

# PROGRESSIVE FARMER

THE INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS OF OUR PEOPLE PARAMOUNT TO ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS OF STATE POLICY.

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## AN ADDRESS BY "OLD FOGY."

Delivered Before his Alliance, No. 884,  
Panacea Springs, N. C.,  
Sept. 13, 1889.

(Published by Request.)

BROTHER PRESIDENT AND BRETHREN OF THE ALLIANCE—I ask at your hands a patient hearing. I shall not appeal to your sympathies nor seek to excite your prejudices in favor of my cause.

I shall argue the questions at issue, and shall draw such conclusions as the data before me warrants; and if any brother, or any lover of right or justice thinks my conclusions false, I shall be indebted to him if he will show wherein my error lies.

The toiler, whether he be laborer, farmer or artisan, tell the same story. Not only that labor is poorly paid, but that thousands are out of employment.

The farmer, with his broad acres, with wife and children, toil the day long, and yet at the end of the year he has but little, if any more than when the year was young.

If during the year he wishes to extend his operations, if he wishes to save the profits rightfully due him by cash purchases, he cannot do so, for he has not, nor can he borrow the funds necessary so to do. Money loaners in the South and West are scarce, and the rates of interest exceedingly high.

I have, brethren, briefly sketched the situation here.

### HOW IS IT ELSEWHERE.

Farms in the North and West are mortgaged for their cash value. Strikes by poorly paid and ill-fed laborers in the North and in England, tell the heart-sickening story that children go to bed superfluous. Ireland is being depopulated and starved. The artisans of England make a bare living and the toiler there with mother, wife and children toil with them in field, factory and mine all the day long to eke out a miserable living.

In the Fatherland, in France and Spain, in sunny Italy *Trusts* are being formed, and the common people are everywhere oppressed by the "Money Lords" and to-day America's proud boast that she gives an asylum to all, a home to all, and riches to all has become a mocking bye word, a delusion and a snare.

### A LABORING MACHINE.

In every country under Heaven to-day the laborer has become a laboring machine, cared for so long as productive, and thrown aside when no longer valuable for *shekles* to his employer.

These propositions will not be denied. Unfortunately for us they are no longer propositions, but truths.

If this unfortunate condition of affairs prevails everywhere, then the

same general law that produces these conditions obtain everywhere.

### DOES THIS LAW AFFECT EVERYBODY?

Before proceeding with the argument, let us see if this law which we find obtains everywhere, affects everybody. Centralized governments—England, France and Germany borrow readily at 4 per cent. Even bankrupt Russia is now borrowing at 5 per cent.

In our country 4 per cent bonds are from 27 to 28 cents above par thus netting the money loaner less than 3 1-4 per cent interest. In New York money is loaned on call frequently at 2 to 3 per cent. In fact, we are the wealthiest nation on earth and we have more millionaires than all Europe together.

### MONEY IS PLENTIFUL.

In the government vaults are locked up hundreds of millions in gold and silver. In the national and saving banks there are thousands of millions, and yearly we are growing richer. Foreign capitalists are pouring money into our coffers at the rate of \$500,000,000 yearly and yet with all this vast aggregation of capital the farmer—the laborer is daily growing poorer.

But when we come to seek the cause of the general prostration of farming industries, and the cause of low wages we are met by specialists who advocate every possible position. And why? The lawyer hired by a client is bound to defend him, and if his cause is a bad one, he invents one plea after another, raises an objection here and another there, and if possible directs the mind from the true issue, and then so twists and contorts the evidence that we are frequently left in confusion and doubt. In our case, brethren, the lawyers are nearly all on the other side—the jury is packed and after listening to these eloquent specialists, we sometimes wonder if we are not the most shiftless people on the face of the earth.

I freely admit that we are not as careful and as provident as we should be, for if we had not been careless and indifferent our liberties would not well nigh be a thing of the past and from a proud position of freemen, down to that of slaves to plutocrats.

### HAS THIS CONDITION ALWAYS OBTAINED?

If not, let us examine the cause of events that produced the change, and better still let us examine the processes when this condition of affairs was unknown.

In the beginning, my brethren, man was made for agriculture. In Paradise, Adam had to work "to dress and keep" the garden. In historic time all colonies have been agricultural.

### A PARALLEL.

Let me parallel the history of a century. In 1775, a few North Carolinians gave to the world a "Declaration of Rights," these eminently just and righteous principles were soon broadcast and in 1776 our National Declaration of Independence was thrown in the face of Tyrants, the father of Monopolies and Trusts. Just 13 years later, after the most unequal struggle history records, the right prevailed and *Equal Rights* to all was emblazoned on our banners and we adopted a constitution broad and just and our country became the farmers' and laborers' paradise. We sent up as our representatives, men who had our interests at heart.

