THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLI-ANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

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PAPERS. Progressive Farmer, State Organ, Raleigh, N. Clinton, N. Wilson, N. Rural Home, Salisbury, N Watchman. Tarbero, Farmers' Advocate, Mountain Home Journal, Asheville, 1 Goldsboro, lliance Sentinel, Trinity College, N. Country Life, Hickory, N Mercury, Whitakers, N. Agricultural Bee, Columbus Weekly News, Whiteville, N. C.

Each of the above-named papers are requested to keep the list standing on people can now see what papers are published in their interest.

## A PLAN OF CO-OPERATION.

MR. EDITOR:-In presenting this plan of co-operation I do so with the wish that others may improve upon it, or that it may suggest something which has not been presented here by me, my only motive being to benefit the people. If each reader will carefully read this article he will find that even the craven subterfuge of "class legislation" cannot be applied to it, as it is as much to the interest of the mechanic to embrace it as for the farmer to do so.

By this plan every monopoly can be broken down, the political parties routed, a better system of production and distribution adopted, and idleness

I aim to present no Utopian theory, nor to change anything. I have nothing to do with social problems, impracticable theories, or impossibilities, but to simply point out how easily, and how effectively the Alliance can solve its own problem without asking the aid of Congress, or by seeking sympathy from any source. The power and the right is in its possession, and it requires only the lighting of a match to cause the light to blaze up and dispel darkness.

Brethren the age of co-operation is here. Let us discuss it. You can help yourselves, and you can do it long before you can secure aid from legisla-

THE ROCHDALE SYSTEM.

The Rochdale system is what is known as distributive co operation, and is the system practiced in England. To briefly explain it, I will state that it has hundreds of retail stores, all organized delegates meeting annually. They buy by the ship load and the train of cars load, doing all their wholesale business. They have nearly half a million of members, and their business amounts to millions of dollars. The plan is simple. Capital is almost holds only one share, on which he receives an annual interest. This interest ducing agent. It gives the additional is all that capital receives. It is the wages of capital, and it is the discharge unsaleable substances into valuable of all obligations to capital. The profits are divided among those who buy, the person buying the largest amount of tal is only the accumulated results of goods receiving the largest proportion labor. of profits. Non members receive twothirds of the profits on their purchases,

which is a wise provision, as the larger of co-operation by which men of in and a large business done with a small the number of purchasers the smaller dustry unite to produce articles by sum. A grocer with only \$1,000 capi the proportionate expense to each, for their labor. In nearly all cases failures tal may do a business of \$5,000 in a as each assists in giving a profit, so have resulted. Why is this the case? year, because he buys more goods as each shares the expense. This is the Simply because if one man cannot com- fast as he sells those in stock. It is the composed mostly of fruit growers. This trades. To succeed, the tradesmen makes contracts for shipments of fruits must be ready, and each customer to the large cities, has its own tracks must be interested with the workers. and sidings, secures advantages in | There must be an interest in the affairfrom loss of crates, etc., all of which sentimentality, sympathy, or friend-not only costs the members nothing, ship is here appealed to. Nothing but transacted is enormous.

CO-OPERATION IN HOMES.

These association are known as building and loan associations To explain it we will draw an illustration. Suppose 200 men band together, each pay loaned to the one bidding the highest but \$5. This demonstrates the safety | they consume themselves. of co-operation.

PROFITS TO CAPITAL. If I borrow \$10,000 from a bank and pay 6 per cent. interest, and engage in business, making a large profit, does the bank ask me for any of the profits. No; it considers itself amply remuner ated when it receives the interest. When I pay the bank \$600 I have discharged my duty to it, for the interest is the wages due to capital, and if I make \$10,000 with the money of the bank, in addition to the sum borrowed, I can return the bank its \$10,000, pay the interest due, and keep the other \$10,000. This shows that labor, not capital should have the profit, as capital is paid when it receives its interest, which proof I have just demonstrated, for any man can borrow money, make all the profit he is capable of, pay interest, and keep all the profit himself.

