FARMERS' OPININOS.

The Declaration.

[Written for THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.]

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these rights it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence will indeed dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

This declaration of independence, although written over a hundred years ago, is as true now as it was then; and all the people have to do is to execute those principles. It is all any nation ever did or ever will need for a guide.

When the question arises: Which shall rule, a few Napoleons, or sixty millions of people? or which shall perish, the liberties of a great nation or a few modern Pashas? there should be but one answer. If the people rally to the defense of the declaration of independence as their forefathers did, all will be well. If it cannot be accomplished by the ballot it can be done the way our ancestors, but this is the last resort.

As great a crisis confronts the American people today as when the declaration of independence was penned. Let us inscribe those principles on our banners, and in the words of the immortal Lincoln let us resolve that the government under God shall have a new birth, that a government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth.

J. B. OSLER,
Grant, Neb.

Mercenary Governments.

The extent to which the moral sentiment of nations is subjected to pecuniary interest—the heart to the purse—is a sad evidence of human perversity. The control which money exercises over principle has been witnessed in other nations as well as in our own. I will name but a single instance. Great Britain is the most civilized of nations. Nowhere else is the moral standard so high; in no other country are hospitals and asylums so well sustained by voluntary contributions, or life and property so thoroughly protected by the administration of just and equal laws, and yet Great Britain is guilty of the unparalleled and atrocious crime of forcing upon China the trade and use of opium, merely because the sale of it to the Chinese yields large revenues to India. The eloquent denunciation of this great crime against humanity, by such men as John Bright, whose opinions and feelings are not governed by lust for gain, are unheeded by the Throne and Parliament. The iniquitous trade is going on, and will go on as long as revenue can be derived from it, and there is force to perpetuate it.

HUGH MCCULLOCH.

Representative Felton Endorsed.

Resolutions passed by Gem Alliance No. 761, Nelson, Neb., May 7, 1891.

WHEREAS, Our worthy representative Geo. Felton has stood by our interest in behalf of which he was chosen; therefore be it

Resolved, That we heartily extend our thanks to him for faithfully discharging his duties and his noble efforts in our behalf.

A New Plan for Legislation.

Through all ages it has been the wish of the wealth producing masses that they themselves might have the liberty to make their own laws. It ought to be clear to any thinking person, that unless the wealth-producers of the United States make use of the liberty given to them by their forefathers, they shall soon find themselves under the same servitude as that of Europe from which their forefathers broke loose.

I think it is now the right time for the toilers to make an effort to enact their own laws. There may be several ways to go at it, but under the existing laws, I can only think of one.

Perhaps someone may give a better plan. If so I shall be glad to hear it, but it is absolutely necessary to start before our enemies get up a standing army. My plan is this: That each subordinate Alliance, K. of L., and all labor organizations select a committee to draft and prepare bills to be enacted into laws. When such bills are prepared they should be presented to the county, state and national organizations, as the case may be, then brought back to be discussed and voted upon by all the labor organizations, and such bills as receive a majority of all the votes, should be given to their candidates who should pledge themselves if elected to enact and enforce such laws and to work against all measures conflicting with such bills. Neither should any legislature be allowed to amend any such bills, for the moment you allow your representatives to amend your bills that moment he is at liberty to sell you out if he so wishes. Under the existing laws you cannot punish your legislators or congressmen for violating such pledges, but I am sure that only very few men would like to go home as a traitor. We, the independent members of the legislature, know what was brought to bear upon us by the lobbyists. We know that long before the session commenced our enemies knew our weak points—that the statehouse was full of lobbyists prepared with arguments, money, women and wine—ready to prevent just laws.

Now, my brother toilers, I have given you my plan of reform in good faith, hoping you will receive and discuss it. Let the toilers prepare and draft their own bills for laws and compel their representatives to enact them into laws without a change, then and not before will all the wealth producers hold the value of the wealth they create. The lawyers will then leave the halls of congress and legislatures. Your elect cannot sell you out without you know it. The session will last only a few days and cost a trifle, you can stop the stealing in all the departments of the government, the legislature will not be bothered with hundreds of worthless bills, you will unuerstand all your laws and solve the labor question; eat the fruit of knowledge, think more and work less, create less wealth but keep it for your own use, and if you raise hogs see that they are not allowed to walk on two legs and do the bossing.

