

The Progressive Farmer.

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LET THE TRUTH BE TOLD.

If there be any one trait among our people which distinguishes them, it is their love of "fair play." In the discussion of the Railroad Commission bill in the Senate, Senators Thomas and Kerr, read from President Alexander's address before the State Alliance "garbled extracts," to show that he opposed a Railroad Commission. This matter has gone into the papers and THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, desiring only that President Alexander should be fairly, truthfully and honestly represented, quotes his exact and precise language in regard to railroads at that occasion and takes it from his published address. If the enemies of a Railroad Commission can find any words of comfort in it, they are welcome to it. We commend it to these Senators. They will find it excellent reading. The public will decide whether such a course is becoming the railroads and their representatives. Here is what he said:

"Not only have the railroads and telegraphs forced a change in our agriculture, but they possess a power of taxation and patronage dangerous to the liberties of the people. They have centralized our government, and trusts, combines, pools and monopolies are their offspring. A friend, now past three score years and ten, related to me the following incident:

"When I was a young man I visited Boston. I carried a letter of introduction to Mayor Quincy. He received me with that hospitality for which he was so distinguished, and invited me to a banquet given in honor of the completion of the first forty miles of railroad that entered Boston. In his speech at the banquet, Mayor Quincy said: 'We have completed forty miles of railroad. If we can build forty, we can build eighty; if we can build eighty we can build two hundred; if we can build two hundred we can build one to the lakes; if we can build one to the lakes we can build one to the Pacific Ocean. Give me the transportation of the people and I will control them.'

Prophetic words. My friend has lived to see the prophecy of this distinguished Bostonian fulfilled. Patronage, free transportation and money can nominate any candidate for office higher than the Legislature, or failing to nominate, can defeat their opponent. What department of the State or national government is free from the taint of free transportation or telegraphic franks? "No man can serve two masters." It is believed that some who are elected as representatives of the people are retained as attorneys of the corporations. Senator Beck, of Kentucky, introduced a resolution in the United States Senate forbidding any Senator to act as attorney for a railroad in which the government is interested. It passed, but the next day was reconsidered and defeated, thus giving the sanction of the United States Senate to any of its members to act as an attorney for corporations, &c. It may be good for the corporations, but it is bad for the people. The motto of syndicates, trusts, combines, pools and monopolies is "No legislation is good legislation." Hence their desire to retain members as attorneys to keep off legislation, or to shape it so as to render it harmless to their interests. Our laws were made for a past era, and we have none upon our statute books that meet the era of steam and electricity.

Some people believe that a Railroad Commission will adjust everything. The railroads are above the State, any law a State can pass may harass them,

but the total tax required by the railroads of the people will be as great with the Commission as without it. The National Government has tried a Commission, and it has found that a half-bred railroad attorney can drive a six-horse team through it, and so it will be with any commission law they pass. The railroads make no showing of books, and manage their affairs in secret. How can it be otherwise? The Knights of Labor, many of them railroad men, have given as one of their declarations that the National Government should own every railroad and telegraph line. Many object to it upon the ground that it would give the politician too much patronage. If this patronage be dangerous to a government, it is more dangerous in the hands of a syndicate, for it will control the government. But I see no need of the government having as much patronage then as now. Organize a transportation department and postoffice department by enlisting men for life or a term of years and not allow them to vote. The army and navy are so organized, and no one ever hears of trouble about patronage in either, or their interfering in any way with elections.

With the control of railroads, telegraphs and the money system, it is impossible for syndicates, trusts, combines and monopolies to rob the people without owning the land as completely as the Barons of old who owned the land and claimed the people as vassals. Our danger is in being reduced to poverty, and rendered helpless, and the danger of the great army of railroad and telegraph employees is in being dependent; they may become servile. The great number of strikes made by them show they possess an uncommon manhood, but as the syndicates, trusts, combines and monopolies increase in power, the struggle is rendered more unequal."

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

LARGE numbers of the colored people are leaving this section of our State for the South and Southwest. At this season, after having contracted with the farmers to work with them during the year, it is a great wrong for them to disregard their contracts. But what care they for the obligation of a contract? THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER hopes they may better their condition, and speaking for itself only, it is willing to see every one leave the State who desires to do so. We are far from being among the number who believe that the white race in North Carolina or elsewhere is dependent on the negro for any of the essential conditions of life. We are and have been infinitely more concerned about the thousands of our own race—the noble young men, who have emigrated from our State. Today we have nearly 300,000 native North Carolinians, with their talents, energy, pluck and manhood, enriching and adorning other States and we have never read during a lifetime so much in our papers about this deplorable fact, as we have read within the past month in regard to a few hundred negroes.

