

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER

MRS. L. L. POLK, - PROPRIETOR. J. L. RAMSEY, - EDITOR. J. W. DENMARK, BUSINESS MANAGER. Raleigh, N. C.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Single Subscriber, One Year, \$1.25; Six Months, .75; Five Subscribers, One Year, \$5.00; Ten, \$9.00; One copy one year free, to the one sending Club of Ten.

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RALEIGH, N. C., Oct. 9, 1894

This paper entered as second-class matter at the Post Office in Raleigh, N. C.

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I am standing now just behind the curtain, and in full glow of the coming sunset. Behind me are the shadows on the track, before me lies the dark valley and the river. When I mingle with its dark waters I want to cast one lingering look upon a country whose government is of the people, for the people, and by the people. -L. L. Polk, July 4th, 1890.

N. R. P. A.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Every vote put in for a Democratic legislative or Congressional candidate in North Carolina means that much toward keeping the price of cotton at five cents and wheat at forty cents.

The regular work of reducing (?) the number of employes and expenses of the government by discharging Republicans and filling their places with Democrats goes merrily on. Truly this is a great administration.

Our friends in every county in the State will confer a favor by writing us, giving the names of any Democratic members of the last legislature, both houses who have been or may be re-nominated. This is important.

The population of China is more than four times that of the United States. Yet they are such poor fighters that we believe a good military leader could take the majority the co-operative movement will have in North Carolina in the approaching election and whip them in three weeks.

Dun's Commercial Agency reports trade 20 per cent less during the past month than for September last year. The Sherman law is repealed and the tariff bill passed, yet things are 20 per cent worse. Vote to turn the Democratic rascals out, vote with all you might. Work, too!

Senator Ransom is using Wannabers' advertisement and the force of his arguments. He ought to be rebuffed with the sugar cane. He is being rebuffed by the people.

Mr. W. R. Henry, who has been himself on the Democratic stump every two years, is on the stump again, and says he is going to "storm the camp of the enemy for forty days." Those of us who are old enough to remember the flood will be apt to be reminded of old times during this forty day's deluge.

Five and a half cent cotton ought to be argument enough to make every farmer and every business man vote the reform ticket this year. Plutocracy may not bring the price any lower next season, but if you vote for them again they will see that you want to be cheated and will keep the price down.

Hon. W. H. Kitchin, the brilliant orator, who was honest enough to turn his back on the Democratic party when it failed to redeem party pledges, will speak at Whiteville, Columbus county, Oct. 13th at 11 a. m. A great crowd will hear him. He has stood before thousands this fall, and none of the opposition can handle him.

Mr. J. B. Lloyd, representing the People's party, and Mr. R. B. Glenn, representing the Democratic party, will discuss the political issues at Tarboro on the 22d of October. The people of Edgecombe and adjoining counties will turn out in full force to hear this joint discussion. Speaking begins at 11 a. m.

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE.

The legislature of 1891 was composed mainly of Alliancemen, some of them Democrats, some were Republicans; but nearly all elected as representatives of the people. They were elected as reformers and were the kind of men we want in our State and National legislative halls. This legislature cost the people, in 60 days, \$63,018 01. The same economy was practiced in appropriations and much money saved thereby. The Railroad Commission was established and steps taken to collect back taxes from several corporations, amounting in all to several hundred thousand dollars. This legislature was friendly to schools and did more to advance the cause of education than any legislature that ever assembled.

AND THEN ON THIS. The legislature of 1893 had a number of good men in both branches and from each of the three parties; but the bad outweighed the good. Many of them were unscrupulous politicians and bitter partisans. In 60 days this legislature cost the people \$65,976 78, or \$2,958 77 more than the legislature of 1891. It had an equal number of members, about the same number of miles were travelled and was in session but sixty days, the limit to which members can draw pay. The extra cost was, in part, for political reward, to such men as J. S. Bell and his stripe. True, some of the clerks and pages were needed, but the political reregades were not necessary.

In making appropriations this legislature was the most extravagant that ever met in the State. It undone some of the best work performed by the Alliance legislature. Compromised with the corporations per instructions of "visiting statesmen," and the State lost several hundred thousand dollars thereby. It chartered banks and other corporations recklessly and tried to destroy the Alliance charter, pigeon-holed nearly all good bills introduced—in short its policy was that of the elder Vanderbilt—"the public be d—d."

Every industrial organization in the country has declared for the free coinage of silver, 16 to 1 and other leading reforms. Now let them vote as they pray.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

Some of the proceedings of the Republican State Convention held in this city last Thursday, appear elsewhere. The convention endorsed the non-partisan judiciary ticket that was named by the People's party State Convention on August 1st, and we believe this action is another long stride toward reform in State politics.

