

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE GRANGE ^{of} ILLINOIS,

AT THE

FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION,

HELD IN THE

CITY OF CHAMPAIGN,

December 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1875.

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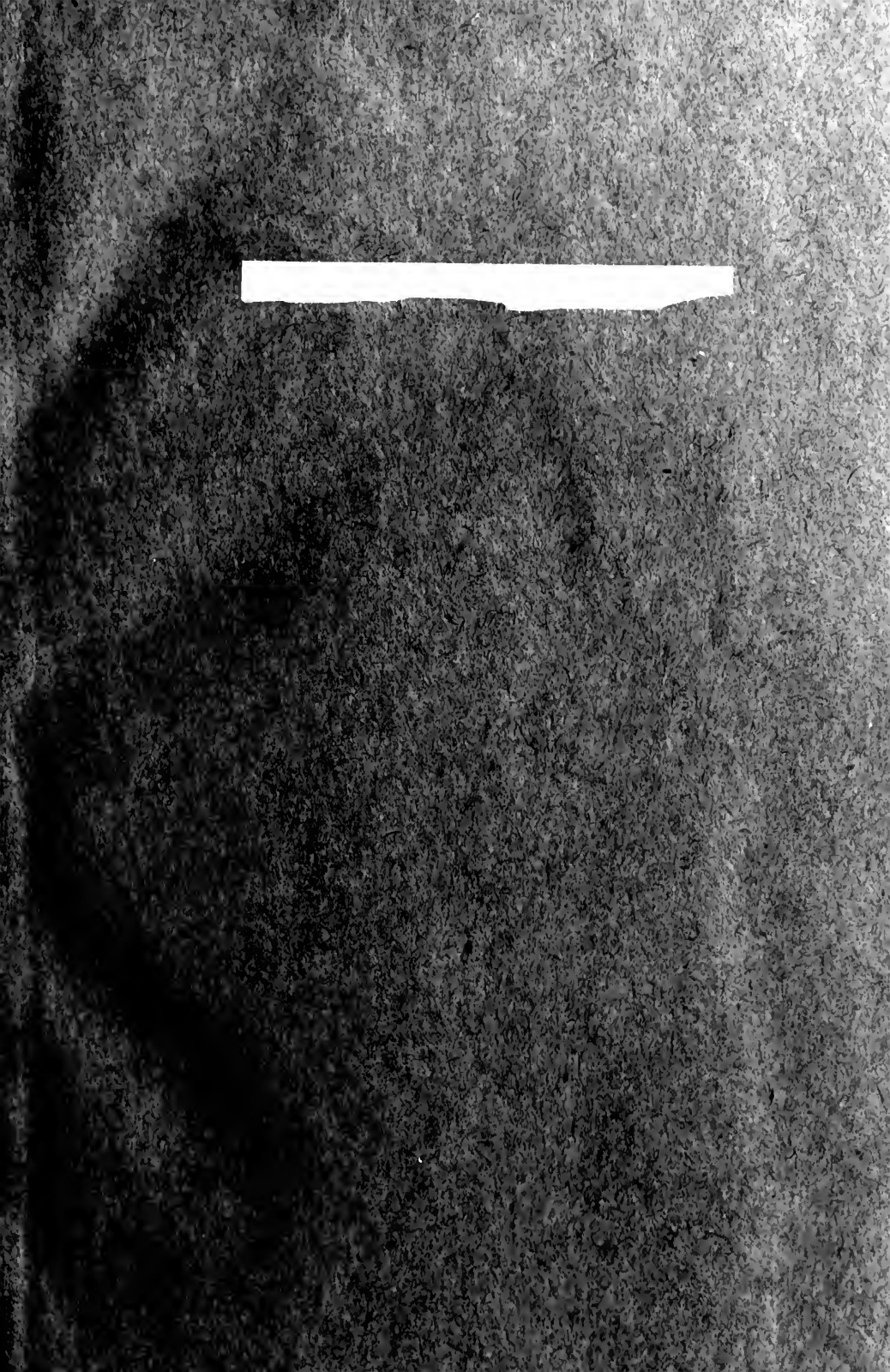
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OFFICERS

OF THE

State Grange of Illinois.

- MASTER—A. P. FORSYTH,.....Isabel, Edgar county.
 OVERSEER—JOHN DOWNEN,....Industry, McDonough county.
 LECTURER—ALONZO GOLDER,..Rock Falls, Whiteside county.
 STEWARD—JOHN ODEL,.....Champaign, Champaign county.
 ASSIST. STEWARD—R. R. FIELD,..Tompson, Carroll county.
 CHAPLAIN—L. F. FARNHAM,.....Warren, JoDavie county.
 TREASURER—J. S. ARMSTRONG,..Sheridan, LaSalle county.
 SECRETARY—J. M. CHAMBERS,..Freeport, Stephenson county.
 GATE-KEEPER—J. F. RANDOLPH,Canton, Fulton county.
 CERES—Mrs. L. D. EDWARDS,....Franklin Crossing, Rock Island co.
 POMONA—Mrs. B. J. VANCOURT,O'Fallon, St. Clair county.
 FLORA—Mrs. W. C. TROTT,.....Bloomington, McLean county.
 L. A. STEWARD—Mrs. P. L. MYERS,Assumption, Christian county.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR 1876:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Chairman</i> —A. J. Alexander, | R. M. Guy, LeRoy, McLean Co. |
| Gilman, Iroquois Co. | C. N. Anderson, Champaign, 3 |
| <i>Secretary</i> —D. N. Foster, | Champaign Co. |
| Sterling, Whiteside Co. | A. P. Forsyth, Isabel, Edgar Co. |

PROCEEDINGS FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE
STATE GRANGE OF ILLINOIS.

CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS, }
Tuesday, Dec. 14th, 1875. }

The State Grange of Illinois met in Barrett Hall, in the city of Champaign.

Worthy Master A. Golder in the chair, and opened in form in Fourth Degree at 10 o'clock A. M.

Motion made and carried, that the Master appoint a Committee of five on Credentials.

The Master appointed as such Committee:

Sangamon county—A. B. McConnell.

Craneford county—W. H. Joseph.

St. Clair county—B. J. VanCourt.

Whiteside county—A. Woodford.

McLean county—W. C. Trott.

The Grange took recess till 2 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Grange called to order by Worthy Master.

The Committee on Credentials reported the following list of delegates entitled to seats in this Grange:

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- Adams county*—B. C. Sterritt and Mrs. B. C. Sterritt.
Bond county—J. Riley.
Boone county—O. S. Achols.
Brown county—H. Burgessser.
Calhoun county—D. Wurtz.
Carroll county—B. B. Field and B. Gillogby.
Coles county—E. G. Patterson and J. W. Kirkpatrick.
Champaign county—J. M. Morse, E. J. Clark and Mrs. A. M. Fauley.
Christian county—A. Bowman and Mrs. A. Bowman.
Clark county—J. B. Shipley and J. W. Boatmess.
Clinton county—H. M. Almy.
Cass county—G. Mason.
Crawford county—P. Condrey and W. H. Joseph.
Cumberland county—David Neal and David Green.
DeWitt county—S. M. Sharp and Mrs. S. M. Sharp.
Douglas county—S. Wadell and A. Mann.
Edgar county—O. Eldrige and T. E. Laufman.
Edwards county—J. Skavington.
Fayette county—A. H. Wing and Mrs. A. H. Wing.
Fulton county—J. Farry and John Prickett.
Ford county—Wm. Lewis and Mrs. Wm. Lewis.
Franklin county—C. Fulkey.
Gallaton county—Francis Moore.
Greene county—J. M. Russell and Mrs. J. M. Russell.
Grundy county—Wm. Pearce.
Hancock county—L. L. Wilcox and S. Starkey.
Henderson county—B. W. Richey.
Henry county—A. Sykes and L. W. Turner.
Iroquois county—A. J. Alexander and G. W. Burgess.
Jackson county—Freeman King and Mrs. F. King.
JoDaviess county—L. F. Farnham.
Johnson county—G. B. Boomer and Mrs. G. B. Boomer.
Kankakee county—H. S. Bloom.
Knox county—Thos. Collins and A. C. Clay.
Lake county—N. Vose and Mrs. N. Vose.
LaSalle county—Wm. Pool and Mrs. Wm. Pool.
Lawrence county—J. A. Fyffe.
Lee county—W. A. Judd and L. G. Fish.
Livingston county—G. L. Kirkpatrick and E. W. Pearson.
Logan county—J. A. Critchfield and Samuel Reed.
Macon county—D. P. Keller, M. G. Warren and Mrs. M. G. Warren.
Madison county—F. W. Berger.
Marion county—A. Neeper and B. Bowman.
Marshall county—G. G. McAdams.
Mercer county—Graham Lee.
Mason county—H. O'Neal and Thos. Huscroft.

- McDonough county*—G. W. Reid and Mrs. G. W. Reid.
- McLean county*—B. B. Campbell, W. C. Trott and Mrs. W. C. Trott.
- Montgomery county*—John D. Wallace, W. B. Linxwiler and Mrs. W. B. Linxwiler.
- Morgan county*—J. L. Wyatt and Mrs. J. L. Wyatt.
- Moultrie county*—H. Y. Keller and E. W. Boney.
- Macoupin county*—J. Craggs, J. F. Nifong and Mrs. J. F. Nifong.
- Ogle county*—G. W. Sheeley and A. B. Ackin.
- Peoria county*—A. Edwards and Sister Burdett.
- Perry county*—J. Brown.
- Pike county*—W. H. Johnston.
- Piatt county*—A. C. Varner and J. Holloway.
- Pope county*—Henry Lewis.
- Putnam county*—Benj. Sutcliffe and Mrs. Benj. Sutcliffe.
- Randolph county*—J. K. Burke.
- Richland county*—H. Coen and J. L. Monroe.
- Rock Island county*—L. D. Edwards and Mrs. L. D. Edwards.
- Saline county*—T. J. Upchurch.
- Sangamon county*—John A. Barbre and A. B. McConnell.
- Schuyler county*—H. Allpine and J. Bovey.
- Scott county*—J. C. Buchanan.
- Shelby county*—C. W. March and Mrs. Robertson.
- Stark county*—H. S. Stone.
- St. Clair county*—B. J. VanCourt and Mrs. B. J. VanCourt.
- Stephenson county*—F. B. Walker and J. F. Strunk.
- Tazewell county*—A. W. Ball and G. W. Patton.
- Vermillion county*—W. A. Moore and Mrs. W. A. Moore.
- Wabash county*—J. M. Stewart and Mrs. J. M. Stewart.
- Warren county*—J. D. Porter and Angus McCoy.
- Washington county*—W. W. Hutchins.
- Wayne county*—J. L. Irvine and Mrs. J. L. Irvine.
- White county*—F. M. Charles.
- Whiteside county*—A. Woodford and P. B. Reynolds.
- Will county*—J. M. Thompson.
- Williamson county*—J. T. Hill and F. Brown.
- Winnebago county*—W. Osborn and C. A. Starr.
- Woodford county*—C. J. Hitch.

This Committee made several supplementary reports at various times during the session, recommending that the following named persons be admitted to seats, which were adopted:

- Ford county*—Brother Wm. Lewis, Sister Lewis.
- LaSalle county*—Brother W. M. Reid.
- McDonough county*—Brother W. H. Green.
- Jo Daviess county*—Brother G. W. Curtis.
- Fayette county*—Brother M. A. Harris.

Motion made and carried that Bro. Curtis, of JoDavie county, be admitted as a delegate.

Motion made and lost that third delegates from LaSalle county be admitted.

Yeas and nays called on above motion and lost.

Motion made to reconsider. Lost.

Motion made and carried to recommit the matter of third delegate from LaSalle county.

Motion made and lost to add Bro. W. H. Green to the delegation from McDonough county.

Motion made and carried that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted.

Worthy Master delivered the following annual address:

Brothers and Sisters of the State Grange:—Another anniversary of our State Organization calls us together in fraternal assemblage. The year that is past, freighted, as it undoubtedly has been to all of us, with toil and care, has also presented to us, as Patrons, manifold blessings, for which I hope we are truly thankful.

The history of Grange work in our State justifies, in a large degree, the confidence and hope of its usefulness expressed in my last address to you. *Peace and harmony* reign within our borders. The mass of our membership are true to the fundamental principles of our organization. None are less *impressed* with the necessity of organization, union, and labor for the improvement of the agricultural class, than they ever were. If this is largely manifested in a patient, trusting and waiting for the hoped for good to come through this organization, and if *too little* is done in self-help, it the *more* fixes upon this body the great responsibility of devising *some* means of stimulating the masses composing the Subordinate Grange into that *kind* of *exertion* through which alone this good can ever come. The executive officers are chosen from among you. They are like yourselves in knowledge, experience and wisdom. Wherever their efforts have fallen short of the *measure* of their *duty*, as of the *requirements* of the occasion, it is now your mission and it is your duty to supply the deficiency—to apply the remedy. I trust you will carefully study the situation of the Order—study your own responsibility toward it, seek to know what ought to be done, and to do your work boldly, wisely and well.

The reports of the Secretary, Treasurer and other Executive officers will give you detailed information relating to their respective offices.

I am charged with the duty of presenting, for your consideration, important amendments to the Constitution submitted by the National Grange for adoption or rejection. Most of them I heartily approve. They indicate marked progress in adapting that instrument more perfectly to our wants. I shall take occasion to speak more particularly of these amendments when they come before you for action.

The By-Laws of our own State seem to me to need some changes. I hope you will appoint a committee to consider this subject and to report upon it.

The money loaned by the National Grange to this State, and now in the hands of the Executive Committee, has recently been donated in full; and is now fully under your control.

Information in regard to the organization of mutual insurance companies under State laws has been prepared, and distributed to those requesting it. I feel like urging this plan of insurance upon the Subordinate Granges, as vastly cheaper than ordinary insurance, and fully as reliable as the *average* farmer is likely to secure. I am satisfied that not *two per cent.* of the insurance money paid for insuring *farm* property is ever repaid for losses.

Co-operative stores for buying and selling, and for the transaction of any business that can be done *cheaper* than by the *ordinary middle-man agency*, have been quite numerous established in other States and a *few* in this. They are proving *eminently* successful. You will have a report on this subject during this session, which I hope you will carefully consider, with a view of making recommendations of some kind to Subordinate Granges. These institutions, when discreetly managed, accomplish a great pecuniary saving to the farmer class, and are also educational in their influence, by disseminating information in regard to operations in trade and finance. The *secret* of this success is the adoption of the *cash principle of trade*, by which the frequent *turning over* of the capital in trade is accomplished, as well as the saving of expense which is inseparable from the present mode of doing business. There are many other topics and suggestions which crowd upon me for notice, but I have resolved to be brief, and to leave to your fruitful minds to supply any requirement I have omitted.

In this my final address to you as your Master, I am moved to express to you my heartfelt thanks for the uniform kindness and favorable consideration shown me; and through you I desire to say this to the *brothers and sisters* all over the State: when I took up the gavel in a Subordinate Grange, I had no purpose, no *ambition*, extending beyond my neighbors and my own towns-people; but Providence has led me forth by a way I knew not. I had long been sensible of the *burdens* resting upon our class, and thus *upon all* industry. I had witnessed the gradual impoverishment of our prairie soil to build the mansions and business palaces arising from the present extravagant *middle-man* system of doing business. I had, without the proof of statistics now supplied, been sensible of the gradual but sure transfer of rural wealth to city hands. It could go on—it can continue to go on, only with the repetition of those scenes of misery, debauchery and vice, both public and private, which have characterized the downfall of nations of other times. With an honest purpose, which the judgment of my advanced age sanctions, if it does not make wise, I set out in my feeble way to do battle for the *rights* and the

benefit of the great working class. If I am permitted to lay down this gavel of the Master of the State Grange of the great State of Illinois, accredited on your part with this purpose honestly conceived, steadily and unselfishly maintained, though not without mistakes, no doubt *in this* I shall have my *greatest* reward. May God grant to you, wisdom in your deliberations and give prosperity and growth in all that pertains to a true civilization, to all the great working class whom you represent.

Bro. Guy, of McLean, read an invitation from the Cheap Transportation Association to send three delegates to their meeting, to be held in Chicago, Dec. 15, 1875.

Motion made and carried to send three delegates to the above meeting.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Worthy Master Golder for his able and interesting address, and the Secretary instructed to have it printed with the proceedings of this Grange.

Voted, That the Master appoint three delegates to the Convention to be held in Chicago, December 15.

Bro. Alexander moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to prepare the minutes of each day's proceedings in full, so that they may be read at the opening of the Grange on the following day, and that they be thus read unless otherwise ordered by the Grange.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to procure the printing of the minutes and have them ready for distribution as soon as the 10th of January next. Carried.

Motion made and carried to reconsider the vote to send three delegates to Chicago Convention, Dec. 15.

Motion made by Bro. VanCourt that we send one delegate to the Chicago Convention. Carried.

A communication was received from Dr. G. M. Gregory, inviting the State Grange to visit the "Illinois Industrial University" at such time as would suit the convenience of the Grange.

Invitation accepted, and the hour of 2 o'clock on Wednesday, the 15th, fixed as the most convenient time, and the Brother who presented the invitation was appointed a committee to inform Dr. Gregory that the Grange will visit the institution as above voted.

Worthy Lecturer, VanCourt, addressed the Grange at length on the duties of the hour.

List of delegates re-read.

The Worthy Master appointed Bro. Guy, of McLean county, delegate to Cheap Transportation Convention at Chicago, Dec. 15.

Motion made and carried. That we take up for consideration the amendments to the Constitution, recommended by the National Grange at its last session, to-morrow morning (Wednesday), at 9 o'clock, A. M.

Bro. Foster offered the following Order of Business, which was adopted:

- 1st. Opening of Grange.
- 2d. Reading Minutes of previous day's session.
- 3d. Report of Officers.
- 4th. Petitions from sub-bodies.
- 5th. Resolutions.
- 6th. Report of Standing Committees.
- 7th. Report of Special Committees.
- 8th. Unfinished business.
- 9th. New Business.

Grange adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 15, 1875.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment.

Minutes of previous day's proceedings read and approved.

The Worthy Master announced the following Committees:

On Mileage and Per Diem—W. C. Trott, McLean county; W. A. Judd, Lee county; F. M. Charles, White county.

On By-Laws—B. B. VanCourt, St. Clair county; J. D. Wallace, Montgomery county; L. W. Lawrence, Boone county; Graham Lee, Mercer county; A. B. McConnell, Sangamon county.

Auditing Committee—J. A. Critchfield, Logan county; C. W. March, Shelby county; W. W. Hutchins, Washington county.

On Finance—E. J. Clark, Champaign county; A. W. Ball, Tazewell county; F. B. Walker, Stephenson county.

On Co-operation—G. W. Curtis, JoDaviess county; L. D. Edwards, Rock Island county; E. G. Patterson, Coles county; G. W. Reid, McDonough county; William Poole, La Salle county.

On Appeals and Grievances—J. F. Strunk, Stephenson county

R. R. Field, Carroll county; John Downer, McDonough county; D. P. Keller, Clay county; L. A. Barbre, Sangamon county.

Bro. Trott offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That all resolutions be put in writing, signed and read from the stand, and referred to the appropriate committees without debate.

The following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, We believe it to be a duty we owe our constituents, and believing that it is for the good of the Order, that we use every effort in our power to dispatch the business before the Grange, therefore be it

Resolved, That we hold an evening session on Thursday evening, Dec. 16, 1875.

Signed by

OGLE CO. DELEGATION.

Bro. Neeper, of Marion county, presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1st, That some of the objects of the organization are to make its members better citizens by teaching them the rights of citizenship, and how to secure and maintain them.

2d. That as many of the rights are to be secured to us only by appropriate legislation, it is therefore of the utmost importance that the State and Subordinate Granges adopt such measures as will to this end promote harmonious action.

3d. That a thorough discussion of all questions of political economy, a knowledge of which is necessary to the administration of a Republican form of government, is not only a privilege, but the duty of every Grange.

4th. That to accomplish these results it is necessary first to give the order of Patrons of Husbandry a Republican form of government, by making our representatives in the State and National Granges elective and making all fourth degree members eligible to any office in the Order.

5th. That we need no very expensive National Grange. That more than one-half of the expenses incident thereto can be saved to the Subordinate Granges by transacting the business of organization and co-operation through the State Granges and reducing the representation to not more than one from each county in the State Grange, and not more than one from each State in the National Grange.

RULES SUSPENDED AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

Bro. West presented a resolution asking the appointment of a commission agent in Peoria.

Referred to Committee on Co-operation.

Bro. Guy arose to a question of privilege. He explained the action of the Executive Committee in procuring addresses and essays to be delivered and read at this meeting.

The Secretary read his annual report:

To the Worthy Master and Members of the State Grange:

In view of the quite lengthy report of the Executive Committee, and it including about, if not all suggestions for the good of the Order I think necessary, I consider it unnecessary for me to make a lengthy report.

I am of the opinion that the order of "Patrons of Husbandry" stands as well and is upon as good a basis now as at any time since its existence.

It is true that the paying membership is not as large as a year ago, but it is composed of members who have the interest and welfare of our Order at heart.

Since the last meeting there has been fifty-nine Subordinate Granges organized, making the total number 1,592.

There has been 31 charters returned and by me sent to the Secretary of National Grange.

Notice has been sent to all Granges who were in arrears for dues to the State Grange.

The letters received and the condition of those who have not paid up such arrears will be laid before the Master of State Grange at the first opportunity, for his action. I had hoped to be able to have done so before this meeting, but have not for want of time.

As you are all aware, my term of office expires with this year. I was elected to the office of Secretary of State Grange at its organization, and was re-elected for the second term two years ago. With what success or ability I have performed its duties it is for you to judge.

There has been many pleasant features and incidents connected with the office, and I have formed many acquaintances that I shall remember with pleasure.

Before retiring from the office allow me to thank you all for the uniform kindness with which you have always met me.

I ask you to overlook and forgive any mistakes I have made.

Referred to Committee on Finance.

The Secretary of the Executive Committee submitted the following report:

WORTHY MASTER AND PATRONS: Your Executive Committee do not deem it necessary, or even desirable, to burden the proceedings of this meeting with a detailed statement of *all* the transactions of this Committee during the year just closed. The minutes of our meetings are here, and can be consulted or read if desired.

Much of our business is of such a nature as to present but few

attractions of a general character, yet requires careful consideration and investigation.

While we do not wish to occupy too much of your valuable time, it is our desire, as well as our duty, to report to you the subjects of more general interest that have received our attention and the action of this Committee thereon. The dissolution of the firm of Reynolds, Corbett & Thomas, left the Order without commission agents of any kind in the city of Chicago.

Believing there was a strong desire for such agents on the part of Patrons in this State, we appointed the firm of Hall, Patterson & Co., at the Union Stock Yards, our agents to buy and sell all kinds of live stock at reduced rates of commission. These parties have made and executed a bond of \$150,000, with good sureties as we believe, for the faithful performance of their duties as such commission agents, and the proper accounting for all consignments that may be made to them by members of the Order.

The power of the State Grange to enforce the penalty of such bonds being questioned, we have taken measures to obtain the opinions of men who stand high in the legal profession. All seem to agree that if the bond is properly *drawn*, it can be enforced. As these bonds were designed to protect a new method of doing business, peculiar forms were required. The Committee authorized its Secretary to employ the best legal talent in making these instruments, and it is believed they are as good a protection to every individual member of the Order in this State as though they had been made between each individual and these agents. It is expressly stipulated that not only *any* Patron may sue alone, but that any number may sue jointly and recover, until the amount of the bond is exhausted.

At the same time a contract was made with Z. M. Hall to sell the various kinds of farm produce at a specified rate of commission, also to fill orders for groceries; an announcement to this effect was made in confidential circular No. 4 from the State Agency office; but as he failed to comply with the requirements of the Committee, the contract was canceled, and the article referring to it in the circular erased.

In considering the work of the State Agency, your Committee found themselves in a very embarrassing position. They found, by consulting the proceedings of the last meeting of this Grange, that an agent had been elected with a fixed salary, and this Committee required to assign him an amount of work worth just \$1,000, no more, no less; after giving the subject a most thorough, careful and candid consideration, we came to the conclusion that under the circumstances, it was impossible. The agent was located at a point very poorly adapted for the transaction of business.

There were no funds at our disposal with which to furnish him a suitable place, or the means of doing a business of anything near the extent that the demands of the State required. The agent was telegraphed to meet us, the situation fully explained, and a proposition made that he prepare a new circular containing price list, and such information as was of general interest in connection with the business arm of the Order, and that he should receive his expenses and two dollars and one-half per day for all time actually employed.

This proposition was generously accepted, and he entered immediately upon the discharge of this duty. We are aware that to justify this course requires a liberal construction of the law defining the powers and duties of the Executive Committee, but as guardians of the general interests of the Order we felt compelled to pursue this course.

Again, it might be urged that if the Committee were required to assign the work of this Agency, it should at least have the power either to select the agent to execute it or be allowed to say what it was worth.

In considering the subject of printing the proceedings of the last annual meeting of this Grange, the Committee instructed the Secretary to have printed only such resolutions, motions and reports as were adopted. This was done to avoid expense and prevent confusion, as well as to keep the volume in a convenient size for reference: hence the printed proceedings make but a meagre showing of the actual work done.

The State officers still feeling the necessity of a more convenient, cheap and expeditious means of communicating with the Subordinate Granges than the ordinary mode of epistolary correspondence, and wishing to ascertain the views of the members of the Order in relation to the establishment of a newspaper conducted in the interests of the Order, we caused a circular to be prepared proposing the establishment of such a paper, also stating what its character should be, the price of subscription, and how conducted. A copy was sent to the Master of each Grange in the State, with a request that he bring the subject before his Grange, ascertain and report the views of the Grange, also the names of those who were willing to pledge one year's subscription. Only one hundred and twenty-seven Granges reported and pledged between six and seven hundred subscriptions. In connection with this subject, we would say that the Committee, at its May meeting, appointed a sub-committee of its members, to ascertain if a contract could be made with the "Prairie Farmer Co." to print such official matter as the officers of the Grange might desire to have published, and to have one copy of the paper sent to the Master of each Grange in the State.