A BANKRUPT PEOPLE.

Startling Figures. AS a people, we are rushing on wildly into commercial feudalism. The rapid congestion of wealth, the maddened rage for accumulating riches, the unscrupulous means employed and whose conceded respectability comes of their astounding grasp and audacity, the evident and alarming drift of American citizenship into two classes—the extremely rich and the extremely poor—should arouse every patriot to action. In vain do the people plead for justice. In vain do they protest against the encroachments of corporate and moneyed power. In vain do they admonish their State and National Legislatures that impending ruin and bankruptcy stare us in the face as a nation. In vain are they struggling nobly and heroically against the tide which is driving them irresistibly down into the degradation of commercial vassalage. This is strong language, but it is truth. To rescue the agricultural and other industrial interests from the impending ruin; to restore that healthful equilibrium between the great industries of the country which is absolutely essential to a healthful growth and prosperity, to secure to the farmers of the land some of the profits of their hard earnings, is the grand mission of the Farmers' Alliance. Their success will be the success and the glory of American institutions—their failure will be the wreck of American hope and American liberty. We are aware that there be those who think that this great upheaval—this grand revolution of thought among the farmers is "much ado about nothing." But they are men who take a superficial view of matters, or they are wilfully blind to the situation, and we commend to all such, the real condition of our people. We would ask them to read the following facts and tell us if it is not just cause for concern and alarm. We have twenty-seven agricultural States in the Union. We select nine of the leading ones to show only one phase of the condition of their farmers. Read the figures and say there is no cause for alarm. The recorded

mortgages on farms in those States are summed up in the following appalling figures: In Ohio, \$701,000,000; Indiana, \$398,000,000; Illinois, \$620,000,000; Wisconsin, \$250,000,000; Michigan, \$350,000,000; Minnesota, \$175,000,000; Iowa, \$351,000,000; Nebraska, \$140,000,000; Kansas, \$200,000,000; Missouri, \$237,000,000; Texas, \$110,000,000. Total: Three billions five hundred and thirty-two millions dollars! This, in just one-third of the agricultural States. The interest for one year at six per cent. on this mortgaged debt of those farmers is two hundred and eleven millions nine hundred and twenty thousand dollars! Almost enough to cover the entire cotton crop of the South. Estimate the mortgaged indebtedness on the farms of the remaining eighteen States to equal that of the above named nine States and it would amount to enough to pay for all the railroads in this vast country! Whither are we drifting? Is there no cause for concern among the farmers? Is there a farmer or patriot in whatever sphere he may live, who does not bid God-speed to the noble and heroic men of the Farmers' Alliance, who are earnestly seeking and striving to avert the direful calamity which must ensue, if this state of things is not remedied? Let every man who belongs to our order renew with each day of his life his undying allegiance to the cause. Let every patriot identify himself with us in this great task of disenthraling the energies and industries of the country.

OUR LEGISLATURE.

THE "Farmer Legislature" has adjourned, and its record has passed into history. It has been the subject, of course, of unjust criticism in many instances, but in the main its course was marked by conservatism and sound judgment. Especially and emphatically may this be said of the lower House, than whom THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER has not seen a better body of men in that end of the Capitol since the war, and our people would act wisely if they would return them two years hence. They now have that experience which they so much needed at the beginning and which would so greatly aid them in their honest and patriotic effort to serve the people efficiently and wisely. While there were as noble and as true men in the Senate and as fearless and as faithful friends to the people as ever sat in that body, yet, unfortunately, they were handicapped by combinations and influences which rendered them almost powerless. It is generally conceded that had the Senate acquiesced in the measures and action of the House generally, that no Legislature for the past twenty years would have so well merited the plaudit of the people: "Well done good and faithful servants."

Our esteemed contemporary, the Wilmington Messenger says:

"In some quarters much was expected, and in others much more feared from the action of this General Assembly. While all that was hoped for may not have been accomplished, happily the fears of none were realized. From the first it was seen that it was a very conservative Legislature, as we announced it would be as soon as its complexion was ascertained.

"As the friend of the farming people, we are quite willing to have the Legislature of 1888-'89 go into history as the Farmer Legislature, for upon the whole we deem it the best and the wisest body of men we have thus assembled in North Carolina since the close of the war."

LEGISLATIVE ECHOES.

