

POPULISM IN NEBRASKA.

SPEECH

OF

HON. R. D. SUTHERLAND,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 1, 1898.

WASHINGTON.

1898.

SPEECH
OF
HON. R. D. SUTHERLAND.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 6397) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, and for other purposes—

Mr. SUTHERLAND said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I rise to explain a few statements made by our distinguished friend from the Second Nebraska district [Mr. MERCER] in his controversy with my colleague [Mr. GREENE], on the 24th of January.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. GREENE] stated that Judge Baker, a Republican judge, had sentenced our defaulting State treasurer, and sent him to the penitentiary for twenty years for embezzlement. I want to call the attention of the gentlemen of this House to the fact that when Judge Baker went down before a Republican State convention seeking a ratification and indorsement at its hands by being elected as chairman, he was turned down and another man elected in his place. Judge Baker is a wiser and sadder man now. He now understands that it is not popular in Republican circles in the State of Nebraska to send a Republican to the State penitentiary for twenty years for crimes committed against that Commonwealth.

Mr. Chairman, so far as the matter of prosperity in Nebraska is concerned and the work of the Populist party in that State, I want to read you a telegram from the commissioner of public lands and buildings showing the State apportionment for schools last year and during the six years prior thereto. The telegram is as follows:

LINCOLN, NEBR., January 25, 1898.

Hon. R. D. SUTHERLAND, Washington, D. C.

Average apportionment from 1890 to 1896, inclusive, \$560,205.23; for 1897, \$739,591.93.

J. V. WOLFE.

That is, in 1897, under the Populist party, it was \$739,591.93, a gain of \$179,386.65 over the average of the past seven years of Republican rule.

But, Mr. Chairman, a thing that gives me more sorrow than anything else is the statement made by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MERCER], who was chairman of the Republican State central committee last year. He said:

Last year we decreased the majority in our State 12,000 over the year when Mr. Bryan was running for President.

Meaning by that that the Populist majority was decreased that much. Mr. Chairman, I read the official figures for the State of Nebraska for 1896 and 1897. The Bryan electors polled 115,880, the McKinley electors 102,304, a plurality for the Bryan electors of 13,576.

In 1897, when the same combination faced the Republicans that faced them in 1896, Judge Sullivan, who was the fusion candidate, received 102,828, while the Republican candidate only received 89,009, showing a gain in plurality over the previous year of 243. Thus is bimetalism dying out in the State of Nebraska! Now, I have here a telegram from our State chairman—

Mr. MERCER. Will my colleague yield for an inquiry?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. In just a moment. I should gladly yield to my genial friend under ordinary circumstances, but I want to read this telegram before he asks me the question:

LINCOLN, NEBR., January 25, 1898.
R. D. SUTHERLAND, Washington:
Gain of county offices in last election, 125.

J. H. EDMISTON.

That is the way in which Populism and bimetalism are dying out in the glorious State of Nebraska! Now, what is the gentleman's question?

Mr. MERCER. I desire to ask my colleague what majority the regents on the Populist ticket in our State obtained over the Republicans?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I have not the figures here. I am simply contradicting your statement that you reduced our majority over the Bryan election in 1896 by 12,000. I have shown you that we gained 125 county offices and that our plurality was 243 larger than it was in the year 1896. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MERCER. If the gentleman will answer my question, he will find that my statement is correct.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Another thing which my genial friend from Omaha [Mr. MERCER] in his remarks said was this:

The people are becoming so tired of the situation that I think I can frankly promise you that when the election is held this year we will redeem the State of Nebraska and make it once more a Republican State.

My friend, I am compelled to say to you now that your hair will be tinged with gray and you will be dandling your grandchildren on your knee before that event ever occurs again in the State of Nebraska. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] But I understand what the object is. I know the motive.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I ask for five minutes more. I have not occupied much of the time of the House.

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. What is the question?

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I understand you to say that in your judgment the prosperity under the first six months of the Wilson bill is greater than under the first six months of the Dingley bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I say, with all courtesy to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that he understands no such thing, because I did not refer to that matter.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. You did not mean that.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I did not say any such thing, and, although I am a new member on this floor, I warn you that you can not put words into my mouth which I have never uttered; because I did not refer to that.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I am very glad to find one who is talking what he does not mean.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that my mind has been fully made up as to his belief in all the statements I have heard him make from day to day since I came here on the 15th day of last March. [Laughter.] I say

that I fully understand the reasons for the statements that have been made here about the elections of the State of Nebraska, because it is the home of the greatest Democrat that has lived since the days of Thomas Jefferson and of Andrew Jackson [applause on the Democratic side and laughter on the Republican side]; because it is the home of the most trusted leader of the people since the time of Abraham Lincoln. [Loud applause on the Democratic side and laughter on the Republican side.]

Why, do not you know that William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, is greater even in defeat to-day than his opponent is in his victory? [Loud applause on the Democratic side.] I want to warn you Republicans here and now and say to my Silver Republican, Populist, and Democratic friends— [Jeers on the Republican side.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Take your medicine.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. That we will stand first, last, and all the time in the State of Nebraska for the great leader that we followed in 1893. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.] Old ocean's waters may cease to roll, the moon may stand still, but the State of Nebraska will continue to stand for William J. Bryan and bimetallism. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MERCER. Will my colleague permit an inquiry before he takes his seat? I desire to ask my colleague if it is not a fact that to-day in Nebraska we have a full measure of prosperity, that our people are employed and doing well, and if we have not paid off a very large percentage of the mortgages in that State? Does he not know the people are employed in the cities and on the farms and are doing better than they have for years?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I will say to the gentleman from Nebraska, who does not agree with us politically, that we are after him, even much as we respect him, and will win his seat in Congress in 1898. He knows the State of Nebraska is under Populist rule, and therefore the State of Nebraska is in pretty good circumstances in the year 1893. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]



THE LEADERS WHO HAVE INAUGURATED THE SO-CALLED POPULIST PARTY PROPOSE—THEIR IDEA OF GOVERNMENT—PATERNALISM OF THE WORST KIND. EVERY PUBLIC ILL IMAGINARY OR REAL IS TO BE CURED BY SOME PATENT LEGISLATION. MONEY IS TO BE PRINTED, NOT COINED, AND DISTRIBUTED, NOT EARNED.

Remarks of Hon. James P. Pigott (Democrat) of Conn.,

Record, Monday, August 13, 1894.

What do the people want? Is it economy in Government expenditures? Is it low taxes? Is it home rule? Is it sound money? These are really what the people want, but the leaders who have inaugurated the so-called Populist party propose to conduct them into no such pastures. Their idea of government is paternalism of the worst kind. Every public ill, imaginary or real, is to be cured by some patent legislation. Money is to be printed, not coined, and distributed, not earned.

Government, which is supposed to have been instituted under our system to attend to public affairs and leave the people free to attend to their own, is to be called upon to meddle with private rights, and we are to be forced into an unwilling partnership between the individuals and the Government, which would end in bankruptcy before the close of a brief session of the American Congress. To show that I do not exaggerate, Mr. Speaker, let me call attention to some of the many measures introduced into Congress by Populist Senators and Representatives, some of which, if enacted, would change our Constitutional Government into a social despotism, and others would require the expenditure of more than four times the sum of the coined money of the world.

Herewith I present a synopsis of some of the schemes proposed in the Senate or the House by Populist members:

NEW WAY TO PAY OLD DEBTS.

Representative DAVIS of Kansas, in his bill No. 3436, has devised a plan which amounts to a new way to pay old debts. Under its provisions, any defaulting mortgage debtor is declared a bankrupt and his creditor cannot collect the debt due

him, except from the United States, in the following manner: The mortgage debtor is to procure on abstract of title and certificate of value of land and improvements from the register of deeds of the county, upon presentation of which to the county treasurer, the latter official is to draw on the Treasurer of the United States for the amount due, including official fees, and when paid shall constitute a lien upon the property, the county record to be marked "Settled by the United States Government," and the debtor to be allowed twenty years to pay, the annual interest charge being but 1 per cent.

To provide the funds necessary for the purposes of the act, legal tenders are to be printed and issued from time to time as required. The above to be the only method by which a mortgagee can collect his debt, until such time as the aggregate circulation of lawful money of the United States shall reach, and as long as it shall continue at \$50 per capita of population (say at the present time three and a third billions of dollars) not counting lawful reserves in banks and other fixed and non-circulating deposits required by law.

LOANS TO STATES.

To provide the several States with money to make improvements, loan money to counties, municipalities, and needy individuals, Representative Clover of Kansas proposed in his bill 6254 (Fifty-second Congress) to issue legal tenders to any State filing bonds with the Treasurer, payable at the option of the State, bearing interest at 2½ per cent, and in any sum not exceeding 50 per cent of the assessed value of the taxable property of the State making application.

MUNICIPAL LOAN BILL.

Ex-Representative Clover of Kansas believes the United States Government should help all cities, and to do this proposed in House bill 3999, Fifty-second Congress, to loan money to all cities and municipalities not exceeding \$50,000 to any one municipality, and provided no issue shall be made to any one municipality in excess of 20 per cent of the assessed value of its taxable property, for not exceeding a period of 50 years, and at 2½ per cent per annum.

To provide money to make these loans legal-tender Treasury notes are to be printed by the Treasury Department.

LOAN BUREAU.

Senator PEPPER, Populist Senator from Kansas, introduced into the Senate a bill (S. 976) "to establish a bureau of loans," with a central agency in each State, Territory, and district, and local agents wherever required, with discretion to loan to each individual offering real estate security not exceeding 160 acres, and who has a house thereon which is mortgaged, or who not having such house desires to build one, not exceeding \$2,500 to any one individual, for not exceeding ten years with stays of foreclosure proceedings that extend the period to fifteen years; also establishes loan agencies in places having public store-houses, to loan to individuals having store-house certificates not exceeding two-thirds of the face value of the same.

To provide immediate means to carry out this law about \$700,000,000 of paper money, full legal tender, is to be issued at once, and when that is disposed of the balance of the money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated is to be used from time to time.

Somewhat similar is the loan bill of Representative SIMPSON (H. R. 5073, Fifty-second Congress), which provides for loans upon land in tracts of not less than 10 nor more than 320 acres, of not exceeding ten years at 2 per cent per annum. A bureau of loans is constituted, with an agency in each State and a sub-agent in each Congressional district. Legal tenders are to be issued fast enough to meet the demands.

LOAN BANK.

Representative KEM of Nebraska introduced into the House a bill (H. R. 5446) to establish a system of Government banking, under which there can be one Gov-

ernment bank in each county, managed by directors varying in salary from \$2,000 to \$4,000 per annum, at whose direction money may be loaned to individuals in sums not exceeding \$3,000, and if on real estate security for a term not exceeding twenty years; if on note for not exceeding one year. To procure money to make the loans, the United States is to issue legal tenders, variously estimated in amount, at from one billion to one billion and a quarter of dollars; also deposits to be received on which interest of 3 per cent is to be paid, and said deposits to be loaned out as above. All gold and silver certificates are to be redeemed in legal tenders.