As we see it, there is an understanding between the People's party and Republican party as to State policies and measures. There is to be a firm and united effort on the part of the People's party and reform Republicans to defeat the Wall street Democracy in the State this year. This co-operative movement has frightened the Wall street Democracy no little. Already the organs of that party assert that there has been a fusion. Webster defines fusion as follows: "The act or operation of melting or rendering fluid by heat; the act of melting together; as, the fusion of metals. The state of being melted or dissolved." The two parties only agree to co-operate. This, says Webster, means: "To act or operate jointly with another or with others; to concur in action, effort or effect; concurrent effort or labor; operating jointly to the same end." This makes it plain that there is much difference between the two words.

A new party and an old one cannot effect a fusion, but they can "co-operate." Prior to this reform step taken by the Republicans in this State they and the Democrats might have effected a fusion against the common enemy, the People's party. But no new party has ever fused with an old one and never will. New party movements have gone to pieces, have been successful. The people's party has passed the stage of disintegration and is growing faster to day than any party ever grew. So far as we know every Republican in the State who is now an active member in good standing in his party will be the same in 1896. But it is probable that many of them will affiliate with the new party in the next two years. It will be charged that the leaders of the People's party are heading for the 'Republican camp,' or that the Republican leaders are heading for the 'People's party camp.' No sensible man will be misled by such tomfoolery. The party lines are as distinctly drawn as ever before. The co-operative movement is for this year only. The object is for the defeat of what has become the most unscrupulous, most tyrannical party that ever existed upon the face of the globe—a party that has sold itself to Wall street and the Sugar Trust on this side of the Atlantic and to the Lords of Great Britain on the other side; a party that has brought about more ruin, desolation and dis-

content in two years than all the parties combined that have existed since we have had a Republic.

It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. While differing on some National issues, the two parties co-operating are nearly a unit as to State policies. They believe that reform must begin at home. They start out by agreeing to vote for four of the purest men in the State for Supreme Court Judges, and for Mr. Worth, also one of the purest of men, for State Treasurer. These men will be elected, for the co-operation movement has probably 30,000 majority to begin with, and there will be many accessions. In the various counties reform men from both parties will be nominated for county offices and for the State legislature. If this turns out well, we will not have a legislature that will attempt to repeal our Alliance charter by stealth nor do many other things done by our last legislature. For twenty years North Carolina has had but one representative in the United States Senate. He is dead. Ransom is there yet. It is common report that he is still gambling with cards, on the Stock Exchange (through his son) and betting on race horses. Jarvis is "a mere visiting statesman." We trust that the co-operative movement will give us two United States Senators in touch with the people of our great State. There will also be co-operation in the various Congressional districts.

Politically, our country is in the last throes. Something must be done, and done quickly. Co-operation means that there is a log too heavy for one man to carry, but it can be carried by two men. You clear a piece of forest land. If heavy timber grew on that land you are very likely to ask at least fifteen or twenty of your neighbors to a log rolling. You ask them to co-operate with you in rolling logs, and care nothing about their politics. The trunks of those giant trees must be carried and placed in heaps to be burned. Co-operation means that the charred trunks of Wall street trees shall be piled up in North Carolina. Instead of burning them, the object is to carry them out of the "new ground" altogether. We can't even afford to plow around the heaps. We must pile the ballot-box rogues so they will be out of the way. We must have an honest election law. Your votes are your liberty. The man or men who steals your suffrage steals everything that is dear to you. The party that steals into office will never give you honest government.

We have stated the case as we see it. Everything has been done in an open, fair and honest manner. We believe that the objects sought are praise worthy. We believe that it will succeed. Our motto is "equal rights to all," and if our Republican friends see the need of certain things we want and are willing to co-operate with us in getting them, we will offer no objections. It will be charged in every Wall street newspaper that certain leaders want office and have taken this step to get it. Well, we want them to get office, provided they mean to carry out their promises. A party without men who are willing to accept positions of honor and trust would be a curiosity, a farce. But we want the offices filled by men who are of, for and by the people—men who are real reformers. All others should be retired to the rear. -From Progressive Farmer, Sept. 4th, 1894.