TWENTY ALLIANCES and one County Alliance in the Second Senatorial District memorialized the Legislature for a Railroad Commission. Their Representatives, Alexander, Marsh, Coffield, Makely, McCotter and Senator Lucas voted for it. Senator Stubbs voted against it.

Forty-two Subordinate and two County Alliances asked for it in the Seventh District. Representatives Cooke, Clifton, Phillips and Bass voted for it. Senator King voted against it.

Twenty-six Subordinate and one County in the 13th District. Representatives Lyons and Galloway voted for it. Senator Bennett voted against it.

Twenty-six Subordinate and the County Alliance of Sampson asked for it. Representative Stevens voted for it. Senator Kerr voted against it.

Forty-one Subordinate and two County Alliances in the 20th District asked for it. Representatives Nichols, Cheek and Yancey voted for it. Senators Hughes and Long voted against it.

Thirty-one Subordinate and one County Alliance in the 22d District asked for it. Representatives Edwards, Scott and Wilson voted for it. Senator Crawford voted against it.

The County and ten Subordinates of Rockingham asked for it. Representatives Hopkins and Walker voted for it. Senator Moore voted against it.

Thirty-five Subordinate and one County Alliance asked for it in the 25th District. Senator White voted against it.

Thirty Alliances in the 34th District asked for it. Representatives Holman, Leazar and Senator Turner were for it. Senator Barber voted against it. One County and eleven Subordinates in the 35th District asked for it. Representatives Hoffman and Newland voted for it. Senators Blair and Briggs voted against it.

Thirteen Subordinate Alliances and the County Alliance in Halifax asked for it. Representative Taylor voted for it. Senator Emry voted against it. Notices from at least three hundred additional Alliances were received after the bill had been defeated, endorsing the action of the State Alliance. We doubt not that every Alliance in the State would today endorse it. But what is the Alliance, that its demands or wishes should be respected? We suspect that this disregard of their wishes will teach them a most valuable and greatly needed lesson.

A question: Who knows the sentiments of the people best, the few Senators who defeated this bill, or the many Representatives who voted for it and the tens of thousands of Alliance men who asked for it?

ANOTHER RAILROAD VICTORY.

WHEN the Railroad Commission bill was defeated in the Senate, the people were astounded. It was known that the Legislature came to Raleigh prepared to enact such a measure. The House passed it readily and with an overwhelming majority. When it reached the Senate, notwithstanding the almost universal sentiment which favored it throughout the State and in utter contempt for the 60,000 Alliance men in the State whose memorials had been presented demanding it, it was voted down. Many of the Senators whose action was a surprise to the people, claimed that the bill was arbitrary—that it was expensive, &c.

Capt. Cooke then introduced in the House a bill requiring the Commissioner of the Labor Bureau to collect railroad statistics for the information of the General Assembly—statistics of great general value. This bill would have been of incalculable benefit to the State and it did not cost the State anything. It reached the Senate, and of course the railroad officials and attorneys were on hand. Senator Turner, of Iredell, moved it be made the special order for 9 o'clock that evening (Friday). Senator Kerr moved to postpone to 12 o'clock the next day (the last day of the session). Senators Le Grand and Turner protested that if the motion of Senator Kerr prevailed it would be equivalent to the defeat of the bill. Upon a call of the ayes and noes it was found that it was a tie vote and Lieutenant-Governor Holt in the chair, cast the deciding vote to postpone. The bill came up the following day and Senator Kerr moved to lay it on the table, and called the previous question and the bill was tabled by the following vote:

Ayes—Banks, (Rep.) Barber, (Dem.) Bennett, (Dem.) Blair, (Rep.) Briggs, (Dem.) Brown, (Rep.) Copeland, (Rep.) Emry, (Dem.) Falkner, (Rep.) Green, (Rep.) Hampton, (Rep.) Holton, (Rep.) Hughes, (Dem.) Kerr, (Dem.) King, (Dem.) Leinbach, (Rep.) Long, (Dem.) Lusk, (Rep.) Means, (Dem.) Rice, (Rep.) Thomas, (Rep.) Turner of Catawba, (Dem.) Walters, (Rep.) White, (Dem.) Wimbrey, (Rep.)—12 Dem., 13 Rep. Total 25.

Noes—Campbell, Farthing, Leeper, Le Grand, Lucas, Moore, Payne, Poir, Reid, Robinson, Sills, Smith, Stubbs, Toms, Turner of Iredell, Williams of Cumberland, Williams of Pitt. Total 17—all Democrats.

