

FRANK AND FRATERNAL.

From far off Kansas.

CHASE, Rice Co., Kansas,
Jan. 20, 1890.

COL. L. L. POLK—Dear Sir and Bro.—When we separated in St. Louis it was agreed that on reaching home I should write you. But on reaching home I was compelled to start for Portland, Oregon, to the bedside of a very sick son after only one day's rest. This excuse for delay I'm sure will satisfy you. So I will come now to the question. You remember that when we parted you referred to my holding your hand while addressing the audience over which you had the distinguished honor to preside in Exposition Hall. Please permit me to state that time was too precious for me then had I been able to do so to fully express in words the pleasure it afforded me to grasp, as it were, the whole South by the hand in fraternal union. I felt and believed and still believe from the demonstration of that immense audience, that every man present had put aside, and forever, all feeling except that in favor of our flag, our united country, our prosperous and happy people. And as that was in its truest sense a representative body of men selected from among the wealth-producing classes both North and South, I feel that it was certainly a most fitting time and place for such a feeling to become master of the situation. So little has been said in any of our assemblies, either legislative or otherwise, since the war on questions of National importance that has not tended to foster rather than banish and bury sectionalism and bitter feeling. So little discussion in a friendly way of the real wants and wishes of all our people as a whole, and tending to harmonize discordant elements, that I am unavoidably forced to the conclusion that since the signing of the Declaration of Independence no body of men has ever been convened as a deliberative assembly, who have had the prosperity and happiness of all classes of our people so much and so sincerely at heart as that organization, the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union of America. Such demonstrations of good will are not strange, my brother, when we remember that these men who assembled in St. Louis had met each other before in deadly combat on many a bloody battlefield, where they had left their fathers, their brothers and their sons in the cold embrace of death. Men who, though no fault of their own but that they followed trusted leaders. By leaders with energies bent to evil and their own selfish greed, they had been thus betrayed. And for the last twenty-five years by this same class of leaders have been led further and further apart instead of nearer together. I say, how can demonstrations of joy be considered strange when such men as these throw off the shackles which have so long kept them apart, and come together again in fraternal union?

I will admit that all our summer resorts are visited regularly by people from all sections of this great country; that our interstate commerce is going on with little seeming interruption and that the North, South, East and West send delegates to the National Congress where they are supposed to legislate in the interest of the people, but in reality endeavor by every possible means to keep the embers of strife and discontent so stirred that partisan sectional bitterness and its attendant evils have permeated, enfeebled and so blinded our people that we have well nigh lost every vestige of the liberty for which our forefathers fought, and without which no people can be a unit in deed and in truth. If a better state of feeling is not fostered, it can only be a question of time when serious consequences must follow. The rising generations of the two sections will take up and enlarge upon the present alleged wrongs, and this in time must inevitably end in disaster. For instance, the race question is now attracting general attention and must be disposed of. My opinion is that the people of the South realize the fact fully; that it behooves them to make just as good a man out of the colored man as they possibly can, and I believe interference on the part of untruthful politicians through the medium of a subsidized and corrupt press does now and will continue to retard such a result. You people of the South know too much to act otherwise than in the light of reason, humanity and justice toward the colored man, and when an occasional wrong is perpetrated upon them your better people will see to it that the perpetrator is properly punished. This, my brother, is the light in which I have viewed this matter ever since the war, and if all lovers of peace, prosperity and happiness of the Alliance North and South will endorse this view of this and other kindred questions, we will in a few years be out of sectional trouble. In short, we must teach the truth and practice justice and charity, something the greedy money shark nor the place-hunting political trickster knows nor cares anything about. Yet these are the scapegraces who are getting away with us as a nation.