The Company proposed to print such matter as we would furnish gratuitously, and mail one copy of the paper to the Master of each Grange, from the 20th of May until the 1st of January, for fifty cents per copy, this being the estimated cost of the blank paper and postage. This proposition was submitted to each member of this committee; not receiving the approval of a majority, it was rejected. We would submit for your consideration, whether an arrangement of this kind with some paper might not be beneficial as well as profitable to this Grange.

The National Grange, at its eighth session, proposed to loan, without interest, from its funds, to such States as should make application for the same, a sum equal to \$2.50 for every Subordinate Grange that had been organized up to January 1st, 1875. We have pledged the fraternal good faith of the State Grange to return this fund when called for by the National Grange: made application for and received the amount apportioned this State. Your Committee expecting to receive this money in the early part of the season, made arrangements to have it used in the interest of the business arm of the Order, but as it was not received by the Committee until some time in the month of October,—too late to be used as originally intended—it was loaned temporarily, and is now subject to the disposal of this Grange. We are happy to be able to say that since receiving it, the National Grange has made it a *donation*. It is no longer a loan, but a part of the available funds of the State Grange.

Brother Schoenleber, of LaSalle county made application to this committee for a loan of a sufficient amount to cover an unsettled account which he held against the firm of Reynolds, Corbett & Thomas. Believing that our fraternal obligations required the State Grange to render all the aid possible, consistent with its own safety, to brothers who felt aggrieved by the action of our agents we appointed Bro. Fanning a committee to investigate the matter, with power to act for the Committee—who reported that he had made several attempts to see Bro. Schoenleber in the discharge of his duty, but had failed.

The Committee was discharged, and Bro. Golder appointed in Bro. Fanning's place; but, before anything further was done in the matter, we were informed that the claim had been satisfactorily settled. This has been the case, so far as we have been able to learn, with every claim that Patrons held against said firm. Unfortunately, the firm of Harris Bros. was placed upon one of Bro. Frew's confidential circulars. This firm proved to be, if not a swindle, at least, irresponsible. Bro. Tupper, of Carroll county, who had sent \$33 to them for a sewing-machine, and lost it, applied to this Committee for relief; it appeared in the evidence that this order was sent exclusively upon the recommendation of the State Agent, therefore, the amount of the

order was refunded, and the Secretary of this Committee notified the Patrons of the fact that this firm was unreliable, and cautioned them against sending orders to them. With the exception of this firm, we have not learned of any loss occurring through any of the parties recommended in the circulars from the office of this Agency.

The State Agency has cost the sum of \$828.75 (salary, \$514.15; expenses, \$314.50). While we are not prepared to say that this sum has not been judiciously expended, that the Order has not been, either directly or indirectly benefited by the Agency to many times this amount, yet we are unanimously of the opinion that the continuance of the Agency upon the present system will be neither profitable nor beneficial to the Order. The experience of State Agencies in other States has demonstrated the fact that agencies may be established upon plans which will make them both beneficial to the Patrons, and self-sustaining. Yet, in order to do this, they must be established in commercial centres, and furnished with ample facilities for doing an extensive business. We would submit for your consideration, whether such agencies should not be established in the cities of St. Louis and Chicago. It must be borne in mind, that not only as a matter of policy, but as a matter of necessity, these agencies *must* be self-sustaining, as the finances of this Grange will not be sufficient to allow any funds to be taken from the treasury for this purpose. The only sum that could possibly be used, is the amount received from the National Grange as a donation.

The Committee upon Life Insurance, appointed at the last meeting of this Grange, and instructed to report to this Committee, reported about the middle of October—too late for this committee to take any action upon the report; if, indeed, it was the intention of the Grange that the committee take active steps to form the association contemplated. We caused the report to be printed in the "Prairie Farmer," and copies sent to representative men of the Order in the different counties, with the view of bringing the subject before the Subordinate Granges for discussion, that they might instruct their representatives in this body. We would ask for this subject your careful consideration: whether it may not be a cheap, practicable and safe plan of life assurance, and at the same time be an additional bond of union in our fraternity.

The principle has been acted upon in the States of New York and Wisconsin.

The Committee, at its September meeting, requested the Secretary and Master to enforce the law in relation to delinquent Granges.

The State Grange has been obliged to pay over \$1,000 dues to the National Grange for Granges that have ceased to contrib-

ute to the funds of the treasury. The proposed amendments to the Constitution allows State Granges to fix the amount of dues from the subordinates; hence it will be the duty of this body to fix the amount of dues, also the penalty for non-payment.

We would recommend that a decided expression be given of the time a Grange may retain its connection with the Order without payment of dues, and request the executive officers to enforce the penalty. The Committee deeming it desirable to have an exhibit of the condition of the books and papers in the Secretary's and Treasurer's offices, appointed Bros. Alexander, Lawrence and Foster a sub-committee to make a thorough examination of said books and papers. This committee reported as follows:

To the Members of the Executive Committee:

Your sub-committee appointed to examine the books and papers of the Secretary and Treasurer, beg leave to submit the following:

It was deemed best to make the examination as near the close of the year as possible. A meeting was called for the 24th of November, but owing to receiving notice from the Secretary that his books were not in readiness, another meeting was appointed for December 2d. The same reason prevented the meeting at this time. Bro. Fanning informed us he would meet us at Champaign on Friday previous to the meeting of the State Grange, but owing to his failure to meet your committee at this time, we have been unable to examine his books. Bro. Armstrong was promptly on hand, and we have carefully examined his books and compared his vouchers therewith, and find all correct up to date. Your committee recommend this examination of the Secretary's books and papers be made previous to the first day of January 1876, and that in future the Executive Committee meet quarterly at the Secretary's office, and examine his books and vouchers at each meeting.

Signed, A. J. ALEXANDER, for Committee.

Your Executive Committee would unanimously join in the above recommendation, and would further recommend that the Executive Committee consist of four elective members, and the Master be *ex-officio* member. We would suggest that the Secretary should not be a member of this committee. In view of the present and probable future condition of the finances of this Grange, we would also suggest the necessity of reducing the membership of this body.

In relation to the business prospects of the Order, your committee have had very fine opportunities of learning the various plans adopted in nearly every State in the Union, and the results. The States that seem to have been the most successful

are Kentucky, Indiana, Iowa, California and Virginia. In Kentucky the commission plan has been adopted. A large house was rented in Louisville, and manufacturers who desired to deal with the Patrons were invited to put in their machinery. The rent of this building was paid by manufacturers renting space, with the exception of \$200.00. Have done a business of between \$200,000 and \$300,000, with an estimated saving of from twenty-five to thirty per cent. to consumers. This must be acknowledged to be a very fair showing for the first year of business; still they are not satisfied, but are attempting to change the plan to one of a salary. Propose to raise a fund of \$25,000 by issuing bonds in the sum of ten dollars each, bearing six per cent. interest, and payable in five years. With this fund they expect, by buying for cash and in large quantities, to be able to sell at the ordinary wholesale rates, and save enough to pay running expenses, the interest on the bonds, also to establish a sinking fund with which to pay the principal of the bonds at maturity, and be able to continue the business of the Agency.

In Indiana, the State Agent is paid a salary, and is allowed to use \$5,000.00 of the Grange fund. The General Agent sends blank orders to the Subordinate Granges which are filled and forwarded to the County Agents, and by the County Agents to the State Agent, who aggregates the orders and fills them direct from manufacturers.

Their business during the past year has amounted to \$300,000.00. During the Fall their sales of boots and shoes alone amounted to \$2,000.00 per week.

In California the business is conducted by an association with a capital of \$1,000,000.

The general manager is paid a salary and one per cent. commission is charged upon purchases and one and a half per cent. upon sales which constitutes a sinking fund.

In Oregon, much the same plan is adopted.

In Virginia, the State Grange created a business bureau with a salaried officer at its head, who appoints sub or local agents upon the recommendation of the County Granges. The local agents receive a commission. This plan is represented to be working very satisfactorily. While this plan may meet the wants of the Patrons in Virginia, we are satisfied it would not be successful in Illinois.

In order to learn what has been done in our State, your Committee sent circulars to all the agents whose address we could obtain, asking reports of their business. We desire in this connection to return thanks for the prompt and full manner in which these reports were made, the more especially as their business was established and conducted independent of the State

Grange, and so far as we were concerned, was a private business of which we had no right to inquire.

Of those who reported, eleven were doing business upon the plan of sending for goods when ordered, known as the Order Plan. Every one of these are reported unsatisfactory, and many are about to incorporate under the statute. Four are doing business on the "Sample Room Plan." These are reported even more unsatisfactory than the first mentioned.

Eight have been incorporated; have been doing business, on an average, nine months at the time of reporting. Have an aggregate capital of \$30,000, a large part of which was not received until late in the season. Probably not more than half the amount has been in use during the time covered by the reports. With this small amount we could not expect to transact a heavy business, yet sales to the amount of \$210,000 have been made, and in every case the business was reported on the increase, and the result satisfactory. The more successful of these stores seem to be those in Peoria, Stephenson, Coles, McLean and Cumberland counties. While we would recommend this manner of conducting business agencies, yet we believe a fuller recognition should be given to the vital principle of co-operation, which we understand to be the division of the profits after paying the running expenses, including the usual rate of interest on the paid stock upon the amount of the purchases. By adopting this principle competition as to prices is avoided, which is always annoying and often disastrous to new enterprises, and the temptation to conduct this business too much in the interest of the stockholders, who should receive the usual rate of interest, and no more, for the use of their money is removed. With this principle fully recognized, honesty and ability combined in the management, we believe these enterprises may be undertaken with more than ordinary assurances of success. When local co-operation is secured in this direction, wholesale or distributing depots will follow as a matter of growth. Thus may a thorough and permanent *system* of co-operation be established which will not only become a means of relief to the farmer class, but another bond of union in our beloved Order.

The condition of the Order throughout the State would seem to require more active labor on the part of the Lecturer. We would recommend that this officer be allowed a sufficient compensation for his time, and that his traveling expenses be paid by the Grange or Granges desiring his services. We believe this plan will prove beneficial to the Order generally, and profitable to the State Grange.

We have herein called your attention to only a few of the many subjects of vast importance that will claim your consideration. Trusting you will be able by your own personal observa-

tion, and through the reports of your executive officers to obtain a true understanding of the present condition of the Order in this State, that you will apply your wisdom with faith, energy and patience, to devising such means as will inspire with new faith, zeal and hope the great mass of our brotherhood, that our beloved organization may crystalize to a solid, active, permanent organization and take its place in the front rank among the benevolent, educational and elevating fraternities of the age, this report is fraternally submitted.

A. J. ALEXANDER,
D. N. FOSTER,
R. M. GUY,
D. DUNHAM,
L. W. LAWRENCE,
O. E. FANNING,
CHAS. MUSSON,
A. GOLDER,

*Executive Committee State
Grange of Illinois.*

Motion made to adopt.

Amended, that the report be divided and referred to the proper committees.

Motion carried as amended.

Motion made and carried that a Special Committee be appointed on Executive Committee's report.

Bro. Hutchings made the following motion, which was adopted: That a committee of five Sisters be appointed on Temperance; and that all resolutions on Temperance be referred to said committee.

The Master appointed as such committee:

Sister Fauley, Champaign; Sister Van Court, St. Clair; Sister Edwards, Rock Island; Sister Trott, McLean; Sister Wing, Fayette.

Bro. Bloom of Kankakee, offered the following, which was referred to Committee on Credentials:

WHEREAS, Each county is entitled to two delegates, and as Kankakee has only one,

Resolved, That this State Grange admit A. L. Miner, Master of Grange, No. 486, as such delegate.

Moved and carried, that the Committee on Good of the Order be raised to five members. On invitation, Sister S. M. Smith read a poem, for which a vote of thanks was returned, and a copy requested for publication in the leading Grange journals.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to the Executive

Committee for their endeavors to make this meeting interesting and profitable.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution were taken up for consideration with the following result:

1. Amend the preamble, under the head of "STATE GRANGE," by substituting the following for section 1 :

"Section 1. *Fifth Degree.* Pomona (Hope). Composed of the Masters and Past Masters of Subordinate Granges, and their wives who are matrons shall be honorary members, eligible to office, but not entitled to vote; and provided that when the number of Subordinate Granges in any State becomes so great as to render it necessary, the State Grange may, in such manner as it may determine, reduce its representatives by providing for the election of a certain proportion of those entitled to membership in the State Grange from each county, and the members so chosen shall constitute the voting members of the State Grange."

Adopted.

2. Amend the preamble, under the head of "STATE GRANGE," by adding the following: "The wives of the delegates elected to the State Grange as provided for in the preceding section, if matrons, shall be voting members of that body."

Rejected.

3. Amend the Constitution, under the head of "ORGANIZATION OF STATE GRANGE," in the fourth line of page 4, by striking out the words "not to exceed three."

Adopted.

4. Amend the preamble to the Constitution under the head "NATIONAL GRANGE" by inserting between the words "Master" and "of," where they occur in the second line of said paragraph, the words "Past Masters and their wives," and also by adding at the close of said paragraph the words following to wit: "Provided that only those members of the National Grange who are Masters of State Granges, and their wives who are matrons, shall be entitled to vote therein; and provided further, that Past Masters and their wives who have taken the Degree of Pomona, and all former members of the National Grange, shall be honorary members of the National Grange, and eligible to office therein, but shall not be entitled to vote."

Adopted.

5. Amend article 1, section 1, of the Constitution by inserting the word "District" between the words "State" and "or," where they occur in the second line of said section.

Adopted.

6. Amend article 1, section 2, of the Constitution, by inserting between

the words "practicable" and "in," where they occur in the fourth line of said section, the words following to wit: "In the District Grange annually at such time as each District Grange may determine."

Adopted.

7. Amend article 1, section 2, of the Constitution, by striking out the word "three," where it occurs in the sixth line of said section, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "two."

Adopted.

Some discussion ensued as to the effect of amendment No. 8.

On motion, the further consideration of this and following amendments was made the special order at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Moved and carried, that the special order of business at 9 o'clock to-morrow shall be officers' reports.

Bro. Trott, of McLean, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Salaries be requested to report as soon as possible, and that this Grange do not hold its election until after that report.

Adjourned to 1 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Grange called to order by Worthy Master Golder.

On motion, adjourned to 4 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of visiting the Industrial University.

Met pursuant to adjournment. No quorum being present, adjourned to 8 o'clock, A. M. to-morrow.

THURSDAY, Dec. 16, 1875.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment.

Worthy Master Golder in the chair.

Communication from Bro. Forsythe, W. C., giving illness in his family as an excuse for non-attendance.

A vote of sympathy was given Bro. Forsythe, and Bro. Foster was requested to communicate to him the feelings of this meeting.

Minutes of Wednesday, Dec. 15th, read and approved.

Ordered, that the request of Bro. Downer to be excused from acting on Committee of Grievances and Appeals, and that Bro. J. D. Porter be selected to fill his place, be granted.

Resolution of delegates from McDonough and Schuyler coun-

ties, asking for change in by-laws, so that all Subordinate Granges shall report and pay dues to County Granges.

Referred to Committee on By-Laws.

Bro. McCoy, of Warren, moved that this Thursday evening be set apart for a lecture from Worthy Master Golder, on the Secret Work of the Order. Carried.

Delegates from Ogle county, moved the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That no delegate be allowed to go home before the close of this session of the Grange, without a good excuse and by the consent of the Master.

A resolution in relation to changes in the by-laws, was offered and referred to Committee on By-Laws.

Bro. T. J. Upchurch requested that a deputy be sent to the counties of Gallatin, Saline, Williamson and other counties in the southern part of the State, to lecture to Granges upon the Good of the Order.

Referred to Committee on Good of the Order.

Sister Vose, of Lake county, offered a resolution on temperance.

Referred to Committee on Temperance.

Bro. Starkey offered a resolution recommending the Committee on Mileage to deduct one-half day from each member, per diem.

Referred to Committee on Mileage and per diem.

Bro. Lewis, of Pope county, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we as a Grange, take no political action. Referred to Committee on Good of the Order.

Motion made and carried, that the rules be suspended.

Motion made, and carried, that the Master appoint a committee of five on Salaries.

The Master appointed as such committee:

Bro. Samuel Reed, of Logan county; Bro. A. Woodford, of Whiteside county; Bro. A. H. Wing, of Fayette county; Bro. John Prickett, of Fulton county; Bro. L. L. Wilcox, of Hancock county.

Motion made and carried, that the Committee on Salaries report immediately after the report of Committee on By-Laws.

Bro. Prickett, of Fulton county, offered a resolution in regard to text books for our public schools.

Referred to Committee on Good of the Order.

The report of Treasurer was read and referred to Committee on Finance.

Bro. Alexander asked to be excused from serving on Committee on Good of the Order, and that Bro. Burges be substituted in his place.

Request granted.

Bro. Frew, the State Purchasing Agent, made the following report, which, on motion, was referred to Committee on Good of the Order:

Worthy Patrons:

In presenting this, my second annual report, I will preface my remarks by saying, that owing to severe family afflictions for more than two months past, I have to omit considerable statistical information I would like to have gathered, but as I understood much of it would be embraced in other reports to be made here, I gave the matter but little attention.

As soon as possible after the last meeting of the State Grange, I issued my Confidential Circulars and Price List to the Granges for 1875. Owing to the lateness of the meeting, it was impossible to place this circular in the hands of Secretaries in time for them to secure the best advantages in ordering implements for Spring work. They were mailed by our Worthy Secretary, with printed matter he was sending out, to economize in the matter of postage, he too having the only complete mailing list.

None but those who have attempted to prepare such work for the printer, can realize the many tedious and annoying detentions that retard the work. Manufacturing companies have their meetings at regular times as do the Granges, and when any special understanding is wanted, it is not unfrequently the case that it is necessary to wait until their regular meeting, or the return from a journey of an important member of the company. It is very important that a fair understanding is obtained before publishing terms all over the State, otherwise great difficulties and dissatisfaction arise.

The first part of the year my time was fully occupied in answering correspondents in regard to inquiries for implements and machinery. I congratulate myself upon the fact, that in almost every instance seeming satisfaction was given, and I here tender my thanks to the members of the Order for their kind forbearance while awaiting my replies.

It will be observed that some manufacturers slightly advanced their prices above what they offered last year. It is evident that

as a general thing manufacturers did not realize the patronage in Illinois they had in other States that were working under systematic purchasing. I attribute the rise in prices mainly to this.

Immediately after the meeting of the State Grange there was an encouraging interest manifested among the Granges nearly all over the State. I was glad to hear of the appointing of County Agents in many places. In February there were but 32 agents who had reported to me, while about May 66 had reported. About the middle of June I sent out a list of questions to these agents, asking if they had sample-rooms? If so, what size? What amount of capital invested? How the money was raised? What quantity of goods purchased during the year? What amount saved? What are future prospects? I received favorable answers from but 24. 11 reported no rooms or capital, and the balance made no report, or else that the enterprise had been abandoned. In a few instances their business was wholly in the hands of some of their home merchants.

In summing up this state of affairs, I reported to the Executive Committee that I could but regard the system of county agencies a failure, working as they were. By referring to my report of last year, you will remember I was compelled to report the work a failure in this department owing to discordant elements in the Executive Committee. I freely confess that when you made me your almost unanimous choice for the present year, I accepted the position with much pleasure, believing that with the experience I had acquired, together with the co-operation of the new Executive Committee the record of the past year could be wiped out and a healthy trade inaugurated, that would impart a new life to the Order. But, while such were my anticipations, I am sorry to say I am compelled to report my fond hopes blasted, knowing well that the business stands in no better condition than it did a year ago. It is true in some counties they have their Grange stores, but they are every one working separately, not two counties in the State co-operating.

I will state some of the causes of failure, the first of which is: that about three-fourths of the delegates to the last meeting of the State Grange had so little interest in the work that they left for home before plans were matured for this most important department in the Order. Consequently there was no alternative other than for the work to fall back into the hands of the Executive Committee with what results experience shows. Until the Subordinate Granges are careful in sending representatives that will remain to finish up their work, just so long will they have to abide by the consequences. In view of these facts, therefore, I urge every delegate to remain until the last click of the gavel announces the closing of the Grange.

The theory of the majority of the Executive Committee for the past two years has been that county agents are sufficient for the work. Consequently they have had little interest in the State Agency. If they had devised a plan for county agents and made the same known by circular or otherwise to the Granges of the State, the result might have been better.

As it was, however, you all looked to the State Agency for assistance, knowing there was one, and also that the proceedings of the last State Grange showed that arrangements were made for sustaining that department. Failing to obtain the advantages you had a right to expect, not knowing the causes of disappointment, many have been discouraged. The theory of running separate and independent agencies has proved a failure in every State where it has been tried, and an effort to manage our trade in this way has done more to weaken our strength than any other one influence. The fact that there is no combination among our agents, entirely destroys everything that bears any semblance to the co-operation taught by our Order. While there are stores called "County Grange Stores," they are, almost without an exception, nothing but private enterprises, and supplying their stock of goods from dealers, the same as the local trade does, and at about the same prices, the only difference being that the trade is carried on by other parties than it used to be. This is not changing our old system. It is not building upon permanent foundation. It only places us upon a level with the usual competition in trade, and subjects our inexperienced agents to all the petty annoyances of adepts in the business. Those members of the Order who are held by no other motives than pecuniary benefits, soon discover they can purchase as cheaply one place as another, and therefore soon leave the Grange. They are then lost to the wholesome impressions made upon those inside the gates. We cannot afford to spare them. They are needed both numerically and financially.

Another important feature in regard to the so-called Grange stores, is that they very generally supply their stock of goods from all sources, irrespective of the Rings that are our avowed enemies. This fact was developed largely at the meeting of County Agents at Ottawa in September. With one or two exceptions, they said they dealt in implements, etc., etc., from the manufacturers who are associated against us. It was also noticeable that where County Agents were supplying themselves from these same parties, to some they made one price and to others another, just in proportion to the trade offered, developing the theory that by co-operation in purchasing we can invariably do better. This practice is wrong, and is in direct opposition to the principles of our Order. When last year I, through a mistake, happened to get the name of *one* member of the Ring

on my price list, much dissatisfaction was expressed. What do you now think of the County Agencies laying in whole stocks from them? If the test of fidelity is based upon the precepts laid down by the State Grange two years ago, I doubt if there are more than three or four Grange stores of the Patrons of Husbandry in Illinois. I, in obeying the directions of the State Grange, could not purchase their selection of implements if the orders had been sent to me.

There is an all-important principle involved in this that you must decide at this time. Whether we shall stand by our first pledges to patronize those who came to us in the hour of need, or abandon our true friends when the prejudices of some of our members call for the forbidden fruit. If we depart from our first principles we forfeit all claim to future confidence, while on the other hand, if we decide to hold to our first declaration of principles, we condemn the action of the county agencies. For my part, I would urge the maintenance of the true foundation first laid down, and would patronize those only who recognize us as a Worthy Order, and desire to obtain our trade only through the legitimate channels of the Order. They should not be accepted as loyal to our cause until they offer fair prices through the State Agent, and allow him to publish terms and sell to Patrons throughout the State.

If we unite our orders your State Agent can offer a trade that will command respect, and insure prices vastly lower than have yet been offered. To illustrate. I was told by a manufacturer that a 14 inch double-shin turning plow does not cost over \$8.50 to manufacturers. Presuming that the manufacturer should have a profit of 50 per cent., we could pay it and still have a margin of from \$2.00 to \$2.50 inside of the best wholesale cash prices yet offered. On the quantity of plows bought from one firm alone this year, at these rates, we could have saved \$10,000. The same principle holds good in every article used in the house or on the farm.

If there had been monthly communications from your leaders to the Subordinate Granges, there would be more life among the members. The almost unbroken silence of the chosen leaders for the past year has had a bad influence. I have insisted upon a change in this respect, hoping the Executive Committee would furnish this means of imparting information that I believe should be constantly sent out by them in connection with the Secretary and State Agent.

This is the practice in other States, and there is probably no other better means of keeping up that spirit of enterprise, unity and success, we so much need.

Failing in my efforts to open communication with you in this way, I applied to the editors of the *Prairie Farmer* and *Western*

Farm Journal for the free use of their columns to circulate necessary instruction in regard to the interests of this department, which they very kindly granted. Had it not been for this, this department too must have been unheard from.

Another cause of failure was, that I had no place for the transaction of business except my own residence. Of course then I could not handle a line of goods. Had I been located at Chicago or St. Louis with facilities for the transaction of business, I could have had a stock of implements from at least many manufacturers, to be paid for as sold. I would recommend that hereafter Chicago or East St. Louis be made the headquarters of this department. A warehouse should be procured and business transacted in a business way. If goods were furnished to county agents and members of the Order at an advance of about two per cent., it would go far towards defraying the expenses of the agency, and at the same time, if they would lay in their supplies from that source, the trade would be so immense that they could still purchase lower than at present. There would not be a local agent in the State that could begin to compete with us. Another feature developed at the meeting of agents at Ottawa was, that the same jealousies existing among local agencies was manifest there, they being afraid to speak freely about the prices paid for stock. Such a state of affairs does not speak well of that system.

If we were prepared for it, we could have a very extensive trade with the Granges in the Eastern and Southern States. I have frequent calls from them for flour, corn, bran, and other feed, but am obliged to say, in answer, that we are not in a situation to co-operate with them. The Granges south would take our corn and oats and give us sugar, rice, molasses, and coffee in return. There is not a State in the Union where these arrangements can be as satisfactorily made as in Illinois. We are geographically situated where all important lines of transportation North and South, East and West, traverse our State in all directions, to say nothing of the unparalleled advantages of water transportation. If we *will* we *can* make our State one of special benefits and blessings that will enrich ourselves and flow out on all sides to others, who will rise up and bless us for it. Then let us not bury our talents or keep them laid up in napkins.

