private cupidity as amounts always to a serious burden, and sometimes to total interdiction to both consumer and producer; and

[To the Vice-President.] To you, then, sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the President, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him, without exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone, by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that his experiment is operating on the Nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal in an exhausted receiver, and that it must expire in agony if he does not pause, give it free and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the people to be revived and restored. Tell him that, in a single city, more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of upward of fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Tell him of the alarming decline in the value of all property, of the depreciation of all the products of industry, of the stagnation in every branch of

Resolved, That in reaffirmance of the action of the Denver convention, and of the committee organized thereunder, it is the sense of this convention that it is the duty of Congress to appropriate permanently, and for immediate use, whatever amount is necessary to secure a deep-water port on the northwest coast of the Gulf of Mexico, west of the 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° west longitude, capable of admitting the largest vessels, and at which the best and most accessible har-

bor can be secured and maintained in the shortest possible time, and at least cost; the time, place, and cost to be ascertained from the board of engineers appointed under an act of Congress passed at its last session.

*Resolved further,* That this convention, in behalf of the people it represents, thanks the Congress of the United States for the prompt and satisfactory action heretofore taken in recognition of the request of the Denver deep-harbor convention.

*Resolved,* That the thanks of this convention are due to the permanent committee appointed at the Denver deep-harbor convention, for their efficient action in the past, and said committee is hereby requested to continue earnestly in the work so well begun, and said committee is instructed to present these resolutions to the President of the United States, with the request that he, in his annual message to Congress, recommend such an appropriation as may be reported necessary to secure the permanent deep harbor on the coast of Texas, which may be recommended by the report of the board of engineers.

*Resolved,* That those States and Territories represented in this convention and not represented on the permanent committee shall have the privilege of reporting to the permanent committee the names of such members of the committee as they may be entitled to under the basis of representation on which that committee is constituted.

**Is Cotton Bagging Flame-Proof?**

The following from the Charleston News and Courier will be of interest at this juncture:

In an editorial article which was published yesterday the Augusta Chronicle contributes some interesting testimony as to the fire-proof quality of the new covering for cotton bales. It says:

"Cotton bagging scored a good point in the fire on the steamer Katie. Flames which fed on the open, inflammable jute bales seemed to skip the closely woven cotton wrap entirely. This is a practical proof of the excellence of cotton bagging, and seems to confirm the fire test which was made in New Orleans last spring. It is a vital excellence if it is maintained, and will give cotton bagging a boom in spite of the alleged weakness as a cover. Lower insurance rates and better protection are good points in favor of Augusta bagging. Let the Alliance and their friends make a note of this."

It is scarcely necessary to invite the Alliance and their friends to make a note of this. Every cotton buyer in the world would have made a note of it, if the Chronicle had left out "seemed" and "seems;" and even as the story is told, with these qualifying words, it will receive a full measure of attention. If the two tests which the Chronicle mentions really proved that the cotton covering is flame-proof, if not fire-proof, the fact should be made more generally known. Its importance can best be determined, perhaps, by considering for a moment the hue and cry that would be raised against the home-made covering if it had been asserted that the flames on the Katie "skipped the jute bales, and fed on the cotton wrap entirely!"

The experiments made at New Orleans were thorough, and the committee conducting them reported that the proof was conclusive that cotton covered with cotton was better protected from fire than covered with jute. But the daily papers of the Southern seaboard have been slow to recognize the truth, and evidently prejudiced against cotton bagging. With their aid the economic victory for which the farmers are contending would doubtless have been secured ere this. There is no doubt that the

exchanges will yet see that cotton is better than jute for this purpose, but it will probably be despite the influence of the press of the several Southern coast cities.

FOLLOWING are appointments of Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, State agent for Maryland, in St. Mary's County:

Budd's Creek, Wednesday, October 23, 10 A. M.

Charlotte Hall, same day, 3 P. M.  
Mechanicsville, same day, 7 P. M.

Laurel Grove, October 24, 10 A. M.  
Morganza, same day, 3 P. M.

Chaptico, October 25, 10 A. M.  
Milestown, same day, 3 P. M.

St. Clement's Bay, October 26, 10 A. M.  
Compton, same day, 3 P. M.

Leonardtown, October 28, 10 A. M.  
Hollywood, same day, 3 P. M.

California, October 29, 10 A. M.  
Mattapanay, same day, 3 P. M.

Great Mills, October 30, 10 A. M.  
Valley Lee, same day, 3 P. M.

St. Inigoes, October 31, 10 A. M.

Ridge, same day, 3 P. M.

It is expected that St. Mary's County Alliance will be organized at Leonardtown, Saturday, October 2.

**IMPORTANT CIRCULAR.**

To the Presidents of State Alliances and to the People.

Whereas, recent information of a reliable nature has reached us that a jute combine has been renewed upon a more extensive scale than formerly, denominated the American Manufacturing Co., in which perhaps all principal jute-bagging manufacturers are interested, by which they propose to force on the cotton producer for the year 1850 their output; and

Whereas, it is absolutely necessary that whatever should be done to prevent the same and to be efficient, be done at the earliest possible day;

Therefore we, the undersigned, most earnestly request the presidents of each State Alliance to have a decided expression from their Sub-Alliances, Wheats and Unions, in favor of the exclusive use of cotton bagging for the year 1850, and report the same to a convention at St. Louis on December 4th next, at 10 a.m.; said convention to be composed of the presidents of each State Alliance, Wheel or Union, or such representatives as they may select, and one or more delegates from each cotton exchange in the United States, to take into consideration and settle the question of tare on cotton covered bales and to establish a standard cotton-bagging.