OLE BREDESON.

Ought Inlerest to be Paid for the Use of Money?

Theoretically the people of this country own primarily all the natural advantages for the application of labor for the production of wealth, and the law ought to secure to them the permanent possession of these advantages. The same rule ought to apply to the medium of exchange. Because the law prevents the individuals from manufacturing it, and because its use in that capacity is necessary in all the industries of the country, that they may be of general profit so long as the present competitive system of business is maintained. And the deprivation of any one industrious citizen of the means of making his industry profitable by a failure of government to provide them is an injustice to the individual and an injury to the common wealth. If government then receives a rate that will fully cover cost of issue it ought to be all that it requires. But money is also used to represent value of property and as property may be loaned by its owner to another person for use, so may money, the representative of property, be loaned for use But here a difficulty arises, A farm may be rented (which is really a loan for its use) and an estimate may be made of the probable profit of such use. So also a horse, and grain and other property. But you sell your horse for $100 and the $100 no more represents the value of that horse than of any other property, and when you exchange it for property again it may be for property on which there is no profit and which is destroyed in the using.

Common sense then would dictate that the usury or interest ought to be regulated by the average worth of the use of all the property in the country.

Now the highest estimate I have seen of the increase of the wealth of this country is three per cent of its value. This might lead to the conclusion that three per cent would be the proper rate. Let us examine that proposition a little. If your neighbor hires a team of you would it be just that you should charge him so much that he would profit nothing by it. Or if you rented his farm would you think it just to pay him so much rent that the farm would profit you nothing? Surely not. So a rate of three per cent interest on an average gives the profit all to the capitalist or loaner. I conclude from these considerations that an even division of the average profits of the use of property would be the proper interest or usury to pay for the use of money which in a general way represents property.

If this reasoning is correct, then the cost of issue of the money by the government added to the cost of making and supervising the loans, say perhaps one per cent per annum ought to be the rate paid to the government for the use of money, and one and one-half per annum to individuals for the use of their money as a representative of property ought to be the limit prescribed by law.

The question has been raised by some whether the business of the country could not just as well be transacted without the use of a general circulating medium. This would undoubtedly be feasible under the system of socialism, or more properly nationalism, which is now advocated by many in this country. But even under such a system an international money* would be necessary, unless the system was universally adopted, or commerce between nations cease.

However plausible and logical the Golden Rule system as taught by Bellamy and others may be, I fear this country and the world are so far from its adoption that there will be abundant time to improve the financial system before such a result will be reached.

H.

*NOTE—Our correspondent seems to infer that we now have an international money. This is a mistake. Our coin is a commodity as soon as it leaves our borders, and is sold by weight and fineness. Our mint stamp is simply a a certificate as to these points.—ED. ALLIANCE.

Condensed Correspondence.

The Clay county county Alliance met in Clay Centre, May 12th, with a good attendance. G. L Hodges was elected delegate to the Cincinnati conference. John Oliver, editor of the Fairfield *Herald*, was given credentials as a member of the Alliance and reporter for the independent press. It is generally conceded that the independents of this county are in favor of a national ticket for 1892. Crop prospects are excellent in Clay county.

Coyote Alliance, No. 835, of Dawson county, adopts resolutions strongly endorsing Hon. Robert Scott, representative from that district.

J. M. Campbell of Alvo, Neb., makes some inquiries about the Union Pacific debt to the government. A full history of that contract is published in this issue.

Pleasant Prairie Alliance, No. 865, inquires why its resolutions in reference to James E. Boyd were not published, having been sent in good faith. We will say to these friends as well as to many others, that it is impossible to publish all the resolutions received, but whenever any are received covering a new subject we will try to find space for them. We published enough of the Boyd resolutions to show the feeling of the people. To publish all we receive would require every inch of space in the paper. We will endeavor to notice briefly in this column all communications which cannot be published.

RESOLUTIONS OF CONDOLENCE.