I am frequently asked how co-operative stores under county agencies can be most successfully operated. As a general thing I would say, first organize a company under the law of the State, regulating corporations. This being done, open books for a subscription to a cash capital of not less than \$3,000. Let the shares be \$10 each, and allow any member to take as many as ten, but no more. This brings it within the reach of all, and at

the same time prevents a monopoly. Allow none but Patrons to become subscribers. Select the best business man you have among you for an agent, and pay him a salary, but never a commission. It will also be far better to pay a good agent high wages, than take an unfitted one for nothing. Lay in your stock of goods through the State Agency. Sell to all persons at an advance of 10 per cent. When selling to a stockholder, give him a ticket indicating the amount. When at the close of the quarter, half year or year, you are ready to announce a dividend, pay your stockholders 10 per cent. interest, and divide the balance among the purchasers in proportion to the amount their purchase tickets indicate. Upon no condition depart from strictly cash transactions. By applying to the Secretary of State, copies of the "Act Concerning Corporations," together with the necessary blanks to proceed in the organization and incorporation can be obtained. The whole work can be accomplished at a cost to not exceed about \$15.00

These co-operative stores, managed under the principles of our Order, are indispensable. Unless, however, they co-operate in purchasing, they weaken rather than strengthen the interests of the Grange. Neither do I consider that one in each county or district is sufficient. We must occupy the entire ground. From each central store let there be branches. If we leave any place unoccupied where implements are sold, we leave our members there to be fleeced, to compensate the enemy for the loss sustained at points where our stores compel them to cut prices. It is an easy matter for merchants to thus assist each other, and I am informed, upon good authority, they are doing so. If we thus establish county stores and their branches, it facilitates the work of concentrating orders for the State Agency. With ordinary business tact it will be found a profitable investment. This, in the main, is the popular and successful "Rochdale Plan."

It will be remembered that in my circular letter accompanying my "Confidential Price List for 1875," I informed the Patrons I would fill orders for them where they had no county agent. During the first quarter I filled orders to the amount of

	\$ 160.76, saving.....	\$ 100.80
Second.....	1,900.99, "	842.65
Third	727.48, "	401.10
Fourth	1,260.15, "	555.25
	<u>\$4,049.38</u>	<u>\$1,899.70</u>

This saving does not include freights. I had no way of ascertaining what difference it would make. To this I might add at least \$2,000 worth of orders I received for plows and cultivators last Spring, for which the cash did not accompany the order, and

I returned them to the parties ordering, quoting prices, and directed them to send my accompanying order with the cash directly to the factory, that they might receive their goods in time for Spring work. I might also add \$4,000 worth of orders I held for harvesters I could not supply on account of the parties offering the Marsh Harvester, recalling their proposition. I also had a call for 3,000 bushels of clover seed, wanted by the Patrons of Michigan, that I could not supply. This would, in all, have amounted to nearly \$30,000 more trade had I been so situated as to be able to handle their business.

It will be remembered that at the last meeting of the State Grange I had a matter of claim for services rendered, which claim was referred back to the Executive Committee for settlement. They allowed me \$2.00 per day instead of \$2.50, as was first promised, leaving it \$65.62½ short of the amount of bill. In addition to this, they claimed that the salary voted the State Agent at the last meeting of the State Grange (see page 41 of the Proceedings) was to cover all expenses for work done, traveling, printing, postage and stationery. Knowing full well that it could not be done for that amount, and knowing full well, too, that such was not the intention of the Grange, I refused to undertake the work. They then said they would pay \$2.50 per day for the time employed, and expenses. Rather than desert the position to which you called me, I determined to do the best I could under the circumstances. I worked as faithfully as I knew how. Up to May I had not traveled any except to Bloomington to meet the committee, where this business was transacted. I, on the 4th of May, met the committee at Champaign and asked the privilege of going to St. Louis and taking into the line of other manufacturing towns between that and Chicago, for the purpose of making the personal acquaintance of some with whom we were dealing, and endeavor to influence them to furnish our county stores with samples. They would not acquiesce in this proposition, but, on the contrary, directed me to incur no expense beyond that of correspondence. Thus cut off from the possibility of working up your interests as I thought best to succeed, and being directed to issue but one circular during the year, there was no alternative other than to do the best I could at home.

I was also told at the same time that the suggestions I made in regard to us getting into frequent and constant communication with you, were not wanted—that all my monthly reports were to contain *what I was doing*. I then applied to the editors of the *Prairie Farmer* and *Western Farm Journal* for the free use of their columns to communicate such information in regard to new terms offered us, together with such other instruction as might be needed from time to time. Both these

journals were kindly opened to me. To them, then, you owe a debt of gratitude. Since then I have not traveled any except to the meeting of county agents at Ottawa in September, and to the present meeting.

At the meeting of the committee about the last of September, they passed a resolution requiring all the expenses of the State Agency, for work, postage, stationery, etc., to not exceed \$5.00 per week, giving *economy* as the reason. With the work that came to me I could not obey strictly this mandate, and was obliged to put in more time and expend more money. I, however, obeyed as closely as I thought safe, yet had to let much work go by unattended to.

I am well aware that any proposition that comes before us clad in the robes of economy, goes far toward covering up faults, and making it popular. It is easily crowded past, and we hasten on to the next matter when it would have been wisdom to have stopped and considered it well. If, in these instances, economy was the true plea, it is among the inexplicable mysteries why they failed to put the same construction upon their own salaries and contingent expenses. If, indeed, the State Grange is so near bankrupt that it has to repudiate its own contracts, I recall all I have said, and with the same sacred and heartfelt devotion I have ever cherished for this noble institution, I come and lay my humble offering in the shape of curtailed remuneration for labor on the altar and depart in peace, trusting that there will be magnanimity enough on the part of all who have financial interests at stake to come and do likewise.

During the year I have received for my labor, up to the 14th of this month \$492.50, and for expenses for printing, postage, stationery, traveling and exchange paid on money forwarded, \$286.25, making a total of \$760.75. Laboring under these difficulties, and being unable to bring about a reformation in the system so unwisely forced upon us, I feel it my duty to say in vindication of myself I am not to blame for the thousands of dollars lost to the Patrons of Husbandry in Illinois during the past year.

I would plead with you to not leave this State Grange until you are prepared to announce to your constituents that all past obstructions in the way to receiving full benefits in purchasing are forever removed. You know there is deadness at home. Let the representatives here go as missionaries all over the State and rally our forces.

I would recommend the changing of Sec. 10, Art. 5, of the By-Laws to read "*two years*" instead of one, for the purpose of giving your agent a better opportunity to arrange ahead with manufacturers. Neither can any farmer afford to leave his interests on the farm for but one year.

And now, Worthy Patrons, in conclusion I must say I am grieved to feel it necessary to report as I have. If, however, you had confidence in me sufficient to place me over these important interests, you must allow me to give you facts as they are.

By the truth we stand or fall. Nor do I in my criticisms embrace the entire committee. There are some grieved as sorely as I am to see such false constructions put upon the action of your last State Grange. There are men among us who can see business in its true light.

It is now at your disposal. The life or death of the Grange lies in your hands. Your task is a heavy one, perform your duty faithfully and well. You inscribe your own record, and may it be one of honor and fidelity. In retiring from the position I have occupied for nearly two years, I would thank you all for your courtesies and kindness, and for your forbearance while I attempted to discharge the duties of my office.

Respectfully and fraternally submitted,

S. J. FREW.

The special order for 10 o'clock being the amendments to the Constitution of National Grange were called for.

Yeas and Nays called on No. 8.

Yeas, 89. Nays, 33.

Adopted.

8. Amend Article 2, Section 2, of the Constitution by inserting between the words "annually" and "at," where they occur in the first line of said section, the words "or biennially," and by striking out the words "from year to year," where they occur in the second line of said section.

Adopted.

9. Amend Article 6 of the Constitution by substituting the following therefore: "Each State Grange shall fix the fee for membership in its own jurisdiction."

Adopted.

15. Amend Article 5 by adding the following after the word "re-fund," in the seventh line of said article; "And no petition shall be received from a rejected applicant until six months shall have elapsed after such rejection."

Rejected.

11. Amend Article 7, Section 1, of the Constitution by substituting therefor the following: "Each member shall pay into the treasury of the Subordinate Grange to which he belongs a monthly due, to be determined by the State Grange to which it is attached."

Adopted.

12. Amend Article 7, Section 2, of the Constitution by substituting

therefor the following: "The Secretary of each Subordinate Grange shall report quarterly to the Secretary of his State Grange the number of persons initiated since his last report, and also the number who, by death, expulsion, removal or otherwise, have ceased to be members within the same time; and shall pay to the Secretary of the State Grange such an amount of dues on each member and fees for each person initiated during the quarter as the State Grange may determine; provided that any State Grange may require such reports and payments to be made through the Secretaries of the County Granges."

Adopted.

13. Amend Article 7, Section 3, of the Constitution by striking out the word "ten," where it occurs in the third line of said section, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "thirty."

Adopted.

14. Amend Article 8, Section 7, of the Constitution by striking out the word "one," where it occurs in the first line of said section, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "two."

Adopted.

On motion business suspended for one-half hour, to allow manufacturers who have been dealing with the Granges to explain their views in regard to the business of the Order. At the close of their remarks Grange adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment, Worthy Master Golder in chair.

The Committee on By-Laws reported, recommending many important changes, which were considered by sections, and some slight amendments made and the report adopted. They also recommended the passage of the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the present form of by-laws for Subordinate Granges be reprinted.

Resolved, That the Master of the State Grange be and is hereby instructed to use all honorable means to secure such a change in the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Grange, as shall make any Fourth Degree member of our Order in good standing eligible to any position, in either county, State or National Grange.

As the by-laws will be printed in pamphlet form and distributed to the Granges, it is thought best not to encumber the

proceedings with the full report of this committee. (*Secretary.*)

The Special Committee on Executive Committee's Report, reported recommending that—that part of the report relating to the business features of the Order be referred to Committee on Co-operation, that that part relating to changes in the by-laws be referred to Committee on By-Laws. The suggestions relating to Good of the Order to Committee on Good of the Order.

Report adopted.

Bro. Starr offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the Worthy Master, whose duty it shall be to present a series of resolutions, expressive of the sense of this Grange on the hospitable treatment, that we as Patrons of Husbandry have received from the Patrons and citizens of Champaign.

Adopted.

The Committee on Finance made the following partial report which was referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to make the examination recommended:

To the Worthy Master and Members of the State Grange of Illinois:

Your Committee on Finance beg leave to make the following partial report:

Upon examination of vouchers we find that the Secretary has received the sum of \$10,304.85, and has paid out as per receipts the following amounts, viz.:

To Treasurer of State Grange.....	\$8,815.32
For office supplies and rent.....	141.93
Postage and envelopes.....	424.30
Stationery, and express charges.....	40.96
Printing.....	884.84
Total.....	\$10,304.85

From the best information we can gather upon examination of the Secretary's books, we estimate there is about thirteen hundred dollars yet in his hands, but find that we cannot make a final report until there has been entered upon his books the balance of the reports received and at his office; and would recommend that a committee be sent to Sterling to make a careful and full examination of the books and papers in his office, and

make a complete report and have it printed in the proceedings of this meeting and sent to each Subordinate Grange.

Signed ERASTUS J. CLARKE, } *Committee*
 A. W. BALL, } *on*
 F. B. WALKER, } *Finance.*

The Finance Committee made the following supplementary report on Treasurer's books. Adopted.

To the Worthy Master and Members of the State Grange of Illinois:

Your Committee on Finance would respectfully report that we have carefully examined the Treasurer's report, in connection with his books and vouchers, and find the same correct, and recommend that the report of the Treasurer be adopted.

ERASTUS J. CLARK, } *Committee*
 A. W. BALL, } *on*
 F. B. WALKER, } *Finance.*

Motion made to instruct the Committee on Mileage and Per Diem to deduct one dollar from the amount claimed by each member, on account of the time spent in visiting the Industrial University. Motion lost.

The Committee on Mileage and Per Diem made an adverse report on the position of Bro. Starkey, of Hancock county. Report adopted.

Sister Fauley offered a resolution in relation to the use of improper language by the Brothers. Adopted.

The Committee on Temperance made the following report which was adopted: .

Believing that temperance is a cardinal principle of our Order and that it is enjoined upon the Master of each Subordinate Grange to let no meeting pass that temperance is not inculcated upon the members of his Grange: therefore, we believe it expedient that *all* resolutions concerning it be acted upon.

MRS. A. M. FAULEY, *Chr'm.*
 " M. F. TROTT, *Sec'y.*

The following resolution offered by Sister Brown, was adopted:

Resolved, That it be the duty of every Lecturer either of State, Subordinate or District Grange to have some literary performance at each meeting of his Grange.

Committee on Salaries reported as follows:

CHAMPAIGN, ILL., Dec. 16th, 1875.

Worthy Master and Patrons of Husbandry of Illinois State Grange :—Your Committee to whom was assigned the duty of fixing the Salaries of the different Salaried Officers of the Illinois State Grange would respectfully report after due consideration that

First. That the Master's salary be fixed at \$400 and necessary office expenses.

Second. That the Secretary be allowed \$500 and necessary office expenses.

Third. That the Lecturer be allowed \$2.50 per day for the time actually spent in the service of the Grange. That his expenses be paid by Granges desiring his services.

Fourth. That the Treasurer have the use of the money in his care for his compensation.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

BY THE COMMITTEE.

On motion, the report was considered by sections.

Section first considered. Amendment offered to make the salary \$3.00 per day for time actually spent in discharge of the duties of his office. Amendment lost and Section first adopted. Reconsideration moved and lost.

Section second. Adopted.

Section third. Adopted.

Section fourth. Motion made to allow one per cent. on all moneys passing through his hands except what he turns over to his successor. Amendment to the amendment offered to strike out one and insert three per cent.

Amendment to the amendment *lost*.

Amendment *lost*.

Grange adjourned to 7 o'clock P. M.

—————
EVENING SESSION.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment. Worthy Master Golder in the chair.

Consideration of the Report of Committee on Salaries resumed.

Motion made and carried to *recommit* that portion relating to the salary of the Treasurer.

Sister Warren moved a *reconsideration* of the vote by which Sec. 2, Art. 2, of the By-Laws, was adopted for the purpose of offering an amendment. Motion to reconsider *carried*.

Sister Warren offered an amendment providing that when

any county is entitled to more than one delegate the additional delegate shall in all cases be a Sister. Amendment adopted.

Section as amended adopted.

On invitation, Bro. S. M. Smith, of Henry County, addressed the Grange at length.

At the close of Brother Smith's address, the Committee on Salaries made a Supplementary Report as follows, which was adopted.

We would recommend that the Treasurer be allowed \$300 and necessary office expenses, and that it shall be his duty as soon, at any time, as enough funds belonging to the Grange accumulate in his hands to invest the same in Government Bonds and that the loss or profit arising from such investment in bonds be the profit or loss of this Grange.

Respectfully submitted.

BY THE COMMITTEE.

The Secretary announced a communication from Messrs. Coon and Bridwell, of New Orleans, asking to be appointed commission agents in that city for the Patrons of Illinois. Referred to Executive Committee.

On motion, the Grange proceeded to the election of officers for the term of two years.

A ballot for Master was ordered.

Worthy Master appointed Bros. Trott and VanCourt tellers. On motion, Bro. Reed was added to the number of tellers.

Motion to adjourn made, and *lost*.

The result of 1st ballot for Master was as follows:

Bro. Golder received 34 votes; Alexander, 15; Downen, 19; Trott, 1; Joseph, 3; Guy, 14; Wallace, 6; Foster, 5; Lee, 4; VanCourt, 5; Gilham, 1; Sykes, 4; Curtis, 3; Musson, 3; Armstrong, 1; McConnell, 6; Smith, 1; Forsyth, 7; Patterson, 1.

No choice.

The result of 2d ballot was as follows:

Bro. Golder received 45 votes; Alexander, 24; Downen, 21; Joseph, 3; Guy, 16; Lee, 2; VanCourt, 2; Sykes, 3; Musson, 1; Armstrong, 1; Forsyth, 7.

No choice.

Grange adjourned to 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION, Dec. 17, 1875.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment, Worthy Master Golder in the chair.

Balloting for Master resumed.

Result of 3d ballot, no choice.

Result of 4th ballot, no choice.

On the 5th ballot, Bro. Forsyth, of Isabell, Edgar county, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected.

On motion of Bro. Foster, the Secretary was instructed to immediately inform Bro. Forsyth of his election by telegraph, and request his attendance at the Grange, as soon as possible.

Ballot spread for the office of Overseer.

The result of the ballot was as follows:

Bro. Charles received 1 vote; Foster, 1; Randolph, 1; Downen, 67; Scorington, 5; Linxweiler, 2; Guy, 6; Myers, 5; Clay, 17; VanCourt 1; Layon, 1; Trott, 2; Joseph, 3; Reed, 2; Alexander, 2; Curtis, 1; Jones, 1; Grammer, 1.

Bro. John Downen, of Industry, McDonough county, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected Overseer.

Ballot ordered for the office of Lecturer. The 1st ballot resulted as follows:

Bro. Golder received 25 votes; Lawrence, 13; Curtis, 9; Foster, 5; Lee, 14; Osborn, 5; Wallace, 10; VanCourt, 15; Sykes, 8; Condry, 1; Guy, 2; Keller, 6; Trott, 4; Linxweiler, 1; Logan, 1; Thompson, 1; Sister Hathaway, 1; Musson, 3; Starr, 1.

No choice.

On the 2d ballot Bro. Golder received a majority of all the votes cast, and was declared duly elected Lecturer.

A ballot was taken for the office of Steward, and on the 1st ballot Bro. John Odell, of Champaign, was elected.

The ballot ordered for the office of Assistant Steward, and on the 3d ballot Bro. R. R. Field, of Thompson, Carroll county, was declared duly elected.

Bro. L. F. Farnham, of Warren, JoDaviess county, was duly elected Chaplain on the 1st ballot.

Bro. John S. Armstrong, of Sheridan, LaSalle county, was declared elected Treasurer on the 1st ballot.

Bro. Keller was appointed a committee of one to wait on Bro. Armstrong and inform him of his election, and request him to accept the office.

Motion made to adjourn, and lost.

Motion made to suspend the rule. Lost.

Ballot ordered for Secretary.

The first ballot resulted in no choice.

Order of business suspended, and a communication received from Champaign county Grange, extending an invitation to this Grange to hold its next annual meeting in the city of Champaign.

Referred to Executive Committee.

Grange adjourned to 1 o'clock P. M.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Grange met according to adjournment, Worthy Master in the chair.

Special order resumed.

Balloting for Secretary continued.

On the 3d ballot Bro. J. M. Chambers, of Freeport, Stephenson county, was elected.

Proceeded to ballot for Gate-keeper. Bro. J. F. Randolph, of Canton, Fulton county, was elected on 1st ballot.

The Grange proceeded to the election of lady officers with the following result:

Sister L. D. Edwards, of Franklin Crossing, Rock Island county, was elected *Ceres*.

Sister B. J. VanCourt, was elected *Pomona*.

Sister W. C. Trott, was elected *Flora*.

Sister T. L. Myers, was elected L. A. S.

Motion made to suspend the rule for the purpose of offering an amendment to the By-Laws. Motion lost.

Motion made and carried, that the rule be suspended.

Motion made to approve the course of the Executive Committee. Motion carried.

Bro. G. W. Patton moved to amend the By-Laws by restoring the original of Section 5, Article 8, except the word Secretary in the fourth line.

Bro. Lee offered a substitute for Bro. Patton's amendment in

effect that the Executive Committee consist of three members. The consideration made the special order for 7 o'clock P. M.

Regular order of business resumed.

The Committee on Appeals and Grievances, made the following report:

To Worthy Master and Members of this Grange:

We, the Committee on Grievances, beg leave to submit the following report:

1st. In the case of Samuel Taylor, of Paradise Grange, No. 604, Ford county, claiming to be unlawfully expelled from said Grange, your committee, after due consideration, on account of informality and want of proper evidence, we would, therefore, recommend that the whole matter be referred back to Paradise Grange, and that the master of said Grange be officially notified to grant the brother a new trial according to law, within thirty days after receiving such notice.

2d. In the case of Plainview Grange, No. 685, claiming pay for their Master's attendance on the meeting of the State Grange at Bloomington, in December, 1873:

For 3 days in attendance.....	\$6.00
For travel, 140 miles.....	5.60
Total.....	\$11.60

We recommend that the above claim be allowed.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

T. F. STRUNK,	} Committee.
D. P. KELLER,	
T. D. PORTER,	
R. R. FIELD,	
T. A. BARBER,	

Report adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following:

WHEREAS, The State Grange, now in session, is largely indebted to the citizens and Patrons of the city and county of Champaign for their hospitality and liberality:

Resolved, That in the offer of this comfortable and commodious hall for our use, gratuitously, we recognize their appreciation of the correctness of our principles and their value to the human family, and that we assure them that we value this appreciation as highly as we most assuredly do their liberality.

Resolved, That the hotels and boarding-houses which have reduced their rates to the members of this Grange, have, by that action, shown that they

understood our position and the benefits of cordial relations between producer and consumer.

Resolved, That our visit to the State Industrial University was replete with instruction and enjoyment. That to the regent, professors and pupils we extend our warmest thanks for their cordial politeness and the readiness and patience with which they answered our inquiries. That we take pleasure in assuring them that our faith in the practical value of the institution has been greatly increased by our visit, and that we can but hope that it will redound to the mutual benefit of the University and the agriculture and the agriculturists of our beloved State; and that to each and all who have contributed to our happiness, comfort and instruction, we return our heartfelt thanks.

Your Committee recommend that the Secretary be requested to transcribe these resolutions, and send a copy to the Regent of the University, and to the papers of this city for publication.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

C. A. STARR,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
A. C. WARNER,		
A. B. AIKEN,		

On motion, it was resolved that the Fifth Degree be conferred immediately after the installation of officers.

The Committee on Good of the Order, made the following report, which was adopted.

Worthy Master, Sisters and Brothers:

Your Committee on Good of the Order, beg leave to present the following report:

After taking into consideration the vast amount of work and the short time allowed, and the want of the proper information from which to obtain the facts and figures, we ask you to accept the following resolutions and suggestions, as our report;

First. That it is very essential to the prosperity of the Order, for this Grange to practice what it preaches.

Second. We would call the attention of Masters of Subordinate Granges, to the fact that it is their duty to use all proper means at their command to make the social and educational features of the Grange, both interesting and instructive, that on this, in a great measure, rests the success of the Grange movement, and after a careful examination of the business arm of the Order, your Committee heartily concur in the recommendation made by the Executive Committee, that there be joint stock companies established for the purchase and sale of implements and supplies.

Third. And we would suggest, that the Masters of Subordinate Granges, who compose *this* Grange, bring the fact to the notice of their members, that the cash or ready pay system, is the pillar

of strength in this beautiful Temple of ours, and that the credit system is the highwayman who robs us of our manhood, and the tyrant that binds us as the veriest slave.

Fourth. We would also call your attention to the subject of educating the sons and daughters of the farmers, and that this education should be such as would prepare them to better fill their stations in life, and to this end we would recommend the Industrial University, of Illinois, as one of the institutions deserving our patronage.

Your Committee are of the opinion that the Patrons of the great State of Illinois, should establish a general newspaper, owned and controlled by the producing class, with an editorial staff of sufficient ability to discuss any, and all questions pertaining to their interests, and one that should not be under the control, or influenced by trade or commerce, but one that by its teachings should educate, elevate and fit us to occupy the position that rightfully belongs to us, which is the highest and noblest, because of its God given origin.

Resolution No. 20, is already provided for in the by-laws, and also that the sign of distress is also provided for in the Secret Work.

Resolution No. 22, in regard to text-books, your committee would recommend that County Grange, to take the matter under consideration.

All of which your committee would respectfully submit for your consideration.

SISTER REED,	} Committee.
SISTER WARREN,	
G. W. BURGESS,	
J. K. BURT,	
L. G. FISH,	

Bro. Alexander, Guy and Musson, offered the following, which was accepted:

We, the members of the State Executive Committee, whose terms of office do not expire until next year, most respectfully hereby offer our resignations.

A. J. ALEXANDER,	} Committee.
R. M. GUY,	
C. MUSSON.	

Motion to adjourn lost.

Communication from R. H. Ferguson, of Troy, N. Y., referred to Executive Committee.

Worthy Master appointed the following committee, to make arrangements for conferring the Fifth Degree:

BRO. EDWARDS,	} Committee.
BRO. WOODFORD,	
SISTER WARREN,	

The Executive Committee were instructed to select such portions of S. M. Smith's address as they may think best, and publish the same, with those of Sidney Myers, Hon. W. C. Flagg, Dr. G. M. Gregory, and Mrs. S. M. Smith's poem in the proceedings of this Grange.

Dec. 17, 1875.

Your Auditing Committee would respectfully submit the following accounts, and recommend the payment of the same:

S. J. Frew, to service in attending State Grange, Dec. 15 and 16, 1875.....	\$5.00
Hotel bills for same time.....	4.00
	<hr/>
For printing and reporting lectures.....	\$9.00
	<hr/>
	\$4.25

G. W. MARSH, }
W. W. HUTCHING, } *Committee.*

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION.

Grange met pursuant to adjournment.

Worthy Master Golder in the chair.

Motion made and carried, that the whole matter relating to by-laws be laid upon the table.

The Grange now proceeded to the election of Executive Committee.

Bro. A. J. Alexander, was elected member of Executive Committee for two years, upon first ballot.