We called our Governors from the plow. Many of our Presidents were farmers, and at the expiration of office retired to their farms and again mingled with the people. Now your corporation lawyers and penny-antlers ridicule the farmers, and talk about our hayseed legislatures. So did the Tories and emissaries of King George 100 years ago.

If you will look over the list of Congressmen from the 13 original States you will be astonished to find 68 per cent of them were farmers. It was but natural that the legislation should be to aid the farmer and laborer.

They legislated in their own interests, and that such legislation was for the good of the country, is proven by the fact that ours was the most prosperous country on the face of the earth. Strikes were unknown. Wealth was more evenly distributed than ever before. We had fewer millionaires 'tis true, but we had infinitely fewer paupers. Our Legislators and Congressmen were "Old Foggies," they gave the public lands for homes only to actual settlers.

### WHAT RESULTS FOLLOWED?

Our merchants in country villages and small cities borrowed money whenever they wished to extend their

business—of farmers and up to 1860 the farmers of the older States were the money loaners of our country.

In a carefully prepared paper by C. C. Burr and read at a Jeffersonian anniversary, 1858, it was shown that 65 per cent of the money loaned on real estate was loaned by farmers, and excluding cities of 50,000 inhabitants and upward, 98 per cent of the money loaned on town and city property was also loaned by farmers.

I ask you to think of this. All over our country the farmers and laborers were then prosperous. The present Secretary of State, Hon. James G. Blaine, in his 20 years in Congress refers to the Walker period as one when prosperity was general—was universal in our country.

### ALL THIS IS NOW CHANGED.

The farmers as a class are poor and getting poorer. Their farms are mortgaged for 75 per cent of their face value. We are to-day a race of borrowers. We are paying from 4 to 10 times as much interest as our money lords get on call. On time we are paying or were before the Alliance was organized, from 20 to 50 times as much as they, either in interest, profits or commissions.

### THE CYCLE COMPLETE.

In 1875, in the Lone Star State, the Farmers' Alliance gave to the world its Declaration of Principles. It attracted about as much attention among the tyrants (now called combines and trusts) as did the Mecklenburg Declaration of Rights in 1775, just one hundred years before. In St. Louis in December, 1889, and like a century ago, just 13 years later, we will ratify our Constitution, broad and just as was the one our forefathers ratified one hundred years ago.

We, too, will have as they did, 13 States represented, and we will have as great a membership, 3,000,000, as the original colonies had inhabitants. And we do intend to return to the principles and practices that obtained one century ago. We shall no longer be dominated by aristocrats, by the money power, by trusts and combines. Like them we must free ourselves from this oppressive yoke. Instead of sending now and then a member to our Legislature or Congress who plays at farming we will do as they did in the good olden time.

To complete the parallel let me quote from an address that Washington was directed by the Continental Congress to read to his troops:

"We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure, we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellows, as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant our attachment to Liberty." Does this not describe our course to-day? even to the breaking off of our intercourse with those merchants who have upheld the tyrant known as combines?

Again, "We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and proffer no milder condition than servitude or death. How applicable to our railroads, who with force have thrust back at the point of the bayonet, laborers who were pleading for advances in wages to keep their wives and families from starvation.

I quote again, "Humble and reasonable petitions from the people have been fruitless." How like our last legislature. "Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions." How like our National policy that has forced our merchant marine off the sea.

Later on these patriots gave to the world these truths. "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 and liberty and the pursuit of happiness." To-day as was the case then, the pursuit is all that is left for us.

"To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. To-day we exhibit the remarkable spectacle of a people governed and controlled by combines without our consent. A century ago it was charged that King George exacted taxation without representation. To-day our railroads here and the money kings elsewhere are smarter than he, they reverse it—they have representation without taxation. And as King George did, so do they—they fill our country with spies in times of peace—Pinkerton's men—and like him they seek to corrupt us by keeping swarms of Lobby

members around and in our Legislative halls.

### RAILROADS.

And now brethren, I wish to close by paying my respects to railroad and other corporations.

If railroad corporations, instead of being a benefit to all, are managed for the few, then it is high time the rights of common carriers be defined by Legislative enactment. If they, leaving their proper sphere, seek by issuing scrip and watered stock to evade their just share of taxation, then the people will, as they did in Boston harbor with a cargo of tea, throw them overboard and that right speedily.

I do believe that railroad companies have rights that we are bound to respect, but I as firmly believe that we have rights they must respect also; but when in their arrogance they no longer respect ours, then it is time to call a halt, and compel them to bear their share of the burdens of taxation?