Resolutions of Tracyville Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has pleased our Heavenly Father to take from us our beloved brother Conrad Brand;

Resolved, That in this dispensation of Providence the Alliance has lost a worthy and faithful member, the state an honorable citizen, his neighbors an ardent and sincere friend and his family a kind husband and father.

H. SELBY,
B. F. WHITTAKER
W. WINSLOW,
Committee.

WHEREAS, Divine Providence has seen fit to remove from our midst our friend and sister, Mazie C. Cowles, beloved wife of Schuyler C. Cowles.

Resolved, By Rush Alliance No. 1347, that on the death of Sister Cowles we have lost a worthy member of society, and a true friend of the Alliance.

Resolved, That we extend to the husband and family the fullest sympathies of this Alliance.

A Letter to the Clergy.

BY ONE OF THEM.

Do not despise the new political movement; you may be found fighting against God. "Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself but shall not be heard." You are the God-appointed champions of the peor, and are bound to listen to their cry for help against oppressors. Are you giving any attention to that cry? That the rich are growing "richer and the poor are growing poorer" is a trite saying. The poor claim that they are threatened with financial ruin and virtual slavery. What do you propose to do about it? Where has God said that the capitalist must have the lion's share of the products of industries, and live in a palace, and that the laborer must take what is offered him and live in misery? Is not the comfort of the poor more to be regarded than the luxury of the rich? Where has God said that the self-respecting poor must live like hogs, because competitors for work, ignorant, down-trodden and debased, are willing to do so? Where has God said that millions of people over the world shall be unable to find work by which to maintain themselves? Do you say that Jesus said "the poor ye have always with you?" I call the man poor who works for $1.00 per day. Did he not say through inspiration: "Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labor working with his hands the things which are good, that he may have to give to him that needeth?" Does not this presuppose plenty of work? What also of this verse: "Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ that with quietness they work and eat their own bread?" and this—"For even when we were with you we this we commanded you, that if any would not work neither should he eat?" But things have gone wrong; the poor can't get enough work. It is no matter who is to blame for this. The thing must be remedied. And it is not an easy matter to tell how to remedy it. In this clash of interests the clergy must arbitrate between the parties. It is a moral question. My brothers, are you not here called to come up "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty?" We have fallen into the times of Isaiah. "History repeats itself." And God's prophets of today will not honor their God unless they now take the stand he then took. Glance over Isaiah, 5th chapter, and see if God didn't have his prophet meddle pretty effectually in the question of labor and capital? Do you doubt that God would have had him preach politics if that great moral question had taken on a political form? What is the ministry for in this world? Are we to preach of a glorious heaven offered to the poor and to all, and stand around and see oppression going on, unlawful or legalized, and do nothing; but pocket the money which the extortioners may contribute to our salaries to buy our silence? Shame on us. Already too much of that thing has lost the church the confidence of the masses. God's truth can take care of itself, but the present Christian denominations, by neglect of duty may lose their influence and perish.

N. H. B.

THE EIGHT HOUR DAY.

Sermon of the Rev. Thomas Dixon on The Laboring Man's Demand.

Organized labor is now in the throes of the world-wide struggle for an eight hour standard of a legal day's work. It is a movement of vast moral import. It is one of the world movements of the century. It embodies one of the grand ideas that give character to the nineteenth century in the catalogue of centuries—the upward movement of the whole mass of society. The leaven placed at the bottom of this social mass by Jesus Christ is now leavening the whole lump.

FEWER STRIKES.

Strikes would become more and more things of the past. If the laboring man of to-day is ignorant and absurd in his demands, whose fault is it? Blinded by ignorance, stupefied by over-work bound by the chains of hunger and fear of starvation, he staggers like a wounded, mad giant, striking friend as well as foe.

It would improve the condition of women. It would give her a better chance in life. Above all it would lessen the burden of her life and make home a realty. Home is now a memory or a dream of the working man or woman. It would give some hours of life to the divine work of building homes. To build a home is to build the church, to build the state, the nation, the universal brotherhood.

ECONOMIC GAIN.