Bro. D. N. Foster, was elected member of Executive Committee for two years, upon first ballot.

Bro. T. M. Guy, was elected member of Executive Committee for one year, upon second ballot.

Bro. C. N. Anderson, was elected member of Executive Committee for one year, upon first ballot.

Your Committee on Co-operation respectfully beg leave to report:

That they have duly considered the resolutions, reports, etc., committed to their attention, and in view of the great importance of enlarging the work of co-operation in this Order, in which we believe the very existence and life of the Order depends, we, therefore, recommend that in every county, where the same is practicable, joint stock companies be organized under the laws of the State, making the shares in small sums of not less than

\$10.00 (the lowest provided by law), distributing them among the greatest possible number; and the selection of competent and faithful members of the Order, as agents, who should be required to give good and sufficient bonds for the honest performance of the duties assigned them. Such agents to be paid fair remuneration for their services, either by salary or commission as may be deemed best.

We also recommend the establishment in counties and districts of Stock Associations or marts for the sale and exchange of live stock and other products of the farm.

We recommend the establishment of a General Agency in the city of Chicago under the supervision of the Executive Committee with power to appoint said agent, remunerating him with a salary or commission. Requiring him to give good and sufficient bonds for the faithful performance of the duties assigned him and for the safety of property and moneys in his hands belonging to members of the Order, as individuals, or belonging to joint stock associations employing him. Such firms in Chicago or St. Louis who have complied with the requirements of the Executive Committee in handling consignments of members of the Order satisfactorily, are hereby commended to your kind consideration.

Lack of opportunity and time have prevented your committee from giving such further consideration to the matters referred to them as was desired by us.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

G. W. CURTIS.	} Committee.
W. M. POOL.	
L. D. EDWARDS.	
G. W. GREEN.	
E. G. PATTERSON.	

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Banking House of D. Gardner & Co., of Champaign, and also their clerks are entitled to the kindest consideration of this State Grange, for keeping open their bank late, beyond business hours, for the purpose of paying the checks of our treasurer, thus enabling many members to reach their homes the earlier.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be handed to the papers of Champaign for publication.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the State Grange of Illinois hold in high esteem, the characteristics which have led our worthy brother, S. M. Smith to labor so indefatigably in behalf of the industrial classes and admire his courage in battling with every form of oppression.

Bro. C. A. Starr offered the following:

Resolved, That that part of the report of the Executive Committee consisting of the plan submitted by the Committee on Life Insurance be printed in a circular form and sent to every Grange in the State, with the request that each Grange act upon it and report said action to the Secretary of the State Grange.

Adopted.

Motion made to divide the money donated to the State Grange by the National Grange, among the Subordinate Granges. Tabled.

Moved by W. H. Green, that the money be put in the hands of the Executive Committee to be used for business purposes as they may think best. Carried.

The following was read by Sister Green:

Worthy Master and Patrons:

I did not come here expecting to make a speech to this honorable body, but I did come here expecting to hear many suggestions for the Good of the Order. I know your time is limited and has been fully occupied so far, but I certainly think one hour ought and should be devoted to this one particular object.

I feel the necessity of this more since hearing the address of Bro. Smith last night, telling us of the fearful falling off of our members. We must not let the Grange die, we will not let it die.

Sisters, I appeal to you to help more in the work, as some ladies have done in the Temperance cause. I have heard some ladies say we never get time to say anything in the Subordinate or County Granges. The men take all the time. I will admit that men are one kind of monopoly but we do not want to put them down, but we want an equal chance with them.

Now we will tell you how you can get the time. When the time of your monthly meeting comes around you find a lunch and take it along and stay the whole day, and if needs be, the whole night, too.

In addition to this, I would ask those members that can talk, to visit the weaker Granges and encourage them to greater action.

A vote of thanks was given Sister Green, and it was ordered that her paper be printed in the proceedings.

Sister Vose, of Lake county, offered the following:

Resolved, That the use of tobacco is detrimental to the health, both mental and physical, of man, and its common use a filthy habit, especially in fouling the floors of rooms used by assemblies of both sexes; rendering them offensive to the senses, and soiling the garments of its occupants.

Resolution adopted.

The following, offered by Sister Fauley was adopted:

We, the members of the Illinois State Grange of December, 1875, considering the thousands of lives that are sacrificed yearly from strong drink, and the hundreds of millions of dollars our country is poorer from its use, regard with alarm not only the increase of intemperance, but other immoralities, do pledge ourselves to work earnestly for the suppression of those vices which are becoming almost common and threaten the destruction of our Government.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the practice which prevails throughout our country of one person treating another to spirituous or malt liquors, is the greatest curse of intemperance amongst the young men of our country, and we would earnestly recommend that every member of this Order use his or her influence against the above named practice.

Also the following, offered by Sister Brown:

Resolved, That no person in the habitual use of intoxicating spirits shall hold any office in either National, State or Subordinate Grange.

Also the following, offered by Bro. Vose:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report at the next meeting of the Grange such legislative action as may be necessary for our interest both in the State and National legislature.

Special order of business taken up.

The Worthy Master proceeded to exemplify the secret work of the subordinate degrees of the Order.

The following resolution was offered by Sister Lovitt, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Brothers of this Grange be requested to refrain from any expressions of temper on this floor.

The following resolution was offered and adopted:

Resolved, That the money received from the National Grange be deposited in the treasury of this Grange, subject to the order of the Executive Committee.

The following resolution was offered by Brother Alexander:

Resolved, That Bros. Foster and Green be allowed ten dollars each for services as assistant secretaries. Carried.

FRIDAY EVENING.

The officers elect were duly installed by Bro. Foster, assisted by Bros. Wallace and Grammer, except the Worthy Master elect, who was not present.

Motion made and carried, that the Worthy Master proceed to

confer the Fifth Degree, which was done with the assistance of Bro. Foster.

Bro. McCoy offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved: That the thanks of this State Grange be tendered to Worthy Master Golder for the very able manner he has presided over the State Grange for the last four years.

Bro. Starr offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved: That in our venerable Brother and Worthy Past Master, Alonzo Golder, we have ever found the mental and moral qualities worthy of our admiration and regard, and that we take this opportunity to express to our brother our personal and fraternal respect.

Resolved: That we treasure his memory in the warmest recesses of our hearts, and in parting assure him of our continued confidence and esteem.

The retiring Master made a few remarks, thanking the Brothers and Sisters for their uniform kindness and respect during his term of office.

On motion of Bro. Starr, a vote of thanks was given Bro. Foster for the kind, prompt and efficient manner in which he has discharged *all* his duties during this session.

Bro. Foster responded in a short address, thanking the members of the Grange for the kindness and forbearance with which he had been treated, and this expression of their approbation; urging the members, as they left the Grange room, to lay aside all feelings of "jealousy, hatred and bitterness," and go forth a band of true brothers and sisters to battle for the right against the wrong, until the class to which we belong occupy that position in the community to which the importance of our profession and the results of our labors entitle us.

The Grange adjourned to 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION.

Grange opened at 8 o'clock A. M., according to adjournment. Worthy Past Master Golder in the chair.

It having been resolved by the Grange that no legislation should be had after Friday evening's session, and the Master elect having arrived, Worthy Past Master Golder proceeded to install Bro. Forsyth as Master. On taking the chair, Worthy

Master Forsyth addressed the Grange at some length, paying a high compliment to the retiring Master. Returning thanks for the confidence of the Brothers and Sisters expressed in the result of their ballots, and expressed his hope and confidence in the ultimate success of the Order, and pledged his best abilities to the faithful performance of the duties of the high position to which the partiality of the Brothers and Sisters had called him.

Grange closed in due form.

O. E. FANNING, *Sec'y.*

REPORT OF SPECIAL FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Your committee to whom was assigned the duty of examining the books and vouchers in the Secretary's office, would report that we have given said books and vouchers a very careful and thorough examination; have compared the books with the reports from the Subordinate Grange, received during the year 1875, and the books with the Secretary's Report for the year 1874, also the vouchers for the credit side of the account, and we are gratified to be able to say that we believe the finances of the Grange have been honestly accounted for. Also that the books have been kept with a commendable degree of accuracy, considering the nature of the accounts to be kept.

The following exhibit marked (A), will show the amount received from each Subordinate Grange during the year 1875. The one marked (B) the condition of the Secretary's account.

A. J. ALEXANDER, }
D. N. FOSTER, } *Committee.*

A.

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
1	%	55	%	109	\$17.46
2		56	2.60	110	6.58
3		57	9.38	111	20.54
4	11.94	58	13.27	112	16.25
5		59	10.00	113	6.98
6	22.90	60	3.24	114	9.44
7	10.50	61	1.32	115	3.05
8	7.50	62	16.24	116	25.40
9	98.63	63	4.56	117	6.72
10	3.96	64		118	8.90
11	16.10	65	12.46	119	24.50
12		66	7.00	120	1.44
13	7.57	67	7.41	121	7.52
14	4.32	68		122	1.50
15	19.38	69	10.07	123	9.52
16	1.56	70	21.46	124	
17		71	19.33	125	
18		72	2.70	126	11.00
19	4.20	73	13.74	127	18.08
20	3.30	74		128	
21		75	5.32	129	10.74
22	21.80	76	12.06	130	10.64
23	12.36	77		131	7.20
24		78	22.17	132	35.88
25	8.46	79	4.86	133	19.63
26	5.34	80	6.30	134	12.75
27	6.20	81	2.65	135	7.06
28	4.52	82		136	2.28
29	10.85	83	18.00	137	
30		84	2.40	138	6.02
31	12.16	85		139	1.80
32	8.70	86	6.26	140	5.38
33	12.53	87	8.88	141	10.18
34		88	7.08	142	18.85
35	32.38	89	7.06	143	20.88
36		90	7.20	144	17.36
37	3.92	91		145	
38	3.90	92	11.17	146	5.30
39	7.02	93		147	6.52
40	12.50	94	16.80	148	21.76
41	17.31	95		49	
42	7.12	96	3.72	150	4.26
43		97	5.76	151	11.00
44	8.52	98	12.86	152	
45	2.61	99		153	11.10
46	13.36	100	6.60	154	5.40
47		101		155	2.85
48	3.94	102	16.38	156	15.60
49	12.02	103	11.96	157	6.52
50	10.94	104	19.22	158	11.50
51	11.34	105		159	7.95
52	8.46	106	5.65	160	6.71
53	3.60	107		161	5.76
54	10.80	108		162	10.32

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
163.....	\$13.80	219.....	\$ 7.72	275.....	\$
164.....	4.00	220.....		276.....	5.30
165.....		221.....	12.00	277.....	4.60
166.....	8.10	222.....	13.75	278.....	
167.....		223.....	6.64	278.....	
168.....	5.64	224.....	15.86	279.....	8.58
169.....		225.....	9.44	280.....	
170.....	10.76	226.....	6.70	281.....	10.24
171.....		227.....	9.10	282.....	7.26
172.....	7.45	228.....	5.97	283.....	3.78
173.....	14.69	229.....	19.00	284.....	18.83
174.....	17.20	230.....	11.68	285.....	3.54
175.....		231.....	8.77	286.....	6.28
176.....		232.....	8.68	287.....	13.40
177.....		233.....		288.....	4.14
178.....	5.00	234.....	11.17	289.....	
179.....	24.13	235.....	3.40	290.....	6.30
180.....	7.68	236.....		291.....	
181.....		237.....	6.50	292.....	
182.....	3.75	238.....	12.53	293.....	9.92
183.....	15.17	239.....	6.53	294.....	5.15
184.....	13.00	240.....	7.80	295.....	
185.....	5.82	241.....	7.25	296.....	6.30
186.....	5.44	242.....	9.81	297.....	2.75
187.....		243.....	4.24	298.....	9.90
188.....		244.....	8.11	299.....	8.94
189.....	9.72	245.....	13.59	300.....	5.64
190.....	4.25	246.....	22.41	301.....	11.04
191.....	4.19	247.....	5.94	302.....	4.30
192.....	3.16	248.....	5.04	303.....	11.94
193.....		249.....	7.28	304.....	7.30
194.....	15.55	250.....	8.34	305.....	17.94
195.....	7.92	251.....	6.12	306.....	15.20
196.....	19.81	252.....	2.40	307.....	2.40
197.....		253.....		308.....	
198.....	9.10	254.....	2.88	309.....	12.44
199.....	4.08	255.....	6.85	310.....	14.76
200.....	25.25	256.....	5.28	311.....	6.05
201.....	4.80	257.....		312.....	10.32
202.....	30.97	258.....	4.32	313.....	8.15
203.....	14.92	259.....		314.....	
204.....		260.....		315.....	3.78
205.....	14.86	261.....	6.40	316.....	
206.....	12.32	262.....		317.....	
207.....	8.17	263.....	2.00	318.....	39.90
208.....	9.85	264.....	5.58	319.....	5.94
209.....	5.80	265.....	7.73	320.....	8.52
210.....		266.....	4.98	321.....	13.56
211.....	5.05	267.....	5.08	322.....	8.95
212.....	9.95	268.....	8.88	323.....	9.03
213.....	23.19	269.....	10.75	324.....	2.80
214.....	6.58	270.....		325.....	7.73
215.....		271.....	9.82	326.....	19.22
216.....	13.00	272.....	9.16	327.....	10.76
217.....	4.32	273.....	5.39	328.....	
218.....	.96	274.....	8.16	329.....	

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
330.	\$	386.	\$	442.	\$ 3.48
331.	10.62	387.	9.08	443.	28.29
332.	1.98	388.		444.	17.86
333.		389.		445.	5.85
334.	13.70	390.		446.	9.12
335.	1.56	391.		447.	9.10
336.	4.15	392.	9.50	448.	7.10
337.		393.	4.27	449.	4.02
338.	10.56	394.		450.	7.24
339.	4.50	395.	9.46	451.	8.44
340.		396.	8.05	452.	1.56
341.	5.66	397.	8.73	453.	5.30
342.	12.24	398.	10.32	454.	4.80
343.	8.37	399.	1.20	455.	7.74
344.	1.50	400.	3.90	456.	5.42
345.	9.18	401.	10.66	457.	6.24
346.	3.84	402.		458.	43.00
347.	15.97	403.	2.94	459.	8.95
348.	14.68	404.	.90	460.	
349.	12.54	405.	10.85	461.	11.57
350.		406.	2.34	462.	
351.	2.04	407.	11.35	463.	24.40
352.		408.	1.70	464.	
353.		409.	6.15	465.	10.10
354.	12.57	410.		466.	11.18
355.		411.	8.15	467.	1.20
356.	3.40	412.	4.58	468.	
357.	5.07	413.	3.34	469.	22.07
358.	4.56	414.		470.	12.98
359.	6.52	415.	3.90	471.	28.36
360.		416.	1.50	472.	7.90
361.	6.10	417.	31.85	473.	10.35
362.	10.71	418.		474.	3.85
363.	5.91	419.	2.70	475.	119.10
364.	16.05	420.		476.	6.49
365.	3.48	421.	21.01	477.	11.23
366.	4.20	422.	1.40	478.	2.75
367.	5.35	423.		479.	
368.	2.64	424.	6.80	480.	
369.	15.86	425.	15.34	481.	5.30
370.	6.31	426.	7.42	482.	
371.	2.40	427.		483.	3.12
372.	12.49	428.	3.20	484.	13.36
373.		429.	4.33	485.	18.26
374.	5.52	430.	7.20	486.	9.62
375.	15.41	431.	7.68	487.	10.34
376.	6.44	432.	9.10	488.	
377.		433.	1.80	489.	
378.	12.06	434.	1.65	490.	
379.	2.30	435.	10.00	491.	9.00
380.	21.06	436.		492.	2.70
381.	10.98	437.		493.	9.75
382.	9.86	438.	7.75	494.	19.73
383.	16.23	439.	7.34	495.	10.44
384.	32.33	440.	4.20	496.	7.44
385.	24.02	441.		497.	

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
498.....	\$	554.....	\$ 1.62	610.....	\$ 3.60
499.....		555.....	33.60	611.....	
500.....	4.96	556.....		612.....	2.22
501.....		557.....		613.....	
502.....	8.48	558.....	7.95	614.....	11.83
503.....	10.04	559.....	13.32	615.....	
504.....	1.20	560.....	2.74	616.....	4.50
505.....	3.47	561.....		617.....	5.32
506.....		562.....		618.....	5.74
507.....	23.26	563.....	9.72	619.....	11.20
508.....	7.35	564.....		620.....	7.61
509.....	3.97	565.....	10.32	621.....	14.76
510.....		566.....	4.30	622.....	1.75
511.....	14.64	567.....	8.17	623.....	6.91
512.....		568.....	17.67	624.....	13.02
513.....	13.96	569.....	13.50	625.....	7.62
514.....		570.....		626.....	3.26
515.....		571.....	12.00	627.....	15.96
516.....	13.92	572.....	35.24	628.....	
517.....	30.57	573.....	9.06	629.....	5.70
518.....	11.58	574.....	14.52	630.....	4.65
519.....	10.14	575.....	8.50	631.....	2.45
520.....		576.....		632.....	7.15
521.....	1.90	577.....	23.75	633.....	7.36
522.....		578.....	1.98	634.....	
523.....		579.....	3.72	635.....	18.00
524.....		580.....	16.64	636.....	9.56
525.....	6.14	581.....	9.22	637.....	27.79
526.....	36.50	582.....	6.36	638.....	10.91
527.....	11.37	583.....	13.36	639.....	20.56
528.....	6.67	584.....	9.68	640.....	
529.....	2.64	585.....	13.04	641.....	3.46
530.....	5.58	586.....		642.....	9.66
531.....		587.....	5.53	643.....	
532.....	8.78	588.....	24.54	644.....	11.00
533.....	8.02	589.....		645.....	9.90
534.....		590.....	14.17	646.....	2.00
535.....	8.04	591.....	13.72	647.....	11.26
536.....	11.92	592.....	6.54	648.....	6.90
537.....	1.56	593.....	20.76	649.....	7.35
538.....	1.67	594.....	7.78	650.....	11.86
539.....	5.50	595.....	4.32	651.....	
540.....	30.25	596.....	9.10	652.....	7.97
541.....		597.....	8.73	653.....	7.14
542.....		598.....		654.....	8.70
543.....	8.58	599.....	5.28	655.....	3.86
544.....		600.....		656.....	15.20
545.....		601.....	12.96	657.....	2.00
546.....		602.....		658.....	3.84
547.....	6.26	603.....		659.....	12.10
548.....	13.98	604.....	10.88	660.....	5.34
549.....		605.....	6.63	661.....	8.25
550.....	4.02	606.....		662.....	8.28
551.....	21.36	607.....	4.78	663.....	10.30
552.....	43.56	608.....	11.09	664.....	15.24
553.....	11.99	609.....	6.36	665.....	14.34

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
666	\$ 1.68	722	\$20.42	778	4.38
667	10.19	723	11.29	779	17.52
668	11.15	724	39.35	780	\$ 8.96
669	19.10	725	6.72	781	1.35
670		726	1.50	782	6.60
671	14.93	727	7.57	783	8.40
672	11.40	728	16.84	784	7.93
673	4.10	729	22.55	785	5.96
674	4.80	730	13.24	786	7.12
675	14.10	731		787	14.80
676	44.10	732	13.44	788	5.24
677	2.60	733	6.33	789	1.50
678		734		790	5.04
679		735	17.50	791	9.14
680	4.86	736	20.61	792	
681		737	6.70	793	6.50
682	7.05	738	9.00	794	5.55
683	11.40	739	6.78	795	12.02
684	4.02	740	15.94	796	8.25
685	6.25	741	14.09	797	3.76
686	4.98	742	11.41	798	12.94
687		743	19.22	799	5.35
688	8.09	744	17.00	800	2.75
689	10.90	745	19.97	801	13.50
690	11.56	746	6.19	802	11.80
691	10.62	747	8.35	803	10.08
692	7.86	748	7.90	804	12.40
693		749	2.93	805	8.94
694	5.28	750	5.52	806	10.17
695		751	1.56	807	15.36
696	9.03	752	10.44	808	11.91
697	14.11	753	10.60	809	4.57
698	5.96	754	5.04	810	11.36
699		755	2.52	811	21.87
700		756		812	4.10
701	14.45	757	10.90	813	5.28
702	3.06	758	7.44	814	15.30
703	5.98	759	11.62	815	31.14
704		760	4.92	816	9.30
705		761	2.40	817	28.68
706	25.76	762	4.30	818	10.46
707	11.60	763	13.96	819	19.37
708	8.57	764	6.20	820	10.92
709	26.74	765	3.25	821	9.78
710	11.34	766	10.66	822	11.26
711	2.76	767	4.38	823	7.60
712	6.28	768	15.49	824	17.21
713	7.20	769	8.13	825	16.44
714	16.15	770	10.80	826	10.85
715	5.80	771	17.88	827	3.95
716	7.49	772	15.34	828	1.90
717	4.12	773	19.70	829	5.76
718	4.00	774		830	18.84
719	15.12	775		831	8.23
720	6.00	776	43.64	832	7.11
721	10.46	777	16.92	833	

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
834.....	\$ 3.96	890.....	\$19.92	946.....	\$16.41
835.....	7.99	891.....	26.61	947.....	2.16
836.....	2.64	892.....	13.36	948.....	28.52
837.....	13.15	893.....	7.86	949.....	16.40
838.....		894.....	15.74	950.....	
839.....	10.62	895.....		951.....	13.14
840.....	9.62	896.....	9.28	952.....	11.06
841.....	7.25	897.....	4.98	953.....	
842.....	10.71	898.....	10.51	954.....	13.80
843.....	20.40	899.....		955.....	9.20
844.....	30.64	900.....	24.81	956.....	7.15
845.....	18.08	901.....	16.50	957.....	8.91
846.....	7.92	902.....	11.93	958.....	13.82
847.....	18.38	903.....	26.42	959.....	15.50
848.....	9.67	904.....	6.84	960.....	36.95
849.....	10.02	905.....	14.18	961.....	
850.....	5.76	906.....	5.94	962.....	8.40
851.....	4.95	907.....	9.47	963.....	23.46
852.....	10.00	908.....	4.30	964.....	
853.....	8.02	909.....	35.18	965.....	2.94
854.....	9.80	910.....	7.30	966.....	23.70
855.....		911.....		967.....	5.72
856.....	11.48	912.....	7.82	968.....	22.00
857.....	3.90	913.....	8.31	969.....	4.30
858.....		914.....	6.39	970.....	23.65
859.....	3.78	915.....	8.74	971.....	6.43
860.....	10.98	916.....	2.04	972.....	11.30
861.....	17.90	917.....	9.69	973.....	13.50
862.....	14.00	918.....	11.59	974.....	15.01
863.....	8.04	919.....	11.35	975.....	9.93
864.....	13.12	920.....	16.38	976.....	15.80
865.....	9.65	921.....	6.85	977.....	9.10
866.....	20.51	922.....	8.14	978.....	12.85
867.....	8.60	923.....		979.....	3.35
868.....	4.47	924.....	12.25	980.....	7.02
869.....	11.77	925.....	20.45	981.....	
870.....	17.28	926.....	27.00	982.....	1.80
871.....	10.98	927.....	3.24	983.....	4.26
872.....	1.86	928.....	6.89	984.....	19.77
873.....	11.92	929.....	6.12	985.....	14.92
874.....	6.66	930.....	10.48	986.....	11.84
875.....	18.77	931.....	8.58	987.....	2.10
876.....	12.14	932.....	15.80	988.....	5.12
877.....	6.45	933.....	7.84	989.....	9.06
878.....	2.64	934.....	5.41	990.....	2.76
879.....	6.70	935.....	6.52	991.....	1.26
880.....	7.92	936.....	10.42	992.....	7.62
881.....		937.....	12.32	993.....	33.63
882.....	6.80	938.....	3.00	994.....	8.15
883.....		939.....	9.47	995.....	8.43
884.....	5.75	940.....	58.03	996.....	7.51
885.....	10.86	941.....		997.....	12.88
886.....	15.55	942.....	10.17	998.....	6.50
887.....	8.50	943.....	1.38	999.....	4.75
888.....	6.00	944.....	3.10	1000.....	6.72
889.....	11.84	945.....	1.92	1001.....	