## PROFITS TO LABOR.

Now apply the same principle to labor. If I borrow \$10,000 and employ men to work for me, each at a salary the first page and add others, provided of \$600 per year, how many men does they are duly elected. Any paper fail my capital of \$10,000 represent? Some ing to advocate the Ocala platform will would say, "Why, your \$10,000 capibe dropped from the list promptly. Our tal represents more than 16 men, at \$600 each per year." Not so; my \$10,000 capital will represent only one man. If a man earns \$600 a year he represents \$10,000 capital to his family. as his wages (interest) represents the interest (wages) of \$10,000 at 6 per cent. per annum, for I pay him \$600 per year, just as much as I pay \$500 to the bank per year. If I have risks of loss so does he. He may die, be injured, and his family lose its income as well as I would should I lose my capital. Now. who is entitled to the profits? As I may have worked, in handling the business, I am as much entitled to a salary for my work as is the laborer, though nothing more than is just, but, as to the money, it earns nothing of itself. It is not even mine, but borrowed, and hired at a certain price, just the same as the laborer is hired; hence, if by extraordinary exertion on my part, assisted by labor, I secure a very large man performing twice as much work sum, I am not entitled, in justice, to more than a fair share of that profit. I know that my position may be some brought up from the cradle to submit law, by using the word "business," but I ask you to weigh the subject fairly and let justice decide if I am not right on the position I hold in regard to the true relations of capital and labor. Bear in mind there is a wide difference between "capitalist and laborer," and "capital and labor." Capitalist and laborer can never be one and united, but capital and labor can be united, though only when the laborer has the capital in his own pocket. As long as one man controls the capital, to secure the best bargain possible, despite all theories and attempts to prove that they are one and inseparable.

LABOR IS CAPITAL. \$600 per year, it equals the sum of \$60,000, or the interest of a million labor in motion. Labor is the provalue to the raw material, changing unsaleable substances into valuable nations, and it creates capital, for capi-

whole system in a nutshell. It is not pete with capital by his labor neither | labor, the produce, that makes the real industrial co operation, however. In can one branch of industry compete, mass of wealth. America the most successful Rochdale | because capital will crush the life out store is at Hammonton, New Jersey, of any class of tradesmen that attempts known as the "Fruit Growers Union," to stand alone and aloof from the other Union not only buys all the goods for must have the "backing." To succeed its members, gives them a profit, but in co-operative industry the market transportation, protects against unre- yes, a selfish interest-and we must liable merchants, and saves the shipper | spell "business" with a capital B. No but gives each a share of the profits pure selfishness-a selfishness that com every year, and the annual business | pels every man to love his neighbor as himself because it pays to do so.

AN ILLUSTRATION. As I stated in the above paragraph no class of mechanics can succeed with out the "backing," if I may use the expression. Suppose 500 shoemakers ing \$5 per month, or \$1,000 per month | should combine to make shoes, and for all. At each meeting this \$1,000 is co-operate for business. The capitalists would combine against them. The 500 premium, the buyer giving a mortgage | shoemakers could not wait to build up as security. After he receives the a trade. They would starve before money he pays \$5 per month for the they found their customers, and even principal, \$5 for the interest, and also Alliance farmers would not pay them pays the premium, which may be \$2 per month, or \$12 total. This he pays every month; until the value of the \$1 50. Self interest always rules, all shares reach \$1,000, which is usually sentiment to the contrary. But supabout ten years. Of course, the interest | pose instead of 500 shoemakers, the Steward-C. C. Wright, Glass, N. C. he pays goes into the treasury, and 500 men were composed of shoemakers, profits, so should it be in industrial Chaplain-Rev. E. Pope, Chalk assists him as well as others, as he may hatters, tinners, tailors, printers, co operation. If a man is unable to oay only \$1,200 for the use of the plumbers, cabinet-makers, etc., all take a share of stock he can be allowed \$1,000 for ten years, or really only 2 | working in one building, and selling to buy at the store, or may be given per cent. interest. This plan of co | their articles in a store connected | work if necessary, for every member operation varies in its details in many therewith, the one class would support gained is additional strength, and as places. It will be noticed that if 200 | the other. There need be but a propor | the non member will justly be entitled men draw each \$1,000, a business of | tion of shoemakers, (say ten), and the | to his share (usually two thirds that of \$200,000 will be transacted in ten years, ten shoemakers would have 490 custo- full members) he will soon be able to yet at no time will the treasurer have | mers to begin with, and they would | become a member, and at no cost to but a fraction over \$1,000 in his posses- also be purchasers, hence the hatters him except to bestow his patronage. sion at any one month, as it is always and others. would also have 490 custo- Truly this is demonstrating that a man being sold to the members, hence, if he mers. In other words, they will only can love his neighbor as himself, and should abscond, each member will lose | have to sell over and above that which | the more he loves him the more will