GLORIOUS NEWS FROM GEORGIA

The news from the Georgia election is grand. It will send cheer to the hearts of millions of reformers throughout the land. But at present there is a mixture of uncertainty. The election was held Wednesday, October 3d. Ordinarily full returns ought to be in. The vote is so close that the returns are being held back and doctored. Thursday morning the papers announced under flaring headlines that the Democratic majority was estimated at about 50,000. Later dispatches in the same papers claimed 40,000 and then 30,000. Friday morning only one or two papers published any news from there, all the others suppressing it. These telegrams said "from 10,000 to 20,000." Saturday none of them published any news—a splendid sign. Saturday night some unscrupulous news monger sent out a dispatch claiming 26,000.

The latest reliable news we have is that the official returns from 90 counties give the Democratic nominee, Atkinson, 9,000 majority. The 47 counties not heard from are believed to be for the People's party nominee, Judge Hines, and may give him a majority. The People's party is certain of sixty members of the legislature, and if the counties in which the returns are being held back went for Hines the People's party may have a hundred members. To wipe out the 70,000 majority of two years ago is a grand victory for the People's party, even if the Democrats succeed in counting in their man for Governor. It is a rousing victory and will aid and encourage our people in every State. Democrats are doing all they can to suppress the news, and the official returns will not be opened until the legislature meets on the 24th. But we can give pretty definite news by next week. The citizens or People's party ticket in Atlanta, voted for on the same day, won, electing 32 out of 35 aldermen. Thus the back bone of the greatest Democratic State in the South is broken and it will never recover. Right will triumph! Let the good news spread far and near.

HOW TO REGISTER.

A new registration has been ordered in but one or two counties, so far as we can learn. But a number of new voters will arrive at voting age this year. They must be registered according to the infamous election laws of the State or they can't vote. A great many were not able to vote two years ago, and they must see that their names are properly registered.

To be legally registered the blanks on the registration book must show your age, occupation, place of birth (that is the township, or town, county and State) and the full name by which you are known. For instance, if your name is John P. Adams it must so appear on the registration books. J. P. Adams will not be satisfactory to the Wall street poll holders. If you have no middle name, simply John Adams, see that "John" is written out in full. Some of the registrars are honest, but you are commanded to watch as well as pray. Accept the word of no man in this matter, but see the registration book yourself. Take one or more witnesses with you. If you can't read, get some friend to go with you who can. The registration book in every ward and township in the State are now open and have been for several days. They will be closed on the 27th of this month, ten days before the election, so you ought to attend to these matters at once.

DEMOCRATIC TESTIMONY.

Some honest people think that the elections in our State are fairly honest. The ballots are put in and properly counted at many voting places, but dishonest methods prevail at other boxes. Some outrageous things were done in 1892, and the same and some new tricks will be pushed this year.

Co-operation in this State means that a large number of our people want a change, and that we must have it. If we can get the legislature and change the election law so that there can be an honest expression of sentiment at the ballot box, that will be glory enough for one year, even if the legislature does nothing else.

On May 9th, 1893, THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER reproduced the following from an editorial in the Wilmington Messenger:

"We take leave here to reiterate our well considered, honest opinion that North Carolina now stands very much in need of a good election law—the Australian or some other. Gross abuses have crept in that are dishonoring to the party and will bring contempt and ruin upon it if persisted in. We know educated, able, high toned gentlemen who are unwaveringly Democratic, who would prefer the triumph of the Third party to the triumph of the Democracy by resorting to low, dangerous, destructive methods at the ballot-box. They have said so in our hearing. They believe that even Third partyism is a less evil than ballot abuses. Let us have reform here."

That is Democratic testimony both as to the abuses and the need of a remedy. The party in power will never remedy the very defects that makes success possible. With its record, both State and National, the Democratic party cannot poll a majority of the votes in this State in the next ten years. Hence, if it gets the next legislature, things will go from bad to worse. It may change the election law, but if it does the change will disfranchise all poor men, white and black.

"THE BEST STATE GOVERNMENT."

By reference to the Auditor's report for 1892, you will find that Mr. Armistead Jones, of Raleigh, was paid \$2,500 for legal services rendered the State in the case of the State Treasurer vs the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad Company. Also that Busbee & Busbee, of Raleigh, were paid \$2,500 for legal services in the same case. Since that a young attorney at Nashville sued the State for attorney's fee in the same case.

The amount involved was \$7,500 due the State in taxes. "The best State government" has an Attorney-General, but finds it necessary (?) to employ extra legal talent (paying \$5,000 to collect \$7,500) The young attorney mentioned failed to get his fee, we understand. Do you want to continue "the best State government?"

THE OLD SCARECROW.

"The Democratic Hand-book, 1894," the Democratic newspapers and the Democratic speakers are all airing the old scarecrow of radical extravagance in 1868-69-70. They, with much gusto, invite comparison of expenditures of those three years with what they are pleased with calling "the most economical State government in the United States." Well, let's take them at their word and investigate. That is the fair way and the only right way to get at proper conclusions.