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
1002.....	\$ 5.45	1058.....	\$ 3.45	1114.....	\$ 6.56
1003.....	2.75	1059.....	7.32	1115.....	
1004.....	30.94	1060.....	9.44	1116.....	11.02
1005.....	.90	1061.....		1117.....	9.78
1006.....	24.93	1062.....	7.20	1118.....	30.47
1007.....	29.06	1063.....	4.29	1119.....	19.55
1008.....	3.13	1064.....	10.06	1120.....	13.75
1009.....	24.15	1065.....	15.56	1121.....	11.24
1010.....	18.42	1066.....	8.70	1122.....	1.74
1011.....	3.57	1067.....	5.68	1123.....	9.66
1012.....	12.30	1068.....	19.54	1124.....	12.82
1013.....	3.62	1069.....		1125.....	4.38
1014.....	11.68	1070.....	2.34	1126.....	
1015.....	8.02	1071.....	13.79	1127.....	6.60
1016.....	11.46	1072.....	.84	1128.....	13.77
1017.....	5.56	1073.....	4.23	1129.....	5.82
1018.....	39.43	1074.....	2.40	1130.....	9.60
1019.....	2.20	1075.....	8.68	1131.....	1.70
1020.....	5.04	1076.....		1132.....	32.55
1021.....	4.30	1077.....	1.68	1133.....	11.23
1022.....	7.76	1078.....	5.84	1134.....	6.49
1023.....	6.38	1079.....	7.44	1135.....	10.75
1024.....	8.88	1080.....	14.60	1136.....	16.75
1025.....		1081.....	11.03	1137.....	5.25
1026.....	14.13	1082.....	7.80	1138.....	2.64
1027.....	4.06	1083.....	14.04	1139.....	3.50
1028.....	13.20	1084.....	8.35	1140.....	12.90
1029.....		1085.....	23.01	1141.....	1.00
1030.....	10.24	1086.....	20.30	1142.....	21.85
1031.....	10.46	1087.....		1143.....	18.50
1032.....	4.26	1088.....		1144.....	12.44
1033.....	.45	1089.....		1145.....	
1034.....	5.05	1090.....	7.71	1146.....	4.30
1035.....	1.44	1091.....	9.75	1147.....	34.58
1036.....	2.35	1092.....		1148.....	2.70
1037.....	5.20	1093.....		1149.....	12.00
1038.....	5.93	1094.....	14.30	1150.....	1.56
1039.....	4.25	1095.....	17.16	1151.....	8.45
1040.....		1096.....	1.32	1152.....	3.10
1041.....	8.55	1097.....	13.86	1153.....	17.65
1042.....	4.65	1098.....	3.59	1154.....	18.60
1043.....	10.30	1099.....	9.87	1155.....	3.65
1044.....	2.75	1100.....	26.75	1156.....	14.90
1045.....		1101.....	9.26	1157.....	12.31
1046.....	10.95	1102.....	3.24	1158.....	15.96
1047.....	9.70	1103.....	24.38	1159.....	9.50
1048.....	3.48	1104.....		1160.....	6.18
1049.....	5.50	1105.....	12.79	1161.....	15.30
1050.....	12.04	1106.....	4.14	1162.....	18.14
1051.....	5.64	1107.....	9.47	1163.....	42.04
1052.....	7.19	1108.....	2.92	1164.....	12.35
1053.....	8.56	1109.....	9.36	1165.....	8.50
1054.....	2.44	1110.....	38.92	1166.....	27.50
1055.....	9.62	1111.....	11.91	1167.....	10.10
1056.....	7.24	1112.....	12.88	1168.....	8.32
1057.....	12.83	1113.....		1169.....	

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
1170.....	\$ 5.10	1226.....	\$ 6.96	1282.....	\$ 6.82
1171.....	19.14	1227.....	14.30	1283.....	30.51
1172.....	7.08	1228.....	6.60	1284.....	4.64
1173.....	15.47	1229.....		1285.....	1.14
1174.....	14.84	1230.....	5.92	1286.....	7.38
1175.....	7.93	1231.....	11.78	1287.....	3.15
1176.....	11.26	1232.....	3.37	1288.....	8.00
1177.....	9.29	1233.....	2.88	1289.....	1.80
1178.....	4.95	1234.....	15.60	1290.....	10.70
1179.....	6.84	1235.....	4.93	1291.....	20.51
1180.....	11.22	1236.....	9.42	1292.....	15.10
1181.....	6.73	1237.....	14.98	1293.....	7.04
1182.....	2.40	1238.....	2.52	1294.....	
1183.....	11.85	1239.....	2.34	1295.....	2.90
1184.....	14.45	1240.....		1596.....	
1185.....	20.37	1241.....	6.12	1297.....	7.10
1186.....	10.34	1242.....	6.70	1298.....	7.52
1187.....	5.75	1243.....		1299.....	
1188.....	4.24	1244.....		1300.....	12.08
1189.....	10.53	1245.....	12.22	1301.....	12.23
1190.....	8.02	1246.....	24.26	1302.....	13.24
1191.....		1247.....	11.87	1303.....	8.28
1192.....		1248.....	15.98	1304.....	16.55
1193.....		1249.....		1305.....	
1194.....		1250.....		1306.....	5.22
1195.....	8.50	1251.....	15.58	1307.....	3.25
1196.....	6.18	1252.....	1.70	1308.....	22.07
1197.....	4.00	1253.....		1309.....	15.25
1198.....	6.72	1254.....	1.25	1310.....	2.85
1199.....	7.00	1255.....		1311.....	7.50
1200.....	10.86	1256.....	8.55	1312.....	1.62
1201.....	20.34	1257.....		1313.....	8.22
1202.....	8.06	1258.....	8.66	1314.....	21.27
1203.....		1259.....	15.41	1315.....	
1204.....	8.25	1260.....		1316.....	11.88
1205.....	11.23	1261.....		1317.....	
1206.....	12.13	1262.....	2.29	1318.....	3.96
1207.....	2.50	1263.....	48.44	1319.....	22.13
1208.....	1.75	1264.....	5.26	1320.....	8.40
1209.....	3.28	1265.....	3.28	1321.....	15.28
1210.....	12.55	1266.....		1322.....	11.75
1211.....	1.02	1267.....	11.08	1323.....	10.18
1212.....	15.90	1268.....	18.39	1324.....	
1213.....	6.87	1269.....	1.20	1325.....	5.87
1214.....	5.11	1270.....	10.95	1326.....	
1215.....	11.65	1271.....	10.00	1327.....	
1216.....	2.56	1272.....		1328.....	9.81
1217.....	10.16	1273.....	8.00	1329.....	
1218.....	3.24	1274.....		1330.....	11.24
1219.....	23.75	1275.....		1331.....	5.10
1220.....	11.28	1276.....	4.50	1332.....	18.79
1221.....	10.52	1277.....	10.55	1333.....	
1222.....	16.40	1278.....	8.37	1334.....	
1223.....	20.63	1279.....	6.60	1335.....	9.64
1224.....	18.36	1280.....	15.75	1336.....	7.48
1225.....	22.46	1281.....	8.31	1337.....	13.11

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
1338.	\$11.60	1394.	\$ 7.75	1450.	\$ 8.06
1339.	10.75	1395.	4.78	1451.	4.56
1340.		1396.	8.76	1452.	11.55
1341.		1397.	17.62	1453.	
1342.	10.04	1398.	3.84	1454.	5.00
1343.	19.04	1399.	31.44	1455.	35.35
1344.	12.34	1400.	2.58	1456.	21.60
1345.	7.68	1401.	24.78	1457.	7.35
1346.	2.20	1402.	5.41	1458.	5.05
1347.	18.40	1403.	3.79	1459.	10.41
1348.	3.84	1404.	38.41	1460.	8.66
1349.		1405.	13.28	1461.	9.95
1350.	12.66	1406.	5.28	1462.	19.94
1351.	8.20	1407.	23.59	1463.	.85
1352.	12.56	1408.	11.08	1464.	8.58
1353.	26.60	1409.		1465.	32.15
1354.	16.56	1410.	7.64	1466.	13.44
1355.	2.64	1411.	6.18	1467.	13.17
1356.	13.76	1412.	23.50	1468.	9.46
1357.		1413.	16.70	1469.	4.28
1358.	82.35	1414.	11.25	1470.	3.85
1359.	21.74	1415.	15.63	1471.	
1360.	12.89	1416.	4.84	1472.	45.80
1361.	3.24	1417.	5.90	1473.	
1362.		1418.	1.56	1474.	3.52
1363.	3.60	1419.	2.45	1475.	11.38
1364.	18.23	1420.	2.17	1476.	7.00
1365.	17.13	1421.	21.60	1477.	16.39
1366.	19.25	1422.	34.40	1478.	9.50
1367.	7.29	1423.	7.06	1479.	5.72
1368.	2.58	1424.	24.52	1480.	9.29
1369.		1425.		1481.	8.26
1370.	10.28	1426.	8.45	1482.	5.30
1371.	3.50	1427.	10.94	1483.	30.31
1372.	5.04	1428.	5.81	1484.	13.30
1373.	17.75	1429.	13.60	1485.	5.30
1374.	9.15	1430.		1486.	11.45
1375.	10.28	1431.	6.18	1487.	4.08
1376.	5.96	1432.	9.95	1488.	6.52
1377.		1433.	9.84	1489.	
1378.	45.15	1434.	27.25	1490.	13.70
1379.	10.69	1435.	9.04	1491.	5.73
1380.		1436.	11.74	1492.	18.22
1381.	6.34	1437.	23.16	1493.	34.04
1382.	9.20	1438.		1494.	1.30
1383.	13.55	1439.		1495.	3.58
1384.	27.32	1440.	4.55	1496.	12.35
1385.	30.12	1441.	8.13	1497.	13.85
1386.	4.32	1442.	3.10	1498.	
1387.	4.72	1443.	8.79	1499.	17.77
1388.	8.82	1444.	7.58	1500.	
1389.	6.77	1445.	9.86	1501.	1.75
1390.	13.34	1446.	1.15	1502.	14.65
1391.	2.75	1447.	2.40	1503.	19.35
1392.		1448.	23.53	1504.	5.43
1393.	8.86	1449.	15.84	1505.	6.17

No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.	No. of Grange.	Amount.
1506.....	\$ 11.07	1533.....	\$15.64	1560.....	\$ 4.30
1507.....	12.99	1534.....	7.42	1561.....	17.76
1508.....	86.09	1535.....	1.92	1562.....	18.10
1509.....	36.88	1536.....	5.38	1563.....	
1510.....	10.20	1537.....	3.65	1564.....	2.75
1511.....	23.69	1538.....	4.39	1565.....	11.39
1512.....	14.14	1539.....	3.48	1566.....	4.72
1513.....	8.69	1540.....		1567.....	8.38
1514.....	11.26	1541.....	2.50	1568.....	4.00
1515.....	7.68	1542.....	3.62	1569.....	5.95
1516.....	1.98	1543.....	13.07	1570.....	8.68
1517.....	5.45	1544.....	3.56	1571.....	12.30
1518.....	3.32	1545.....		1572.....	4.69
1519.....	33.84	1546.....	5.06	1573.....	3.45
1520.....	1.85	1547.....	5.30	1574.....	2.51
1521.....	12.70	1548.....	5.60	1575.....	
1522.....	7.00	1549.....	6.00	1576.....	3.95
1523.....	7.80	1550.....	7.20	1577.....	4.50
1524.....	7.00	1551.....	10.40	1578.....	5.85
1525.....	11.15	1552.....	4.05	1579.....	1.62
1526.....	15.75	1553.....	24.74	1580.....	.75
1527.....	7.05	1554.....	4.82	1581.....	3.49
1528.....	13.59	1555.....	5.15	1582.....	1.67
1529.....	19.27	1556.....	6.70	1583.....	4.42
1530.....	7.70	1557.....	3.95	1584.....	
1531.....	4.17	1558.....	4.16	1585.....	
1532.....	3.10	1559.....	1.10	1586.....	1.60

B.

O. E. FANNING, SECRETARY,

IN ACCOUNT WITH ILLINOIS STATE GRANGE.

To balance on hand as per settlement with Finance Committee, January 14th, 1875, as found on Journal, page 536.....	\$ 466.38	
To Amount of Receipts from Subordinate Granges, as per his published reports for this year.....	13,666.21	
To Received for Dispensation for County Granges	21.00	
To Sale of Blanks.....	22.71	
To Errors in Addition and Reports.....	90.89	
		\$14,267.19

CREDITS.

By amount paid I. S. Armstrong, of State Grange, Treasurer, as per Receipts	\$ 8,815.32	
By amount paid for Printing, as per vouchers ex- hibited.....	884.84	
By amount paid for Postage.....	444.30	
By amount paid for Stationery, etc.....	55.18	
By amount paid for Office Rent and Fuel.....	125.00	
By amount paid for Office Furniture, Desks, Tables, etc.....	62.80	
By amount paid for Two Years' Salary for Self and Clerk	2,700.00	
By amount paid for Printing Bill at Springfield..	11.55	
		13,098.99
Balance		\$ 1,168.20

*REVENUE.**

NATIONAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL.

In accepting an invitation to address you upon the topic which has been assigned me, I must disclaim, at the outset, any special taste or fitness for the task. But as I am also unable to name any one of our number who has given the subject the complete examination that it requires for its proper elucidation, and as it is one that needs an early as well as a thorough sifting, I have thought that such a work had better be begun, even imperfectly, than not done at all; and that while I might know a little of it, some of you might know less. In any event both you and I have the encouragement of knowing that legislators and political economists who, by virtue of opportunity, should understand this subject better than we, have failed as utterly as we can in arriving at a satisfactory theory and practice of Finance.

"The ends of Government," said John Stuart Mill, "are as comprehensive as those of the social union. They consist of all the good, and all the immunity from evil, which the existence of government can be made, either directly or indirectly, to bestow." Governments have current expenses, such as the construction of roads and bridges; the maintenance of common schools; the support of the poor; the confinement and reformation of the vicious; the care of the insane, the idiotic, and other unfortunate classes; the making, executing and adjudicating of laws, the support of armies and navies, and varied other functions requiring the expenditure of capital. Thence the necessity of Revenue.

Revenue, in this sense is the Public Income. It is the sum of the amounts received by Township, County, State or Nation from its annual levies on the tax-payers, or from the miscellaneous sources, too varied to mention, such as our nation's sale of public lands, or the interest on the school fund of one of our Illinois townships furnish instances of. This revenue, however, even though it may be profitably spent, and still more when unprofitably spent, often runs behind the public expenditure. Great public works of real or supposed public utility tempt the nation to improve the mouth of the Mississippi, or the school district to build a new school house, and to draw drafts on their future prosperity. And these drafts are light compared with the demands and consumption of war. Mr. Burritt has calculated the annual war charge of what are called the Christian nations, at \$2,600,000, including, I suppose, the yearly appropriations to pay the cost of past wars, as well as the expenditures necessitated by the large armies and navies of the present day. "Assuming that \$2,600,000 a year is substantially correct, that sum constitutes a first and indefeasible lien, or mortgage upon the earnings of all the workingmen of the civil-

*An address delivered by Wm. C. FLAGG, before the Patrons of Husbandry, at their annual meeting, December, 1875.

ized world. Nearly \$9,000,000 must be carried and set apart for the purposes of war every day."—*N. A. Review*, January, 1873.

THE NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE WORLD.

"The total of national debts in 1848," says the *Journal of the London Statistical Society* for March, 1874, "was about £1,700,000,000 or \$8,500,000,000, reckoning a pound sterling to be five dollars. In 1873, the amount was about £4,680,000,000 or \$23,400,000,000. Up to 1860 the national debts were chiefly in Europe; and from 1848 to 1854 their average increase was at the rate of about £20,000,000 or \$100,000,000 per year. From 1855 to 1860 the rate of increase was £50,000,000 or \$250,000,000 a year.

"After 1860 came the American Civil War, the Prussian-Austrian War and the French-German War, leading to an immense increase in national loans in America and Europe. A general epidemic of borrowing for war purposes and for improvements, set in among the nations all over the globe. Capital accumulated rapidly and the nations rushed in as borrowers, and thereby as rapidly increased their indebtedness. Some borrowed for war, and others for public works; but all borrowed. The average increase of national debts from 1861 to 1873 was at the rate of £200,000,000 or \$1,000,000,000 a year."

This estimate is corroborated as to its results by one made by Secretary Boutwell, and may be regarded as substantially correct. It is for the producers of wealth, for farmer, mechanic and laborer, a terrible fact. For, as Isaac Butts said in the *North American Review*, Jan., 1873: "Property in all countries makes but small direct contribution to the support of national debts and costly military and naval establishments,—the most grievous, perhaps, of all the burdens that afflict modern society. The revenues which they necessitate are chiefly raised by excise and import duties, and these are paid by rich and poor, not at all in proportion to their respective abilities to pay, but in proportion to the quantities of taxed commodities which they respectively consume." And another fact stated in the same connection increases the relative disparity. "The favorite investment of the wealthy classes are, first the bonds of different governments; and second the stocks of great corporations. The first are exempt from taxation (in the United States, at least, probably not in some countries); the second virtually assess their taxes upon the public, by considering their public taxes, the interest upon their capital, and the cost of operating as one sum, to be provided for in their scale of charges, which they are generally allowed to regulate in their own discretion and with reference to their own interests exclusively. The combined burthen ultimately falls on the masses who are thus 'beaten' out of a portion of their rightful property."

LOCAL PUBLIC DEBTS.

This national indebtedness is supplemented by an immense aggregate of local public debt, the principal and interest of which must be mostly met by taxation. Without being able to furnish very late or entirely

accurate figures, I can nevertheless give some idea of their amount in the United States.

In 1870, according to the Census Reports, the indebtedness	
of States and Territories was.....	\$352,866,698
Of Counties,.....	187,565,540
Of Cities, Towns, etc.,.....	328,244,520
Total,.....	\$868,676,758

In the last five years this amount has, no doubt, much increased. The local indebtedness of New York State alone, amounted in 1873 to \$188,373,280, or thirty millions more than reported for the same State for 1870. James G. Blaine, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, in an address at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in 1874, gave as the result of his investigations the following later figures:

State Debts,.....	\$390,000,000
County,.....	180,000,000
Municipal Debts,.....	570,000,000
Total,.....	\$1,140,000,000

The national debt at the same time, Mr. Blaine stated, amounted to \$2,140,000,000; so that we had a grand total of \$3,240,000,000 of public debt to be carried by about 40,000,000 of people, worth about \$30,000,000,000 of property. That is, each man, woman and child of America owes for public purposes \$81; or each family \$412.29 (81 x 5.09). If these public debts could all be paid off to-day by an equitable assessment on the valuation of property it would take 10.8 per cent. of the thirty billions to meet the debt. Every man worth \$1,000 would have to pay \$108 of it to redeem the remainder of his little estate. Every man worth \$10,000 would pay \$1,080, and soon, assuming that the debts are simply carried, and average 6 per cent. interest, which is too low, each person must pay on the average \$4.86 interest on his share of the national debt, and each family about \$25 annually; on each \$1,000 worth of property, \$6.48 annually.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

In addition to this interest as I have said, current expenses must be met. Take the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year ending June 30, 1874, and you find the following account of expenditures:

War Department,.....	\$42,313,927.22
Navy,.....	30,932,587.42
Indians,.....	6,692,462.09
Pensions,.....	29,038,414.66
Miscellaneous,.....	85,141,593.61
Current Expenses,.....	\$194,118,985.00
Premiums,.....	1,395,073.55
Interest,.....	107,119,815.21
Paid on Debt,.....	2,344,882.30
Total,.....	\$304,978,756.06

The current expenses are 63 per cent of the disbursements. So that we must pay annually as a national tax, not only the interest on the national debt, but a sum additional nearly twice as great for current expenses. Comparing the statements of the last Census, we find that while the State and other local debts were \$868,676,758, whose interest at 7 per cent. would be \$60,807,373, the taxation was \$280,591,521; or in other words 78 per cent. of the total taxation was for current expenses. It is entirely within bounds, therefore, to say that national and local taxation necessitate the raising of an annual amount three times as great as the mere payment of interest would require; and that consequently each inhabitant must average \$14.58 payment for public purposes, and each family \$74.21; or every \$1,000 worth of property \$19.44 annually for taxes alone.

Having made this estimate I turned to the "Report of the New York Commissioners to revise the laws for the Assessment and Collection of Taxes, 1871," and find this sentence, which justifies me in the belief that I have made no extravagant statement, but below the figures there set forth.

"The aggregate *per capita* taxation of the whole country, according to these different estimates, would be \$21.83, \$19.26 and 16.09, respectively, the last figures representing probably the minimum, and indicating a larger *per capita* taxation than any modern nation has ever before been subjected to, continuously, in time of peace."

"As a practical matter," says Mr. Wells, in a paper on Rational Principles of Taxation (Trans. Am. Soc. Sci. Assn. 1874) "in the United States there is now taken directly under the name of taxes from the capital or earnings of the people by the National or State sovereignties, or their representatives, in round numbers between six and seven hundred million dollars per annum for various public purposes, or from one-twelfth to one-fifteenth of the value of the entire annual product of the country—a fact which finds no parallel, in respect to magnitude, in the experience of any other State or nation, and which in itself may go far towards affording an explanation of some fiscal phenomena which seem wanting in solution; and further that this vast sum is taken by methods which do not rise to the dignity of a system; which in the case of the National Government are rarely the same one year with another, and in large proportion do not have revenue or the necessities of the State as their primary object; which in the case of the State Governments are not identical in any two States, and are widely different often as respects contiguous States. To which it may also be added, that important provisions of the law, allowed to stand upon the statute book in almost every State, are practically a dead letter, simply because the end sought to be attained is impossible by the employment of any machinery that can be made available for their enforcement. In short, if there is a department of social science labor in which laborers are more needed, and in which greater economic and moral results are attainable, than the department of study and inquiry as to the best methods by which private property may be taken by the State for public use, I have been unable to discern it."

Hence the raising of Revenue, or Public Income, becomes a very important and a very complicated matter as civilization, expenditure and public debts increase. When conquered provinces were levied upon in gross, as France has been in modern days by Germany, or when the rich citizen was required to pay a large subsidy for the public benefit, on demand, the raising of revenue, if not an equitable, was at least a simple and to most people an indifferent affair. But as civilization increases public wants and public functions, public responsibility and public credit increase, and we seek to lay the burdens of an increasing public expense as equitably as may be on all persons who are citizens or who hold property under the protection of the government.

TAXATION THE SOURCE OF REVENUE.

There may be other sources of Revenue such as the sales and rents of public lands, the confiscation of private property, etc., but these in our case, at least, are comparatively unimportant. The great source of Revenue is taxation.

Taxation is the arranging first, how much in the aggregate shall be paid; secondly, who shall pay it; and thirdly, the arranging the machinery for collecting the amount. It is a legal way of taking private property for public use, without giving other compensation than the benefits directly and indirectly received from the protection and aid of governing power.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.

Taxation is usually divided into Direct and Indirect taxation. "A direct tax" says Prof. Walker, "is demanded of the person who it is intended shall pay it. Indirect taxes are demanded from one person, in the expectation that he will indemnify himself at the expense of others." A direct tax is usually a poll tax, or a tax on valuation of property. An indirect tax may be a duty on imports, a tax on spirits, tobacco or other productions. In the same class are placed such taxes as stamp duties, licenses and even the income tax, although the distinction grows obscure. Direct taxes are levied or attempted to be levied upon all persons; indirect taxes are only laid upon a small portion of a community. Direct taxes are levied on the person or property, indirect taxes on consumption.

David A. Wells, who has probably studied the matter of taxation as much as any man in our country, arrives at the conclusion in a paper on the Rational Principles of Taxation, that "taxation diffuses itself," and so that "all taxation ultimately and necessarily falls on consumption." This does away in principle with the distinction between direct and indirect taxes and, if true, suggest that the time and expense devoted to the attempt to secure general taxation is wasted, and that the fewer persons or corporations are assessed the better. This view is not generally accepted by political economists, but seems to me partially true.

Assuming for present purposes, however, the division into direct and indirect taxation, as sufficiently precise, let us examine some of the principal kinds of actual and proposed taxation.

KINDS OF DIRECT TAXATION.

Under the head of Direct Taxation, we have first the poll-tax, which is levied upon the theory that as every person, however, receives personal protection, and, if need be, care and support from the public authorities, that, therefore, every person should contribute, not only personal service as soldier in time of war, and in working the public highways, but a fixed annual sum for the public use. The expense of assessing and collecting a tax of this kind, and still more I fear an unwillingness to meet the fact of taxation fairly and squarely, make it an unpopular kind of taxation.

The property tax, or tax on the valuation of real and personal property, is the great source of State and local revenue in the United States; though little relied upon in Europe. It is based on the theory that every person should support government expenses in proportion to his financial ability, and that the best measure of his financial ability is the amount of his property. This seems to be a fair theory; but one which we have not yet been able to reduce to a satisfactory practice, inasmuch as a large portion of property escapes assessment entirely, and the remainder is generally unequally assessed.

Although technically not called so in our courts, the income tax is another form of direct taxation, for which a good deal can be said. It is a tax on the success of the year; and, therefore, involves the least hardship. Prof. Walker pronounces it the only perfect standard of taxation. But on account of its inquisitorial character it is alleged, and still more I suspect because it is a tax less easy to shift on to others shoulders than many others, it has been much abused, and finally abolished; although it produced as high as \$72,000,000 in 1866 for our national revenue (including taxes on gross receipts, etc.).

In France, and other European countries, there is another form of direct taxation laid on the rent or rental value of houses and lands. The local taxation of England and Wales is on that basis. It is assumed that a man will occupy a house proportionate to his circumstances. Taxes on carriages, riding horses, dogs, servants, and the like, are known in England, and may also be regarded as direct taxes; though they would not be so regarded under our Federal laws.

Direct taxation on lands or the poll is practically prohibited for national purposes in the United States; from the fact that the Constitution requires that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census." States are not wealthy in proportion to their population, and Congress will not undertake to face the popular feeling against the immediate obvious inequalities of taxation it would involve; although when the taxation is obscure in its meaning they can impose it with impunity.

KINDS OF INDIRECT TAXATION.

Indirect taxation comprises taxes levied on consumption mainly, which are paid voluntarily or ignorantly by the tax-payer. The man who does

not wish to pay a tax on tobacco can refrain from using it. Often he pays it without knowing or thinking of the fact of taxation.

Of these indirect taxes we have: (1) *Customs*, which are taxes levied on imported goods at the port of entry, and (2) the *Excise*, which are taxes on home products. These taxes are levied on various and more or less discordant theories, and often, on no theory at all. Ease and economy in collections, suggest the taxation of but few articles. The policy of making the rich, or at least the extravagant, pay the most taxes, suggests taxes on luxuries. What is sarcastically called the "protective" policy aims at excluding foreign products, and producing and consuming home products. Where the greatest amount of aggregate revenue is sought, a low tax on articles of general consumption is proved best. Practically, in our American experience at least, no principle is followed. There is a struggle between conflicting interests, and the best lungs, the *sharpest* wits and the most audacious mind have their way, without much reference to the general welfare. Even at such a crisis as came in 1861 and 1862, when patriotism, if ever, rose above profits and per cents, the very necessities of the country "were taken advantage of, under the guise of patriotism, by the advocates of protection, for the furtherance of their policy in respect to certain special interests." (Wells' Cobden Club speech.)