It would improve the skill, efficiency and value of labor. The testimony of several large English firms is emphatic on this point. They have made the test. They have proven its success beyond serious question. They declare what they have lost in higher wages they more than regain in the new zeal and energy put into the work by the men. Interruptions were fewer; the men had better spirit, stronger hearts and arms.

IMPROVE POLITICS.

It would improve the politics of the world. The policies of state of the coming century are certainly to be shaped in a large measure by the aspirations and demands of the under-toiling world. Mankood suffrage is the event towards which the old world is being driven with resistless power today. The laborer should have time to read and study, and improve himself as to his duties and obligations. He should be given opportunity for reflection. In those hours he would learn his own wants, his own rights, his obligations to others. He would learn to choose wise leaders, not ranting fools. He would choose conservative strong men to meet organized capital.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

A fragment of the earth's people are divided into classes, with petty jealousies and traditions and peculiarities. These things are barriers between them and the heart of humanity. Working men do not form a class. They are the people. They are mankind. They are the only so called class that are not a class. The historians have at last begun to write history. They have at last learned that the history of a state, a nation, or an age is the story of the life of the common people. To reach them is to reach the world. To save them is to save the world. To fail to reach them is to lose the world. Yes, in this great dark, vulgar mass lies the destiny of the race.

THE WORLD ASTIR.

To-day the eyes of all the thoughtful and prayerful are upon the laboring masses. The German Emperor calls the world together at Berlin to confer upon the subject. Even the Conservative government in power in England has appointed a Royal Labor Commission composed of many eminent men. In America the social question in one form or another is tearing to pieces the traditional organizations of parties. The press throbs with the new thought. It is nothing short of a world-wide revival of vital Christianity in fields of thought hitherto deemed secular and given over to the devil. This whole grand movement finds its motive in the Christianity of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Carpenter, the Son of Man, the Son of God.

BLACKSMITH AND DUDE.

The time has come for the laboring man to hold up his head in the world! We should help him. We will thus reach his heart and life. The world is beginning to see through the shams and hypocracies of conventional society. So-called society was shocked the other day in Washington by a young lady, with a million, eloping with a young blacksmith and escaping a gang of dudes. The man who could fit shoes to the heels of a refractory mule, appealed to her affections more than the smirk and simper and grin of an idiot. We do not blame her either.

BRUTALITY.

The conflicts between organized labor and organized capital are becoming more and more bitter and brutal; bitter on the part of the laborer, brutal on the part of the corporations. The New York Central railroad, with its prestige, its superb organization, its millions and its influence with other corporations, succeeded in crushing the Knights of Labor in a deliberately and brutally led insult. When the job was complete, Mr. Webb, with perfectly fiendish delight, proceeded to dance a jig on their quivering hide. The whole performance from beginning to the end, while it was legitimate war, was inhuman and brutal, and only made the gulf that separates organized capital from the toiling millions wider, deeper and more utterly impassable. In the recent conflict at Morewood between the miners and the capitalists, dozens of men were shot down in cold blood. The accounts we read were evidently sent out from sources friendly to the owners of the mines responsible for the butchery. We are told these men were rioting. If so they were guilty of a serious crime, for which they should have been punished by process of law. Instead of this they were shot down with Winchesters in the hands of hired assassins who were experts at the business and liked the pastime. They tell us that these men were destroying property and doing much damage, and when the smoke of the battle cleared away we find that the only serious damage done is in the broken heads, broken legs and riddled bodies of the men shot to pieces by those so-called guards. It was a sad day for the owners of mines in America when the command was given to fire at Morewood. It will be a long, long time before the echo of these guns will die away.

Pennsylvania vs. Ireland.

Frankfort Sentinel.

More evictions occur in Pennsylvania than in all Ireland, and as much of real oppression prevails in the coal and iron regions as any place in the world. White slavery has taken the place of black slavery—the revolver and winchester the place of the lash—the Pinkerton thug the place of the driver—and to introduce the system, subdued foreigners are used for the first victims. A few more years aggregation of wealth and America will be one vast slave pen where might instead of right shall triumph, and the Great American Republic, the same as the ancient Roman Republic, shall have perished. The present effort that is being made by the American patriots to save the country for the people, if thwarted, will be the last, and in horror hushed by force, we shall realize that Abraham Lincoln's prophesy has come true, after all our efforts to avert it, which everyone should read carefully and ponder well as follows:

"I see in the near future a crisis arising which unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in afew hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this time more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the time of the war. God grant that my fears may prove groundless."