In his three bills (H. R. 6660, 10099, and 10405), Fifty-second Congress, Representative WATSON shows the capabilities of the Government to manage all the affairs of the people and manufacture many billions of dollars of paper money to float both crops and mortgages. House bill 6660 provides for the establishment of a sub-treasury in every county, and the construction of subtreasury buildings upon county sites to be chosen by the citizens of the respective counties, who shall also elect the manager of such subtreasury, who shall receive a salary of \$1,500 per year. The owner of any cotton, wheat, corn, or oats, or tobacco can deposit his produce in the nearest subtreasury for safe keeping and receive in greenbacks 80 per cent of the value the local county manager shall place upon it, and also a negotiable warehouse certificate bearing 1 per cent per annum interest, upon the surrender of which and paying loan, the holder receives back produce of the same kind and value. To start the wheels of this many-million-dollar project, fifty millions of greenbacks are to be printed at once.

By bill 10099 Mr. WATSON proposed the appointment of a national grain inspector with a salary of \$10,000 a year who shall appoint an inspector for each State at a salary of \$5,000 per year, who in turn shall appoint local inspectors for each county, or parish, or district of each State, there being no limit fixed to the number of such deputies, who are to provide warehouses or elevators for the storage of cotton and wheat, and give certificate of quantities and value to the person storing the same. The postmaster at the nearest post office is to receive such certificate and issue to the holder thereof a postal money order for two-thirds the certified value thereof. To carry out the act the Secretary of the Treasury is to start up the printing presses and issue such amount of greenbacks to the Postmaster General as may be required from time to time, not to exceed \$100,000,000.

In House bill 10495 Mr. WATSON proposed the appointment of a "special auditor of the Treasury," salary \$10,000 per year, and a deputy for each State, who shall appoint one land inspector in each Congressional district in his State. Any person owning land in city or country upon which is his home, or which he will swear he intends to make a home, who desires to borrow money from the United States, may do so upon the approved certificate of the deputy auditor, after going through certain forms, receiving two-thirds of the estimated value of the land, upon giving a mortgage to the United States, to be payable in five years, at the rate of 1 per cent per annum. The amount of greenbacks to be printed under this bill is limited to one hundred millions.

INDUSTRIAL ARMY.

In his bill (H. R. 6767) Mr. DAVIS of Kansas, with a preamble declaring that "Whereas the wisdom of our forefathers in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States made ample provision in the phrase 'to promote the general welfare' for such enlarged governmental functions and progressive economic measures as the growing needs and the emergencies of the country might require," provides for the enlistment "as fast as practicable" of 500,000 men in an industrial volunteer army, to be clothed, fed, and paid as are recruits in the regular Army.

As it costs our government a thousand dollars a year for each soldier, the annual expenditure called for by this bill would be not less than half a billion of dollars. Mr. DAVIS provides for an additional issue of \$300,000,000 of legal tenders at once, and \$100,000,000 a year thereafter, "to create and preserve an increasing and equitable volume of currency hereafter."

CHARITY FUNDS.

To provide for the immediate relief of the destitute, Senator PEPPER proposes in Senate bill 1300 to appropriate \$6,300,000, to be expended by State boards of commissioners at the rate of \$1 per each ten inhabitants in any county.

In joint resolution 166, Representative BOEN instructs the Secretary of War to provide camping grounds and tents for all "organized bodies of laboring people who may come within the said District" of Columbia, and the War Office is "to see to it" that their "rights as citizens, organizations, and individuals are respected and protected."

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Representative BOEN of Minnesota introduced a bill in the House (7908) which provides for the issue of \$1,000,000,000 in legal-tender notes, of which amount five hundred millions is to be expended in five years in building or purchasing railroads, two hundred and fifty millions for improving rivers, and not less than two hundred and fifty millions for purchasing sites and building post offices "in each village or city containing 1,000 or more inhabitants." To carry out the law would require, as variously estimated, from one and a half billions to two and a half billions, but only the issue of one billion of extra notes is provided for.

INCREASE OF CURRENCY.

In addition to other means of increasing the volume of the currency, Representative Simpson proposes in his bill 4412 to have the Government purchase all the gold and silver that is offered, issuing silver or gold certificates to the sellers at the rate of \$1 for each 371.25 grains of silver. Then the Secretary is to coin all the gold and silver now in the Treasury or that may be thereafter purchased, and to issue Treasury certificates—\$2 in Treasury notes for each dollar in coin. It is estimated this would soon give a total circulation of \$3,000,000,000.

In his tax bill (H. R. 5448) Representative Davis proposes to substitute the tariff act of 1883 for the McKinley act, with horizontal reductions, one-fourth in 1894, one-third of the remainder in 1895, and one-fourth of the remainder in 1896, with certain additions to the free list, to provide revenue, incomes and land are to be taxed, and three hundred and fifty millions of greenbacks are to be issued the first year, and annually thereafter \$100,000,000.

Senator KYLE, in Senate bill 2531 (Fifty-second Congress), proposes an unlimited issue of fractional currency, to be paid out to persons applying therefor to any postmaster; and Representative McKEIGHAN, in House bill 6010, proposes the same, limiting the legal-tender qualities of the currency, however; and Representative DAVIS, in House bill 6003, concurs with Senator KYLE restricting the issue to \$50,000,000.

Representative DAVIS, in House bill 5386, proposes "that if at any time the current revenues of the Government shall be insufficient to meet the current expenses the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue non-interest bearing Treasury notes," full legal tender. He is also required not to pay in gold more than one-half of any coin obligation, and is required to coin at once all the silver in the Treasury, to issue silver certificates "all uncoined silver," "to pay out 66 2/3 per cent of all silver now in the Treasury, and never hereafter to retain in the Treasury in silver an amount exceeding one-third of silver coin for the redemption of outstanding silver certificates."

SALSOLI KALI TRAGUS.

Mr. BOEN, Representative from Minnesota, proposes to begin the destruction of the salsoli kali tragus wherever found on public or private property, and his bill would appropriate \$1,000,000 (House bill 5745) to inaugurate the process.

RAIN WATER AND IRRIGATION.

Various bills have been introduced by Populist Senators and Representatives to authorize "the control of water for agricultural purposes," "to provide means for gathering and storing rain water," "to establish a bureau of irrigation," and so on of which the following specimens are quoted:

Representative DAVIS proposes (House bill 7896) the immediate issue of \$20,000,000 in greenbacks to be issued by the Secretary of Agriculture merely to "inaugurate a systematic control of water in the interest of agriculture."

Representative BAKER of Kansas asks a modest sum to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to provide means for gathering and storing rain water. House bill 7887.

Senator PEPPER has introduced Mr. DAVIS's bill into the Senate (Senate bill 2279). But he proposes more radical measures in his bill (S. 1168), which provides for a bureau of irrigation which is to dig for water, dam water, or ditch water, the appropriation for the purpose not being limited in amount, provided it does not exceed the amount of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SOME OTHER THEORIES.

According to the Populist theory Congress is omnipotent, and the people in the States, counties, and municipalities are to have no voice in managing their local affairs, provided Congress wills otherwise. As examples of this overtopping power the following Populist measures are quoted:

In Senate bill 1182 (Fifty-third Congress) Senator PEPPER provides not only that no whiskies, beers, wines, or other intoxicants shall be imported into the United States, but also that no whiskies, beers, wines, or other intoxicants (domestic or imported) shall be sold in the United States "except what may be necessary for medicinal, scientific, and sacramental purposes." Of course every one knows that such legislation would be waste paper, as Congress has not been granted by the people any such police power.

Railways are to be managed according to act of Congress. If Representative BOEN has his way every railway must carry the mails, but Representative BOEN, in House bill 7638, insists that no passenger coach shall be attached to mail trains, but shall consist solely of an engine, tender, caboose, and postal cars. The Government, which in this bill is the Postmaster General, is to fix the schedule time of this train and is to pay as much or as little as that official agrees with himself to pay, but the railways may haul mail cars with passenger trains when their traffic is not interrupted "by strikes or other labor disturbances."

Senator KYLE proposes in Senate joint resolution 73, that Congress shall have "exclusive jurisdiction to regulate marriage and divorce in the several States and Territories," and Representative BELL of Colorado, insists in House joint resolution 124 that the women of the country shall vote at all elections, present local laws to the contrary notwithstanding, while Representative PENCE does not consider it necessary to take the trouble to amend the Constitution, as that instrument requires, to prescribe qualifications for voters, but proposes in House bill 5748 that women shall vote for members of the House of Representatives.

LIGHTS AND RAILROADS.

Senator PEPPER, in Senate bill 1972, provides that in certain contingencies "the United States shall purchase a railroad system and manage it."

In Senate bill 1179 the same Senator proposes that the United States shall go into the lighting business in the District of Columbia; said light to be supplied to citizens at 10 per cent above cost; and \$1,000,000 is appropriated.

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMITTEE.

Representative BELL provides in joint resolution 169 for the appointment of a committee to "devise means for the employment of the idle men of the country

restrict immigration, start up mines, increase the currency, and for other purposes." Therefore, etc., the committee in "thirty days" is to report a plan "by which our idle men may be re-employed in our mines and in building canals for the reclamation of the arid lands, or upon transportation, telegraph, or telephone lines of the United States, or in some other public or private works."

Legal tenders are to be issued "commensurate with our increasing population;" laws are to be passed to protect and preserve such labor for our own workmen; interest-bearing bonds are to be no longer issued by the United States, but means to be devised whereby States and municipalities may "secure an issue of money on such bonded securities as cheaply as national banks secure notes on Government bonds," and means to be pointed out whereby money "instead of bonds held exclusively for hire and investment" may be used in developing industries and enterprises.

RECAPITULATION.

Without duplicating the amounts carried in the bills quoted where their modes or purposes are similar, the following recapitulation will show the sum total of appropriations required to meet the bills named:

Representative DAVIS's bill (No. 3436) providing for the loan to certain mortgage debtors is estimated to require not less than the sum of.....	\$10,000,000,000
Representatives CLOVER's bill (No. 6254, Fifty-second Congress) to loan to States, etc., 50 per cent of assessed valuation of property is estimated to require exceeding.....	12,000,000,000
Representative CLOVER's bill (No. 3999, Fifty-second Congress) is variously estimated to require the sum of from \$8,000,000,000 to \$15,000,000,000, say.....	10,000,000,000
Mr. Watson's various bills are not estimated, being included in their principles in previous estimates.	
Representative HUDSON's pension bill (H. R. 3186) would require the immediate issue of.....	\$1,500,000,000
Representative DAVIS's industrial army bill (H. R. 6767) would require an annual expenditure of.....	500,000,000
Senator PEPPER's charity bill (S. 1300) appropriates.....	6,300,000
Representative BOEN's bill (H. R. 7908), for internal improvements, appropriates.....	500,000,000
With an annual appropriation in addition.	
Representative BOEN's bill (H. R. 5745) to exterminate the Russian thistle, appropriates.....	1,000,000
Senator PEPPER's rain water bill (No. 7896) makes an appropriation of.....	20,000,000
Total.....	35,507,300,000

These estimates do not include any duplication nor many items of expenditure proposed in the bills named, nor do they include salaries of the thousands upon thousands of officials to be appointed under their provisions. As the total estimate of money of the world, including paper, gold, silver, copper, brass and iron tokens does not exceed \$10,100,000,000, it appears that the amount of money called for by the bills named is nearly five times the volume of the currency of the world. What our paper money would be worth under such circumstances anyone of ordinary intelligence knows. It would be worth nothing at all.