OUR NATIONAL REVENUE

is derived,—taking the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874, as an example—
from the following sources:

Customs.....	\$163,103,833.69
Internal Revenue.....	102,409,784.90
Public Lands.....	1,852,428.93
Miscellaneous.....	32,575,043.32
	<u>\$299,941,090.84</u>
Premiums.....	5,037,665.22
Total.....	<u>\$304,978,756.06</u>

By this you will notice that 87 per cent. of our national income is derived from Customs and Internal Revenue taxes, both of which are indirect taxes. Analyzing these roughly, we find that the revenue from Customs was derived mainly in that year from the following articles (I omit, for the sake of brevity, all articles producing less than \$5,000,000 of revenue, and add the value and approximate per centage of duty on value):

	Value.	Duty Amount.	Duty Per ct.
Cotton Manufactures.....	\$24,922,253.97	\$ 9,041,201.96	.36
Flax and Manufactures.....	18,841,747.47	6,241,087.61	.33
Iron and Steel.....	34,709,345.47	10,920,400.50	.31
Silk and Manufactures.....	25,298,451.67	14,198,532.91	.56
Spirits and Wine.....	8,587,051.51	7,965,064.76	.92
Sugar and Molasses.....	92,614,832.33	34,860,278.16	.37
Tobacco and Manufactures.....	8,371,818.61	6,150,060.41	.73
Wools and Manufactures.....	59,287,931.65	32,326,862.78	.54

These eight classes of articles pay three-fourths or more of the duties,

at rates ranging from 31 to 92 per cent. *ad valorem*. Two-thirds of the duties, at least, are levied on articles of ordinary use,—I might almost say of ordinary necessity—and forty per cent. of them from sugar, molasses and woolen goods.

Internal revenue for the same year was derived as follows: From

Spirits.....	\$49,444,089.85
Tobacco.....	33,242,875.02
Fermented Liquors.....	9,304,679.72
Banks and Bankers.....	3,387,160.67
Penalties, etc.....	364,216.34
Adhesive Stamps.....	6,136,844.64
Back Taxes.....	764,880.14

Total.....\$102,644,746.98

That is, about 91 per cent. of our internal revenue is derived from spirits, liquors and tobacco, 6 per cent. from stamps and 3 per cent. from taxes on banks.

From all this we gather that our national revenue is almost entirely raised from taxes on consumption; that the articles so taxed are mainly those in common use; that more than half of this revenue is probably raised by taxing articles that may properly be classed as necessaries; and that it is a taxation which is mostly paid by the earnings of people of small means, and not by the capitalists or by the capital of the country; except as advances, which are more than made good from the consumer. All taxes on wealth, as such—on gross receipts of railway companies, income, etc.—excepting on national banks, have been sedulously removed from the statute books.

STATE REVENUES.

The State Taxation of the country, which we consider next in the descending scale, is, with the exception of that of Pennsylvania, I believe, laid upon property in proportion to its valuation; this valuation is generally imperfectly, carelessly and almost corruptly made. Although, as our Supreme Court says, the assessor exercises a judicial function, he is elected with little reference to his fairness, conscientiousness and good judgment. In New England, where three grave citizens, called "Sisters," are chosen to enumerate and value property in each town, the work is done more thoroughly, and some method of the kind is preferable to our own. In Pennsylvania a State tax is levied on stocks, loans, net earnings, gross receipts, tonnage, etc., of corporations, companies, etc.

In the State of Illinois the Constitution requires, as I understand it, that the State revenue be raised either by levying a *pro rata* tax on the whole valuation of property in the State; or by a tax upon the various classes of traders, transporters, etc.; or by both these agencies. In the main, our legislators thus far have endeavored to perfect the system of a tax on valuation; but in the single case of the Illinois Central Railway we have a tax of 7 per cent. on its gross receipts, yielding something more than \$400,000 per annum. The tolls from the Illinois and Michigan Canal

furnish revenue, but of no great amount above annual expenses. All the remainder of our State revenue, as well as a large part of our local revenue, is raised from a tax on property.

ILLINOIS TAXATION.

The equalized assessment of 1873 was as follows:

Personal Property.....	\$254,259,578
Lands.....	526,266,033
Town and City Lots.....	327,367,733
Railroads.....	74,843,891
Capital Stock of Corporations.....	11,719,216
Total.....	\$1,355,401,317

This assessment is fearfully and wonderfully made. To start upon, although it is believed by such authorities as Mr. Opdyke and Mr. Wells, "that in highly civilized and densely populated States like New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, etc., the separate aggregates of property, generally classed under the two heads of 'real' and 'personal,' either equal or closely approximate to each other in actual value;" yet, here in Illinois, the personal property assessed does not more than equal one-third of the real property in value. Several hundred million dollars' worth of personal property escapes taxation.

About one-half of the personal property that is assessed is live stock and farm implements; and I am probably safe in saying that over one-half of the whole list is the property, real and personal, engaged in agriculture.

The railroads of the State are assessed at about \$75,000,000; but the cost of roads and equipments are put down in the Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners' report, for the same year, at \$240,000,000 and more. A railroad was assessed at less than one-third of its cost, and refuses to pay tax on that assessment. The case is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. On the other hand, the average horse was assessed at over \$50, cattle at nearly \$18, mules and asses at \$60, sheep at \$2 and hogs at \$3 per head.

Upon this assessment, however, such as it was, there was levied the following taxation:

State Tax.....	\$5,023,609.50
County Tax.....	5,333,091.20
City Tax (incomplete).....	1,583,942.32
Town, District and Local Tax.....	9,823,178.27
Total.....	\$21,963,821.29

Assuming our population to have been 2,750,000 souls, this was nearly \$8 *per capita*. In round numbers we each paid \$2 to the State, \$2 to the county and \$4 to the city, town or school district for ourselves and each person of our families. Adding to this the \$7.50 which each person pays annually for national public purposes, and we have an aggregate of \$15.50 *per capita*, or about \$75 for each family in Illinois, annually.

I have not the figures to show, with any precision, how our State, County and local taxes are expended, but some general idea can be given. Our

State taxation, of say five millions, comprised about one million for school purposes; one-half million or more to support our charitable, penal and educational institutions; one-half million more to pay the expenses of our legislative, judicial and executive branches of government; one million to payment of indebtedness; one-half million to completing the new State house; one million to payment of local bond funds, and miscellaneous objects took the balance. All in all, our financial condition as a State, thanks to the Constitutional prohibition of debt, and the necessity of paying as we go, is the most satisfactory sight I meet in this review.

Of the county taxes and their expenditures we are not so well informed. I know of no information that can be called official, of a late date. At the beginning of 1869 our State Auditor reported the following county debts:

Railroad Debts.....	\$2,152,566
Other than Railroad Debts.	6,307,288
Railroad Subscriptions (not yet debts).....	7,078,933
Total.....	\$15,538,797

Three-fifths of our county debts were for railroads.

Under the new Constitution, counties are prohibited from levying more than seventy-five cents on the hundred for county purposes; but as the assessments have been considerably increased this permits heavy expenditure. Farther aid to railroads is prohibited, and the result will be, I hope, that counties will hereafter build, own and operate their own local railroads.

Our city debts at the same time, according to the same authority, were as follows:

Railroad Debts.....	\$ 1,961,250
Other than Railroad Debts.....	13,080,704
Railroad Subscriptions (not yet debts).....	1,354,500
School Debts.....	316,000
Total.....	\$16,715,554

About one-fifth of these were railroad obligations.

Our town and township debts:

Railroad Debts.....	\$1,696,028
Other than Railroad Debts.....	473,528
Railroad Subscriptions (not yet debts)	4,474,400
School Debts.....	10,702
Total.....	\$6,655,658

About eleven-twelfths were railroad debts.

Take these debts and their increase since that period, and the interest alone would absorb a considerable part of the amount raised by taxation.

A very large part of the local taxation, however, I am glad to say, is expended on the public schools. The amount raised by *ad valorem* tax in districts on the assessments of 1873 was \$5,658,182.91; the expenditures

were \$7,865,862.18, much of which was injudiciously spent, and can be credited with no more than good intentions.

The most reprehensible expenditures of public money, however, has been in the so-called aid to railroad companies; whereby communities have been heavily taxed to pay bonds that were sold at depreciated rates, to fill the pockets of enterprising railroad men and to secure the imperfectly built and debt-laden roads that have been passing into the hands of receivers, and which discriminate against the very towns and counties that have given them local aid.

Next to this, is the squandering and speculation attendant on building court houses, jails, bridges, school houses and other public works; especially in our counties that have not adopted the township system, and concentrate power and temptation in a few persons. But this, I believe, has been less common in our own State than in others that I might name.

Upon the whole, the condition of our Illinois taxation, and even of our national taxation, seems to me, however unsatisfactory and unequal, to be not much better nor worse than that of older and more experienced States, and nations comparing Illinois with older States. I judge it to be less careful, thorough and equitable in its assessments than the New England States, but better than New York, and many other Eastern commonwealths. Comparing the United States with European countries, we find it derives a much larger proportion of its revenue from customs, a rather larger proportion from excise, whilst its revenue from stamps is comparatively small and that from taxes on income and taxes on rental value, nothing, whereas they have some importance in European schemes of taxation.

The Pennsylvania revenue system differs from that of our own, and I believe of all other States. It exempts a very large portion of personal property from taxation on its valuation. It collects the State Revenue from taxes levied on dividends of corporations, on gross receipts for transportation, on net earnings of banks, etc., and levies local taxation on real estate in the main.

THE DRIFT OF TAXATION,

from what I know of its history, is to cease to be direct and become indirect. It is modified in its methods to suit the interests, or supposed interests, of those who control legislation. The tax on real estate disappears nearly in Great Britain where the great body of the land is held by the ruling aristocracy. We find it again in France, with her peasant proprietors. Our national income tax was discarded years ago by an indignant plutocracy, and the taxation on the gross receipts of transportation companies has gone the same road, although both were more equitable than much that remains. The Pennsylvania system I suspect to be a movement along the same line. The payment of taxes to the State on gross receipts, etc., exempts from local taxation and throws a heavier burden on real estate. In any event the New England States, truest in their democratic instincts and least influenced by the interest of corporate capital,

still stand by direct taxation as the most equitable system. "The tendency to spare the rich," which John Stuart Mill asserted prevailed the financial system of Great Britain, is not confined to those islands.

THEORIES OF TAXATION.

In attempting to suggest fairer and more profitable methods of taxation, we find ourselves undertaking a difficult problem. It is difficult in the first place to lay down a proper rule of action where so much is determined by policy and so little by principle. Adam Smith, one hundred years ago, laid down four rules, which most subsequent political economists have endorsed, and which Fawcett condenses in this way:

1. "Taxation should possess equality.
2. There should be no uncertainty with regard to the amount to be levied.
3. The tax should be levied at the most convenient time, and in the most convenient manner.
4. The State ought to obtain as much as possible of the whole amount which is really levied from the tax-payer."

From an American point of view, the first of those rules is the important one. John Stuart Mill qualifies and explains it by saying that "equality of taxation, as a maxim of politics, means equality of sacrifice. It means apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of government, so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenience from his share of the payment than every other person experiences from his." Mr. Mill would, therefore, favor the exemption of taxes on incomes under £50 or \$250, but would oppose graduated taxation or taxing the larger income or large fortune at a higher rate than the small. Fawcett denies that the principle of equality of taxation is of any practical use when applied to any one tax, and that equality of taxation must be produced by a system of taxation which shall comprise various kinds of taxes and equalize by compensation.

Prof. Amasa Walker maintains that the income tax is of all modes of taxation, the most just and equitable. Mr. Wells after asserting what he claims that Adam Smith and Quesnay virtually established as a principle, that "All taxation ultimately and necessarily falls on consumption," concludes that the "rational principle of taxation is to tax but comparatively few articles, viz.: visible, tangible property and fixed signs of property—for in this way only can taxes be assessed equitably, uniformly and economically—and then leave them to diffuse, adjust and apportion themselves by the inflexible laws of trade and political economy." This assertion is a contravention of the opinions of most political economists, and is so disturbed and contradicted in practice that it has not, in my opinion, an application to our state of affairs, even if correct in theory. Some great law of social and political compensation equalizes and makes tolerable the injustice done by the stronger hand or the more cunning brain, or else drags down the cunning and the simple to common ruin. "If a nation

could not prosper without the enjoyment of perfect liberty and perfect justice," said Adam Smith, "there is not in the world a nation which could ever have prospered." But we should none the less seek to attain perfect liberty and perfect justice.

THE JUST THEORY, DIRECT TAXATION.

In endeavoring then to lay down a theory of American taxation, I find nothing so just in theory as direct taxation. All other methods seem subterfuges, attempts to take the money of the people without letting them know it. It is little to the credit of the constituency that they themselves encourage indirectness and punish common honesty and directness in their representative, in the imposition of taxation. But I know no better measure of a man's ability to contribute to the purposes of government than the amount of his property: and whilst I would not demand the immediate abolition of other forms of taxation, but rather perfect them, still I feel that the ultimate method should be the direct and impartial assessment of every property owner according to his wealth.

"EXCEPT THESE BONDS,"

Some holder of 5-20's may say, just so long as it will necessarily take our government to replace them with an issue that shall be taxable like other property, as these forms of securities are in other countries. Why make a special privileged class of the holders of our national securities and then insist on retaining them? Are our government bonds so undesirable that the privilege of no taxation must be forever offered to capitalists, to induce them to invest in them?

The practical difficulties in the way of assessing personal property, it must be admitted, are immense and constitute the chief objection to direct taxation. But in a great part of the United States no due care is taken to ensure correctness. The office of assessor is degraded and regarded as of second-rate importance, when we come to nominate candidates. Yet it is an office judicial in its character, dealing with the grave question of taking private property for public use, and should be filled by men of character and influence, sitting as a court rather than traveling as an enrolling officer. The assessment proper should be made by three such men, rather than one, so as to secure a more intelligent and equalized estimate of values. No due care, so far as I know, is taken to ensure publicity of assessments so that each man may readily know how much his neighbor has been assessed. This should be done, I believe, to the extent of publishing the lists of every township and ward. The whole work of assessing need not be done so frequently but certainly can, without material change, be done a great deal better.

TAXATION OF INCOMES AND RECEIPTS.

In case we depart from the idea of taxation according to values, then taxation according to income or receipts seems most equitable. Railroad companies, street railway companies, gas and water companies, banks, insurance companies, etc., could be taxed on their receipts, not so equitably

but more easily than now. Mr. Wells, despairing of honest assessing, recommends this as preferable to direct taxation of personal property, but after an examination into the results of assessments in the census of 1870, I am inclined to believe he overrates the difficulty. There are great discrepancies in the ratio of personal property to real estate, even in adjoining States, but I find upon the whole, that the States whose taxation Mr. Wells appears to have specially studied, were exceptional and exaggerated cases. The bidding for capital begun in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, by exemption of mortgages from taxation, etc., is one of the ugly features of the case; and suggests the necessity of making our tax system in the different States, to a certain extent, uniform by some agreed limitations in the way of constitutional amendment.

In connection with the consideration of taxes on gross receipts, it is worth while to notice that our Illinois railroads, which were assessed \$75,000,000 in 1873, and have not paid the tax, amounting to about \$1,200,000, would have paid about the same amount by a tax on their gross earnings (\$43,000,000) of 3 per cent. In 1874, a like tax would have yielded somewhat more.

With these suggestions I leave the subject of direct taxation for State purposes and pass to a consideration of the indirect taxation practiced by our national government and the possibility of improving it.

This, as I have said, is a fiscal chaos. It is avowedly founded as regards the customs on what is called the principle of "incidental protection." As a matter of practice, as Mr. Wells shows in the Creed of Free Trade, it makes the Michigan Central on one side of the Detroit river lay down steel rails at \$97 a ton, when the Canada Southern is doing it on the other side for \$70, and requires the New England people to pay \$1.25 per ton for the privilege of using Nova Scotia coal that lies at their doors. As regards the Internal Revenue, the principle of taxing "injurious consumption" is consistently adhered to in statute, whatever we may say of the administration.

Conceding the present impracticability of an abolition of the customs or internal revenue duties at this time, we must criticise severely the influences which have been permitted to shape their details. Our national legislature has been simply the arena where contending iron-masters, woolen manufacturers and paper makers strove for special privileges, while little thought and less work has been given to serve the public. The tax on spirits has been increased for the profit of speculators, and to the detriment of the civil service.

The future taxation of the United States will undoubtedly discard the idea of "incidental protection," and ultimately do away with all duties upon imports. But for the present we find nearly every one tending towards the doctrine of a tariff for revenue only. A tariff of this kind would make a heavy reduction on the present *rate* of taxation which, I think, is nearly 40 per cent. on the average, and place it at not far from 25 per cent. The list of tax-paying articles for 1874 contains over 200 names of articles, more than 100 of which do not produce an average of

\$100,000 each. I am certain that the free list might be advantageously increased. I am inclined to believe furthermore that the articles that should be taxed for revenue are those not generally produced in this country such as coffee, wheat, fruits, wine, sugars, molasses and spirits, while tobacco, opium, spirits, silk, games, etc. are not.

As regards the Internal Revenue question, I think we should reduce the tax upon property and the tax and duty upon the gross income receipts of corporations. I believe the taxes upon spirits and tobacco should be kept in place in amount. A tax of 50 cents per gallon on spirits is better than 70 or 80.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

It is our intention to reveal to posterity a few leading principles of which we think fundamental ought to be adopted.

1. That the material wealth of the world, including the farming class, is a large part of what pays the taxes of the world, and its obligations should be discharged as "voluntaries" for others.

2. That this is especially the case with funded public debts whose payment is deferred indefinitely and only the interest paid. These are investments for mortgages and first mortgages on the industry of the country.

3. That the more rapidly a public debt is paid the less it will be added from the operations of the operations of the bank of the laborer. If it were practicable to assign to each man of the nation his *pro rata* share of the national debt and let him pay it by selling over 600 per cent of his property to the government, there could be no shifting of the burden. If it were a funded debt, or fifty the labor of the country will pay heavy interest the while.

4. That a man who ever pays can escape the evil effects of taxation, its demerger, its problems incurred by the waste of war or other wasted capital. Such debts are in essence a national robbery. They depress the productive resources of the country and check its commerce. They make lower wages and raise the price of living. The laboring man who wastes a needless tax is starving himself and his children.

5. That to ensure economy in public expenditure and prudence in incurring public obligations it is more essential than direct taxation to defray the full amount of the obligation. This our State Constitution practically ensures in so far as State expenses go, and partially ensures us by providing an interestlessness of more than five per cent of the assessment in case default.

Let us make warlike reduce it to the limit of the subsistence of the old world weary and heavy laden with national debt with the maintenance of standing armies and the support of privileged classes. Equal and exact justice—the highest law of our Republican Democracy—can only be enjoyed by a people who are free from the bonds of national indebtedness. "Let us make every where the own full reward, untraced by the selfish ambition and passion of the great and poor will no longer look at remote institutions for the Golden Age."

EDUCATION OF FARMERS*

Gentlemen and Ladies of the State Grange

I have long desired to address the Patrons of Husbandry of this State on the subject of the education of farmers.

The prominence that your organization has wisely given to this subject, encourages me to expect from you not only that attention which my ideas may be worth, but that profounder attention which the subject itself most imperatively demands.

You are already aware of the early interest taken by the earlier farmers of this State in agricultural education and of the prominent part played by them in those great efforts which resulted in the establishment of the Congressional colleges of agriculture throughout this country. You also have been cognizant of the public debates and controversies which have accompanied the organization and opening work of these colleges, and of the mingled hopes and fears with which the farming population of the country have been led to regard them.

Standing at the head of one of these institutions, I desire to consult with you as to the means of promoting its prosperity and securing for it a progress and development which shall more nearly meet my wishes and yours. To whom else may I so properly bring my story as to you? Who else will lend us an attention so full of personal interest and thought? As agriculturists, you know your profession and its wants, as representatives of the agriculturists of this State, you understand their needs and their desires. As the delegates and the influential members of the grandest agricultural organization ever existing in this continent, if not in the world itself, you must be perfectly conscious of the overwhelming importance of a question which concerns the future progress, power and prosperity of the agricultural classes of this country, and of that wide-reaching all-sustaining industry which it is theirs to practise.

At the outset, I wish to confide to you with all frankness, that thus far the success of agricultural education has not met my more ardent expectations nor of those, I believe, of the agriculturists of the country. Let me not be misunderstood. The failure is not at all in the educational work, but in the members who have been found ready to accept this new form of education. The feasibility of teaching efficiently and usefully the sciences relating to agriculture and the mechanical arts, and of their application in the practical processes of the farms and the shops, has been established beyond all doubt or denial, but out of all the thousands who need this education and who would be immensely benefited by it, only a few hundreds have been found ready thus far to receive it.

After eight years of experience and careful observation, I am prepared

*An address delivered by Dr. J. M. Gamson, before the Patrons of Husbandry, at their annual meeting, December, 1873.

to affirm with more emphasis than ever before, that agricultural education is feasible, and will prove useful beyond the dreams even of its earnest advocates; and if agricultural colleges ever prove a failure, it will be, not for the want of sciences to teach nor of men to teach them, but for the want of the sufficient patronage of the classes for whom these colleges were organized.

Allow me then, gentlemen and ladies, to express to you, plainly and without concealment, my view of the causes, which, to-day, are hindering the highest possible success of agricultural education, and to entreat your attention to the possible means of their removal, and, through you, I wish that I might address also the agriculturists of this State and country, upon this matter, so important and so vital to their interests, as a class, and to their standing among the people of this land.

And first, let me carry back your thoughts for a moment to the discussions and ideas which impelled the farmers of an earlier day to agitate this question, and seek the establishment of schools especially devoted to their interests. Were the hopes and expectations which animated them mere chimeras of the brain? Did they blunder in believing that education had blessings in store for this great department of human employments? Was that wide-spread agitation of thought which pervaded both Europe and America, in favor of a new form of education for agriculture and the other industries, without any just cause? Was the urgent and irresistible demand for colleges of agriculture and of the mechanic arts, which assailed our National Congress, and extorted the grant for their establishment, a popular blunder? Who dare affirm it?

Do not *philanthropy* and *patriotism* and *science* all combine in the plea for the education of the agricultural classes, and the improvement of their art? Philanthropy pleads for that mightiest section of the grand army of workers, the tillers of the soil. Nearly one-half of the entire industrial population of the country belongs to this section. If education is a boon; if its aid can lighten toil and enrich its products; if it can elevate and refine and give new value to life, then that broad democratic maxim, "the greatest good of the greatest number," demands that agriculture should have its schools, its colleges, its teachings, its education, among the noblest and richest that the power of man can provide.

Patriotism pleads for it, as increasing public wealth, elevating public character, and carrying higher intelligence among those who ever have been and ever must be, the conservative power of the nation. In proportion as the masters of the soil shall be guided by high intelligence, so shall the nation be safe from the corruption which breeds in the great cities, and would speedily destroy liberty itself, if not met by the purer air and calmer thought of the country.

And science itself needs the co-operation of the working classes to increase its stores of facts, to extend its observation, to test its theories, to detect its errors, and to stimulate it to higher efforts by the exhibition of its utility, and by offering a substantial reward for its efforts. It demands

access most of all to that great class whose daily life and labor have to do with the great facts and the gigantic forces of nature. Never, till it shall enlist in its service the millions whose lives are spent in the open fields, and shall make them participants in its studies and truths, can the students of nature hope to bring her magnificent domains within the scope of an all-comprehending observation.

Thus the love of man, the love of country and the love of truth, all urge to the higher education of the industrial classes, if such education is possible.

And it is possible. The demand for agricultural education was not a blunder. It was based on the well considered fact that agriculture itself involved forces and operations which can only be understood through scientific study, and can only be improved and perfected by the careful application of scientific principles.

The agriculture of the world demanded a new consideration of its process and a more perfect mastery of its principles. The multiplying wants of the civilized nations called for a more intelligent husbandry to support the increasing millions who were being withdrawn from the fields to toil in the new manufactories and to prosecute the new arts which civilization had introduced.

The conclusion was neither untimely nor unreasonable, that educational forces and institutions might be invoked to aid agriculture, as they had already aided the other pursuits of men. Schools had been established for the so-called, and often mis-called, 'learned professions.' They had improved the theories and the practice of law, medicine and theology. In engineering, architecture, mining and other useful and fine arts, education had been found so useful and powerful an aid to national progress, as to awaken the attention and command the support of enlightened and rival Governments. It was neither unwise nor unreasonable to suppose that farming, this broadest and, at bottom, most scientific of the industrial arts, might also be successfully fostered by schools of learning.

The agricultural college is as logical a conclusion of 19th century thought, as the old-fashioned college was of the thought of the 15th century.

FALSE AND UNREASONABLE EXPECTATIONS.

It is not strange that amid the popular agitation which preceded the establishment of these colleges in our country, many exaggerated expectations should have been formed, and that absurd predictions should have been made, both as to their character and their success. The mind of man always tends to extremes, and imagination stands ready to usurp the office of reason, and to substitute its dreams for the dictates of common sense. Human hope is always impatient of time and urgent for immediate fruit.

It is not strange that many of these expectations have been disappointed, nor that being disappointed, they have driven some to the conclusion that agricultural colleges have proved a failure. The failure has been that of

these extravagant and unwise expectations. The waking reality has been found different from the unreasoning dream. Tried by a fairer test, agricultural education has been, not a failure, but a remarkable success.

Allow me to mention some of these expectations:

1st. It was expected that agricultural colleges would largely increase the intelligence of the entire agricultural classes and give to them educated and powerful leaders, able to cope with the champions of other great public interests before the public tribunals.

The farming population, groaning under burdens and disabilities which were felt to be intolerable and believed unjust, and looking in all directions for the causes and the cure, easily saw that the superior intelligence and culture of those whom they regarded as their rivals and oppressors, gave to them an undue advantage. They rightly concluded that education alone could meet education, as fire fights fire and thought, that if they would have educated farmers, they must have farmers' colleges.