sell the articles made, but could supply | widow and the orphans. groceries, and everything else, thus giving a profit both in selling and in

CAPITAL REQUIRED.

begin when only a portion of the capi- gratify. tal has been paid. I give the above by way of illustration. Of course the capital required is a matter demanding consideration according to circum-

## MANAGEMENT.

number held by any one, until reduced | business. to one share. Above all, never vote on stock. Each stockholder should have

Interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum should be paid on all capi tal owned by the stockholders.

All who work should receive wages, just the same as if working for any employer. Those not employed will of course receive the interest on their investment. All who bay goods from the store will receive their share of the profits of the store on their purchases, as under the Rochdale system.

DIVISION OF PROFITS. which includes interest, wages, salaries, | tion, as well as legislation. etc., and a profit is made, it is paid out by declaring a dividend on wages-not on stock. If one man has worked two days and another only one day, the receives twice as much dividend, because he has really produced more This rewards industry and checks idlething novel to you who have been ness; hence the industrious man need give himself no concern because some all that he earns.

## WHOLESALE OPERATIONS,

and no capital on earth could then face there be a combination of capital and improve upon my suggestions. labor (the capital owned by the laborer) but the customers would be at each and another the labor, their interests door, interested customers, bound by are not mutual, for each will be striving | self-interest and self preservation. I supposed 500 men, each contributing \$120 capital in two years, or \$60,000. Now let 20 associations, of like number, combine, and the united capital is If 100 men unite, and each can save \$1,200,000. Put those men at work, dollars. In co-operation this labor is annually, will be \$6,000,000. Let every who had the misfortune to lose his was electrified. He poured fourth ele- made some good remarks. The best plan is simple. Capital is almost a mighty factor. Capital only sets this ignored in the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. Each member labor in motion. Labor is the profits. ginning.

A HUGE BUSINESS ON SMALL CAPITAL. capital invested does not indicate the Gaston county, N. C. amount of business done. Goods may be bought and sold every week, or Industrial co-operation is that system coming and going, "turned over daily,"

HOW IS THE FARMER BENEFITTED.

The farmer finds a market for his produce, buys his supplies at less cost receiving a share of the profits of the store), finds factories making all kinds of goods at his door, and finds also that there is much that a farmer can secure. There is nothing to prevent the making of cheese, butter, packing pork, grinding wheat, baling hay, and his produce may be shipped for him to the market by the association, even cotton and tobbacco being managed to his interest, as he can be just as interested in co-operation as the mechanics. His boys will learn trades, and many avenues will be opened to women.

THE SAFETY OF CO OPERATION.

of any one-to a great extent. Material jointly, then the Alliance should have will be constantly coming in and goods | named its five members of that comgoing out. Any excess of capital can mittee and not Mr. Ed. Chambers be held by each member subject to Smith or anybody else. Who delegated assessment when required. The mem- any such authority to any body of bers are the treasurers, for outside of the purchase of material the bulk goes into their pockets as wages. No busi- puts the right construction on the ness should be conducted, however. without business safeguards.