On July 9, 1894, Senator PEPPER submitted a resolution, of which the following is a copy:

"In view of existing social and business conditions, and by way of suggesting subjects for remedial legislation; be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the United States, First. That all public functions ought to be exercised by and through public agencies.

"Second. That all railroads employed in interstate commerce ought to be brought into one organization under control and supervision of public officers; that charges for transportation of persons and property ought to be uniform throughout the country; that wages of employees ought to be regulated by law and paid promptly in money.

"Third. That all coal beds ought to be owned and worked by the States or by the Federal Government, and the wages of all persons who work in the mines ought to be provided by law and paid in money when due.

"Fourth. That all money used by the people ought to be supplied only by the Government of the United States; that the rate of interest ought to be uniform in all the States, not exceeding the net average increase of the permanent wealth of the people.

"Fifth. That all revenues of the Government ought to be raised by taxes on real estate."

To carry out the provisions of this resolution would require, at a very moderate estimate, some fifteen billions of dollars, making the total proposed expenditures upwards of fifty billions of dollars.

Among the other things that would follow such legislation it will be seen that the enormous amount of money necessary to carry on the Government is to be raised wholly and alone upon real estate.

Are the farmers of the country now ready to add to the burdens they have by a still further tax to carry out these plans?

CONCLUSION.

From what I have now shown to be the aims and purposes of the People's party, the country can decide whether such measures, if enacted into law, would be productive of the general welfare or not.

I have tried by an analysis of the bills introduced by the gentlemen sent here to speak for that party, to show that financial, industrial, and every other kind of calamity would be the consequence of the legislation proposed by the Populist or People's party.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that in the performance of this task I have not in any way distorted or exaggerated the measures criticised. Such was not my purpose.

I have tried to show what the bills contained, and in indicating their authors and numbers I have been solely guided by the desire to substantiate my statements with the best proofs obtainable.

Populism and Republicanism are twins; they are one in nativity and culture; they differ only in presenting separate growths of the same tree. Against their combined efforts the steadfast conservatism of the Democratic party presents itself in the interest of good government.

To bridge the Atlantic or to tunnel the Pacific, or to do both of these tasks would be an undertaking less difficult and much less costly to this Government than to try and carry out several measures proposed in this and the last Congress by the leaders of the People's party, and the fact that our appropriations for all purposes have been kept within such conservative lines is, in my judgment, one of the highest claims which we have for the further continuance of the confidence of the American people.

SHOE ON THE OTHER FOOT

Why the Popocrats Have Dropped Some
Issues They Raised.

Speculations of Their Own Partisans.

Shortages of County Officials and Manipulations and False Statements of State
Officials of the Alleged
Party of Reform.

The state officials are traveling over the state on free passes bragging about their immaculate records and asking for votes when they ought to be here in Lincoln attending to their official duties and earning their salaries. And on these excursions the the chorus of every song sung by the sham reformers is that republicans are all thieves and that popocrats are always honest. Early in the campaign the statement made was that Bartley left the treasury empty when he went out of office, but this has been revised since Meserve was trapped into making the statement in a

public speech that Bartley turned over to him something over \$800,000 of available funds. The talk about Moore's shortage is not so loud now, since it was found that the present auditor manipulated the fees in his office last year until the newspapers made it so warm for him that he disgorged. But in spite of these disadvantages the "republican shortage" cry is doing good service for the reform crowd, and often serves to obscure other issues that are beginning to be embarrassing to the oleo party.

To show that the claim of "holier than thou" made by the sham reformers rests on a sham foundation, it is only necessary to print a partial list of the popocratic county treasurers who have been short at the ends of their terms in the last eight years. The counties mentioned below are only a few of the many in the same condition in the state, but the list will prove an eye opener to the people who are inclined to believe many of the things said by the reformers in their speeches.

COUNTY.	POPOCRATIC SHORTAGE.
Stanton	\$ 2 600
Platto	30 000
Howard	17 000
Greeley	30 000
Custer	15 000
Thayer	5 600
Sherman	5 000
Sheridan	1 540

Hall	25 000
Keith	5 000
Keith	9 000
Harlan	27 000
Hamilton	6 500
Gosper	5 000
Merrick	34 000
Holt	10 600

Total, \$228 840

Much Minor Pilfering.

This is only a partial list, but many of them are aggravated cases, and the indications are that the pilfering officials stole all they could. In Platte county the treasurer was a banker, related to Senator Allen and connected closely with the Platte county ring that now has so many representatives drawing salaries from the state. When the shortage was discovered the judge, county attorney and other officials were popocrats, and no move was made to prosecute the defaulter. The part of the money owing to the county has since been paid up by the bondsmen, but a little over \$13,000 is still due the state. A popocratic attorney general has been in office nearly two years, and instead of prosecuting the defaulter, appears to be protecting him on account of his high political and family relations.

In Gosper and Hamilton counties the courthouses were burned by incendiary means and the amounts

mentioned as the shortages of the treasurers are small in proportion to the real loss of records and property sustained by the counties. In one or two cases like Hall county, the money was used to bolster up tottering banks. In Harlan county the treasurer testified as to the shortage in order to send a republican banker to the penitentiary and, contrary to the plan worked up by local popocratic politicians, got sent up himself. The Greeley county man fled to New York and was captured after great expense on the part of the state. His shortage has just been compromised by popocratic officials who took a section of land in the sandhills and \$1,000 in notes as full settlement.

The list of popocratic defaulters does not stop with county treasurers. In several counties the clerks and recorders got away with all the fees that came into the offices. In Custer Co. last year the probate judge was found to be short \$900, but he stood for reelection just the same, repeating they done the same thing." It is to the lasting credit of the Custer county populists, however, that they elected a republican in his place.

In counties having township organizations, where there is a tax collector to each precinct, the number of defaulting "reformers" is large, Cus-

ter county probably presenting the biggest collection. The stealings of these men averaged something less than \$1,000 apiece, but it was in each case about all they could conveniently get their hands on near the close of their terms of office. The list of defaulting postmasters, who were appointed by Cleveland, but later declared themselves for "Bryanism, fusionism and reform," is so long that in the whole state it runs up into the hundreds. In some counties nearly every postmaster turned out to be a defaulter. Greeley county, the home of Cashman, furnishes some rich examples. At Greeley and Scotia little towns of less than 700 inhabitants, the popocratic postmasters got away with something like \$4,000 apiece and their bondsmen had to suffer. The officers up along the Kearney and Callaway branch, the homes of Maret and Edmisten and other reformers, nearly all went the same way, and their bondsmen had to come forward and pay out hard earned money. It has been the same way all over the state, and a thorough investigation would show that in the last ten years the popocratic defaulters would outnumber all the republican shortages there have been in the last thirty years.

File
Populist Party
Reform

Report Of My Southern Trip

General News Letter; No. 1.

Glennville, Ga., June 10, '29

FRIENDS: To the members of the National Monetary League this letter will serve as a report of the progress we are making: To my subscribers it is a substitute for Call-To-Action: To my political co-workers it is a report of general conditions as I find them: To others it is a letter of general information: To my personal friends it is a personal letter. I receive many letters I cannot answer as fully as I would like to and I expect this letter to fill the deficiency.

L. R. Tillman and myself left St. Louis about the first of March for a trip thru the south to meet progressives and arouse them to action. I am of course directly interested in the money reformers. The National Monetary League will hold a National Conference this fall; and the progressive political forces are also arranging for a national meeting. It is desired that all these reform forces meet at the same place; and it is our hope that our efforts will aid materially in increasing the representation from the localities we visit, and thus help in making the meeting a decided success.

We expect to leave here in a few weeks, and possibly go west as far as Texas, and then northward, devoting our time this summer to this work. We have a camping outfit, so we live along the way and cut expenses to the limit. Our route may vary some to meet those interested in our efforts and who want us to call on them, and perhaps hold a meeting in their locality. If this interests you, write me immediately.

On the way here we stopped at many places, discussing the money question and economic condition of the people in general; and distributed literature until our available supply was exhausted. We found the people realizing the seriousness of the present conditions, and interested in finding a way to better them.

We take the name and address of those we meet who are interested in our work and want to read our literature; for we know that from these lists of names will develop, here and there, strong characters who will lead out in their localities and help carry on the work of educating the masses to understand the iniquities of the present money system, which robs the producers and enriches the capitalists.

Our Meetings

Our first meetings in Georgia were at Elem Baptist church, Jenkins county, where we gave talks Saturday evening and Sunday noon; and Sunday evening at a church

several miles south. We also spoke at Bethel church, and Way, Appling county. These churches; like most of the churches here; find they can afford preaching but once a month. Then there are quite a few abandoned country church buildings here, just as you will find in other parts of the Union. In his talks Tillman brings out the fact that the country church is doomed unless the church people become interested in a study of the causes of their adversity, and then become active in their efforts to better their economic condition. Mr. Tillman is well known by the progressives of this state, and it is a pleasure to travel with him, hold meetings, and meet his many friends.

We have also held meetings in Berrien, Bacon, Bulloch, Colquitt, Cook, Emanuel, Lowndes, Tattnall, Tift, Teombs, and Ware counties. One of our good out-door meetings was at Hahira, where we gathered a crowd of over a hundred for a talk under a big shade tree. Our most southern meeting was at Lake Butler, Fla. We were passing thru about sundown when the local hotel and restaurant man took matters in hand and called in about a dozen of the prominent business men of the town to hold a meeting in his dining room. This live-wire has taken us to Worthington Springs, Worthington, Fla.; one of the resorts in the state; and will surely meet tourists from the north with the same friendly welcome given us.

An invitation was given me to talk to the High School on the money question, which I did, having an audience of about 400 scholars which met in the High School Auditorium. After the talk I was in the Superintendent to address the older people at a public meeting.

I received an invitation to give a talk at the regular monthly meeting of the Oak Grove Baptist church, May 12, (mother's day) where I had a congregation of about 150. That evening I spoke at another country church, Mount Zion, to a crowded house. The same day Tillman drove over to Cedar Crossing, in an adjoining county, and spoke to a gathering of about 300.

Some Interesting Books

At Valdosta, Ga., on April 13, we had a meeting addressed by Dr. Thomas L. Brunk, of Alton, Ill. Dr. Brunk is author of several books. His "American Lordships" should be read by every citizen of the United States. It is a great book; and cost thousands of dollars, expended in research work, to compile the facts it contains. It is a history of the early settlement of this country, giving the life and the customs of the early settlers, and the political activities of the rulers; especially giving information about the early land grants, and the intrigue and corruption practiced by the ruling class to secure title to millions of

acres of land. American Lordships contains 180 pages, and sells for 50 cents. I can furnish them, or you can order them direct from Dr. Brunk.