Yes, dear reader, Lincoln could not have written more prophetically had he been inspired. We read its terrible translation on the lintels of the home of every laborer and farmer in the land, and we hear it on every breeze in the heart rending wail of poverty and distress.

Ancrt Gov (?) Boyd.

The *Great West*, of St. Paul, Minn., lets out a hat full of solid truth about Boyd and the railroads in the following:

When Gov. Boyd, democrat, of Nebraska, vetoed the "Maximum Freight Bill" he declared, "In my judgment there is not a mile of railroad west of the 8th principal meridian, except the trunk lines, that is paying its operating expenses to-day."

The old plutocratic onion. He ought to have a ring in his nose and be tied to the pillars of a lunatic asylum. There is not a mile of railroad, west of the Mississippi river, that runs one passenger and one freight a day, or even that runs one mixed train, that is not paying operating expenses and twenty-five per cent on investment. The trouble with these old carroty-haired, turnip-headed hirelings is that they are paid to have opinions. The railroads that cost $3,800 a mile to build and have $32,000 worth of rolling stock, all told, are "combined" so as to represent $50,000 per mile of bonds and stocks! And then the interest is slapped on as operating expenses under the head of "fixed charges"

Boyd is a fair sample of what the democratic reformer does for the Alliance cause.

Our enemies say we have republican sympathies because we wont be a democrat. We say, put the two old carrion corpses side by side, and it will be found that the same worm is consuming both of them.

Early Rose potatoes $1.25 per bushel. 4512 ALLIANCE STATE AGENCY, Cor. 14th and M St. Lincoln.

UNION PACIFIC STEAL.

FACTS AND FIGURES.

History of the Dealings of the Union Pacific Railroads With the Government.

An excellent summary of the dealings of the Union Pacific railroad with the government from the beginning to date has been made by the New York *Voice*. As time for final settlement draws close the question assumes great importance, and the status of affairs will be read with interest.

The building of the railroads known as the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific was secured by congressional legislation in 1862 and 1864. By the latter act each road was granted, in United States bonds, a subsidy of $16,000, $32,000 and $48,000 per mile of road built, the sum varying on different sections as the difficulties of construction varied. Each road was at the same time authorized to issue its own bonds to the same amount per mile as the government's bonds. By the terms of the act the bonds issued by the roads themselves were to be secured by a first lien on the road, the government's bonds being secured by a subsequent lien.

The government's bonds bore interest at 6 per cent, but none of the interest was required to be paid by the roads to the government until the bonds reached maturity, that is, in thirty years. In addition, the government made a grant to each road of every alternate section of land to a distance of twenty miles on each side of the road amounting in all to about 26,000,000 acres.

The Union Pacific began to build from Omaha west; the Central Pacific from Sacramento east. On Nov. 6, 1869, eight years before the time granted by congress for the completion of the roads, the two lines met and were joined at Ogden.

The Union Pacific had built 1,034 miles of track, the Central Pacific had built 743 miles. In the case of the latter road, especially, the obstacles overcome were most formidable, and the engineering feats accomplished were amazing. The construction of the road was designated as "the greatest achievement of the human race on earth." All the material had to be conveyed from the east 12,000 miles by water. The road had to be built up an elevation of 7,000 feet in eighty-three miles. Forty miles of track had to be enclosed in snow sheds at a cost of $1,200,000. Five hundred kegs of powder were used per day, in laying the track through the Sierras.

To effect this stupendous enterprise the government issued to the Central Pacific bonds to the amount of $25,885,120; to the Union Pacific bonds to the amount of $27,236,512. In addition, for the building of the Kansas Pacific, now a part of the Union Pacific, and other branches, government bonds were issued to the amount of $9,531,320; and to the Western Pacific, now a part of the Central Pacific (from Sacramento to San Jose), bonds were issued to the amount of $1,970,560. The total therefore issued to the Union Pacific is in round numbers $36,700,000; to the Central Pacific, $27,800,000.