FORCING MEN TO JOIN. As, under the Rochdale system, the non member receives a share of the he, himself be the gainer by so doing, A co-operative store would not only | while a new field will be opened to the

CONTROLLING THM MARKETS. staple crops, can control its sale. They | Democratic politicians then Ben Clover As mentioned before, it is well can crush every attempt of the grain and Jerry Simpson have a right to do

MONEY IS CREATED.

A co-operative association may use its own money, printed for itself, just as railroads use tickets. This money can be receivable at its stores, and will | Carolina will condemn it; if so, my be accepted by the workers as wages. The management should be in the It will possess all the power of money hands of a board of directors. Each | because the wealth of the association is stockholder should have only one share | behind it, and because it is redeemable of stock, but it is not out of place to at the store. Thus co-operation will allow those desiring to assist, to hold solve a financial problem, by giving the twenty shares, with the proviso that association the use of its own money all extra snares may be purchased at | (may be due bills on the store) while any time, beginning with the highest its real capital will be used for outside

#### GOVERNMENT AFFECTED. Self-interest will compel the members

to vote for their business interests. No coaxing or urging will be necessary to teach them how to vote, nor will political mountebanks have any field in which to work. In fact, co operation is edu cational, for it will compel each and all to guard his own interests, thus afford ing mutual protection. It will destroy race prejudice, lessen the hours of labor, increase the wealth of each individual instead of enriching a few, solve the financial problem, increase the sales of articles produced, facilitate ship If, after all expenses have been paid, ments, and even control transporta-

NOTHING NOVEL IN IT.

I have presented nothing but what is seen every day—only I have gotten rid of the "boss"-the employer. I have only imagined a number of men, of different trades, putting their little sums together, working in a shop, to anything, even violations of moral other man is lazy, as he will receive store. They simply work for themselves instead of for an employer.
Only this and nothing more. No communism, no severance of family relamination.

Bell, of Clay county, State Lecturer, J. T. Brinson, Esq., of Pamlico, district Lecturer, and S. Otho Wilson, of Ral-If retail, or local co operative associa tions, no feasting at a common table, eigh, and they were well repaid for the different towns in "higher life" theories, but a simple their trouble, for a couple of more in Alliance, Cleveland county, on the or communities they can combine to business system, based on selfishness, teresting speeches have not been heard gether to sell and purchase by whole by which one man is willing to help here in a long time. The speaking was present, by invitation, and delivered a sale. In fact, the system can extend others because he himself is helped. at Hertford, I should have said. over a whole State, or several States, No one is wronged, for all can join. Mr. Brinson spoke in the form

Brothers, please catch "an idea" it, or stand in its path. Not only would from this. God bless the man who will P. H. JACOBS.

Hammonton, N. C.

AN APPEAL.

LOWELL, N. C. MR. EDITOR: -Our Alliance, No. 1431, of Gaston county, N. C., earnestly pe tition every Sub-Alliance in our State faced the crowd calm, poised, una and at \$600 a year wages for each, the to contribute some small amount to bashed, it was apparent that he was held the audidence spell bound for capital invested in the shape of labor, our worthy brother, H. R. Elmore, master of the situation. The audience about one hour. Then Elder T. Dixon association only, and the capital will the night of November 12, 1891. His be enormous. This, too, for only a beloss is estimated at four hundred dollars he warmed up they grew with the seen. So much for prohibition in old HUGE BUSINESS ON SMALL CAPITAL. duly appreciated by him and his neighbors. Send to L. H. Stowe, Lowell, hills from which he hails. He seems returned to their homes much hand to have the seems of the s lars. Any assistance to him will be brightness of imagination and with a Cleveland, mainly brought about by