Brethren, were not all these railroad lines chartered by the State—by the people? Did we not concede for the general good that public carriers might trespass on our lands—might take them from us—indeed in this country of ours we have given them millions of acres of our best lands, have we not aided in the contributions direct, amounting to many millions of dollars and have we not done all this freely?

In turn what have they done for us? They have all over our country destroyed our crops by fire, they have burned millions of dollars worth of property, they have killed hundreds of thousands of our cattle, they have charged us excessive rates for freight and passenger traffic, they have invaded our Legislatures and as boasting as King George they have asked us "What are you going to do about it?"

You will remember, brethren, that the evil one came and talked with our Saviour—talked nicely—said the angels should hold him up, etc., and just so does his children, the emissaries of the railroad do to-day. How feelingly they talk to you of your deplorable condition—how they sympathize with you. Why they, too, have plans to turn stones into bread. They grasp the sons of toil by the hand, and like the serpent whom they resemble, they pour their saliva over the farmer before swallowing him; or like the spider to the fly, they invite you into their parlor, "when these signs appear know ye then that the destruction" not of Jerusalem, but the farmer is at hand, and another appropriation for a railroad is desired.

Then it is they tell you how your property will advance in value, that they will ship your fruit from the West to the East, and prosperity will obtain. And when in good faith, you vote the appropriation demanded, they forget you entirely until they need your vote and money again, and charge you more freight on your barrel of apples from Clay to Curruck than I can buy a barrel of Michigan apples for in Liverpool, England.

And not only so, but they refuse to pay taxes on the property they induced you to give them—they have sought to obstruct justice in our courts and their paid hirelings have the effrontery to tell us that we cannot help ourselves.

### MORE HISTORY.

Let me give them one more lesson in history. A handful of brave and determined men a century ago were told by Tories, whose love of British gold was greater than their love of country, the same tale our "lick spittles" tell us to-day; but those brave men and true, rose in their might and destroyed kingly charters. Some other points in history may parallel ere we are done.

We gave National banks unheard of privileges and deprived ourselves the opportunity of borrowing money on our lands. To-day we have to use a go-between and then get money at such rates as Shylock himself would have been ashamed to demand. We have given railroad corporations a larger area of land than the combined areas of England and France. We have been stripped of our proud heritage and for less than a mess of pottage.

We are allowing our country to be bought up by aliens who have no interest in our government, and think you, foreigners would invest over two billions of dollars if they did not feel that capitalists would be protected by the strong arm of centralized government? The idea is prevalent that in this country as in England the farmer and laborer is a slave to capi-

tal. In the good olden time when we had a majority of farmers in Congress and in our Legislatures, the money lords of Europe had no thought of making such investments.

Brethren, we must return to first principles, and with the help of our God we will.

We deny that railroad corporations have the right to charge excessive rates either on freight or passenger traffic. We deny the right of railroad companies to water stock so as to evade payment of taxes on property owned by them. We deny the right of Legislatures or Congress to create monopolies and assert that their creation by law was unwarranted, unjustifiable and unconstitutional and we care not whether these monopolies are banks or trusts, pools or combines.

Brethren, we stand to-day on a Constitution that will give us a bloodless victory, and once again give to the farmer and laborer the vantage ground we had in days of yore.

In the year of grace, 1890, we will go into the fight with a vast army of voters 3,000,000 strong and under the leadership of Macune and Polk, and better, truer or braver field marshals never before challenged the admiration of mankind, and because justice and right is with us we will prevail.

As our forefathers did, so must we go to the primaries and the polls, and we must see that good men and true are placed in nomination. We are not seeking to aid in upbuilding the Democratic or the Republican party; nor do we desire to form a third party. We have no need to do either. We stand pledged, a band of brothers 3,000,000 strong, to vote for no man who will not in public print pledge himself to support our interests.

We can force either party or both to nominate for the Legislature and for Congress only such men as will devote their time, their ability, their votes for the just reforms demanded, and then let either party win. We shall have accomplished our object.

We need no third party. We are not here for spoils—if that were our object, God in Heaven knows that we never could hope to organize a party that would equal those we now have.

We will follow in the footsteps of our illustrious sires of a century ago. It shall no longer be a disgrace to enter the Legislative halls. No longer must the barrel be requisite for a nomination but we must send our best, our ablest, our purest men to make our laws, and then let us see that the Legislative halls are kept clean, let them not be defiled with money changers and the hirelings of corporations and corporations.