But, referring to the bloody conflict through which we passed, from 1861

to 1865, in which the mortality list has scarcely if ever been equalled among the nations of the earth, let me state that the uncivilized and barbarous rush to war on the slightest provocations, while the now civilized and enlightened nations resort to the sword and rifle only as a last resort. The former with less persistency soon ends the conflict with little blood shed, while the latter, regarding war as the final resort, the last arbiter, from which there is to be no appeal, protract the struggle more stubbornly and with more destructive results. The intelligence of our nation has never been questioned either before or since the war. The cause of the war (slavery) was riveted upon your people of the South generations before the people who had to dispose of the question were born. Sins of our fathers "visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation" without the knowledge or consent of those who had to dispose of this question, was fastened upon us, and when the conflict came, so deeply rooted into the very nature and being of both North and South, that both sides calling upon the same God, feeling in their very life that they were right and consequently in every way justifiable, rushed to the mad conflict with a bravery, a heroism, yes, with a devoted patriotism hitherto unknown, with results more disastrous and destructive than are scarcely to be found in the world's history. The South defending, to them a constitution sacred and of divine origin, were as earnest, persistent and determined as we of the North were to destroy it. The honesty, sincerity and bravery of the South as displayed in that bloody struggle and since has seldom if ever been equalled, and most certainly has never been excelled in the whole history of man. That our efforts were equal to your own you will not hesitate to admit, for you know that it required a powerful, a persistent, and a people not wanting in bravery to cope with your people of the South, and with all this in order that we might be master of the situation, superiority of numbers had to be added, or we never could have marched through the Southern States. The war is over, slavery is banished and you would not have it back on Southern soil under any circumstances. Why, then, should we not unite in ALL THINGS THAT CONCERN US AS A NATION? We should be proud of each other; we should frown down every effort to cultivate and perpetuate sectional bitterness; we should not question each other's honor nor bravery, and when points of no real difference can be found to exist, why not love each other, and why not fly into each other's arms in such fraternal embrace as no power on earth can sever? The interests of the North are the interests of the South and vice versa, and if the masses of our people will elevate themselves entirely above the designs of the selfish, unscrupulous politicians of both sections (not the honest ones, for this class we need) we cannot, with our great and almost unlimited resources, fail to be anything short of the wealthiest and happiest nation of people the world has ever known, and we would become a bright and shining light to guide the footsteps of all the world along the paths which lead mankind individually and collectively to intelligence, prosperity and happiness. But you know, my brother, we are met at every step in this direction by our most deadly enemies or their emissaries, the corporations, trusts and entrenched capital. Their presence was detected at St. Louis. The efforts made to keep Kansas out of the union field, and now as the subordinate Alliances have most heartily endorsed our action, Kansas may be counted as fully united with the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union of America.

I have been told that it was feared that I had used language in the National Alliance meeting that might injure the cause. If so, I did not intend it so, and to my Southern brethren I make this explanation: I have twice been elected a member of the Kansas Legislature, and introduced the first bill in that body for the regulation of railway transportation. This naturally drew the fire of railroad corporations and their sympathizers and hired tools, perhaps their efforts to throttle me, have tended to make me a little tart in my criticisms, but when confronting what I conceive to be the enemies of the industrial prosperity and happiness of my people, I wish it distinctly understood that no earthly power will be permitted to intimidate, embarrass or prevent me from giving utterance to my true sentiments touching our country, our people, and their prosperity and happiness as a nation, especially when I am their representative as I was at St. Louis. For I cannot lose sight of the fact that although more than half of our enormous national debt has been cancelled since the war, yet to pay the balance now would take more than twice the amount of agricultural products that it would have taken at the close of the war to have paid it all. This fact is due, not as is claimed by men who know better, to our production, but through trusts, combines, high rates of transportation and high and ruinous rates of interest, etc. The money lords have taken every conceivable advantage of the natural law

of supply and demand. Have lobbied their pet schemes into legal enactments through State and National legislation until to day, notwithstanding the enormous unpaid national debt, many of our best agricultural States are carrying debts almost equal to the assessed valuation of all their property, both real and personal, and all the States are approaching this lamentable condition with truly alarming rapidity, and tens of thousands of our laboring men and women are being driven to absolute and distressing want of the comforts and the actual necessities of life.

These are facts no man can gainsay, and in their face does it not behoove us who have the interest and happiness of all at heart to look well and test thoroughly the men for whom we vote to represent us in both State and National legislatures? We do not wish the Alliance to go into politics as a body or distinct party, but the Alliance should demand and see to it that the interests of the producer shall be redeemed, guaranteed and protected from the encroachment of any corporation, trust or combine that may be organized against them.

Fraternally yours,
G. BOHRER.

IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Congressman Enloe, of Tennessee, is in favor of amending the Constitution so as to empower Congress to legislate concurrently with the States for the suppression of trusts and to prohibit the making of gambling contracts in agricultural products and to provide for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. In a speech on these subjects in the House of Representatives on the 6th inst. Mr. Enloe said:

"The demand for legislation against trusts is emphasized by the platforms of both political parties, by public speakers of all shades of political opinion, by bills and speeches in Congress, and by a large part of the public press of the country. For Congress to refuse to take any action in this matter would be to plead guilty to a degree of political hypocrisy and demagoguery which would go far to destroy the confidence of the people in the good faith and integrity of their Representatives. To modify or repeal the protective duties which enhance the profits of trusts would be to strike a powerful blow at those combinations, and at another time I will devote some attention to that branch of the subject; but our knowledge of trusts teaches us that they may exist and do exist independently of protection duties in some branches of trade, and this fact demonstrates the necessity of applying other and more heroic remedies if we would effectually destroy these fungi of a material prosperity unequalled in the annals of time. The demand for relief from the destructive influence of gambling contracts in agricultural products is most emphatic among those whose interests are most directly affected by such contracts. It comes from the farmers and laborers who stand behind all political parties, and constitute the very foundation of our great material prosperity. It comes from those who contribute most to support the Government, and receive the least benefits from its methods of administration. Organized labor has spoken on this subject through its representatives in the great convention recently held at St. Louis, in the following emphatic language:

Resolved, That we demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions, pursuing a stringent system of procedure in trials as shall secure the prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with law.

This demand contemplates constitutional methods of dealing with the question. While all must admit the evil and the necessity for applying some adequate remedy, there is a difference of opinion as to what action should be taken. Some insist that the States have the power to destroy both of these evils, and that the judicial tribunals of the country will aid in their overthrow.

I am free to admit that if all the States would unite in uniform legislation against the evils sought to be remedied by the amendment they could effectually destroy them; but it requires no argument to show that the States having cities like Chicago and New York would never pass and enforce any law to break up a business which enriches their citizens at the expense of all the other States.

The right to make a contract depends on the law of the State where it is made. You might prohibit such contracts in every State but one, and the citizens of every State in the Union could, through the use of the mail or the telegraph, make those contracts in that one State. The States opposed to trusts could not discriminate against goods made under the legal sanction of another State. The inter-state commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States would prevent that. Then assuming that I am correct in saying that while the States acting as a unit have the power to destroy these evils, and that uniform legislation is not practical in

the very nature of things, let us see what there is in the objection to the amendment on the ground that it tends to the centralization of power. I think those who urge that objection have not carefully considered the form of the amendment. It does not take away the power of the States to legislate on the subjects embraced in it. It simply confers concurrent power on Congress, so that the lack of uniformity in State legislation on these subjects may be supplemented by the action of Congress.

The dignity, the just rights, and the useful powers of the States would not be invaded or impaired by the adoption of this amendment. While the powers of Congress, as the representative of the interests of the whole people, would be broadened so as to supplement and aid the States in the protection of producers and consumers against the leeches and harpies who are preying upon them in defiance of State power and State authority, yet the grant of authority, being concurrent with the States, would be conducive to the welfare of the States as a whole, and would strengthen rather than impair administration of the domestic affairs of their people. Thomas Jefferson, in the wildest flights of his imagination, never dreamed of an Inter State Commerce Commission regulating the transportation of the vast commerce of sixty millions of people, carried by steam engines over 150,000 miles of railway, traversing every section of the Union, and riveting the States together with rails of steel. It never entered his mind that electricity would send a message around the earth in less time than it would take him to ride from the White House to the Capitol.

The man who in those days would have advanced the idea that he could sit in Washington and hold a conversation with another in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, would have been in danger of an inquisition of lunacy. If a statesman had been seen in those days talking to the phonograph or graphophone, he would have been considered hopelessly mad; and if a woman had been caught grinding out speeches and letters and messages from such an instrument in some parts of this country she would have been in danger of burning at the stake for holding communion with the devil and practicing the black arts of witchcraft. The world will not let the fame of Jefferson die. I yield to no man in my admiration for his wisdom, his patriotism, and his statesmanship, and in my respect and veneration for the Constitution, to which his mind gave shape, and it is no impeachment of his wisdom, and no evidence of a want of veneration for the Constitution to suggest that it might be amended with benefit to the people who live under it to-day.

It never occurred to Mr. Jefferson that our civilization would develop to a point where men in New York and Chicago would become millionaires by selling all the crops of this country before the seeds were even so much as planted in the ground; selling property which they never owned, selling the property of other people without their consent, selling many millions of dollars' worth more than the whole country produces annually, selling the productions of the people of all the States without the consent and in defiance of the authority of the States. It never occurred to Mr. Jefferson that favoritism in legislation would concentrate capital in the hands of the favored classes until the transportation, the manufacture, and the sale of production would become the subject of combinations and trusts whereby competition might be destroyed, the sources of supply seized upon, productions limited, markets controlled, the prices of labor and the prices of products arbitrarily fixed by the law of human selfishness and human greed.