The account with the government will stand, when the bonds have matured, about as follows for both roads:

Subsidy bonds	$ 64,623,512 00
Interest account, (30 yrs)	114,261,247 50
Total	$178,884,759 50

The Thurman act of May 8, 1878, provided for a sinking fund to be arranged by both roads. In accordance with it the Union Pacific paid to December 31, 1889, $9,885,600.02; the Central, $10,967,182.57; total, $20,852,782.59. There will be further credits added to this amount before the bonds mature.

Enough is known, however, to state that it will be absolutely impossible for the roads to pay the balance now due the government—$158,031,976.91. The truth is that the companies never intended, nor do they now intend to pay it.

The government's security for the payment of this vast debt is simply a second mortgage on 2,495 miles of track, which, estimated as worth $40,000 per mile, inclusive of sidetracks, stations, bridges, etc., would give an aggregate of $99,800,000 on this, there is a first mortgage of, in round numbers, $64,600,000, which leaves as security for the government about $35,200,000!

Beginning with the famous Credit Mobilier job the entire management has been a gigantic steal from the government direct and the people through high traffic rates. The Union Pacific issued $36,762,300 in stocks on which only the beggarly sum of $400,650 has ever been paid in. And on that stock 7 per cent dividends were paid up to 1875. The Central issued $54,000,000 on which were paid in cash and bonds $760,000. Much more was given away.

The following table is given by Robt. E. Pattisen (now governor of Pennsylvania,) in his minority report, as a member of the United States Pacific Railway commission, appointed March 3, 1887:

COST AND CAPITALIZATION OF THE PACIFIC RAILWAYS.

Company.	Mileage.	Cost.
Union Pacific,	1,038 08	$38,824,000
Kansas Pacific,	393.94	11,800,000
Central Branch,	100.00	2,731,347
Sioux City & Pacific,	101.77	2,600,000
Central Pacific,	737.50	36,000,000
Western Pacific,	125.16	4,000,000
Total,	2,495.16	$95,955,347

Company.	Capitalization.	Fictitious Capital.
Union Pacific,	$109,814,812	$ 70,990,812
Kansas Pacific,	25,028,250	13,228,250
Central Branch,	4,250,000	1,468,653
Sioux City & Pacific,	5,047,720	2,447,720
Central Pacific and Western Pacific,	124,211,680	84,211,680
Total,	$268,352,462	$172,347,115

Please notice, $172,347,115 of watered stock on which dividends have been paid. That explains why the robbers are not in a condition to pay their debts.

At every congress these same highwaymen have the audacity to ask fifty or a hundred years more in which to meet their obligations to Uncle Sam. Propositions of all kinds have been made, but thus far a few honest men in both houses have caused their defeat.

In the light of the above facts we conclude the best and only just plan of settlement is that suggested by Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, which is to begin proceedings at once to cause the forfeiture of both roads, on the ground of violations of law and failure to keep the contract. Then appoint a receiver and see what the government can do by running its own railroad.

If the shoe was on the other foot the railroads would be after the government red hot until every penny and its pound of flesh interest was paid. When a farmer or business man defaults interest or payments on a bond or mortgage the sheriff doesn't wait one minute over the time the law allows to foreclose on it.

Because Stanford and partners who have literally defied the law and refused to pay their obligations, are rich is no reason why they should be allowed to escape.

Justice is sometimes slow, but we look hopefully to the LII congress for a little stirring up of the defaulters.

Talks on Nationalism.

Edward Bellamy, in the New Nation.

Mr Smith, who has joined the nationalists, meets a pessimist, who maintains that human nature must be changed before nationalism will be possible.

P.—Make human nature over again, and your scheme might work.

Smith.—Human nature needs improvement, no doubt, and nationalism will establish conditions more favorable to its improvement than any which has existed heretofore. Meanwhile, however, it is in quite good enough condition already for nationalism to make a start.