We earnestly request the Hon. Evan Jones, president of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America, to invite each cotton exchange in the United States to send properly accredited delegates to said convention.

In the event that the cotton exchanges refuse or neglect to participate in said convention, then the delegates representing the producers shall proceed to fix the tare and prescribe a standard cotton bagging to which all Alliances men will uncompromisingly adhere.

This action is necessary that manufacturers of cotton bagging may be enabled to supply the demand at reasonable prices. Let Sub-Alliances take action immediately.

L. F. LIVINGSTON,  
Pres't S. F. Alliance of Georgia.

R. J. SLEDGE,  
Chm'n National Cotton Com.

R. F. KOLB,  
Com. of Agriculture of Ala.

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 7, 1859.

**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 16 and 17, 1859.

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

Orders to be placed on or before June 24, 1859.

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—tf

**FREE HORSES** At the rate they have been going the public Domain will all be gone in 6 years. Now is the time to secure an acre or two. What better could be left for Children? Where these lands are to be had, see the map in the back of the paper. Send 10 Cents and receive the beautiful Engravings, a Picturesque Panorama of America. Address THE WESTERN WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

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.

Steens

J. B. DINES,

Missouri Farmers' Alliance Business Agency,

317 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Central point for purchase and sale of Flour, Grain, Provisions, Machinery, and Merchandise. Best rate yet obtained on Alliance seals and badges.

24-6

**SCHOOL GIRLS** Make \$10 a Month, others \$2,500 a Year. Work light. Outfit only 10 cents. Address The Western World, Chicago, Ill.

PREMIUMS FOR CLUBS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is now prepared to offer any one of the following articles as premiums, to be sent postage paid from this office, for clubs of subscribers at one dollar per annum.

CLUBS OF FIVE.

One copy of "Plutocracy" or, American White Slavery, by Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, of Georgia, bound in paper.

One copy of "Philosophy of Price," by N. A. Dunning, bound in paper.

CLUBS OF SIX.

A copy of Volume 1 of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, neatly bound in strong paper.

CLUBS OF TEN.

One copy of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price," in cloth.

One year's subscription to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

CLUBS OF FIFTEEN.

One copy of "History of the Wheel and the Alliance, and the Impending Revolution," by W. S. Morgan.

To secure either of these club premiums it is not necessary to send all the names at once, but notice of intention to claim the premium should accompany the first order.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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

The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance,

AND

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

By W. S. Morgan.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

The Grandest Book of the Year.

A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate, but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twine trust because they see plainly the infamy of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and endorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonials are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

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

Yours for the right,

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

The book contains 774 large octavo pages, is full cloth bound, lettered in gilt, with gilt side stamp, and is printed on fine plated book paper. In counties where we have no agents the book will be sent postpaid to any address at the low price of \$2.25. Agents wanted in every county.

Address all orders for books, or further particulars, to—

W. S. MORGAN, - Hardy, Ark.

## 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.

111f

## A LITERARY MARVEL \$2.50 PER VOLUME.



We publish a Popular Reprint of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA from latest English edition, at \$2.50 per volume, which is only one-third the price of the original and one-half the price of the Scribner edition of same work. We have reproduced all illustrations, plates, maps and texts, page for page and volume for volume. Complete sets of 24 vols. now ready for delivery on easy payments. The greatest work of the kind in the English language. A subscriber writes, "The best is now the cheapest." All high-priced editions of this work are in our office for comparison. Circulars and sample pages mailed. Agents are reaping a harvest.

THE HENRY G. ALLEN COMPANY,  
739 & 741 Broadway, New York.JAMES L. NORRIS,  
PATENT ATTORNEY,Corner Fifth and F Streets,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.Procured 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.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 : REDDING ANDREWS,  
E. R. CARSWELL, JR.,  
A. B. VAUGHAN, JR.,  
M. T. MARTIN.Atlanta, Ga.  
Office, 47 S. Broad St.,  
19-m3.Only \$1.00 for this "Little Beauty."  
Weighs from  
1/2 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. Price \$1.00 (not freight). Catalogue of 1,000 articles sent free. Address CHICAGO SCALE CO., Chicago, Ill.

Holton Stock Farm,  
ROBT. E. PARK, PROPRIETOR,HOLTON, BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA,  
E. T. V. & G. R. R. 8 Miles from MACON.

## IMPORTED SHETLAND PONIES,

Registered Berkshire Pigs,  
REGISTERED JERSEY CATTLEOF BEST BUTTER FAMILIES.  
Several handsome Jersey Bull Calves, thoroughbred and graded Jersey Heifers for sale.Address ROBERT E. PARK, Macon, Ga.  
Mention 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.

## CHICAGO SCALE CO.

151 South Jefferson Street, Chicago, Ill.  
1-Ton Waggon Scale, \$400. 4-Ton \$800.  
Little Detective, \$3. Send for Price List.H. C. EZELL, WILKERSON, TENN.,  
Importer and Raiser of  
FINE BLACK SPANISH JACKS.  
Seventy-five head on hand. Starlight, Sr., Starlight,  
Jr., at head of stand. Write for catalogue of what  
you want.

## 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. Reverses Full Circle.

STEEL.  
Address for  
Members and Subscribers  
Manufacturers and Agents.  
Western and Southern  
P. K. DEDERICK & CO.,  
No. 59 Dederick's Works, ALBANY, N.Y.

## 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, NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

No. 7.

## Equivalence of Service.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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