I am enclosing a price-list of books I have for sale. I brot books with me so I can fill orders on this trip. While there isn't a great deal made in handling books, after we pay the postage, yet we are anxious to get the books out for the good they will do.

Telley Hartwich, of Meredith, Mont., who is one of our deepest students and most pleasing writers; and who has purchased and read about all my list of books; writes as follows: "The man who has not read the booklets you are distributing cannot dream what a banquet of patriotic truth-telling and world-drama he has been missing. There is a 'kick', an inspiration, a challenge in every page of Pettigrew's books. As an eye opener, every good high-school or college student, every would-be-honest thinking-being in America should read them. If one loves true, live 'movies', of empire calibre; situations that make him alternately grow cold and boil; that will tempt many a man to cuff and kick himself after discovering his blindness, credulity, narrowness and sheep-headedness, in a world of corruption, graft and slavery; let him start by spending 'vo-bits' and reading 'Chapters from Imperial Washington'. Then, after thus getting the wool out of his eyes, let him read the rest of your books and get lined up for his emancipation."

You should by all means read Brunk's "American Lordships", and Pettigrew's "Chapters from Imperial Washington". These books were written by historians who were trying to find the facts instead of please the plutocrats.

Here Is a Partial List of the Books I Handle

Title	Pages	Price
Course of Empire.....	700	\$4.00
Imperial Washington.....	445	2.25
Triumphant Plutocracy	445	1.25
Chap. Imperial Washington.....	220	.25
Chap. Course of Empire.....	22	.10
Federal Reserve Monster.....	98	.50
American Lordships	180	.50
Secret Diplomacy Exposed.....	40	.50
The Money Trust.....	93	.25
Currency Problem	48	.05
Monstrous Money System.....	24	.10
Edison-Ford Interviews	14	.10
Edison-Ford Interviews, (Campaign sheet)..	24	.05

Join the National Monetary League

I call your attention to the enclosed National Monetary League membership card, and invite you to join the League; which is a purely educational organization. Members can belong to any political party they choose just so they endorse the Declaration of Principles of the League. I would be pleased to have you return the card to me whether you join or not. If you wish to join just fill in the card with your name and address, and the amount of your contribution, and mail to me. Then I will sign and

send your membership card to you. No regular membership fee is charged; The amount you contribute is left entirely with you.

Are You With Us In This Work?

A few have helped with our expenses; (especially one of my friends who is paying the cost of sending out this letter); and the sale of a few books helps some. Then part of our expense has been met with money Tillman earned last year at construction work, and I earned in the harvest field; and we are going to continue our efforts tho we find it necessary to stop occasionally and earn more expense money in like manner. But I want to ask: Should not every one who honestly favors money reform come to the front with a little assistance so we can make this trip a greater success by having more literature to distribute; being able to reach more people; creating more interest; and thus be able to do more toward making our Conference this fall even a better meeting than the Des Moines Conference was. I will account for every cent contributed and every cent spent, just as I did at the Des Moines meeting, a copy of which report I sent to every contributor.

To Subscribers of Call-To-Action

To my subscribers I will say that I did not receive all the support I was promised, and, it being too much of a strain to try to continue meeting the expense of publication, I went into the harvest field to rest my nerves and try and earn a few dollars. Last fall was one of the wettest seasons they ever had in North Dakota, where I was thrashing, and it cut my income considerable. Finishing there I came back to Sioux Falls and made arrangements to come to St. Louis where I tho't to join others and resume publication. Having been placed on the program of the Farmers Union State Convention of North Dakota, I had the pleasure, before starting south, of going back to Jamestown and delivering an address to the delegates at that convention on the money question. Later the following was unanimously passed by the convention:

"We desire to thank Mr. Alli Reed for his able discussion of the money question, and we urge our members to make a deeper and more thorough study of our financial system in its relation to the economic condition of the producing masses, that we, the producers, may be better able to decide what changes are necessary in our money system to give economic justice to all mankind."

Finding I could not make the desired connection at St. Louis, I came on here with Mr. Tillman.

General Comments

Did you notice that the farmer is to be relieved by the Administration farm-the-farmer relief bill which will give large fat hunks of relief to a lot of hungry job-hunting pie-counter paytriotts.

Concerning the economic condition of this part of the United States, I see that farm land values in Georgia fell from \$897,445,000 in 1920 to \$433,649,00 in 1925; and during the same time the mortgage indebtedness increased from \$114,000,000 to \$144,000,000.

Florida is probably the worst in debt of any state in

this section of the country. The total public debts in Florida (state, county, municipal, district, etc.) in 1902 was \$5,247,000. In 1922 it had increased to \$98,269,000. Today the county indebtedness alone amounts to \$240,138,924. This means that in Florida the county indebtedness alone is over \$190 per capita; or averages over \$950 per family.

During March a dozen banks closed in Georgia in one day; and just before we arrived here one of the biggest banks in the state, located at Macon, went down carrying several other banks with it. Now they tell me that some time ago they had fifty banks close in one week. Great record. South Dakota and Iowa will have to look to their laurels.

Georgia, however, has almost the lowest taxes of any state in the Union; but here, as in every other state, taxes are continually increasing.

The total taxes collected in the United States last year was \$9,169,000,000; and the value of the total farm crop of the United States the last year we have record (1926) was \$8,415,800,000. What the crops lack of paying the taxes can be charged up to "Coolidge Prosperity". But the nine billions of taxes didn't pay all the expenses of government, for there was expended over 12 billions; the extra three billions being made up mostly by public bond issues.

The private and public debts of the people are rapidly nearing 50 per cent of the total wealth of the nation. And when we consider the fact that the total volume of money in circulation will not pay the interest on this debt six months; and that this debt of 150 billion is increasing at the rate of 10 billion a year, or over 25 million a day; we can begin to realize that we are nearing the time when our financial bubble collapses and our economic system breaks down. It is becoming top-heavy and swaying now. The strain is on; and, it may collapse before many months, or they may be able to prop it up a few years longer.

Taxes were never greater; public debts never greater; private debts never greater, than they are at the present time; and, according to government reports, they are all on the increase in every state in the Union... Under our present money system no other result can obtain. It is the natural, inevitable result of LOANING money into circulation at interest. It is impossible to continue this system without finally reaching a financial and industrial collapse. If the people are ignorant of its cause they will then slowly sink into peasantry and serfdom. Some are on the way now. If the people become informed they can then go to work with stout hearts and hopeful minds, and adopt a money system where every dollar put into circulation by the government will be PAID into circulation for CREATING NEW NATIONAL WEALTH, (instead of being LOANED into circulation, thus CREATING ADDITIONAL PRIVATE DEBT) and in that way can the people save themselves from the debt-promoting power of accumulating interest.

I can vision a time when every dollar put into circulation will be earned into circulation, instead of (as now) being borrowed into circulation; a time when the government will see that none shall come to want thru lack of opportunity to labor; a time when no tribute shall be ex-

acted from those who toil to fatten the purses of plutocracy; a time when the capitalist shall get off from the back of labor and take his rightful place at the side of the producer, where each "shall earn his daily bread". That time will come when money is EARNED into circulation instead of being BORROWED.

Description of Localities We Have Visited

Before closing I will give a condensed description of the country we have been traveling thru, especially what I think will be most interesting to those of other localities.

On the way to Memphis, Tenn., we kept on the west side of the river; stopping at Parma, Mo., for a two-day visit with that old war-horse of populist days; Jo A. Parker.

We found a hilly country first half of way from St. Louis to Memphis, and more timbered land than open. Soil is clay, and roads poor except where improved. Rest of way it is more level, more open, and soil more sandy. Paved roads most of the way. Timber mostly pine. Here I saw my first cotton. Also first rail fence I had seen in years.

From Memphis we came thru Birmingham, Ala., to Atlanta, Ga., traveling about 400 miles thru the country without a great variation in general appearance. It is hilly to mountainous; largely a reddish burnt-looking soil; country covered with pine and other timber, with some fields cleared and cultivated, which increases in amount near Memphis and Atlanta.

We visited Big Stone mountain near Atlanta. It is oblong, and almost as large as Bear Butte; Black Hills. The east side is just bare granite five or six hundred feet high, and too steep to climb. The west side grows grass and trees in places. We ascended from the northwest corner and found it over a mile to the top.

Coming southeast from Atlanta the soil becomes more sandy and the land more level; until in this locality it is quite level, and enuf sand so roads are fair even after rains.

Since leaving Memphis I saw only four farm tractors and three windmills. Wells are usually shallow, but very good water, and generally found out on the side of the road. Very few pumps; mostly "old oaken buckets."

Houses are built up on blocks about two feet high, and often built with a large hall running thru the center, sometimes open giving the appearance of two houses under one roof. Usually one story, with ceiling 10 or 12 feet high; and many have large roomy porches, often on two or three sides of the house. Practically no heating stoves; All fire-places.

Farms are usually small, and the size is designated as a one-horse farm, two-horse farm, five-horse farm, etc., instead of acres; and this regardless of the fact that there are practically no horses here; its all mules. Yet they raise few mules here; they are shipped in from Kentucky, Missouri, and other states. They raise a few hogs; also a few cattle, usually small, and jersey mixed. Many farmers raise two or three dozen goats a year, which are sold principally in New York. There is little or no hay land; and the pasture is mostly in the woods. Most southern states have a free-range law, so the stock is turned out in the road, and the fields and houses are fenced against them

The largest crops are corn, cotton, and tobacco. A little small-grain is raised. Large quantities of sweet potatoes, watermelons, peanuts, and all kinds of vegetables are grown. Also peaches, apples, pears, figs, grapes, and other fruit. Georgia ranks second to California in peach production; and excels California when area is considered. Many pecans are grown. As cotton and tobacco and orchards demand considerable hand work, and one man can attend to but a few acres, many farms have no stock except one mule, a few pigs, and perhaps a cow. Most plowing is done with one mule and a six-inch plow. Planting and cultivating is also largely done with one mule.

Many own autos, while many others go out riding with one mule hitched to a buggy, sometimes taking the whole family along.

Schools are well attended, and much interest is shown in education. This year, however, the terms have been cut short because, as a newspaper report says: "The state department of education has been unable to pay off the counties their apportionment." And it further says: "The State Superintendent has expressed fear that the balance due on the 1928 apportionment may never be paid and that a similar condition may develop in the payment of the 1929 appropriations." And yet we see one of the daily papers advocating bonding the state for a hundred million or so to build tourist roads with.

In 1925 Georgia produced a crop valued at \$232,000,000. The President of the Agricultural College estimates this year's crop at \$250,000,000. The farmers of this state pay out over 25 million a year for commercial fertilizer; while South Carolina pays out over 30 million, and North Carolina about 35 million.