P.—Smith, your hopefulness is sometimes so extravagant that it has a positively depressing effect on a reasonable man. Take a look around on the world as it is, and tell me seriously, if you can be serious, how much brotherly kindness, generosity, self-devotion, and unselfishness you see in the actual relation of people.

Smith.—A very great deal—a wonderful deal.

P.—Well, I wish I had your eyes.

Smith.—Your eyes are well enough, but you don't look in the right spots.

P.—Spots! Oh yes, there are spots, no doubt, where the virtues you want can be found existing, but I didn't understand that you proposed to limit your system to spots, but to apply it generally.

Smith.—So we do; it is from the existence already of the desired virtues in spots that we base our confidence upon the possibility of their general cultivation.

P.—I don't see how; I should rather say that the limitations of the virtues in question to these few spots, after a long period of human development, was calculated to discourage any idea that they could be generally cultivated.

Smith.—That might be a natural first impression, but it is not a scientific deduction. Supposing, upon close study of the conditions under which mutual confidence and affection now exist, we devise a plan for making those conditions general; is it not scientific, then, to believe that their growth can be proportionally extended?

P.—No doubt, provided you can be sure what the true conditions of their growth are, and can really make them general.

Smith.—I think I can satisfy you about that. Let us see what are the conditions under which relations of mutual affection and trust at present exist. The average man, nowadays, lives a sort of double life—a Jekyll-Hyde existence. In his work-a-day life he is a sort of Hyde; not, of course, of necessity a very wicked person, but hard, suspicious, keen, stern, cunning, overbearing, underreaching. That is the way he has to make his living. In this character, he is essentially not lovable, and it is no wonder that people don't love him. If they trusted him they would lose by him. But follow this fellow as he goes home at night. Now he is a Jeykll. You will find that his children adore him, his wife loves him, his brothers trust him, and he has a band of friends and associates every one of whom has implicit faith in him. Within this little circle of relatives and friends there reigns a mutual confidence, a trustfulness, a generosity, which far exceed any reasonable estimate of the grade of social sentiment needed to enable nationalism to begin business.

P.—But these are either kin of blood, or else selected friends. The circle is so mutually trustful only because it is limited.

Smith.—No doubt each particular circle is limited; but every body has such a circle, and most people belong more or less intimately to several such circles. Now, it is common for us to assume, no doubt half-unconsciously, that our particular circle of friends consists of persons of quite peculiar merits; but this is not scientific. It is, indeed, nothing but rank egotism. Reason will compel us to admit that probably our luck has only been about the average luck as to friends, as in other respects. The result is rather startling; it amounts to admitting that other people and their friends are about as good as we and our friends. When a person has sincerely admitted this he is about ready to be a nationalist, for probably most people feel that if the nationalistic experiment were confined to them and their circle it might succeed, owing to the excellent and unusual qualities of themselves and their friends.

P.—I admit your point to some extent. It is true, as you say, that all or nearly all people trust and are trusted by some group of friends and associates. I admit that pretty nearly everybody is in this way shown to be, under proper conditions, capable and deserving of the social sympathy which nationalism calls for. But I don't see how that helps your case. How are you going to bring these groups together? Why do groups of friends and acquaintances now trust each other? Because special circumstances or long acquaintance has taught them they can do so safely. How are you going to give them the same confidence toward strangers and the mass of men?

Smith.—Ah! there is just where nationalism comes in. Why is it that men so naturally distrust each other that long acquaintance or peculiar circumstances only can breed confidence in one another's intentions? It is owing to the fact that, under the present system of business, we have to make our living out of one another, preying upon our fellows and being preyed on by them. How to make something out of the other man, and how to prevent the other from making anything out of him, is the first thought of any two persons brought together in business, and too often in so-called social relations. It is this blended impulse of rapacity and apprehension, suggested and even necessitated by our social system, which makes sympathy and trust so difficult and even so unnatural in our relations with men in general. But only let us become convinced that another person has no idea of profiting by us, and how quickly do we put trust in him to any extent! Who has not noticed how soon a feeling of comradeship and mutual devotion is engendered between men, strangers before, by circumstances which, by establishing some sort of partial community of interests between them, give them an excuse to lay aside their natural suspicion. There is no stronger attribute of human nature than this hunger for comradeship and mutual trust. Nationalism will satisfy it by putting an end, utterly and absolutely, alike to the fear that others may live on us, and the hope that we may succeed in living on them.