And this expectation will be met, but not as soon as some hoped. Education diffuses itself slowly. The colleges, at best, can educate only a few out of the millions, but these few, will in time, lend inspiration, knowledge and culture to the thousands who look to them for leadership. Not all the lawyers, doctors and preachers are college-bred; but enough of each class have participated in the higher education, to give character and standing to these several professions. The educated ones have made the spirit of learning prevalent in the class, and the demand for it almost imperative. So we may hope that, in the future, the graduates of our agricultural colleges will become apostles of agricultural education, diffusing it among their associates, and making the demand for it much more general.

2d. Of a different character was the expectation of those who were vexed to see all the college-bred sons of farmers, (and farmers' sons have gone to colleges as often as those of any other class,) refusing to return to the farms, but making their way to cities to enter professional life or trade. These people wished for colleges for farmers' children; colleges which should make them learned and leave them farmers. It was not agricultural colleges, but colleges for agriculturists, which they wanted. The President of a State Agricultural Society told me he did not want the agricultural colleges to teach agriculture, but he wanted a place to send his boys, where they could be educated without being spoiled for the farm.

The evil, if evil it is, which he complained of, is deeper and nearer home than he thought.

Farmers' sons go to the law and other professions full frequently with the advice and consent of their ambitious fathers and mothers. "John is too smart to remain a mere farmer," say they, "let us make a lawyer and a gentleman of him." Not a year has passed in the history of the Illinois Industrial University, that farmers' sons have not appeared at its doors, sent there by their fathers with express injunctions not to take the agri-

cultural course, but to pursue such studies as might prepare them for the study of law or medicine. I do not dispute the farmers' right to choose these callings for their sons, but surely, no one but themselves should be held responsible for their choice.

As the expectation itself was a mistake, so its failure is a necessity. The agricultural college may, perhaps, in time make farm life more palatable and attractive, but it will be by diffusing intelligence, culture and social privileges through farmers' homes, not by keeping farmers' children from more tempting pursuits.

3rd. Others had observed the ignorant and unbusiness like way in which too many farmers manage their farms and affairs. They had noticed the heedless and ruinous waste of the utility of the soil; the frequent incompetency of agricultural laborers, and the many sad failures of the farmer's business, and they thought of agricultural colleges as a remedy. They did not pause to reflect that heedlessness, indolence and stupidity are common among men, and that a mere knowledge of science and its applications cannot correct the bad habits formed in childhood, and, perhaps, bred in the very bones. Nor did they reflect that out of the millions, but few comparatively could receive the benefits of the agricultural colleges.

Crowded to their utmost capacity, these colleges could not receive one in a hundred of the agricultural population.

4th. Others still had a higher conception of the character and extent of agricultural science. The great problems of the farm had aroused their attention, and they were anxious to have experiments made, investigations prosecuted, and the great secrets of soil and seed, of animal and vegetable life and growth, brought to light and proclaimed throughout the earth. They looked to the agricultural college as a place for the discovery of agricultural truth. They wished it to prosecute experiments to test the value of breeds, breeding and the feeding processes of seeds and cultures, and of every new thought which puzzled the farmer's brains or crept into the farmer's papers.

And the agricultural college ought certainly to hold a leading place in this work of perfecting agricultural science; and it will, if you will consent to make it a true agricultural experiment station, with competent men who can give their time to experimenting, and with the necessary means, the costly apparatus and labor required in this work. But the teachers who give their whole time and strength to their classes cannot be expected to conduct careful and laborious experiments.

Still other and wilder expectations were formed, which I have neither the time to notice nor any anxiety to refute.

DIFFERENT PLANS OF COLLEGES.

As men differed in regard to what the Agricultural College was to *do*, so they differed in respect to what it ought to *be*. Some would have made it a mere school of practice; others would have resembled it to the law schools and medical schools, making it purely professional and merely

theoretical. Others wished to see a mere literary college for farmers' sons, where they might continue to labor while they studied, and where poor boys might win their bread by working part of the time, while they gained an education in their unoccupied hours. Others still desired a college where the sciences relating to agriculture and the mechanic arts might be thoroughly taught, and their practical applications clearly exhibited and enforced, and we were of this number.

I need not further enumerate the different notions which prevailed, and which have been so often urged upon the trustees, and upon the country at large. Their number is legion, and their views so various, that the combined wisdom of the world could not reconcile or satisfy them. They are only mentioned now because of the difficulties they have interposed to the progress of agricultural education on this continent. As these colleges were public property, every man felt at liberty to plan for their organization, and to criticise their leaders. Every rejected plan became an obstacle in the way of success by alienating friends and discouraging supporters; changing ardent champions into disparaging critics, and replacing public confidence by the wide-spread insinuations of personal distrust. Most men will much more readily conclude that the management of an enterprise has been inefficient, than that their expectations were unreasonable. And the neglect to adopt and carry out their plans is interpreted as a failure to do anything wise or worthy of praise.

But there remains a brave and far-seeing minority, it may be—may their tribe increase—who clearly discern that the fundamental ideas of agricultural education are as sound and practical as their aim is far-reaching and beneficent, and whose faith in a full and rich success is as firm as the solid scientific truths on which it rests. While others are searching for supposed causes of pretended failures, these are seeking to understand and measure, and, if possible, to remove the obstacles of a more complete and wide-spreading triumph.

May I not hope to find among you many of this latter class? May I not hope, at least, to find among you that braver sentiment which declares success is a necessity, and resolves that though a hundred failures may have deferred its coming, it shall still be sought with unabated energy and to the very end.

FALSE OBSTACLES.

That I may point out to you more clearly the real obstacles which we must meet, let me brush aside some pretended ones which have been so often and so falsely affirmed.

We are told, first, that agricultural education is a mere experiment, an unproved, and perhaps, impossible thing. We answer that the form of organization, and the best method of teaching for this country, is experimental. But agricultural science, agricultural education, and even agricultural schools have existed for nearly a century, and have achieved success such as leaves no doubt of their feasibility and value.

2d. It is affirmed that we have no teachers of agriculture, and doubtless great difficulties have been experienced in filling one or two special chairs. But good teachers of agriculture, chemistry, botany, geology, zoology, mineralogy and meteorology, and indeed of all the sciences required for the understanding of agriculture, are and have been abundant; and now the men needed for the special chair of theoretic agriculture are increasing in numbers and ability.

3d. It has also been asserted that we have no science to teach; that there are no text-books on agriculture; that agricultural science is in an imperfect and fragmentary condition.

Have the men that say this read that large body of facts and principles handed down from Columella of the ancients, and wrought out by Young and Tull, by Leibig, and Thear, and Bousingault, and Leconteau, by Johnston, and Laws, and Gilbert, by Professors Johnston, and Brewer, and Thomas, and by the agricultural writers of England, Europe and America? Have they counted the multiplying columns of agricultural facts established by the hundred *Versucht Stationes*, the experiment stations of Europe?

No branch of human learning is yet complete, No science has yet settled all its principles, solved all its problems and classified all its facts. Agriculture may be younger and less complete than some of the others, but in few departments of learning is there so much gathered and proved and ready to the teacher's hand, as in this. Its very voluminous accumulations may require some laborious sifting. And then all the sciences of nature are sciences relating to agriculture.

4th. Another obstacle of much more sweeping character has been asserted to lie in the weakness, one-sidedness and insufficiency of an education made up chiefly of scientific studies. There are not wanting men, champions mostly of some old college, which feels its weakness and fears rivalry; who denounce agricultural colleges as an educational humbug, a species of charlatany, and seek to frighten away students from our doors by decrying the value of the education which we give.

I do not care to go into a comparison here and now, of the relative value of scientific and classical studies; but, it is worthy of notice, that many of the great leaders of human thought to-day—the men who are filling the world with the noise of their discoveries, and attracting universal admiration for the splendor of their genius and the power of their eloquence, are the students and representatives of physical science.

But the issue is totally false and unnecessary, since the agricultural colleges never exclude the element of linguistic culture, nor the mathematical and historical studies, while they teach the scientific studies by a method so thorough and practical as to preclude the possibility of their being made mere exercises of the memory, and call the judgment into use as constantly and as fruitfully as the best teaching of the classics ever could.

5th. The unjust suspicion has sometimes been circulated of a want of

heartiness and moral competency in the managers and teachers in our agricultural colleges. They have been charged with hankering after "the flesh-pots" of their beloved classics and as having but little faith or interest in the branches of agricultural learning.

To this charge I wish to give here and everywhere a fearless and unhesitating denial. As far as I know them, the men in the agricultural and polytechnical colleges are among the most enthusiastic of American teachers, and the known enthusiasm of the students of these colleges is a sufficient answer to these slanderous reports against their instructors.

I do not mean to affirm that there are no difficulties nor wrongs inside of these institutions, which may impair in some degree their usefulness and success. No human institution is perfect. No men are infallible; and doubtless, here as elsewhere, errors have been committed; weaknesses exist, and reforms may be possible. But I wish to affirm my own settled belief, that the most serious difficulties in the way of the large and triumphant progress of agricultural education, which we all desire to see, for the sake of our country, and for the sake of this most numerous part of the people, are to be looked for, not within the colleges but outside of them.

THE CONDITIONS OF GRANDER SUCCESS.

The successes already achieved in this department of education, scarcely yet ten years old, in our land, have not only proved its feasibility and value, but give assurance of a much grander success in the future; they at least encourage us to new efforts to remove the obstacles which hinder, and to study the conditions which may help us to that grander success for which we strive.

At the head and front of these real obstacles is the want of practical interest in agricultural education among the farmers themselves. The complaint that has met my ears, from not a few of the agricultural colleges from the Atlantic to the Pacific is this strange apathy of the farmers themselves. Not one of these colleges that would not be glad to see its halls crowded with genuine students of agriculture. Larger numbers of students would not only make the course more popular but would put both trustees and instructors on their metal to do their best work in this direction, and to give the fullest efficiency to their instruction. Why! let the farmers send a hundred of their sons to any college in the State, asking for them agricultural studies, and trustees and faculty would strain every nerve to give it. Send these sons by hundreds to your colleges already fitted to teach these studies and you will fire them to enthusiasm in their work. If any agricultural college in this country shall ever fail it will be the fault of the farmers themselves.

The truth must be told. There is still among the majority of farmers a want of faith in the real utility and value of agricultural education. Let us put the question to the first hundred farmers we meet, whether they believe that anything more than a common school education is essential to a good farmer; and especially whether they believe that a thorough

education in the sciences relating to agriculture and in the application of these sciences, as they may be taught in a college, is of any value in insuring success in the farmer's calling? In at least seventy-five cases out of the hundred, if not in ninety-nine, we shall meet, I fear, a prompt negative, or at least only a very faint and qualified approval.

In some cases, their unbelief comes from want of faith in any education whatever. Too many farmers regard learning as tending to make men indolent, crafty and dishonest. Others, from the common trust in the old education, and distrust in everything new, will not send their sons to an agricultural college. Others still, have given no consideration to the really broad character and rich utilities of those sciences which have so transformed and enriched the other industries and which may equally enrich agriculture. Some may have been influenced by the carping criticisms which have been pronounced upon our agricultural colleges, and others, doubtless, are determined by their general distrust of the educational classes, including teachers.

This lack of faith among our agriculturists operates to the detriment of agricultural education in two ways.

1st. It prevents farmers from sending their sons to the agricultural colleges, and thus robs these colleges of their natural source of supply. Some agricultural students they will obtain from other classes, but the most hopeful are those who come from the farms, and who expect to inherit farms, where their agricultural knowledge might at once be put to service.

2nd. It leads farmers to discredit and to discourage young men who have been induced to take a course of agricultural education. Not a few of our own students, who have pursued with enthusiasm and success a thorough course of study in agricultural sciences, have been subjected, when visiting their homes or their farmer neighbors, to slights and even ridicule, for having pursued such studies.

It is certainly a strange fact, that the most serious opposition to the agricultural colleges comes from the farmers themselves. A beneficent government has provided rich endowments; State legislatures have created noble buildings and provided broad domains. Public and private liberality has given laboratories, libraries, collections and apparatus, which in many cases surpass those of any other institution in our country. Competent and earnest teachers wait in spacious class-rooms, ready and eager to greet and instruct agricultural classes. Both trustees and teachers have exerted to the utmost their influence to fill up their agricultural departments, but still the attendance, in some of these institutions at least, has been meagre, and the usefulness correspondingly small.

I shall be told that it is not surprising that people give their adhesion but slowly and cautiously to a new scheme of education, especially while the old and popular plan still commands their confidence; and I freely confess that our impatience to see greater results, perhaps leads us to underestimate the value of the progress already made. I know full well that no institutions in this country have grown more rapidly, in power and

numbers, than these same Agricultural Colleges. But the number of students pursuing the agricultural courses of study is far less than the interest of the country demands, and much smaller than we had a right to expect. In this great agricultural State, with its 33,000,000 acres of tillable land, and with more than half its population devoted to agricultural pursuits, there should be work, not for one agricultural college alone, but for at least a dozen of them. There are already among us, thousands of farmers who have reached that state of competency in wealth which enables them to send their sons and daughters to the higher institutions of learning, and at this very hour, there are hundreds of the sons of Illinois farmers in the colleges of other States, pursuing courses of higher education to fit them for the various professions which they may have chosen for life.

This we do not complain of, nor would I lessen the number of those whom Agriculture contributes from its own substantial and sturdy ranks to the other professions and employments of the country, to the great cities and to the leading places of the land. But what are these same farmers doing for those other sons, who are to be their successors upon the farms, and who would be as much benefited by a liberal education for their calling, as those whom they send to professional life. It is for these men of the farms, these future leaders of our agriculturists, that our Agricultural Colleges have been organized.

The one final and essential condition of success for Agricultural Education on the American continent is the fuller patronage of American Agricultural colleges by American farmers. Baron Liebig pronounced the success of Agricultural education in Europe "immense." The farmers can make it immense here. Your own numbers are overwhelming. You have the soundest bodies and brains in the country in your ranks. Fill with your brightest sons and daughters the Colleges which Congress has given you. Send if you will some to the professions and the cities. They need fresh blood. Woe to the city whose ranks no longer receive fresh recruits from the country homes. Educate a portion of your children for other callings, but not always *the best*. Believe in your calling and in the career it may afford. Let the Colleges of Agriculture swell till they shall be more nearly commensurate with the class they represent, the industry they are designed to foster and the magnificent fields of science, of a world-sustaining art to which they would educate your sons and successors.

And who can tell what improvements might come to Agriculture itself, and what honor to the agricultural classes, if, to-day, the sons of a thousand of our leading farmers, who, within a few years, will stand in their fathers' stead, could be sent to the Agricultural Colleges, to make themselves masters of Agricultural science and to fit themselves by a broad and liberal training for the public duties and advocacy which they will owe to their class.

Let farmers cease to complain of the impositions practiced upon them, and of the wrongs they suffer at the hands of more educated classes, till

they shall cease from their suicidal course of bringing up in comparative ignorance, the sons who are to be their successors on the farm, while they give the benefit of the most costly classical training to those other sons, whom they send to the law and other professions, and to the great business centers of the country.

May we not reasonably look to this great farmers' movement, which has awakened the country by its magnitude and its power,—to this organization of the farmers, stretching its net-work over the whole Union, and extending its organizing influence to the most remote part of the rural districts—may we not look, I ask, to this organization to remedy this great blunder and mistake, and to see to it that there shall be trained up in this country a class of men who, while they remain Agriculturists, shall also be the peers of the wisest, the most cultured and the most practised, in their educational attainments and in their cultivated powers?

The great work on which you have entered as an Order will not be finished in your lifetime. Men who are yet unborn will be called upon to fill the ranks and fight the unfinished battles. It is yours to see that they have trained leaders, agriculturists whose brains, keen as Damascus blades, shall be polished by culture, and armed with learning, to fight with all their father's courage and more than their father's skill, monopoly and wrong.

POEM.

READ BEFORE THE ILLINOIS STATE GRANGE.

BY MRS. S. M. SMITH.

Brothers and sisters! these two words
Will not be lightly spoken
By Patron lips, if Patron hearts,
Feel all that they betoken.

If *love fraternal*, mean, with us,
A living bond, and real,
No empty mockery of words,
No sentiment ideal.

Ah! better than they knew, they wrought,
Nor guessed the power they wielded,
Who made this, the foundation stone
Whereon our walls are builded.

Though to the heavens those walls arise,
The stone will yet grow broader
And firm forever, still uphold
The temple of our Order.

It is the one key to unlock
The manacles of Isabor;
And bind in triple bonds, the heart
Of neighbor, unto neighbor.

Like Ishmael, doubting all men's hearts
With all men's hands against them,
For ages, Agriculture's sons
In walls of *self* have fenced them;
Have singly fought, and singly failed
The easy prey and booty
Of cunning, leagued with law, to make
Toils robbery a duty.

Strong in time honored custom, still
Each legalized marauder,
By turns the victim fleece, and still
Exhort to law and order;
On every side new foes arise,
Or old, in modern armor,
Ring above ring, like Alps on Alps,
Frown still upon the farmer.

In vain he single-handed, strives
To cope with powers united,
Or dreams the wrongs of centuries
Will, of themselves, be righted.

What wonder if those wrongs, at last
Have roused each man and woman?
What wonder if they learn to use
The weapons of their foemen.

Turn back the enginery of wrong
Again on its possessors,—
Yet, God forbid, that the oppressed
Become, in turn, the oppressors.

Though a grand army we enlist,
And don defensive armor,
The only conquest we pursue
Is, "Fair play for the farmer."

Our "ring" endangers no man's rights,
No war of plunder wages;
Its influence yet shall bless mankind
Through all the coming ages.

Pretended friend, and secret foe,
Who *dearly love the Granger*,
Shake their wise heads and sadly paint,
His weakness and his danger.

Though while they openly approve
And secretly abuse him,
They all and singly are resolved
While he *does live*, to use him.

Where'er his voice, or vote, or purse,
May promise place or profit,
How ready these unselfish souls
To take advantage of it.

And with what ease, when place or pelf
Securely they have gotten,
The *honest Granger's* service, claims,
Existence, is forgotten.

More open foes, who hope to make
Truth crown persistent lying,
Daily throw high their caps and shout,
"Hurrah! the Grange is dying."

The wisdom that men slowly gain,
They lose not in an hour,
It took us centuries to learn
To find in *Union*, power.

And centuries of advancing growth
Will yet mark our progression,
Ere sons and daughters of the soil
Forget that dear-bought lesson.

Nor is the lesson yet complete,
Scarcely our feet have entered
Upon that road that leads to heights,
Where toil's full hopes are centred.

Where the starved soul at wisdom's fount
May be a free partaker,
And the bent form, erect, clear-eyed,
Honor once more its Maker.

The road lies upward, new and strange,
Its curves unwind before us;
Not always do we find it smooth,
Or clear the blue sky o'er us.

But with each obstacle o'ercome,
The devious way grows clearer,
With every step that we advance
Our glorious goal draws nearer.

Patrons our hearts may well be glad
Our souls new courage gather,
As o'er that road we mark the hosts
That now keep step together.

Their tread resounds through all the land
From ocean unto ocean;
Slowly they march, but not more sure
Is time's resistless motion.

From western plain, and southern grove,
From eastern hill and valley
They move as one—could *fancied wrongs*
So vast an army rally?

Or have they risen as one man
Such mooted points to settle;
In rural matters, as, the kind
To raise of sheep and cattle?

What time (in the moon) to plant the corn
Or gather it for seeding;
Are cooked potatoes good for swine?
As well as—Granger feeding?

Debate on these, and kindred themes
And social relaxation,
At harvest feast, and sociable
Or other rare occasion,

Are thought by many wise, and good
And very prudent members
To be our Order's mission—more,
They fear would strife's embers.

Nor would we deem these homely themes
Beneath consideration;
They're food for much of daily thought
And daily conversation.

But he who dreams this is *the Grange*
Began, sustains, and ends it;
Ill reads this lesson of our time
And poorly comprehends it.

Or if, to buy at cheaper rates,
To sell at prices juster,
Were all its aims, the Grange to-day
Would some less thousands muster.

This army of determined men
Of earnest, thoughtful women,
Have dearer interests here at stake,
A nobler aim, in common.

They feel that with their lives of toil
Of ceaseless, soulless striving;
From youth to age, they dearly pay,
For the one boon of living.

They hold that he who tills the soil,
Beloved of God and nature;
Should wear God's image upon earth
In more than form and stature.

Not dwarfed in mind, and blind to truths
His life is daily showing,
As are the poor beasts that he drives,
The corn that he is growing.

And that the utmost wealth can *buy*
Of culture, education,
May well be his, who wealth creates,
To "feed the hungry nation."

They mean the world, as well as they
Shall honor their vocation;
Their children yet become the peers,
Of any in the nation.

Fulfillment of these hopes, they deem
Our Order's glorious mission;
Nor poet's fancy does it need,
Nor seer's prophetic vision,
To see within the advancing years
Their full and sure fruition;

If, more than prejudice or pride,
Or even wealth's enhancement;
We love the welfare of our class,
Their honor and advancement;

And swift to see and prompt to meet
The duty of the hour,
We wisely, justly, firmly use
Our self-protecting power.

I would that something more of zeal,
Of living vital order
Inspired in all our hearts, to-day
New fealty to our Order.

That casting from our hearts all thought
Of narrow self that blinds us,
We here might see how strong a bond,
Of common interest binds us.

And re-resolve, henceforth, to make
This mighty power, a lever
That from their servitude to wrongs,
Shall lift our class forever.

CO-OPERATION.*

CHEAP TRANSPORTATION AND THEIR RELATIONS TO OUR INDIVIDUAL PROSPERITY, THEREFORE NATIONAL.

Once let these great questions be rightly and correctly understood with the view of justice to all humanity, and we shall then learn what a mutuality of interest there is at stake. I advance this as a basic principle, "*That all Capital (or present wealth) is the Harvest of PAST LABOR.*" That is, it is that part of the *product* of past labor that has been saved, put into the grainery, or into real estate, or into bonds, or into buildings and machinery, etc. This is an axiom that will stand the test. Therefore, please get it well fixed in your minds before going further. "*Capital or Wealth is THE HARVEST OF PAST LABOR.*"

Then let us advance this principle: "*That all labor has an equal right to an equal share in all the wealth (or capital) that it (labor) creates.*"

That principle is simply that *old one* of Jefferson's, which proclaims "Equal and exact justice to all." If this accords with your views, then let us print these principles upon our flags and banners. Let us nail them up at every cross road, that all travelers may see, read, learn and proclaim them. This principle that "all labor has an equal right to an equal share of all the wealth it creates," is the very essence of co-operation. This principle must be put into your political platforms, and every candidate for office should be required to subscribe to them or be retired to private life.

Our nation is divided into two great classes, viz.: *Producers* and *Consumers*, and the large majority of these classes are both producers and consumers combined. There is a duality about it. The farmer or planter who produces wheat, corn, pork, provisions, cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco, in turn becomes a *consumer* of the manufactured articles of cloth, utensils, farming and plantation implements, and part of his own productions. The artisan, skilled laborer, and laboring men and women are consumers of agricultural products, also of their own productions. And they in turn become producers of cloths, mowing and reaping machines, stoves, machinery of all kinds, etc., etc. So we see we are nearly all in turn producers and consumers, each interest clearly related to the other. That which affects one, reacts upon the other. For instance: If the farmer gets ten cents per bushel more for his wheat, this increases the cost of a barrel of flour nearly one dollar. If the price of flour advances, the manufacturer of cloth, of mowing machines, etc., must pay his help enough more to enable them to buy it. This makes the price of what he manufactures still more costly, and in turn that comes back to the farmer

*An address delivered by R. H. FURGESON, before the Patrons of Husbandry, at their annual meeting, December, 1875.

and plantation in increased cost of clothing and implements. This is the tendency when all things are well balanced, when there is no overproduction of either kind of agricultural products or skilled labor products. This enables us, now, to approach the question of co-operation:

Co-operation, buying and selling, combine *all of the elements of success* that possibly exist in such transactions. Now, the Western farmer, in most cases, hauls his products to the nearest station or market, and sells to the dealer for such prices as the *dealer* says he can afford to pay the *owner* of the products. This price is always intended to be *low enough* to permit the dealer to ship it to the market he buys for, and after paying all the costs of handling and commissions (to another dealer in that market), to leave a nice margin of profit to the local buyer; for that is the way he gets his living. Sometimes, in sudden fluctuations of the market, the local buyer loses money. But it always happens that this class of people have their living in some manner. And it follows (that as they are non-producers,) this living must come out of those who do produce. It is also true, that in almost every case, the farmer accepts the price named by the local agent. This may be oftentimes from necessity, and frequently from convenience. For example, I have heard of instances where a farmer of Illinois has taken four horses, hitched to a wagon containing fifty bushels of corn in the ear, and driven fifteen miles to the station, over roads so bad that it was near night when he reached there, then he was offered 18 or 20 cents per bushel for his load. This, at the most, would only be ten dollars for the labor of himself and four horses, wear and tear of harness and wagon, and time one day, to say nothing of the work previously done during the season in planting, plowing and caring for the fifty bushels of corn and preparing it for market. Now, what is this farmer to do? If he refuses to take that price, and waits over until the next day, it will cost him one-quarter of that amount to pay for his hotel keeping and care of horses, with a prospect of getting no more next day. He can haul his load home, but, then, it will have to be returned at some future time; so, from convenience, he is obliged to accept the price offered.