Winters are so mild here that cabbage, turnips, and other hardy vegetables usually grow all winter. Cabbage were heading out when we arrived here; and they have been digging new potatoes since the middle of April. What small grain they have has mostly been cut. Dew berries were ripe several weeks ago, and black berries and huckle berries and plums are now being gathered.

The last killing frost in the spring at Atlanta varies from the first of March to the last of April; and at Valdosta from the middle of February to the middle of April. The first killing frost at Atlanta varies from the middle of October to the middle of November; and at Valdosta from the last of October to the middle of December. The longest frost limit of record at Atlanta is 274 days, and shortest is 182 days. The longest record at Valdosta is 323 days, and the shortest is 186 days. The warmest day on record at Atlanta was 100 above, and the coldest 8 below. The warmest at Valdosta was 105 above, and the coldest 12 above. The altitude of Atlanta is 1,218 feet and Valdosta 220 feet.

The wage for common labor here is usually \$1.25 a day and board yourself; and they work until dark.

In my later letters I will give you additional facts concerning the climate, altitude, frost-limit, rain fall, crops, political and economic conditions, and other facts of interest about the country we travel thru. I will also answer any questions about this country my subscribers care to ask.

During the summer I expect to get out additional letters every four or five weeks. These will of course cost something for printing and mailing, and if any one, other than my subscribers, wants to receive them just drop me a half dollar and I will place your name on my list.

Now Write

I will remain here at Glennville, Ga., until June 25th and hope by that time to hear from "you-all". But do not hesitate to write any time, for mail that arrives after I have started on will be forwarded to me. And then, any time mail addressed to me at Sioux Falls, S. D. will reach me wherever I am.

Yours,

ALLI REED.

Order 17.

Governor Holcomb had during his first term repeatedly tried to have the board of educational lands and funds of which he was chairman, invest the permanent school funds in state warrants, but the four Republican members opposed him and he alone could do nothing.

When we Populists got control of the state government one of our first official acts was to invest the unused school funds in state warrants at par which immediately brought warrants up to par and long before our terms were completed we saw warrants selling at a premium.

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to record the preceding historical statement, as the chief slogan used by the Republicans in opposing our election was, "if the Populists are elected the credit of the state will be ruined," which statement coupled with disclosures which followed, certainly required sublime gall coming from those who had reduced the state to practical bankruptcy.

We found the state treasury short more than half a million dollars and the auditor's office unable to account for more than thirty thousand dollars of insurance fees which had been misappropriated by the auditor.

To return to the campaign of 1896, -- Some of my friends who have read my manuscript up to date, have suggested that I have not featured my individual part in that memorable campaign of Bimetallism versus the single gold standard and have requested

me to tell of my meetings, places where I spoke, of the crowds which attended, etc. To do this in full would occupy too much space and would be more tedious than interesting.

However, I will try and touch some of the high spots briefly. I made more than one hundred speeches visiting most of the county seat towns and finishing in Omaha. To tell this twentieth century generation that we had large crowds at all of our meetings and that the crowds expected a speaker to speak from two to three hours or even longer, may seem like a gross exaggeration of the real facts.

We usually had an afternoon meeting in one of the smaller towns with the evening meeting at the county seat. One night I was speaking at Wilsonville in Furnas County, to a crowded house, and after speaking for more than an hour I paused to remark that I was to speak the next afternoon at Oxford and in order to get there I must drive to Cambridge twenty miles north to catch an early train for Oxford and hence must stop and find some one with a team and buggy who would drive me across those twenty miles of hills, I was met with a perfect uproar from the audience, with shouts of "go ahead, we will see that you get to Cambridge in time to catch your train." Well, of course I went "ahead" under a full head of steam until looking at my watch I saw it was half after eleven and I had been speaking three and a half hours, to a most enthusiastic audience. After the meeting finally adjourned a Mr. Letton who was the leading merchant of the town took me to his home where we had a midnight supper after which he drove me over

the hills to Cambridge which we reached about break of day and a few minutes later I took the east bound Burlington train for Oxford where I spoke to a fine crowd in the afternoon. Believe me, campaigning in those stormy days of Populism was strenuous work and took a vast amount of physical endurance.

Later in the campaign I had an equally appreciative audience at Plainview, Pierce County, where I had the finest compliment I have ever received paid me by a gentleman from Sioux City by the name of Kellogg. Coming to me at the close of the meeting he remarked, "Mr. Porter, I have heard a number of speeches on money and free coinage of silver," he naming among others he had heard Honorable Charles R. Towne of Minnesota, "but I regard yours as the finest, most logical address I have ever heard on the subject of bimetalism and from now on I am for free silver."

Space and the reader's patience prevent details of my meetings in Cedar Rapids, Fullerton, Columbus, Schuyler, Fremont, West Point, Wayne, Norfolk, Tekamah, and other towns in which I spoke to full houses. It was in Omaha that I scored my biggest hits. I reserved the last ten days of the campaign for Omaha and South Omaha. My first introduction to an Omaha audience was in the Boyd Opera House which was then the finest building in Omaha for public meetings. The meeting was on the Saturday before election and Judge Ambrose of Omaha and Dr. Hipple were the speakers; both gentlemen made splendid addresses of one hour each, full of facts and figures and very instructive, but little entertainment or a chance to laugh. I had arranged with Judge Gregory,

the presiding officer, to introduce me after the others had spoken and to be sure to tell them I was a farmer and candidate for secretary of state on the Fusion ticket, which he did; but the crowd was already on its feet, thinking the program was finished and only those near the stage heard what the chairman said.

I took in the situation at once and saw that something had to be done immediately. In those days I wore a long Prince Albert coat and with my long coat tails over my arms and my hands in my pants pockets I marched to the front of the stage and stood gawking at the crowd like the typical "rube from rubenville" until I had them looking at me and then dropping my hands to my sides in a voice which reached the remotest corners of "nigger heaven" I told them not to run away as I was not going to hurt them and had no intention of eating any of them and that I was not going to make them a speech, that my name was W. F. Porter, that I was a farmer and as their chairman had told them I was a candidate for secretary of state and was there to let them look me over and that of course after they had done so, I expected everyone of them to vote for me. Then using my name for a pun I added that the only excuse I offer for being a candidate for so high an office as secretary of state was simply this: if every little one horse hotel in your city can sport a porter, I think there should be a Porter in the state house. This met with an enthusiastic response and to quote Judge Ambrose who the next day in describing its effect on the crowd said, "They came not once, nor twice, but three times until they fairly shook the building."

Following this I told them a number of comical stories to illustrate my points and among others one of an Irishman who on a lonely highway found himself confronted with a bandit holding a gun at his head and demanding "Your money or your life." Pat's fighting blood was aroused and peeling off his coat he replied, "Begorry, if yez get aither of them you'll scrap for it."

And scrap for it they did, until finally getting poor Pat down he rifled his pockets and found he had only the paltry sum of six cents, a nickle and a lone penny. In utter amazement the bandit helped Pat to his feet, wiped the blood from his face and holding the six cents toward him remarked "You need this more than I do, but tell me, man alive, why you permitted yourself to be almost killed to save a paltry six cents?"

"Ah, you don't understand at all, at all, sir. It was not the six cents I cared a dom about. I was opposed to having my financial condition exposed."

I told this story to illustrate the point of a statement I had just made, "that the reason the Republicans were putting up such a desperate fight to keep control of the state finances was that like Pat, they were opposed to having their financial condition exposed." And I then and there predicted that we would find an empty treasury which was later literally verified. This story of Pat and his six cents became a campaign slogan on the streets of Omaha all the rest of the campaign and you would frequently hear a fellow call out as he met his friend, "Hey, Bill, how's your financial condition today?"

Of course no speech of mine was complete without discussing

"free silver" and I finished by telling them how a farmer who had raised a fine crop of both white and yellow corn and had filled his double crib with both varieties, a thousand bushels of each, and he, needing a new house and furniture, made a contract with the local lumberman, the furniture dealer, the hardware man, to furnish him the necessary lumber, furniture, and hardware to complete his house, each agreeing to take bushels of corn for full payment they to take the corn from the crib. My contracts divided as follows: Lumber man, 1500; furniture dealer, 300; and hardware man 200 bushels of corn each. First to come for his corn was the hardware man who took yellow corn and departed. Next came the furniture dealer and seeing the crib opened, he too took yellow corn and both debts were canceled in full. Next day came a string of many wagons for the lumber man and one after another they loaded their big wagons until the first crib was empty. I then started to open the other crib but was stopped by the lumber man who refused to accept white corn in payment. I asked him what his contract called for. He readily admitted it called for bushels of corn but he insisted that I surely did not want to pay my debts with the same kind of corn they raised to feed their hogs in Mexico and thus destroy my credit and financial standing with my bank.

I insisted that paying a debt according to contract was not repudiation and could not possibly destroy my credit with my banker and that the only sensible way to keep white and yellow corn at a parity was to use them both alike without discrimin-

ating in favor of either.

I then turned to the audience and asked every business man there this question: "How would I best protect my family and my credit? -- by yielding to his unjust demands and mortgaging my hometo buy 1000 bushels of yellow corn to satisfy him and letting my white corn stand in the crib to feed the rats or to pay the debt according to contract?"

This illustration was greeted by a perfect riot of applause lasting several minutes. I closed by remarking "that is exactly the treatment the white and yellow metals have received by our government and that is the way they propose to keep gold and silver at a parity." When I finished and sat down the crowd fairly surged over the footlights onto the stage, yelling as they came, "I want to shake hands with that farmer!"

I took an early U. P. train for Clarks Sunday morning and returned to Omaha Monday forenoon.

The first man I met on Farnam Street near the old Paxton Hotel was Adjutant General Barry who shaking my hand remarked, "Allow me to congratulate you, young man!"

"On what?" I innocently asked.

"Well," replied the general, "I was not in Omaha Saturday night, being in Grand Island where about noon on Sunday I called up Omaha headquarters and Jim Dahlman who answered the phone remarked, 'by the way Porter made a speech at Boyds Opera last night which is the talk of the town today, it's all you hear around the hotel lobbies.'"

Naturally this was not unpleasant news and when a few mo-

ments later I entered Bryan headquarters in the old Paxton Hotel I was met with a friendly ovation by those present including Judge Ambrose who fairly shouted, "Young man, you have missed your calling!" Then turning to the others present he continued, "Not since the days of Sol Russell have I seen as fine a piece of acting as Porter gave us at the Boyd Saturday night when he acted the part of the country ruben."

During the week which followed I found I had established a reputation which was hard to live up to. I was going from place to place in Omaha and South Omaha from ten in the morning until eleven at night. I was making red hot Bryan and free silver speeches to big crowds everywhere. One night I was speaking to a full house in South Omaha when from the rear of the room near the entrance a big Irishman who had been rather freely imbibing the drink which all Irishmen love suddenly called out, "Young fellow, you don't know what you are talking about!" Cries of "Put him out!" came from all over the house.