If Mr. Jefferson could have projected himself into the second century of constitutional government in the United States he would have lodged power over these questions in the inter-state commerce clause or elsewhere in the Constitution. If I have understood his political teaching aright, he would amend his own work in this and some other respects if he could come forth from Monticello, where he sleeps "on fame's eternal camping-ground," and again take his place at the head of the nation. I have so much respect for Mr. Jefferson's idea of government, embodying the idea of "the greatest good to the greatest number," that I would not only amend the Constitution in this regard, but I would further amend it by providing for the election of the members of the United States Senate by a direct vote of the people, and I have introduced at the present session of Congress a similar resolution to the one I have been discussing, proposing such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It would be beyond my present purpose to enter into the reasons which necessitate such a change. They are such as I think will commend themselves to the intelligence of the country, and at some other time I may have an opportunity to present them to the House for its consideration. I may be permitted to say in passing that I think these two proposed amendments strike at the very root of many of the worst evils which

afflict the country and that little can be done in the way of affording substantial relief to the people on any line until the Senators are made more directly responsible to the people and less responsible to a power which recognizes no conscience but greed and no god but gold.

These amendments are before the Judiciary Committee of the House. I hope the gentlemen who compose that committee will not make it a graveyard of measures demanded by the people, but that they will bring these measures out into the open light of day, and if they must die, let them die in an open fight before the House and the country, and not die of strangulation in the dark at the hands of the committee without fixing individual responsibility. Gentlemen who oppose legislation of this character would then have an opportunity to go on the record before the country on a yea and nay vote. There could be no question of constitutional scruples, no quibbling or dodging, and no clearer presentation of the issue.

Let us have a vote that will either redeem our party promises to the people in regard to trusts or stamp them as falsehoods promulgated to mislead and deceive the people. Let us have a vote that will meet the views of the farmers and laboring men of the United States on the subject of futures or one that will unmistakably repudiate their demands. The farmers of this country are between the upper and the nether millstone. Trusts fix the prices which they shall pay for nearly everything they are compelled to buy. Produce gamblers fix the prices which they shall receive for nearly everything they have to sell. Mr. Jerome Hill, of St. Louis, a member of one of the largest cotton commission firms in the country, and one of the recognized authorities on everything pertaining to cotton statistics, estimates that the cotton-growers sustain a loss of one entire cotton crop in every seven on account of the fact that their product is sold many times over by men who own no cotton and have no right to sell a pound of it.

The Western farmers suffer even greater losses on account of similar transactions affecting their products. Men who claim to be statesmen and leaders of the people answer their complaints of discrimination, injustice, and oppression, with word pictures of the unexampled prosperity of the nation, and with long arrays of figures which only emphasize the magnitude of the robbery which class legislation has accomplished.

Pictures of the nation's prosperity painted in the most glowing colors will not lift the mortgage from the farm nor feed and clothe the wife and children. There is no disguising the fact that millions of American laborers stand like Tantalus surrounded by fruits and flowers of a nation's prosperity which they can neither touch nor taste, up to their necks in streams of national prosperity from which they may not drink.

Everything they touch turns to gold, and many of them, like Midas of old, are starving in the midst of the wealth which their magic touch has created. Long arrays of figures to prove the prosperity of the nation will not appease the pangs of hunger nor shut out the cold blasts of winter. If you would lighten the burdens of labor and smooth the wrinkled furrows of care from the brow of labor, if you would nerve the arm of the toiler which is well-nigh paralyzed by the oft-repeated disappointment of false hopes inspired by the false promises of false teachers, if you would restore the prosperity of the masses, take the hands of the robbers, created by class legislation, out of the pockets of those who toil; make the classes who are riding the tax-payers, booted and spurred, get down and walk; stop piling burdens on industry for the benefit of those who neither toil nor spin; blot out from the face of the earth the trusts and monopolies that grind the faces of the poor, and force the dealers in "wind" to live on the wind or work for an honest living.

A QUERY.