J. N. HANNA, L. H. STOWE, H. S. ADAMS, Committee. THAT ADDRESS.

The Intent of it and the Result-Non-Partisan to go Into Democratic,

but no Other Party. lines in the Wilmington Star what from Manteo to Murphy. Bell and that paper is pleased to call a joint ad- Brinson-one from the cloud capped dress of Democrats and Alliancemen. That paper quotes the action of the golden shores of Pamlico. State Alliance Lecturer last week in declaring that Alliancemen are not par tisan, that it must steer clear of parties. even if old parties or new parties adopt trymen, let us continue to bear in mind the Alliance platform in toto. In other | the motto, "United we stand; divided words it must steer clear of the Repub-lican or People's party, but it is not non-partisan to issue a joint address and affiliate with the Democratic party. If there is any other object in this address than to tie up the Alliance sentiment of North Carolina so it can't assert itself in 1892, the writer of this article, a life long Democrat, can't see it. If that address is to be regarded No funds will be held in the hands as an Alliance and Democratic address Alliancemen to do such work as that? If the Star and other partisan papers words of Alexander, Carr and others of that committee, the writer of this communication a county lecturer, as before said a life long Democrat, a Confederate soldier who took part in the first and last fight of the war, an Allianceman who thought we were organized to promote principles and measures and not parties and never feels badly over it. He feels that pure, non-portisan Allianceism has received a dangerous stab at the hands of its members. He feels after having ridden hundreds and hundreds of miles with his own conveyance and by rail and never having received a dollar for it, if the rejoicings of the Star and other papers that have fought us at every step we have taken is right, then his work and his effort is all in vain. We do not object to the Allianceism that crops out in that paper, but we object to "partyizing" this movement which inevitably leads to sectionalizing it. If By wholesale co-operative the owners | Alexander, Carr and others have a of the cotton, tobacco, corn, and other | right to do this sort of work with a set of

for." But to be sure these brethren cannot have intended it in the light it appeared, in the light the partisan press be a law of the land to day. The Re-Gorman gets the credit of doing more | worth. to defeat it than any other man. He said the independent Alliance sentiment of the country defeated it. A Teller and other Republican Senators and when you drive these Republican | hand. Alliancemen back into partison Republicanism as this address is calculated money power will resume its unimpeded onward march. Fraternally,

J. M. CUTCHINS,

Lecturer Edgecombe County ----

WINFALL SUB-ALLIANCE, NO. 1,108, Winfall, N. C.

MR. EDITOR:-Friday, the 11th ult., keeping a store, all buying from the was a field day for the Perquimans store, and each selling his goods in the | County Alliance. Men who were present to hear the speeches of Hon. J. S.

Mr. Brinson spoke in the forenoon, delivering a very good speech, which was carefully listened to. Hon. Tom. Skinner said it was the best he had heard along that line. In the person of Bro. Brinson the First district has a with good things to eat. Elder, T.

About 1 o'clock Mr. Bell arrived and estimated at from four to five hundred addressed the audience. As he arose men, women and children and there he looked tired and weary, and no one | was enough left to have fed them all expected much of a speech. But as he again. to have caught an inspiration from the by hearing the good speeches of the everlasting peaks. Oh! it was interest | day. ing pure Alliance doctrine flashing over the audience like meteoric showers. Long may Bell and Brinson live, shed-

ding the light of their countenances all over this State, promulgating truth and knowledge, kindling the fires of enthusiasm in the sacred thresholds of a thousand and one homes, disseminating the principles of the National MR. EDITOR:-I see in flaming head | Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union peaks of Clay, the other from the

> Mr. Wilson spoke in the secret meeting, explaining the workings of the business department. My fellow-counwe fall." Fraternally.

> > A. W. JORDAN.

# RESOLUTIONS.

At a regular meeting of Woodard's Alliance, No. 1174, held December 5th the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, Different partisan papers of the country have attempted to misrepresent and slander the name of President L. L. Polk and other national leaders, and as we are led to believe that it is intended to break down our Order and an insult to every member of the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union of America.