"No!" I shouted, "I don't want him put out. I want him to remain." Turning towards the disturber I said in a most friendly tone, "My friend, if I have made any false statement if you will kindly show me where I am wrong I will gladly acknowledge the same." I paused for a moment and he replied, "Well, go ahead and finish your speech," which I did without further interruptions. When the meeting closed I saw him crowding his way through the throng towards the stage where, when he reached it, he held out his hand and remarked "Damned if I don't vote for you, but you are the only Pop

I'll vote for and I'll tell a lot of the boys at the stock yards to vote for you too."

Which I learned later he literally did, though I never saw him afterwards. On a number of occasions when I entered the hall where some one else was speaking I was met with shouts of "Porter, Porter!" which naturally was very embarrassing for both the speaker and myself. One night the woman's Bryan club was holding a meeting in Boyds Opera House for the local legislative candidates and Frank Ransom, candidate for the state senate was to be the principal speaker. I entered the building through the stage entrance and remained behind the curtains where I could not see the audience nor be seen by them. Miss Mary Fairbrother was presiding and just as she was introducing Mr. Ransom, some fellow way up in "nigger heaven" let out a yell like a Comanche Indian of "Porter!" which was taken up all over the house until pandemonium reigned supreme. I kept out of sight and the chairwoman tried to quiet them and Mr. Ransom tried to begin speaking but all to no purpose as all you could hear were shouts "Porter! We want to hear Porter!" Ransom sat down and Miss Fairbrother came behind the screens and begged me to come out and quiet them. When I stepped from behind the curtain I was met with a perfect thunder of applause which lasted until I stepped to the front of the stage and raised my hand for silence which followed immediately as I began speaking.

"Friends," I began, "I would be less than human if I did not appreciate this splendid reception, but, listen, boys, we are here as the guests of the Omaha Woman's Bryan Club and they have a program which has not yet been completed and the next thing on

that program is an address by Mr. Ransom and I am going to ask you to help me carry out that program and I know you are going to do it and when the program is complete I shall be only too happy to do anything I can to add to the enjoyment of this occasion." Then turning to the audience, "Ladies and gentlemen, let me present Mr. Ransom, your candidate for state senator whom we will now have the pleasure of listening to."

I took my seat. I regret to say that Senator Ransom never fully forgave me for his humiliation for which I was in no way to blame. When election was over I had carried Omaha and Douglas County by more than one thousand votes while McKinley carried it by about the same plurality. Naturally I have a very warm spot in my heart for the people of Omaha.

When the campaign was finished and the election over we had elected our full state ticket, four out of six congressmen and a working majority in both branches of the legislature. We were inducted into office January 7, 1897, and one of my first activities was to prepare copies of a bill governing fees in my office and A. E. Sheldon of Dawes County introduced my bill in the House and Senator Thomas Farrell from my home county did likewise in the Senate and the office of secretary of state has since been much more than self-supporting. Under the old law any corporation doing business in the state paid a filing fee of one dollar regardless of the amount of capital stock while the new law provided for a minimum fee of ten dollars for the first hundred thousand dollars and a like amount for each succeeding hundred thousand. The great

Union Pacific Railroad was then in the hands of receivers and when they reorganized I collected about eighteen thousand dollars instead of one dollar, which had been the fee under the old law.

By Hon. W. F. Porter, Lincoln

Chapter I

Movement Not Generally Understood by Public

Never, perhaps, was any organization, whether political, religious, or moral, less understood by the American press; certain it is that none was ever more grossly misrepresented, ridiculed and abused than the so-called Populist party. I use the term "so-called" advisedly, for never did the name "Populist" appear on any official ballot in any state. The name adopted by the party in its first national convention, which met in Omaha, Nebraska, July 4th, 1892, with 1776 duly accredited delegates (of which the writer was one) was "People's Party". But as this name was cumbersome when applied to a voter's political affiliations, the word "Populist" was substituted by common consent; and this was subsequently shortened to the abbreviated word "Pop". "Pop", when used by a Republican politician, was usually preceded by some expressive adjective -- such as "measly", "crazy" or some pet epithet signifying the contempt of the speaker. While the editors and newspaper reporters of the East usually referred to us as "wild-eyed, long-haired, be-whiskered Populists" or "hayseed Fops."

Throughout the eastern and central states the erroneous impression prevailed that the movement was made up of the ne'er-do-well, shiftless element, who had no property, and who wanted the

government to give them something for nothing.

The following will serve as a sample of the comments from the great metropolitan press. "They are a lot of ignorant cattle whose one idea seems to be that the government can make money out of paper, and deal it out to them by the bushel basketfuls."

The average citizen of the eastern and middle states formed his opinions of the Populists from the cartoons that graced the front page of some of the great dailies. These usually represented a long-haired, scraggly whiskered, woe begone looking farmer, with his knees through his trousers and toes protruding from his boots, holding in his hand a two-tined pitchfork, such as no western farmer ever saw much less used, and labeled "A Typical Populist."

Or perhaps they read one of Mr. Dooley's descriptions of a Populist convention, who after picturing the assembly as a lot of illiterate, shiftless delegates closed his description thus: Just then a commotion arose in the rear of the hall. A coatless delegate, gestulating wildly, shouted, "Misther Chairman! There's a traitor in the convintion!" "Bring him forward that the Chair may pass sentence." "What are the charges preferred?" enquired the Chair. "He's a plutocrat! He's wearing a coat!" was the answer. "What has the gentleman to say in his own behalf?" from the Chair. "Mr. Chairman," replied the accused. "If you will give me a few moments private interview, I think I can convince you that I am no plutocrat." After a brief interview aside, the chairman thus addressed the convention: -- "Gintlemen of the convintion, I find the brother no traitor, but is at heart a patriot. True he is outwardly a pluto-

crat bug he is inwardly a patriot and a brother. The reason he is wearing a coat is, the gentleman has no shirt!"

Ridicule has ever been a powerful weapon to belittle that which could not be successfully refuted by argument.

In the early seventies, when the Greenback movement was spreading over the country and the ablest orators of what Tom Lawson to-day terms "The System," could not stand before the unanswerable logic of its leaders what did they do?

They, "The system", hired Col. Robert G. Ingersol of Illinois to deliver fifty lectures against the movement for which it is said they paid him five hundred dollars per lecture.

Ingersol, having been a soldier, had seen the country saved, and the soldiers paid, by the greenback and other forms of credit money issued by the government, while gold had slunk away into hiding (as it always does when calamity overtakes the country).

He now lent the use of his matchless eloquence to destroy the people's faith in the money which had saved the Union. He, with the aid of a partisan press, literally ridiculed the Greenback party out of existence. But neither he nor any one else has ever been able to refute the logic of the Greenback doctrine; viz; that the issuing of money is a sovereign function; that it is therefore the duty of the government to supply the country with an amount of money sufficient to transact business; to make all money, whether gold, silver, or paper, a full legal tender; that no money issued should be redeemable in some other kind of money, the supply of which is limited and easily controlled by a few capitalists.

Ingersoll's strongest argument was to stand before his audience with a greenback (which had saved the government) in one hand and in the other a gold coin (which had hidden away when the government most needed it). After telling his audience that "the greenback was worthless without the gold to redeem it" he exclaimed in his most tragic manner "I want a dollar that I know that its redeemer liveth!"

Rejecting the doctrine of immortality, denying the plan of salvation through Christ, he used the simile of redemption to play upon the religious prejudices of his hearers to grossly mislead and deceive them.

Nothing could be farther from the real facts than the general supposition that the Populists were an ignorant, illiterate class. Nebraska has the least per cent of illiteracy of any state in the Union. Next to it is Kansas. In these two states the party was strongest.

Neither was there any tendency towards anarchy or lawlessness within the Populist party. Nor has there ever been any disposition by them to pass radical legislation in order that capital or corporate interests be deprived of their just rights, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding.

While traveling in other states I have often been highly entertained by hearing prominent Republican politicians make the assertion "The Pops have done more to injure Kansas and Nebraska by keeping capital out of these states, than did the grasshoppers and hot winds combined." The amusing thing was that they really believed they

were telling the truth. At Sheridan, Wyoming, a wealthy ranchman, candidate for the state legislature on the Republican ticket, made the above statement.

The writer took the liberty to ask the gentleman to cite his audience to some one law that had been either passed or advocated by the Populists of Nebraska that was inimical to the interests of capital. Of course he was unable to do so and finally admitted that he had formed his opinions entirely from reading the Republican papers and until that time had supposed it was true. Having been an active member of the Nebraska legislatures which he was criticising, I cheerfully gave him a list of the laws which we had passed as well as those which failed to pass. He candidly admitted that none would have deterred him from investing in Nebraska lands, property or business.

As these articles progress I shall endeavor to show my readers that while in power the Populists passed more wholesome law than did the Republicans in any similar length of time; that while in control of the affairs of state they gave the people a business-like, economical administration; that there were numbered within its ranks many of the most highly respected citizens; that of the rank and file of the party a greater per cent could give an intelligent reason for their political beliefs, than any equal number of voters anywhere in the United States; that it was the Populist Party which compelled the nomination of William Jennings Bryan in 1896; and that there has never been in the history of the country any political movement which has had a greater educational power for good and

whose fundamental doctrines are now being so commonly accepted by all classes regardless of political affiliations than are those of the ridiculed Populists.

While the reference made here to the intelligence of the Populist voters may seem like an exaggerated statement, the reader has only to remember that at the time of which I write, if you asked the average voter over 30 years of age why he was a Republican or Democrat the usual answer would have been, "General Jackson licked the English at New Orleans and smashed the National Bank trust", or "Abe Lincoln freed the niggers and the Republican party put down the Rebellion". As these statements were historically correct they saw no need for further argument.

If the voter were a younger man he was likely to answer, "Dad is a Democrat (or a Republican) and what is good enough for Dad is good enough for me."

It goes without saying that for a man to change his opinions he must reason and think, consequently he is "able to give a reason for the faith that is within him", while to drift along in the same old political ruts in which he was born requires neither intelligence nor individuality on the part of the voter.

Associated with this party and among its founders were such men as Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, James B. Weaver of Iowa, John M. Devine, W. L. Green, and John Powers of Nebraska, Senator Peffer and Congressman Jerry Simpson of Kansas and Thomas Watson of Georgia.

Donnelly was well known as the author of Caesar's Column, and is today recognized as one of the great men of his generation. John

M. Devine, present editor of the Nebraska Independent, when in Boston years ago with Gen. Benj. Butler, was referred to by the latter and also by Senator John P. Jones of Nevada as the best posted man on the money question there was in the United States.

Honorable James B. Weaver of Iowa was the first candidate for president, on the Peoples's Party ticket. He was elected to congress by the Greenbackers of Iowa in the later seventies, and attracted considerable attention as the author of what are known as "The Weaver Resolutions". The resolutions were as follows: Resolved, that it is the sense of this House that all currency, whether metallic or paper, necessary for the use and convenience of the people should be issued and its volume controlled by the government, and not by or through the bank corporations of the country; and when so issued should be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public or private.