P.—And then, I suppose, everybody will be everybody's else bosom friend.

Smith.—I don't expect so. Intimacy depends upon natural affinities, and very possibly one's circle of intimates may be no larger than now; but it is certainly reasonable to believe that a general sense of comradeship, mutual good feeling, and enthusiasm in co-operation for the common good, will be the natural consequence of a system based on the guarantee that no one can use any one else for his own profit, and that no one can gain anything except through and by the common good.

Words of Warning.

Progressive Farmer.

Brethren, do not listen to those who try to weaken your faith in our principles; snares are being set for you at nearly every corner of the town and city; and occasionaly one will be found in the country. The lull that has come over our enemies in regard to the Alliance. reminds me of many of the battles of the late war, after the sharp picket fireing for a time, a lull frequently occurred for a few moments, and then came the storm of battle, with the shriek of bullets, the bursting of shells, the groans and cries of the wounded and dying. The skirmish line which was advanced last summer and fall against our reform movement by the Wall street corporate power through a hireling press, has been withdrawn and only now and then a few shots can be heard. Sometimes from the north, then from the south, then east and west. A flank movement is being attempted. Low, despicable tactics are being resorted to. Spies with smooth oily tongues, and many are being sent into your commands with instructions to get your leaders to desert or to spread mutiny in your ranks. For the next eighteen months every species of rascality will be used against our order, intimidation and threats in some cases, and bribery in others, to get prominent members to desert our colors. Brethren, the storm of battle is coming. I warn you to watch those who have so suddenly become good Alliance sympathizers; stand by the demands of our order. Be ready for action. Stand shoulder to shoulder as our Kansas brethren did. Soon all the hireling troops of bitter partisan press, will open their batteries of slime upon us at a given signal from some old "sore-head political outcast," and the battle will be waged against us with unrelenting cruelty. The party lash will again be used to drive the weak kneed and cowardly into measures. Brethren, the greatest political contest ever waged on this American continent for civil liberty will be upon us in 1892. The farmers and laborers will be arrayed on on the one side fighting for their homes, their wives and children, while on the other will be found "gold bugs, money sharks, sore-headed politicians," and their hirelings, battling for our enslavement. It depends upon each one of us whether, we, our wives and children will be free and enjoy the blessings of liberty vouchsafed to us by our forefathers, or whether we shall be slaves to the monopolistic aristocracy. You must be up and doing, not only our leaders, but each one of you, my brethren; you must act now. There must be no skulking. Traitors must be driven from our camps. See that every member of your Sub-Alliances is tried and true. Let every one be on guard. Do your duty, be men. Keep the watch fires burning, for "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." "Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thus aimed at be thy Gods and truths." The demands of our order promulgated at St. Louis and Ocala are the issues for which we must contend. Stand by them and

"Strike, till the last armed foe expires
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
For God and your native land."

Will Exert a Great Influence.

The Farmers' Alliance movement will exercise potential influence in the campaign. There is manifest a disposition among the people to break away from party ranks and dissolve former political affiliation. Democracy is no longer anything better than an ancient name, a mummy swathed in the wrappings of the Jeffersonian period and bearing the token of Jacksonian impressment. It is as the old new rifle of fresh made lock, stock and barrel, without a particle of the original weapon except the ramrod alone. Republicanism is between processes of alteration and decay, and whether it shall continue and improve or fail and finish, as the saying goes, depends. The farmers of the republic created the republican party. The cities have managed to obtain large control of the party, and professional politicians profit by it. Unless the farmers rally to its support, it will sink, and as it succeeded to the estate of the old whig party, largely reinforced by sturdy recruits from the democratic ranks, so will it be succeeded by the invincible party which the farmers will again organize for their own protection, and the greater glory of the republic.—*The Argonaut.*

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