We have the report of their own State Auditor for 1893, and will take his figures. On page 220 he gives a table showing the expenditures, etc., for each year from 1868 to 1893, inclu-

sive. He puts down the amount for 1869 at \$8,854,587 15. A foot-note, by the Auditor, at the bottom of the page, referring to these figures, says: "Much the larger proportion of the receipts and disbursements for 1869 are on account of subscriptions to railroad companies, etc., where no money actually passed." He does not say how much money actually passed. We are left to guess. So, as he says "much the larger proportion," which means much more than half was simply on paper "no money passed" either in or out. We will suppose \$4,000,000 will cover what did actually pass. This would leave 1869 the most extravagant year of this extravagant administration. We will take these three years, then we will take 1891, 1892 and 1893, the last three years of "the cheapest State government in the United States," and we will compare. We will arrange the figures into two tables, as follows:

TABLE I.

Table I: Expenditures under three years of radical extravagance. Years: 1868 (\$2,055,755.42), 1869 (4,000,000.00), 1870 (3,657,625.11). Total: \$9,713,380.53

TABLE II.

Table II: Expenditures under three years of Democratic economy. Years: 1891 (\$1,179,794.78), 1892 (1,057,933.60), 1893 (1,319,648.10). Total: \$3,557,376.48

Yes, we expected our Democratic friends would say "that proves it." So it does, does it? Proves what? "Why, sir, that nine million dollars is greater than three million three to one." But does it? Let's see if it does. We find that for the year 1893 the expenditures of our State government were \$1,319,648.10. We find that 80 per cent of our people belong to "our agricultural classes" and that "our agricultural classes" actually paid more than a million dollars of the disbursements for 1893. What did they pay taxes with? "Money," you say. Well, where did they get their money? That is the question. We will say they bought it. Yes, that is the way to put it. They bought the money with which they paid the taxes. What did they buy it with? You say rightly, with the products of their farms. How did they get the products of their farms? Now you come to it. They get the products from their labor. What is the chief product of North Carolina, with which we purchase money to pay taxes, etc.? You answer cotton and tobacco. Correct. Well, look at that bale of cotton, Mr. Democrat, and tell us if it costs any fewer licks of labor in 1893 to make a bale of cotton than it did in 1870. Did it take the cultivation of any less quantity of land? In other words, was it produced and put upon the market with less labor? If so, how much less? We have found that the product of labor, say, is cotton. Cotton is then taken to buy money with which to pay taxes. So, then, we see the taxes are really paid, after all, by labor first converted into cotton, then into money. So we will now make two more tables to show how many 500 pound bales of cotton it would have required in each of the periods mentioned above to have paid the taxes each year:

PERIOD I.

Table I: Under the Republicans. Years: 1868 (2,055,755.42 / 24.85 = 82,726.76), 1869 (4,000,000.00 / 29.01 = 137,880.04), 1870 (3,657,625.11 / 23.98 = 152,945.17). Total: 313,551.97

PERIOD II.

Table II: Under the Democrats. Years: 1891 (1,179,794.78 / 9.03 = 130,652.81), 1892 (1,057,933.60 / 7.50 = 141,057.81), 1893 (1,319,648.10 / 7.00 = 188,521.14). Total: 359,231.76

Total \$ 3,557,376 48 Equal to... 91,824 Let "our agricultural classes" consider these figures. There is no going back to the scenes of the dark days of radical extravagance. The conditions are not the same. The ku klux and the union league and the rival rebellious and hostile spirit which they represented are no more. But if the great conservative people of North Carolina could, in 1870, rise in their might and hurl the Republicans from power for extravagance, is it not time they were waking up to their present conditions and hurl some one else from power? Do you now produce 92 000 bales of cotton easier than you did 74,000 bales in 1870? Are your surroundings any more promising? Are you younger and stronger? Do you owe less and pay it easier? Is your pocket fuller of money? Are your taxes easier to pay? Are you in any respect much, if any, better off than you were then. Think of these things and then calculate upon how you are going to pay your taxes this year, getting less than 6 cents for cotton, say an average of about 5 1/2 cents. Suppose your taxes are an average of the past three years. What will

PERIOD I.

Table I: Under the Republicans. Years: 1873-4-5 (\$4,043,200 / 24.85 = 162,660.36), 1880-1-2-3-4-5-6 (5,655,000 / 29.01 = 194,932.78), 1887-8-9-10-1-2-3 (7,384,000 / 23.98 = 307,923.27). Average 1st 7 years: 577,872.14; 2d 7: 807,887.41; 3d 7: 1,054,443.86; last period over: 477,887.41

PERIOD II.