Resolved, that, in the judgement of this House that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto, being in amount \$782,000,000 should not be refunded beyond the power of the government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible, and according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars and such other coinage as the business interest may require.

These resolutions were introduced by Mr. Weaver early in January 1880. Once every week for thirteen weeks he arose in his place and

asked for their consideration only to be refused recognition by the Speaker, or to be choked off by some other member, who claimed priority under the rules of the House. Finally, when public sentiment had been aroused until Congress dared no longer fillibuster, the resolutions were voted on April 5, 1880.

In the debate which preceded the vote James A. Garfield, who was the special champion of the bond holders and bankers, was put forward by the Republicans as the leader of the opposition. Congress being then dominated completely by the Money Power, it is needless to say that the resolutions were defeated. Here is the vote in detail: Yeas 85, Democrats 72, Nationals or Greenbackers 12, Republicans 1; Nays 117, Republicans 87, Democrats 30. I ask Republicans to read the Weaver Resolutions carefully, as Americans, and not as partisans. Then look at the vote, one lone Republican voting for them, then ask yourself, is it remarkable that the Populists have charged the Republican Party with being the special representative of the bankers and the bond holders?

On the 9th of June following this Garfield received his reward by being nominated by the Republicans for president. On the same date Weaver was chosen by the Greenbackers as their standard bearer, hence he has been twice a candidate for President.

W. L. Green of Kearney, Nebraska, was elected to Congress from the Sixth Congressional District in 1896 and reelected in 1898. He died while serving his second term. He was, perhaps, the most remarkable man ever in Nebraska politics. As an all-around impromptu

speaker Green had no equal. He was a Baptist preacher when he first came to Kearney. As a pulpit orator he had few if any equals in the state. Years after he had quit the ministry for the practice of law when he would occasionally fill the pulpit of some absent minister, the other churches of the city would have scant attendance, while everyone went to hear Green. On one occasion a member of his church gave him a text just before he began his evening service, requesting him to preach from it at some future time.

"All right," answered Green. Two minutes later he announced from the pulpit, "I have prepared to preach upon a certain text and subject. Brother Brown has just given me a text to be used at a future time. I may as well use it now as later." Then followed one of the finest sermons to which his audience had ever listened. He had the Bible at his tongue's end and made good use of it in his campaign speeches.

Nor was he less resourceful as a practicing lawyer. General John L. Webster of Omaha relates this instance of Green's marvelous memory.

Webster had an important case pending in the Federal Court on which he had spent weeks of careful preparation. The day before the case was to be argued his client informed him that he had retained Green as associate counsel. Green dropped into Webster's office that afternoon to learn the nature of the case. They spent some time talking it over. Webster giving him a list of citations on which he had spent days of research. He departed without having made any written memoranda and Webster saw him next in the court

room the following morning at nine o'clock. It was then agreed that as the principal attorney in the case Webster should make the closing and summing up argument. "Imagine my surprise," said General Webster, "when he covered the case so completely that there was literally nothing left for me to say."

A penurious citizen of Kearney owned a cow that died from natural causes. He decided to save the value of the animal by selling it to his neighbors as dressed beef. When the cause of the animal's death became known he was promptly arrested. Green appeared for the defendant and upon entering a plea of insanity, secured the acquittal of his client at eleven in the morning. This so enraged the injured parties that they immediately entered a complaint before the board of insanity, asking that the defendant be sent to the insane asylum. Green again appeared and by three o'clock that afternoon he convinced the board that his client was perfectly sane and secured his dismissal.

Personally, Green was one of the handsomest men and had the most musical voice to which I ever listened. Every one loved to hear him speak. As a warm personal friend of Wm. J. Bryan, whom I have known intimately for many years, I confidently assert that as an all-around orator and campaigner, Green was superior to any man in Nebraska.

Every one remembers how the Republican press at Washington lampooned Senator Peffer and Congressman Jerry Simpson of Kansas. Peffer, who wore a full beard, was made the butt of endless sarcasm and ridicule by the reporters. He was in reality a man of more than average ability and of unquestioned integrity. The unfair

criticism of the partisan press very materially impaired his usefulness. Simpson was always referred to as "Sockless Jerry of the Medicine Lodge". The late Jerry Simpson, who had formerly been a sea-captain, was a broadly educated, highly cultured man of medium stature and very fastidious in his dress. He was one of the ablest men ever sent to Congress from Kansas, and of such sterling integrity that his most ardent enemies never questioned his honesty.

I shall close this article by mention of the gallant Thomas Watson of Georgia, a former Congressman from that state, and candidate for president on the People's Party ticket in 1904. Watson needs no introduction at my hands as he is one of the best known men in America. A typical southern gentleman of rare intellectual attainments, he, perhaps, more than any other living American embodies the combined qualities of author, historian, statesman, and orator. No other speaker of today, whom I have ever heard, possesses in so great a degree, the power of dramatic oratory.

The one who first wrote or uttered the trite saying "It is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous" must have heard Watson speak. He holds his audiences as within the hollow of his hand, and plays upon their emotions as the skilled musician upon his harp. When in the summer of 1904 he spoke in the Oliver Opera House at Lincoln, Nebraska, for two hours and a half he held his audience as the skilled hypnotist controls his subject -- one moment bursting forth into tumultuous laughter and applause, the next at the raising of his hand, so quiet that his lowest tones reached the remotest part of the galleries.

Mr. Bryan, who was in the audience, sat completely spellbound during the last half hour, not once did the eyes of the great Nebraska orator leave the face of the speaker. Leaning forward in his chair until he almost touched the shoulders of the person in front of him he sat entirely oblivious to his surroundings. While the lightening flashes of dramatic oratory of the Georgian found a quick reflex in the eyes and face of the noted Nebraskan. When at the close of the address the vast audience sat hushed and breathless Bryan leaned back in his chair as if awakening from a trance and breathed the involuntary exclamation "Wonderful! Wonderful!" It was the greatest possible tribute from one great orator to another.

When Watson speaks men feel the inspiration of the patriot and are filled with the zela of the martyr. When he has completed one of his matchless flights of oratory you feel the blood of battle coursing through your veins like the leaping waters of a mountain stream and are filled with a desire to go forth and fight like his battles, inspired by a lofty purpose and filled with a holy zela. Those who have not heard Watson speak have not yet heard the prince of dramatic orators.

In this article, I have undertaken to show, first; the difficulties encountered and disadvantages under which the Populist movement has labored, second; that its leaders were not only high minded, patriotic citizens but were also men of ability second to none.

In every age, those seeking to change existing conditions have met with similar opposition. Vested interests enjoying special privileges, always cry "Let well enough alone." Just as the Loyalists of colonial times cried "Peace! Peace!" when as Patrick Henry replied

"There is no peace!" So today the corporate and protected interests are crying "Stand pat!"

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" today when applied to the rights of the citizen, just as much as when first thundered by Patrick Henry, before the Virginia House of Burgesses, against the tyrannies of George III .

In my next article I shall give the origin of the movement; who its founders and members were; what they were seeking to do; and for what they stood.

I shall undertake to show that the "despised Populist" had a clearer conception of what they expected to accomplish than any like number of citizens in our country today.

POPULISM AND WHAT IT STOOD FOR

By. Hon. W. F. Porter, Lincoln.

Chapter II

Conditions Leading Up to the Organization of the Peoples Party

To fully understand any political movement, one must go back to conditions prior to and leading up to the organization of the party.

Away back in the early Sixties, when the country was in the throes of the Civil War, a band of "patriots" conceived the lofty purpose of "sacrificing their fortunes" for the development of the great West. To accomplish their purpose (the development of the West, but not the sacrificing of their fortunes) they procured the passage of what is now called the "Pacific Land Grant Bills" by Congress.

To give in detail all the provisions of this legislation, to say nothing of the methods used to procure the passage of these measures through Congress, would require too much space. The bill granting to the Union Pacific its privileges and prerogatives will serve as an example for all.

Condensed, its provisions were; a grant of land forty miles wide, embracing each alternate section; the guaranteeing of its bonds, and a government gift per mile, in money of an amount almost equal to the cost of constructing the road. As the land

would be of no value to the road without people, these "patriotic gentlemen" kindly left each alternate section as government land.

Then to induce citizens to settle upon the government land (and thus put value into the railroad land) they persuaded Congress to add a "rider" or amendment to the Land Grant Bill, permitting citizens of the United States to take free homesteads. In other words, the "Free Homestead Law" -- to which we have heard political orators "point with pride" as one of the crowning glories of the Republican Party, was simply an after thought of these "patriots" who, with the aid of Congress, were stealing the public domain.

Attracted by the prospect of free homes, the ambitious, industrious, energetic sons of the eastern and middle states, took Horace Greeley's advice and came West to grow up with and develop the country. Some of them with the five hundred dollars he advised them to bring, but more had little else than their hands and their energy. These hardy settlers endured all the hardships incident to pioneer life in a country without either forests or coal mines, many of them living for years in sod houses, or dugouts, gradually subduing the soil, and as the country developed, gradually dotting the prairies of the great West with the little country schoolhouses.

Such environments could but develop a rugged, self-reliant, independent manhood and womanhood such as is found only in the west. Living as they do, close to nature's heart, breathing the pure air of heaven, kissed by the bright sunshine of God, they have developed a liberty-loving, law abiding, good-fearing citizenship, such as is found no where else on earth.

History bears out the assertion that the truly great men of this nation have not come from the cities, or the so-called "best citizens" but from the country, which God made, and from the class whom Abraham Lincoln said; "God must have loved the common people, or he would not have made so many of them." "The Father of his Country" came from a Virginia plantation; Daniel Webster from the stony hills of a New England farm; and when in the hour of our nation's greatest calamity, God raised up a leader he came, not from the aristocracy of the East but from the great common people of the hardy and rugged west.

Right here I think I hear some reader ask -- "How about Theodore Roosevelt? Is he not an eastern man and also from the aristocracy of New York City?" To this question I answer both "Yes and no."

What makes Theodore Roosevelt the most admired and best beloved president we have had since Abraham Lincoln? I will tell you. Born in the lap of luxury, educated at Harvard, he, early in life, had the good sense to realize that the rugged and sterling manhood, which the world so much admired, is not developed in the drawing room nor the cities. So he left the city and came out to the broad sun-kissed prairies of the Great West, and there with Mother Earth for his bed a cowboy saddle for his pillow and the blue canopy of Heaven for his covering, with the stars keeping watch as sentinels, he developed that sturdy manhood which we so much admire by coming in contact with the big-hearted, broadminded frontiersmen, who value men for what they are and not for the size of their bank account. There he learned to love true worth and there he found it, stripped of all pretense

of being something it is not.

It was the "spirit of the West" imbibed by the president, which makes him "hale fellow, well/met with the boys" that caused the editor of the leading Democratic paper of Texas to exclaim, when Roosevelt visited that state, "If you don't get that fellow out of Texas he will turn it into the Republican column. That man campaigns next to the ground."