Resolved, That we cordemn in the strongest language the course as unpatriotic and dishonorable and intended to defeat the honest purpose of our

2. That we believe President Polk and co-laborers to be patriotic gentle men, and the superiors of any who have indulged in any such abuse.

3. That we heartily renew our allegiance to our demands as set forth in the Ccala platform and heartily endorse the action of the State Alliance in regard to said demands; we also endorse the action of the National Convention in re electing L. L. Polk to the highest officer in our Order.

4. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER for publication.

J. J. CUTLER, W. H. BRADY, C. C. N. CUTLER, Committee.

#### BE TRUE TO THE CAUSE.

Bro. Alliancemen: -"Sleep on your known that thousands of people pay \$5 gamblers to affect prices, and precipithe same work with a set of Kansas arms to night." "Put none but true per month in building associations, for tate "Black Fridays" upon them at Republicans, and when that is done, ten years, only to own a home, and pleasure. Gould, Sage, Vanderbilt, the Topeka Capital, the Wilmington termined to destroy the reform movethey are not free from wages slavery and Rockefeller, combined, could not Star and News and Observer will be ment at all hazzards. No stone is to (a slavery just as oppressive as chattel compete with the united capital and happy, for they will have accomplished be left unturned. The spy is within slavery). Now, if 500 men will con- labor especially when labor is also the exactly what they have been working our ranks. We are to be destroyed by tribute \$5 per month for only two principal customer of itself, and posses for, i. e., to partyize and sectionalize dissensions ceverly engineered. Vicyears, they will have a cash capital of sing greater purchasing power, and this movement, and the old saying will tous and brutal attacks are being made \$60,000 to begin with, or they may with more demands and pleasures to come in. "If so soon it is to be done all along the line upon all our faithful for, the wonder is what it was begun and trustworthy leaders. Accursed villains are perjuring their very souls by swearing to hellish lies to break down the character of men true to the regard it. If so, Allianceism in North | reform cause. The same being heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the own Sub-Alliance, every one of whom associated partisan press, and taken always voted the Democratic ticket, is up by old moss back partisans having ready to condema it overwhelmingly. | their names enrolled as Alliancemen, The address states or implies that the but are such just about as much as Democratic party must be kept in tact Judas was a Christian, or Benedict in order to defeat a future force bill. Arnold a patriot; a fair specimen may If the party had been the only thing in | be found right here in Forsytb county. the way that iniquitous measure would | Bogus dispatches, damnable lies, incendiary speeches, insinuations, inupublicans had the President, had the endoes, and everything low and vile is Senate and had the House. Senator taken up by them and for all it is

Brethren, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Whenever any member shows a disposition to provoke resolution from Democratic and Re- dissensions to discourage attendance, publican Alliancemen went up from or oppose the fundamental principles Ocala in opposition to it, and Plumb, of our Order, fire him out at once. Retain no man whom you know to be in defference to the feelings of a Re | a dirty trickster for the old party mapublican Alliance constituency voted chine. Let it be understood that with the Democrats and defeated it, treachery will be dealt with an iron

Pay no attention to the lies and rumors of old party papers. Believe to do, then Republican and Democratic nothing aginst any leader on such authority. Beware of all old hacks who are trying to keep their order in line for the old parties. For God and humanity's sake, don't

let the lickspittle of Wall street and

the money power play a bluff game on

E. A. COWARD, Sec'y. us again. ALLIANCE PIC-NIC IN CLEVE-LAND.

BEAMS MILLS, N. C. MR. EDITOR:-An Alliance Union, composed of three Sub-Alliances, viz: Pleasant Grove, Rock Cut and Ross

15th inst. Major W. A. Graham was grand and highly interesting speech, brimful of good things from beginning Dinner was then announced. The table was one hundred and forty feet long, and was loaded from end to end lecturer in the field who we are sure Dixon asked a blessing; then all did will give entire satisfaction.

Dixon asked a blessing; then all did eat and were filled. The number was

In the afternoon Dr. L. N. Durham

We close by saying success to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER. R. W. GARDNER.