Men and brethren, are you less patriotic than your sires? You who with unfaltering step, led where shot and shell fell like hail, will you, for your wives and children, for your proud heritage—for our common country, do less than then? Will you not here and now in the sight of high Heaven pledge once again your fealty to our cause, to advance the interests of our country, to aid in building up our waste places, and with charity for all, give the grand rallying cry: Down with monopolies, trusts and combines, and up with our banner, graven on it—*Equal rights for all and special rights to none.*

### FROM WASHINGTON COUNTY.

LEE'S MILLS, N. C., Sept. 13, '89.

MR. EDITOR:—Our County Business Agent is now taking steps in regard to cotton bagging to cover our cotton. Small orders are being sent to the State Business Agent in order to start our cotton to market, that we may have the money to pay as we need the bagging.

You have not had but very little Alliance news from Washington county. We are slowly advancing in the grand cause of self-protection, and every farmer that takes hold of the order holds with the grip of a bulldog that never lets up on his hold, and is fully enthused, and is aroused to a keen sense of the injustice that he has been compelled to submit to for the want of being organized, to fight with more success the trusts and monopolies that have combined to make the best class of people on the earth hevers of wood and drawers of water. While we have never known the farmers to lobby any legislative body, neither State or National, (Gov. Vance says he never knew one to do so) to enact laws in the interest or benefit of the farmer, but on the other hand there is not a Legislature, either State or National but the lobby rooms

are filled with lobbyists from all other professions and especially the money lords, buying laws from the lawmaker for his own benefit.

While the old clod hoppers are busy wearing away the hours in toil earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, not thinking that other parties or other professions are scheming to get his labor from him beneath its real value. And to-day the speculators are busy themselves to find out the number of bales of cotton grown in order that they may price our cotton for us before it is out of the patch, showing plainly to the farmer that he is incapable of pricing his own production.

The merchants of Washington county are at a stand still, not knowing whether to buy jute or not. The Alliance men tell them very plainly they are not going to use jute bagging again: no, never.

Mr. Editor, I think you have not had a single word from White Oak Alliance, No. 1,637, yet. Our Alliance organized with nineteen members and to-day we number forty-one and constantly increasing and I am proud to say we are harmonious in all our transactions and each member comes with the grip of a bulldog that never releases his hold until death breaks it. I have never talked with any Alliance man yet but what he seems to be fully alive to the work before him and says the Farmers' Alliance has come and come to stay.

Since the Alliance has been organized in Washington county it is one of the pleasures of our lives to meet a brother. They seem to be friendlier and more sociable and have more chat and a warmer and kinder feeling for each other which, I think, is a good indication that every man is trying to do his duty. White Oak Alliance will pay to the business agency fund in November fifty-one dollars and fifty cents. We are desirous that every Alliance man in the county will pay one dollar for that fund and as much more as he can.

Brethren of Washington county, let us bestir ourselves in behalf of the agency fund. It is necessary that we should have it and let us not come up in the rear of any other county that does not outnumber us. We believe that Washington county will not be weighed and found wanting; she will do her whole duty, though her crops are very poor indeed through the county because of so much rain.

The more THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER is read among the brethren the better we are prepared to fight the trusts and monopolies. I would that every Alliance man would take and read it. It would build him up and make him strong in the cause and he would see more clearly how to advance the cause which he has espoused.

Fraternally yours,

OAKS.

### A SISTER'S LETTER.

WADEVILLE, N. C., Sept. 14, '89.

MR. EDITOR:—At a stated meeting held on the 7th of September, 1889, by Dyson Creek Alliance, No. 212, I was elected Corresponding Secretary of said Alliance and ordered to send to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER for publication the following resolutions passed by said Alliance:

Resolved, That we will not use jute bagging as a covering for cotton.

Resolved, That we will not patronize any ginster that uses jute as a covering for cotton.

Now, Mr. Editor, I suppose your many subscribers will not expect much from a female correspondent, and if so, they will not be disappointed when they read this article, but if I can be of any service to the Alliance by putting in my little mite, I am willing to do what I can. I think ladies ought to take a great interest in the Alliance and encourage the men all they can to be good Alliance men. We have some in our Alliance as true as steel, while there are some that don't take much interest.

Crops are very poor in this section. Corn is fairly good, where it was worked, but cotton is very nearly a failure, and that causes the farmers to be low spirited and the merchants to ware long faces. There was so much rain that farmers could not work their crops as they ought.

I will close by asking my Alliance sisters to throw in their mite and help the Alliance cause. I think it a worthy cause, one that should bring out the talent of our male and female members, and put to work the energies of both sexes. Success to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER.

E. L. CROWDER.

A tailor-made man should never be considered responsible.