A friend writes to the editor, stating that he does not "believe in a Supreme Being," and asking how he is to get any good out of the Alliance movement—being ineligible to membership. He will have to be content to be and do, with reference to the Alliance, as he is and does in his relations with Christianity—stand off and receive general benefits without doing any of the work. Two boys had five cents between them; Jim had the cents and Jack the cheek. Jack proposed a combination; he took the money and bought a cigar, which he began deliberately to smoke. Jim inquired how he was to get anything out of that trade, and was informed—"You can do the spittin'—that's something." Farmers have been furnishing cigar money a long time for other people and have enjoyed but little more than the "spittin'" for their part; but they propose to do their own smoking now, and all our atheist friend need do is to receive his share of the general benefits which are sure to flow from the Alliance movement.—Kansas Farmer.

The Spaniards as late as 1575 used leather money.

MODERN JOURNALISM IN ITS HIGH WALKS.

Even in the higher walks of journalism there are trials that will put the mettle to the keenest test. The editor cannot do his duty without sometimes applying the knife, without wounding. He must accept unpleasant responsibilities; he must be firm in the face of protest and resentment; he must be ready for the return blow. There is no place of greater obligations, none of wider opportunities, none of higher personal responsibility. The lawyer is directly amenable to client and court, the preacher to his congregation and church tribunal, the doctor to his patients and his professional peers; but while the readers edit the editor it is an unorganized public opinion, and he is practically a law unto himself. The character of his influence and the measure of his success will therefore depend on his sureness of insight and sobriety of judgment. The fundamental element of journalism is an instinctive, unerring grasp of popular wants and impulses. The editor must intuitively know what the masses think and how they feel. He must have the supreme faculty of interpreting their own thoughts to themselves, and of making them feel that what he says is just what they would say if they only could. The importance of the "nose for news" is proverbial; but the ear for heart-beats is just as essential. The editor in his grasp and embodiment of human nature, ought to be the concentrated populace. This is far from meaning that he yields to every caprice or momentary gust of popular passion, or that he follows instead of leading. On the contrary he should preserve the best side of the popular mind against the worst side; he should advance with the steady current instead of being whirled by the temporary eddy; he should bring the transcendent outburst to the touchstone of the ultimate criterion. He should possess the highest attributes of the intellect—qualities which in a soldier would not only organize the forces and plan the strategy, but lead the attack, and which in a lawyer would infallibly seize the strong points of the case and go straight to the judgment of the jury. This answers the plea we sometimes hear for impersonalism. The aggressive force of vital journalism is a strong personality. The vigorous editor must make his personality felt, and every great journal will have a stamp and impress of its own which cannot be hidden under an impersonal cloak.

ITS REWARDS.

One of the trials of the editor is the ephemeral nature of his work. Yet even this has its compensatory offset in the wider reading and the immediate effect. A hundred thousand readers over ten or twenty years would be a great crown and reward in any literature—why not a hundred thousand readers concentrated in a day? However evanescent its character, the triumphs associated with the modern newspaper are incalculable. The consciousness of directly addressing half a million people and of directly speaking to a continent, is inspiring. It is true there is no intellectual exhilaration, no electric thrill, no ecstasy of soul, like that of the orator who looks into the eyes of his hearers and plays upon their emotions and feels the quickening reaction upon himself. But that audience is limited, while the newspaper audience is unlimited. The editor has the world for his field and all subjects of thought for his themes. He speaks before the orator can get to his feet, and settles opinion before the statesman makes himself heard. He draws the fang even while he gives it play, and sends his antidote with the poison. When Coleridge, reporting a midnight speech in the house of commons and dashing off his answer at 2 o'clock in the morning sent it out in the same sheet, he established the editorial leader and showed its possibilities. Napoleon regarded four newspapers as more dangerous than an army of a hundred thousand men; and newspapers in his day had all the limitations of the hand-press. How much more powerful with the immeasurable resources of to-day. Jefferson said he would rather have newspapers without a government than a government without newspapers; and the philosophy of the observation is clear. The alertness, vigilance, publicity and organized public opinion of newspapers are the safeguards of the social and political fabric. The editor scourges wrong-doers, dethrones political usurpers, unhorses official recreants, unfrocks pretentious charlatans, pricks social humbugs, routs old superstitions, molds popular opinion, stimulates universal education, quickens individual aspiration and leads the van of progress. In this broad realm and in these unlimited possibilities, while the daily grind brings its rasping trials, it is also illuminated by splendid and inspiring triumphs.—Charles Emery Smith, in New York Independent.

It is well known that the discovery of America was followed by a great and permanent fall in the price of the precious metals which reduced them to one-fourth their previous value.—Albert Gallatin, Work on Money, 1833.