Table II: Under the Democrats. Years: 1873-4-5 (1,701,000 / 9.03 = 188,261.35), 1879-80-81 (1,754,000 / 7.50 = 233,866.67), 1882-3-4 (2,872,000 / 7.00 = 410,285.71), 1885-6-7 (2,872,000 / 7.50 = 383,066.67), 1888-9-10 (3,557,000 / 7.00 = 508,142.86), 1891-2-3 (3,557,000 / 7.50 = 474,266.67)

Comparing the amount for the period of three years with the amount of the last, we find that the last than doubled the first by \$153,712.14. We believe that if our people study these figures, make them thoroughly familiar with them, they need not pay much attention to promises and pledges of machine candidates. -From Progressive Farmer, Sept 25th, 1894.

NO ANSWER YET.

Two weeks ago we stated that the Auditor's report for 1893, page 220, showed that there had been paid out of the State treasury to individuals as follows:

Hubert Hayward... W. B. Grimes... E. G. Harrell... R. B. Glenn... S. F. Telfair...

Total... After each name in this statement "per diem and expenses to Chicago" "special duty." We asked what special duty was performed, and what authorized the payment for some of the State treasury. We have not yet received an answer. From Progressive Farmer, August 25th, 1894.

they be? \$1,185,192 16. At 5 1/2 per pound this will take an equivalent of 43,083 bales. This will make the State (not including county and local taxes average for the years 1891, 1892 and 1893, 33,727 bales of cotton per year, while those of the three extraordinary years of Republican rule amounted to 24,761 bales per year which shows a difference of 8,966 bales per year in favor of the Republican extravagance of 1868-69 and 1870. Not that we are arguing for the Republicans; but if the economy, the business economy of the Democrats is so much more expensive to us, in reality, than the extravagance of the Republicans, we think a time has come for a change.

THANKS.

"THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER published at Raleigh, N. C., the organ of the Farmers' Alliance and undoubtedly the strongest farmer's paper in the country, honors the Critic by printing one of its articles with very interesting comments. The Critic is pleased to see that THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER recognizes that there is a strong brotherhood between the farmer and the laborer and that the cause of the one is the cause of the other." -Saturday Critic, Oneonta, N. Y.

STATE FUNDS.

The total receipts and disbursements of state funds, 1873 to 1893, including as per State Auditor's Report, page 220, Statement I, were as follows:

Table: STATE FUNDS. Columns: YEAR, TOTAL RECEIPTS, TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS. Rows: 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893.

This is the showing for twenty years. The young man born in 1873 casts his first vote this year. The conservatives, that is the people who willed, wrested the government from the radicals in 1871, and committed many flagrant abuses. Soon after the Democratic machine had captured the government from the conservatives, and the figures above show how the machine has run the Government since it got full control. We will divide the period in half, let each half represent 11 1/2 years, we see

Table: First 11 1/2 years (\$6,383,200 / 24.85 = 257,030.58), Average per year: 23,366.42; Second 11 1/2 years (10,699,200 / 29.01 = 368,810.72), Average per year: 33,528.25; Second period over first: 4,515,000; Sec'd period over first per yr: 375,500

Divide the 21 years into three periods of seven years each and the aggregate stand as follows:

Table: YEARS, AMOUNT. Rows: 1873-4-5-6-7-8-9 (\$4,043,200 / 24.85 = 162,660.36), 1880-1-2-3-4-5-6 (5,655,000 / 29.01 = 194,932.78), 1887-8-9-10-1-2-3 (7,384,000 / 23.98 = 307,923.27), Average 1st 7 years: 577,872.14; 2d 7: 807,887.41; 3d 7: 1,054,443.86; last period over: 477,887.41

Now, let us divide the disbursements into periods of three years each, and we will find each period stands as follows:

Table: YEARS, AMOUNT. Rows: 1873-4-5 (1,701,000 / 9.03 = 188,261.35), 1879-80-81 (1,754,000 / 7.50 = 233,866.67), 1882-3-4 (2,872,000 / 7.00 = 410,285.71), 1885-6-7 (2,872,000 / 7.50 = 383,066.67), 1888-9-10 (3,557,000 / 7.00 = 508,142.86), 1891-2-3 (3,557,000 / 7.50 = 474,266.67)

Total... After each name in this statement "per diem and expenses to Chicago" "special duty." We asked what special duty was performed, and what authorized the payment for some of the State treasury. We have not yet received an answer. From Progressive Farmer, August 25th, 1894.