It was this western fever which caused him to resign his official position in Washington and organize a rough rider regiment to fight the spahards. Where did he get his men? Was it in the East? Oh, no! When Theodore Roosevelt wanted a regiment of brave, fearless men, everyone of whom could "whip his weight in wild cats," with a bear or mountain lion thrown in for good count, he went west, just as did the Wise Men some 1800 years ago, when they were looking for the Savior of mankind.

I do not wish to be understood as undervaluing or trying to be-little the citizens of the East. Far from it. I love the people of the East and God never made better people than the old rugged New England stock. But the East being the oldest part of our country and the commercial center of our business interests, has become ultra conservative, while the West is progressive and radical. Conservatism never institutes reforms, preferring to submit to existing evils, rather than exercise the energy necessary to remedy them. It was the West that first realized the dangers which threatened the individual rights of the citizen through trust extortion and railroad monopoly. And seeing the danger, it promptly sounded the tocsin of monopoly alarm by organizing the Populist

Party, which has stood like a "sentinel on the watch tower", fearlessly denouncing corporate greed and upholding the rights of individuals. Upon its banner has ever been inscribed the motto "equal rights to all and ~~specific~~ privilege to none."

The father and also the mother of the Populist Party was the Farmers' Alliance. This organization spread all over Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and most of the cotton growing states of the South. It was organized during the latter eighties and reached its high tide in 1890.

To this organization belonged the farmers and their wives, their sons and their daughters. The usual place of meeting was the country schoolhouse. In the states which I named, practically all the farmers who owned their own farms were members of the Alliance. It was exclusively a farmers' organization, as no one but a practical farmer was eligible to membership.

The original purpose of the Alliance was cooperation in buying and selling. Everyone over forty years old will remember that all through the ~~eighties~~, prices on farm products throughout the West were below the cost of production. Railroad rates were exorbitantly high. Local rates of interest at the banks ran from two percent per month up to four per cent and even five percent per month, depending upon the necessities of the borrower, as the so-called bankers, simply charged the borrower all he would "stand for" and would require the borrower to give chattel mortgages on from three to five times the value of the amount borrowed.

In many instances where misfortune, such as sickness or crop failure overtook the farmer, these mortgages were foreclosed with

no more compunction of conscience than was shown by their ancient prototype in demanding his "p^ound of flesh nearest the heart."

These men were not bankers, they were human sharks, who reveled in misfortunes and fattened on the necessities of the pioneers of the west. They had appetites fully as voracious as the shark which follows the ship for the purpose of feeding on the hapless victim who might have the misfortune to fall over board.

Associated with them was another class of "Jack-legged collection agents" calling themselves "lawyers". And the disgusting part of the whole business was that these so-called "bankers and lawyers" were presumed to be endowed with superior wisdom and acumen, which peculiarly fitted them to be the especial advisors and guardians of the people in all matters political, it being understood that while the farmers and business men of the towns and villages might hold such minor offices as road-overseer and justices of the peace, when it came to the more important offices of members of the state legislatures and congress that they, the bankers and lawyers, alone were qualified to fill these big positions. Convention nominations were usually made on the day preceding the conventions, in the back room of the "bell wether" Shylock of the county or district to be represented by the nominee. The following day the convention, with a great blare of trumpets and "after a fierce struggle in which the railroad or corporation element of the party were routed horse, foot and dragoon, triumphantly nominated honest Banker Jones" or "our highly respected citizen," the brilliant attorney Mr. Brown".

At least that was the report which the editor of the little country weekly, (who was always a part of the ring) sent out to his rural readers. Then on Saturday when Farmer Smith met Neighbor Green in town and they had each read the glowing description of the "great fight" in the Republican or Democratic convention, how they did swell up and congratulate each other upon the fact that the "Grand Old Party" had again purged itself of all corporation influence. Then they went home full of zeal for their party and pulled of their coats to elect the ticket.

Right here let me add that the so-called bankers and lawyers usually carried annual passes on the railroad running through their town, and as they invariably nominated one of their own number for congress, or members of the state legislature, it went without saying that the nominee was "free from any taint of railroad influence". This miserable farce was gone through with every two years until "forbearance ceased to be a virtue" and farmers decided to go into politics as citizens instead of partisans; much criticism has been indulged in by the partisan press of the country, because the Alliance, a secret organization, went into politics. This, however, was inevitable and unavoidable, if they were to accomplish the purpose for which they were organized, namely, that of advancing the financial and social interests of farmers. As I have said, the original purpose was that of cooperation in buying and selling and incidentally the social benefits which always accrue from the associations formed in such an organization.

When they tried to cooperate in buying they found, solidly arrayed against them, the retailers and jobbers organizations. If a farmer wanted to build a house or barn and tried to buy his lumber

in car load lots direct from the wholesaler, he was informed that he would have to show that he was "a dealer" before they could supply his order. If he decided to ship his own hogs or cattle, unless he was a "large feeder", he was unable to get cars. Or, if he appealed his case to the state board of transportation and they compelled the furnishing of cars, he then found that by the time he paid freight bills, yardage, feed bills and sale commissions he had less left than he would have received from the local buyer. Prairie hay, which he had sold for from two dollars to three dollars per ton, he found they charged him at the stock yards on dollar per bale, running about thirty bales to the ton. Corn which he had sold for thirteen cents per bushel, was sold back to him for one dollar per "short" bushel. Whichever way he turned, the farmer was met with combines which deprived him of his constitutional rights as an American citizen, until in sheer despair, he turned to his "political guardians", "bankers and lawyers" and asked the reason "why prices were below the cost of production". Thus called upon, these "solons of the people" gravely informed him that it was "over-production that caused hard times, and that if he would be prosperous, he must raise less to sell and keep out of politics."

This seems all the more ludicrous, in view of the fact that a few years later, when the farmers had gone into politics, these same wiseacres shouted themselves hoarse telling them if they (the farmers) would "get out of politics and raise more corn, hogs and cattle and less Hell" they would be all right.

To return to the Alliance, its members in discussing the ills which affected the agriculturist, took up the over-production

theory, and in discussing it they were naturally led into the subject of Supply and Demand. They had the food supply, and they knew that there were hungry people all over the world, and this constituted the demand., Why then did the hungry people not buy? Investigation convinced them that there was but one reason. They had not the money with which to buy. This led them to the discovery that the value of money was also regulated by the law of Supply and Demand. Just the same as their corn and wheat and other products -- that when there was a large volume of money in the country, with which to transact business, that prices invariably advanced and likewise declined when money was scarce in the channels of trade. In other words they learned that the supply of legal tender money must keep pace with the increased demands of commerce, and that the exchangeable value of a dollar depends upon the total number of dollars in use, transacting the business of the country.

Political economists call this the "Quantitative theory of money". When they undertook to analyze the Trust Problem, they learned that while our national policy of high protective tariff has materially assisted the formation of some of our most gigantic trusts, yet the railroads were the great trust breeders. By giving special rates and granting rebates to favored shippers, the railroads can make or unmake individuals, communities, or cities. These and many other equally important lessons did the farmers learn in that old Alliance school. They had seen government control, as provided in the Inter-State Commerce Law of '87 prove a miserable farce. Investigation convinced them that with our courts as they are today, virtually a "city of refuge" for the Corporate Interests of the country, that relief from railroad extortions lay not in the

direction of government control. But believing that it was better for the government to own the railroads than for the railroads to own the government, the Populists in their first platform declared for government ownership of railroads.

So well have they educated public sentiment along this line that today the student of public affairs who does not recommend government ownership as the logical remedy for existing evils is as lone-some as the one who denies the Quantitative Theory of Money. If President Roosevelt would today have the courage to come out and declare for government ownership of railroads, as Mr. Bryan has done, there would be as much rejoicing in the Republican Party as there were courtings when in Ninety-six at St. Louis, Mark Hanna administered the "Gold Cure" and turned the party over to the bankers of Wall Street, compelling Wm. McKinley to run on a platform which contradicted his every public utterance while in Congress. That President Roosevelt will not do so goes without saying. If he did, from whence would come the millions of campaign contributions to carry the elections of the Grand Old Party? If Mark Hanna spent sixteen millions to defeat Bryan when he did but declare for free coinage of both gold and silver, what will the Interests not spend to accomplish his defeat, now that he has declared for government ownership of the great railroad monopoly?

But as the preacher would say, "To return to my text", Populism. Until 1890 for anyone other than a lawyer or occasionally a banker to have the temerity to make a political speech would have been deemed heresy.

Consequently, when, in the campaign of '90, every school district developed from one to half a dozen "stump speakers", the lawyers

could not figure out what had struck them.

The Farmers Alliance, being a secret organization, outsiders knew not what a school of political economy it had been to the farmers. Consequently when the campaign of '90 warmed up, these same lawyers kindly volunteered to inform the voters that their only salvation lay through the medium of the Republican or Democratic parties. To their surprise they were met with such a rigid cross examinations by these "Hayseeds" as they had never heard outside of a courtroom. And when they had finished speaking they were invariably followed by some old farmer, who held their argument up to the gaze of the audience, while he systematically and literally tore into shreds the sophistries which had heretofore stood for argument.

I will give an instance which occurred in a country school house in Buffalo County, Nebraska, during the campaign of 1890. The Alliance or Independent platform early declared for bimetallism. Kearney is the county seat of Buffalo County and was a thriving city of about ten thousand inhabitants. One of the big gun Republican lawyers of this "Midway City" went out to speak at the school house referred to. As this same lawyer still lives in Nebraska I will not humiliate him by calling his name, but for convenience call him Brown.

During his speech Brown made the assertion that "all of our money, including silver, was redeemable in gold". Every Alliance man present knew that Brown was either lying or densely ignorant. A young kid of a farmer by the name of Carson who was teaching the district school followed Brown. When he came to that part of his

speech, he turned to Brown and asked him to cite his audience to some law or ruling of the treasury department making silver dollars redeemable in gold. Brown hemmed and hawed, but Carson insisted that he tell them just how it was done. "well," said Brown finally, "You can exchange silver for greenbacks and greenbacks are redeemable in gold." "O-oh, I see!" replied young Carson, "I see now just how it is done. Now Mr. Brown, I have an old brindle cow at home that I can sell to Neighbor Smith for twenty dollars in greenbacks, then I can get gold for my greenbacks. Consequently brindle cows are redeemable in gold. Is that it, Mr. Brown?" This created such a laugh at Brown's expense that in high dudgeon he seized his hat and blurted out as he went through the door, "You talk like a damned fool." But strange to say the audience thought Carson's plan for redeeming brindle cows in gold was no more foolish than Brown's redemption of silver dollars. It is needless to say that Brown had no more debates with "hayseeds" like Carson.

His experience with young Carson was that of all the "old party lawyers all over the west and south, where the Alliance school had graduated the largest class of political economists that the world ever saw. It was this condition that led Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota to remark in one of his speeches at Sioux Falls some years later that he would go out on the streets and take the farmer off the first load of hay that came along and put him up against any banker in the city to discuss jointly the question of money and its functions.