Thus again the "solid Republican vote with the aid of a few Democrats" held the railroad fort against the people and in defiance of their earnest appeals and in utter disregard of their best interests. Thus again, the corporate power asserted its supremacy over the people.

We suggest to our readers that they clip these votes and file them away. They will come in nicely in the future. Letters and resolutions are pouring into our office from all sections of the State and could some of these Senators see them "their hair would stand on end." The people will yet be heard. There are men among them on whom they can rely, and hereafter they will find them.

Doubtless all of them hope, as some of them asserted, that they "could go home and talk to the people and they will be all right."

Thank God for the belief that the day has come when the people will do more of their own thinking and will not be cajoled, deceived and humbugged as they have been.

LEGISLATIVE CHIPS.

A BILL was passed allowing the people of Harnett county to vote on the question of moving the court house and jail from Lillington to Dunn.

At least 100,000 farmers and taxpayers voted for Col. T. M. Holt for Lieutenant-Governor, and of these at least 50,000 were Alliance men. These were his constituents, and he should have remembered them when he cast his vote to kill the Cooke bill. He stood in quite a different position from those who said "My county don't want it." But his course on the Railroad Commission is consistent, to say the least of it. He opposed it with all his power two years ago.

Speaker Leazar—vigilant, faithful, clear-headed, courteous, obliging, impartial and thoroughly versed in parliamentary law—made one of the best presiding officers that ever graced his position, and he takes home with him the universal respect and esteem of all

the officers and members of his House. The new members of the Board of Agriculture are W. R. Capehart, A. Leazar, J. F. Payne, C. D. Smith and W. E. Stevens. The Trustees of the A. & M. College are S. B. Alexander, R. Barringer, H. E. Fries, W. S. Primrose and Elias Carr—appointed by Gov. Fowle.

The bill to consolidate the Department of Agriculture and the A. & M. College, and by which the Farmers' Fund was to be expended strictly in the interest of Agriculture and by which from \$8,000 to \$10,000 would have been saved to the college, was passed in the House by an almost unanimous vote and was promptly sent to the Senate. It was referred to the Committee on Agriculture. The friends of the measure used every effort to have it reported, but in vain. It was strangled and killed by the action of the committee. Even Commissioner Robinson worked day and night against it. We will refer to this again in the future.

Senators White, Bennett and others claimed when the Commission bill was pending that it was too broad in its powers and indicated clearly that the Massachusetts bill would suit them. Yet when the Cooke bill was presented to them they promptly voted it down. The truth is (and the people will not forget it) the solid Republican vote, aided by a few Democrats, held the railroad fort against the people, and they would have voted against any measure affecting the roads in any degree.

Senators Kerr, Blair and Thomas had much to say about "manufactured sentiment." The plain English of their insinuations was that the 60,000 Alliance men of the State who asked for a Commission had no minds of their own—they could be pulled and turned about by one or two men. We agree with them that it is a manufactured sentiment and that it is manufactured by just such votes as were cast by them.

ON THE RIGHT ROAD.

GRANVILLE County Alliance is not making much noise about it, but no county in the State perhaps is doing more, if so much, in the way of genuine progress. Their warehouse has been a success from the day it opened, and it is managed by competent, active, prudent men. Their smoking and plug factory, now nearly ready for work, will be as complete in all its appointments as any establishment of the kind in the State and we predict for it a splendid success. Bro. Dalby and his zealous and efficient aids are pushing the work, and soon our brethren from the Virginia line to the frontiers of Indian Territory will enjoy the bright golden leaf, planted, cultivated, cured, sold and manufactured by Alliance farmers. We are gratified to see that the Alliance men, are patronizing their own warehouses. This is right and proper. Why should not the farmers manage their tobacco crops from the plant-bed to the pipes and mouths of the consumers? You are on the right road, brethren. Follow it, turning neither to the right nor left, and success will crown your efforts.

HARMONY.

HON. W. J. NORTHEN, President of the State Agricultural Society of Georgia, is one of the largest and best farmers in the South, one of the foremost men of his State, and an Alliance man whose wise counsel is worthy of our attention. Among some of the many good things he has written, we clip from the Southern Cultivator the following:

"The harmony and good feeling that has prevailed among the members of the Alliance, in this State, is wonderful and a matter of congratulation. The Order seems brought together in great sympathy of interest and equal sympathy of regard. The man who is able to care for himself is busying himself about the interests of his less fortunate neighbors; and, by co-operating with them in purchases and exchanging counsels as to plans, is getting up a communion of feeling and a communion of interests, that is not only helpful to the financial condition of the country, but greatly helpful in our social interests. It is well to dwell together in unity. A simple tender of sympathy has saved many a man from disaster, as it tended to nerve his strength for the conflict and encourage his hopes for success. To know that others feel an interest in our business; that they are watching its developments with concern; that they are ready and willing and able to aid with their counsel and material suggestions, carries great strength to the man who moves slowly under the burdens of life. It is pleasant to mingle with the people, as they grow more and more in sympathy of feeling; more and more united in purpose; more and more determined, through mutual help, to succeed. Let this beautiful harmony prevail to the end.

An organization composed of 100,000 men, chafing under the disasters in their business; smarting under real and imaginary evils common to them all, and yet in perfect harmony, outlining the policy to be pursued and the remedies to be applied for relief, is a spectacle, in human affairs, as wonderful as it is unusual and attractive. Every man seems lending himself for

the common weal; the, agreed policy seems intended to comprehend the general good, and together, all together, the members of the Order are living for their fellows and not simply for themselves.

There will be many occasions for friction and disagreement, as vexed questions come up to be settled. The way out of our troubles is not smooth and easy; much wisdom, much counsel and much patience will be needed if we come safely through. Individual opinions should give way before the wisdom of general counsel; individual preferences should be swallowed up in the common good; individual interests and personal aggrandizement should yield before the great public concern. The success of the Order and the final recovery of the country depends upon the unity of action and harmony of feeling among the members of the Alliance.

We are together to work out the greatest problem of the times—successful agriculture at the South. Its solution demands careful investigation, earnest thought and wise and concerted action. If, in dissensions, we lose sight of these high and important interests over matters of minor consideration, and in the bickering of strife lose sight of the great ends for which we have united, it would have been better if we had never begun an enterprise of such splendid promise, to end in such speedy decay. The question with us is, not who is the man, but what is the remedy; not the honor of adherents but the relief of the people; not the pushing of pet measures by intrigue and machinery, but the broad comprehension of the needs of the country and the free expenditure and sacrifice of ourselves to meet them.

No dissensions must come amongst us; as brethren of the same Order, living for the same purposes and industriously working for the same ends, our success must depend upon unity and harmony in all our counsels and in all our actions. W. J. NORTHEN.

ARE THESE HIS OWN WORDS?

Senator Kerr's Rejoinder to Capt. Alexander's Denial.

He Says He "Can Prove It"—Senator Kerr and Captain Alexander at Great Variance.

[Special to the Charlotte Chronicle]. RALEIGH, March 12.—Your reporter called upon Senator Kerr and asked him if he had read the article published in the Chronicle containing Capt. Alexander's denial as to his being opposed to a Railroad Commission.

"Yes, my attention was called to the article, and while it did not state in exact terms what I said, I made my mind up not to go into any controversy in regard to the matter."

"But, Senator, does not the denial put you in rather a bad light?"

"Yes, it does, and I reckon I should explain it."

"How did you get the notion that Mr. Alexander was opposed to a railroad commission?"

"Why, I got it from his speech delivered at the Convention of the State Farmers' Alliance, held in Raleigh last August."

Senator Kerr producing the speech from the drawer in his desk, read the following speech against the Railroad Commission:

WHAT ALEXANDER DID SAY.

"Some people believe a Railroad Commission will adjust everything. The Railroads are above the State, and any law a State can pass may harass them, but the total tax required by the railroads of the people, will be as great with the Commission as without it. The National Government has tried a Commission, and it has been found that a half-bred railroad attorney can drive a six-horse team through it, and so it will be with any Commission that law they can pass."

Mr. Kerr, after reading the extract, said:

"After reading the extract to the Senators, I said: 'If you gentlemen of the Farmers' Alliance of North Carolina take this advice, given you by the great captain of your organization, and stop following third-rate lieutenants, under the blessings of God we will see our State go forward on the high road to prosperity.'"

"If Mr. Alexander desires to go into a controversy on this matter, I have other facts that will show him up even more than this speech. I can produce proof from one of the most prominent citizens of Charlotte, and from one of our State officers, of conversations he had with them, that will settle the matter so far as his having been opposed to a Railroad Commission is concerned."

The above clipping is from the Charlotte Chronicle. The extract taken from my address delivered before the State Alliance is garbled, and if Senator Kerr had read more of it he would have informed the Senate what my position in regard to the transportation problem is. He would have read that I suggested to the Alliance that the solution of this question was for the General Government to own every foot of railroad in the United States, and I further suggested how the transportation department should be organized so that the politicians would have less patronage than they do now. While this is a step beyond a