I think this case has been fairly stated, at least I have no desire to color it in any but the true light. And there is no class of people who *know* and feel the truth of these statements better than the Patrons of Husbandry, and the farmers of every grain-growing State in the West. The planters of the South also groan under a like class of causes, that grievously affect the amount of their yearly earnings. And yet it is a self-evident truth that the power to correct this pernicious system lies in the hands of *The Patrons of Husbandry* almost entirely, for the other farmers and planters will join hands with the Patrons of Husbandry as soon as they make the effort. What is wanting is the *patriotic co-operation* of the Patrons of Husbandry, which must be seconded by all the other farmers and planters. Every one can do something toward pushing forward this movement of co-operation, *shipping* and *selling*. But say you, where is the money to

come from? This is a very important question to answer. I shall not attempt to answer it fully. But I shall ask your attention to the following illustration, which is only used as an hypothesis, and may not be strictly correct. I shall assume that an Illinois farmer, or a Western farmer, produces annually an average crop of say one thousand bushels of corn, five hundred bushels of wheat, five hundred bushels of oats, with other vegetables and productions, sufficient to keep and feed his stock and family, leaving these two thousand bushels of grain to be marketed. Under your present system of selling it, it costs you about the following sums, or rather it costs the producers and consumers this sum: The local buyers usually take five cents per bushel on corn, as commission and expense of handling and shelling, while as a general thing, the excess weight between corn bought in the ear, and shelled corn, pays the cost of shelling or very nearly, besides the cobs furnish good fuel. Your wheat must pay at least three cents per bushel and your oats also three cents. Here at home then is a local tax annually imposed on you averaging four cents per bushel or eighty dollars on the two thousand bushels of grain you have for sale. If this grain goes to Chicago, it must be classified or graded, and is then put into elevators, which charge two cents per bushel in Summer and four in Winter as storage, which Eastern buyers are required to pay, besides a commission of one cent. And I have no doubt but the local shipper who ships to Chicago, also pays a commission of one cent, and possibly elevator charges for storage are also charged to him, but granting they are not, and that your local shipper only pays one cent commission, you then have an average of six cents per bushel in Winter, and four cents per bushel in Summer, taken out of the producers and consumers as toll, gathered by the Chicago toll gatherers. Toledo and other cities are not all quite so bad, but in all a portion of the product of labor is cut off. The average of Winter and Summer charges in Chicago would be five cents per bushel or one hundred dollars on the amount of your yearly product of grain. Next comes an Eastern buyer, who purchases to sell to some smaller interior purchaser, who in turn sells to the real consumer in his own native village or town. Each of these operations take, at a *very low* estimate, two cents per bushel each, making four cents or eighty dollars more to be added to the tax already taken from the producer and consumer. You now have a total sum of (\$260) two hundred and sixty dollars tribute paid (between your producing farms in the West, and the consuming villages in the East,) on the amount of your annual product of two thousand bushels.

If, through the course of this manipulating, this tax is equally divided, you are paying one hundred and thirty dollars annually for the present condition of affairs. But this is not all, the Liverpool buyer next comes to our shores, or to Canada, and he purchases your products in Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo, St. Louis, Boston or New York. In whatever place he purchases he is charged a commission, then all the other little incidental costs of shipping to Liverpool, amounting to two or three cents. The

freights, all these things, costing the individual much more than it would a great co-operative society who were doing all their business through one channel and under one direction, *simply because the vast volume of business on the one hand, would enable your shipper to say to a railroad corporation:* Gentlemen, we have so much freight to ship, we can pay your road so much per bushel for hauling it; accept it or not. If you do not we will ship it by the other road. The same could be said to a steamship line. And the result would be that you would get just what you asked for, if it was in reason. I know corn was taken from Chicago to New York, the last Summer, by RAIL, for eight cents per bushel. This was done by co-operation, that is, a New York party were going to ship something to Chicago, a Chicago party was going to ship corn to New York. The two parties said to the railroad, we will give you so much freight each way, and load your cars both ways, and the thing was done.

After your grain reaches Liverpool, or any other port of entry, it is again sold to another dealer at a commission of profit in the shape of one or two cents more, then, perhaps, still another transfer to the dealer in the interior who sells to the real consumers; each of these transactions involving an additional tax of at least one cent per bushel. So we have a total cost of six cents more at a low estimate to be added to the Chicago cost, when exported. The charges from the time it leaves the farm until it leaves Chicago, were nine cents per bushel or \$180 on the supposed production, to which we now add six cents per bushel more, or \$120 to the tax. This leaves a total of \$300 paid by the *western farmer* and the *foreign consumer*, or if equally borne, \$150 each. I think the foregoing estimates are all under, rather than over the mark, and this does not take into consideration the loss by theft constantly going on. Now the question for each western farmer to ask himself is this: "Shall I continue to pay \$150 ANNUALLY to the present system, that is at war with my interests constantly, trying to buy my goods at the very lowest point? or would it be to my best interests to pay this \$150 into a stock organization composed of the *Patrons of Husbandry*, men whom I know, those whose interests and my own are identical and then jointly to ship our goods, and take our pay out of this joint fund?" The reason you want this fund is to carry your joint shipments to the consumer. For example, we will suppose that you have jointly loaded twenty-five cars of corn, or wheat, or oats at Decatur. They are ready for shipment. But each farmer, that has contributed toward loading them, wants his pay, that he may pay his way and bring more to market. Now the person, or persons, at the Eastern port to whom you are going to ship your goods for distribution to the consumers, or for export, is the person who must pay for this shipment, therefore, a portion of this fund must be where he can command it. Then the farmers at Decatur get a bill of lading from the railroad company for their 25 cars of grain and they go into the Decatur bank, present their bill of lading and make a sight draft upon this Eastern agent for the amount their due. The bank pays over the greenbacks for

the sight draft with the bill of lading as security and then forwards it to an Eastern bank to be collected from your Eastern agent. When the draft is presented to your Eastern agent he pays it (*out of the fund you have already provided for him*), and taking the bill of lading, he makes a draft upon the parties he has sold to and this replenishes the farm, with the addition of the profit on his sale. The ninth census states that in 1870 there were 25,882,861 acres of farm land in Illinois, of which 19,329,952 acres were improved and that the average size of the farms were 128 acres. This would give us, on the total amount, the sum of 202,209 farm proprietors. If this number should contribute the \$150 each, it would give a fund of \$30,331,350, by the single State of Illinois. This is an enormous sum and yet, if our hypothesis is true, you are throwing about this amount away yearly, or it is costing you this sum, *and you are not receiving anything for it*. If you were to contribute the above sum into a fund and have a certificate of the amount issued to you, you would furnish the fund that was to benefit yourselves; and get paid for doing it in the saving in handling and marketing your own productions every year afterwards. But, if you would each pay in but the one-tenth part of this sum, you would have over \$3,000,000 as a fund. This would only require \$15 dollars each. But, say a majority of the farmers and planters, "we haven't the fifteen dollars to spare." This may seem so to you but the hundred and fifty dollars *comes out of you* in your present condition every year. Granting, however, that you feel too poor to invest the fifteen dollars each. There is yet one other way, which although slow in its accomplishment, will prove successful if honestly carried out. That is this: Let each farmer (or proprietor of a farm or plantation), this coming year, plant one more acre of corn, wheat, or cotton than he otherwise intended to do, and promise himself and the club that he belongs to, that he *will give the entire proceeds* of that acre of *corn, or wheat, or cotton*, toward the raising of the means for carrying on this co-operative system of shipping and selling, and if you will carry this out, you will have abundant funds for carrying on your co-operative shipments.

This fund could also be used as a banking capital and save you immensely in interest. In this way you could take one million dollars of it and invest it in government bonds at six per cent. gold interest, payable semi-annually, this would be \$60,000. Deposit these bonds with the government, and receive therefor \$900,000 in the "Patrons of Husbandry National Bank Bills" (*or in Greenbacks*). (I hope you will not think I favor National Banks because of this recommendation, for I do not, but as they bleed the people to the tune of 12 to 18 per cent. annually, I favor your adopting this system to protect yourselves, as it would act as a counter irritant.) Now instead of going to other National Banks to get your drafts on your grain and productions discounted, get it done at your own institution, and you will save $\frac{1}{4}$ of one per cent. in collections alone. Then any *patron* that has a good note to discount, discount it for him at the lowest possible rate. In that operation you can save yourselves three

or five per cent. annually. But, say the *croakers*, (those wise men that are always deriding everything and everybody,) "so you farmers intend going into banking do you? A nice mess you will make of it. Now we will see *fraud* and corruption." To all of which I say—if there is fraud it will be your own fault, for it lies within your power to prevent it, and I, for one, believe, there is a little honesty left, in low places, if there is none in government offices or places. This same fund could be used in making purchases of the various implements, dry goods, groceries, etc., necessary to your support. Here again the fact of the greatness of your organization will enable the person who makes the purchases to buy them at the very lowest possible cash price, because of the quantities he buys and also of his ability to pay cash. At least 20 per cent. can be saved to you in the grocery and dry goods line; and in farming machinery no doubt 50 per cent. could be saved in many cases. Then the same power to ship large quantities westward would enable your agent to again command the lowest rates of freight that possibly could be obtained. So that there is the power to save at every point in a co-operative movement of this nature; in fact everything in its favor, with scarcely anything to be said against it. The only thing I see against it, is the possibility of your getting *dishonest* agents to act for you. But where you take *due* business precaution in making your selections, and select persons qualified by their past experience, for the positions that you wish to place them in, those who have the executive ability to plan, to arrange, and to systematize the business; then place such a system of *check* upon them that all leaks are stopped; then have an executive committee to examine daily, weekly or semi-monthly into the condition of the affairs of your agent, I deem it possible to prevent any dishonest practices. I have been thus lengthy in describing the details, that we might stand in a situation where we could fairly answer the question and then answer it as to whether it would be better to remain as we are or to strive and better our condition by co-operation. Now I shall briefly review some of the historical facts of co-operation.

The "History of the Working and Burgher Classes," by M. Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac, contains an interesting sketch of the Roman trades-unions in the early history of Rome, of which the following is a brief condensation, taken from *E. Young's* "Labor in Europe and America."

"It is related by Plutarch, in his life of 'Numa,' that this king established at Rome the *Corps of Craftsmen*. From that epoch the corporation in question passed through three successive periods, the first ending about the time of Vespasian, the second about the time of Constantine, and the third with the overthrow of that empire. The first period comprises that of the trades-unions which originally was spontaneous, and not the result of authority. Working men of the same craft came together, agreed upon certain fixed points to regulate their relations, and elected officers to judge and decide cases arising under their rules. It was one of the enactments of the Twelve Tables that these rules should

conform to the general laws of the State. As the number of slaves and the concentration of property increased, the work of private citizens came to be chiefly performed by mechanics of that class, and the Trades-unions depended more and more on the employment furnished them by the government in the execution of its enormous public works, such as temples and other public buildings, aqueducts, and those admirable roads, bridges, ('transportation routes') and other works which not only in Italy and the East, but throughout Spain, Gaul, Germany, England and the north of Africa, remained as indestructible monuments of *Roman Civilization*. The Trades-unions were thus drawn into closer relations with the State, were subjected more and more to its regulations, and finally *became its regular functionaries*—not merely executing its works, but collecting a portion of its 'revenues.'

"It was by the aid of the *Trades-unions* that *the government organized its administration service*. *There were Trades-unions charged with the collection of revenues, others supplied Rome with provisions, others took care of the edifices, others clothed the soldiers, others armed them, others supplied the interior and domestic wants of a city full of riches and devoted to all kinds of pleasures. Rome in its palmy days.*

"*The Trades-unions then were the frame-work of bone that supported the great Roman body, the same as the farmers and Patrons of Husbandry are the bone and muscle of the United States.*"

"The Roman Trades-unions were of two sorts, the *Commercial* and *Industrial*, and bore the name of Corporations. The principal Commercial Corporations of the Empire were: the sailors' union, the bakers' union, butchers', limeburners', weavers' and tailors' unions, the shell-fish gatherers', silk-dyers', carriers', wine-merchants', and lumbermen's unions, and many others, including a respectable corps of sworn measurers of grain at the warehouses of the port of Ostia, the great *entrepot* of Rome."

"The interior organization of the Roman Trades-unions was very simple. Those of the same trade were divided into groups in the different provinces and cities. A law of Honorius and Theodosius fixes the maximum of each of these local unions at five hundred and sixty-three members. Each of these unions elected, annually, officers who bore the name of '*Patrons*.'"

A wonderful coincidence, your Order possesses in the Patrons of Husbandry, and your relations to our government of this nineteenth century, to its *revenues*, to its *existence*, to its *prosperity*, to its *transportation routes* (and their management), in fact, to everything pertaining to the individual prosperity of one and all in our glorious country, is of far greater importance to-day, on this the evening (as it were) of our first hundred years of existence, than it ever was before in the history of the world.

In our land must be worked out the great first principle in humanity, of "*justice to all*." That nation is doomed which seeks the prosperity of the *few individuals*, the *isolated corporations*, by the crushing out of the

rights of the poorest laborer in the land. No, the eyes of our brother man are turning to us, *to you*, from all portions of the globe; and with outstretched hands are inviting you to co-operate with them, to better their condition, and thus advance the cause of humanity. Will you grasp their hands, and respond by actions that speak louder than words? From Rome we shall take a stride through time to the present century, and to our neighbor, England, and see what we can learn there to our profit. I shall speak of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneer Society, and quote from the "Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of *Statistics of Labor* of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

"This Society is situated in the town of Rochdale, county of Lancashire, England. It is the largest co-operative society in Great Britain, and its development has been of such general prosperity that it is recognized as a powerful exponent of the co-operative system, particularly in the distributive feature. The initiation of the movement was the result of discussions relative to enlarging the opportunities of the working people; they feeling that they were entitled to better wages, and to receive more of the benefits which their constant labor was realizing for the community.

"In the early part of the year 1843, manufacturing interests being in a very prosperous condition, some flannel-weavers in Rochdale applied for an increase of wages, believing the time to be exceedingly propitious for such an effort. They were unsuccessful; undoubtedly feeling that lack of success at *such a time* presaged failure in the future, their condition was more distinctly portrayed than ever, and united, and received, serious consideration. Realizing, that by their own honest efforts must their improvement be wrought out, they repeatedly met together for interchange of views, and to perfect some plan by which their objects could be accomplished. (The same as you are doing to-day.)

"Having, however, failed to gain the solution of the problem to the extent of agreeing upon a particular course of procedure, at the close of one of the small meetings, something like a dozen of them agreed to deposit six cents each per week, to form a common fund; with the ultimate object of carrying on business, both productive and distributive, when a plan should be perfected.

"Early in the year 1844, at a meeting of workingmen, the contributors presented the cause uppermost in their minds, and after a full and free expression of a great diversity of views, they adopted the suggestions advanced by earnest believers in the principle of co-operation; and voted to open a store for the sale of provisions and clothing; to be conducted on the co-operative idea of dividing the profits to the purchasers." We quote their declaration of object from Mr. Holyoke's "Self Helps by the People": "The objects and plans of this Society are to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefit and improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital, in

shares of one pound each, to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements:

'1st. The establishment of a store for the sale of provisions, clothing, etc.

'2d. The building, purchasing, or erecting a number of houses in which those members desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social condition, may reside.

'To commence the manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon, for the employment of such members as may be out of employment, or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages.

'As a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase, rent an estate or estate of land, which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labor may be badly remunerative.

'That as soon as practicable, this Society shall proceed *to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government*, or in other words, to establish a self-supporting home colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies.

'In the month of October, 1844, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneer Society was registered; and in December following, with a membership of about twenty-eight, and a capital of about \$140, the *store was opened*. Having expended half the sum for fixtures, the working capital was reduced to about \$70, and the goods purchased therewith were exhibited for sale on the opening night.'

For the description of the effect produced upon those living in the vicinity of the store, we again quote Mr Holyoke:

"And on one desperate evening, (the 21st of December, 1844,) the Equitable Pioneers commenced business; and the few who remember the commencement, look back upon their present opulence and success with a smile at their extraordinary opening-day. It had got wind among the tradesmen of the town, that their competitors were in the field, and many a curious eye was that day turned up '*Toad Lane*,' looking for the appearance of the enemy; but, like other enemies of more historic renown, they were rather shy of appearing. A few of the co-operators had clandestinely assembled to witness their own *denouement*; and there they stood, in the dismal, lower room of the warehouse, like the conspirators under Guy Fawkes in the Parliamentary cellars, debating on whom should devolve the temerity of taking down the shutters and displaying their humble preparations. One did not like to do it, and another did not like to be seen *in* the shop *when* it was done. However, having gone so far, there was no choice but to go further, and at length, one bold fellow, utterly reckless of consequences, rushed at the shutters, and in a few minutes '*Toad Lane*' was in a titter. On that night the *boys* came out in full force in *Toad Lane*; peeping with ridiculous impertinence round the corners, ventilating their opinion at the top of their voices; inspect-

ing with pertinacious insolence the scanty arrangement of butter and oatmeal. At length they exclaimed in full chorus:

'Aye! the old Weaver's shop is open at Last!'

"They experienced much trouble from the limited amount of funds in their possession. Nothing daunted, however, they immediately took steps to remedy the difficulty, and in the year 1845, the members of the Society voted to increase their capital to \$5,000. This was paid in by installments of six cents per week. Up to March, 1845, they kept open only two nights in each week. Then they determined to keep open several hours each of four days in the week. At the close of the year 1845, the membership had increased to seventy-four, and their capital to \$905. Sales for the year aggregated \$3,550, and profits to members equaled \$160.

"The next three years (1846-47-48,) the Society progressed slowly, and the close of 1848 found them with one hundred and forty members, and a capital of \$1,985. The sales had grown to \$11,380, and profits to \$580. They now had to increase their accommodations, and the whole of the building was then leased on a long term. At the close of 1849 the membership had increased to 390 members, and a capital of \$5,965.

"In the year 1850, the Society doubled its membership, having in December 600, and a capital of \$11,495, and sales amounting to \$65,895, and the disposable profits reached the sum of \$4,445. In April, 1851, they decided to keep their store open all day, and its management placed in the hands of a superintendent and two assistants. At the end of the year the sales were \$88,190, and disposable profit was \$4,950. During the years 1852-53-54, the Society constantly grew in membership. The capital was increased each year, sales and profits also increased, and at the end of the year 1854 the membership was 900; capital \$35,860; sales for the year were \$166,820, and profits disposable, \$8,815. In 1855, the Pioneer Society rapidly increased in membership, numbering in December 1,400. The capital also increased to \$55,160, while the sales equaled \$224,510, and the profits \$15,530. In 1857, the membership grew to 1,850, and a corresponding increase in other respects. For the next thirteen years a constant gain in membership was made. At the end of the year 1871, the number of members was 6,021; the capital, \$598,225. The sales of the year were \$1,238,370, on which the disposable profit was \$117,040.

"The beginning of the year 1874, disclosed the society progressing wonderfully, its membership being more than seven thousand. Its assets were \$927,215, its capital \$868,055.

"The sales for the year 1873 amounted to \$1,436,000, and the disposable profit from all sources to \$159,785. The capital averaged \$122 per member. The average dividend to each, based on share capital, aside from five per cent. interest paid on some, was about *seventeen per cent.*, and this was after the customary charging off; as depreciation on fixed stock had been made, and two and a half per cent. on net profits had been applied for educational purposes. It will be borne in mind that the

'*dividend*' is based on the purchases; we have expressed it herein as so much per cent. on share capital, as in order to become a member one is obliged to buy shares, and in trading with the co-operative store he receives at least as much for his expenditure as he would elsewhere, and also receives the percentage stated on his capital invested. In addition to this gain, each member is part owner in assets of greater pecuniary value than is represented by the figures given, as the annual custom of charging off a stated percentage for depreciation, has reduced the assets as expressed on paper below their market value. During the twenty-nine years of the existence of the Society, it has sold goods to the value of \$17,861,615, and the profits made have been \$2,160,485."

If such a remarkable success can be had in a small city in England, where the percentage of profit is very small on business conducted in the usual way, what a lesson it is for the industrial class represented by the Patrons of Husbandry of the United States. I have been quoting at length to fully illustrate *the pluck, the perseverance* and energy of those men who began by *depositing six cents* per week each, and from that small beginning dates their social advancement and future thrift and enjoyment. Will the Patrons of Husbandry say now that they cannot donate the product of one acre of *grain or cotton* toward establishing a system of co-operative shipping and distribution that is full of the promise of success as an investment, besides being the certain remedy for the evils that now beset their system of exchange or distribution. If each Patron in the United States will deposit fifty cents per week for a year, they will have a fund next December large enough to move their crops of grain, pork, cotton and rice with perfect ease. And I would earnestly suggest the propriety of your deciding upon some such method at this meeting, before you leave for your homes. I cannot leave this subject without a quotation from that valuable article of Worthy Master Colonel D. Wyatt Aiken, Master of State Grange of South Carolina, and which I trust every Patron will read if they have not done so:

"Experience teaches that where the superbundant water-power of every Southern State has been utilized in propelling spinning-jennies, or looms, both thread and cloth have been turned out at a cost less than can be done in a more Northern latitude. Where the cotton crops manufactured in the South, the saving on freight and the increased price of the manufactured article would alone add sixty per cent. to the value of this staple product, to say nothing of the millions of thrifty, intelligent, industrious laborers it would invite into that salubrious section. But anomalous as it may appear, the bulk of thread and cloth manufactured at the South is first exposed for sale in Northern countries. Southern merchants lay in their stock (of Southern manufactured goods,) in Northern cities. *Here again the Granges have the power to prevent this drainage upon the industry and energy of the farmer.* I have thus, with much reluctance but great earnestness, endeavored to present to the Patrons of Husbandry the advantage and practicability of condensing the bulk and increasing the value of

their products, and *then of shipping them directly to the consumer*. That it can be done, has been and is daily being proven. *Just so surely as it is not generally done the farmers of our country will continue to be the hevers of wood and drawers of water for the speculator, and middle-men who like vampires are destroying the industrial energies of our country.*"

TRANSPORTATION.

The subject of transportation, that is, "cheap transportation" is so closely related to the producer, the consumer, the merchant, the manufacturer, that it would seem almost unnecessary to weary you with any of its details. The factory girl in a New England cotton mill, as she toils wearily and overtaxed at her loom, has an interest at stake, for to her it means cheap or dear board, all of which must be paid out of her small earnings. Her employer, the manufacturer, has a three-fold interest in cheap transit; first, in the less freight upon the cotton from the plantation to his factory; second, the cheaper cost of board to his employees means less amount of wages to be paid for labor; third, cheaper freight on the manufactured articles, means larger profits to him; also, cheaper cloth to the Western and Southern consumer, and in turn, the Western producer of grain, pork and provisions, with the Southern producer of cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice, each realize a larger margin of profit on their products by reason of this cheaper transportation, while all that portion of our brother humanity who toil East, West, North or South, for hire, are mutually interested in this question, for it oftentimes means to them work or no work, the latter situation bringing starvation and beggary. For five years previous to September, 1872, it cost the farmers of Illinois an average of three bushels of corn to pay the freight on one to New York city or about 49 cents at that time. During that same Winter of 1872, Iowa was burning an average of 50,000 bushels of corn daily, and many a poor laborer East was hungry for this very corn, and why was this? Because a bushel of corn in Iowa was only worth 10 to 15 cents and two bushels of corn would give as much fuel as a bushel of coal which cost 40 cents. The farmer was, therefore, practising economy by burning his corn. In discussing the question of cheap transportation, we confine ourselves entirely to railroads, as the water routes are the people's routes upon which any one has a right to put a boat or vessel and compete for the carrying traffic. This is the way our railroads should be managed; made public highways or turnpikes upon which any one could place cars and run them in accordance with the time table, or the highway should be owned by the people, that is, the Government or States through which the road passes, so that it could compete with private corporations for the business of the country. I do not believe we can have the cheapest transportation (such transportation as we should have, to be prosperous) until we have a People's Freight railway, or a Government railroad to compete with the private corporations. The corporations always will combine for their mutual welfare. When they so combine, competition is at an end.

Our present railway system is one of most gigantic proportions, amounting now to 74,000 miles nearly, with a nominal capital of \$4,200,000,000—*twice our national debt*. The interest at seven per cent. on this capital, reaches the enormous sum of \$294,000,000 annually. And the most astonishing fact is, that all of this wealth is manipulated by a very few men; you could count them upon the fingers of your hands. These railway kings sit in their offices. To-morrow morning, with the telegraph wire running into each office, they can summon each other together, that is, each will sit down by his operator, and they can communicate back and forth a few moments, during which time they decide to advance freights ten cents per hundred. *It is done* and at noon a tribute is laid upon the grain productions of the Western States alone, amounting to six cents upon every bushel of wheat, five cents and six mills upon every bushel of corn in the West (just figure that up on this year's corn crop in the State of Illinois, 5 6-10) and three cents and two mills on every bushel of oats.

But this is not quite enough: In July, grain from Peoria to Troy, N. Y., and from Chicago to Troy was 20 cents per 100 pounds. About two months since four or five railway kings met in a private parlor of a New York hotel and decided to advance rates, and at this writing they are now, 40 cents per 100 from Peoria to Troy, N. Y., and another advance of 10 cents more expected soon. So, in one stroke, they advanced 100 per cent. or 12 cents per bushel on wheat, eleven cents and two mills on corn and six cents and four mills on oats. Figure this upon your grain crop of this year and then answer whether the President of the United States *dare* exercise such a power? Should Congress tax your productions so much in so short a time you would trot them out of the Capitol at the point of the bayonet. If any despot on the face of the earth should attempt the exercise of such a power, he would be assassinated; and yet the American people tamely submit to it, doubtful whether they will attempt to remedy this gigantic and despotic power. The railroads have become so powerful that they control our legislatures. A prominent railroad man recently said "that he could not be troubled nominating and trying to elect men. He preferred to wait until they were elected and *then take care of them*." In the report of the committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the Erie Railroad in 1872, we find the following: "It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie Railroad, from year to year in the past, to spend large sums of money to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868, more than a million of dollars was paid for "extra and legal services." Mr. Gould also testified that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances as it would to recall to mind the *numerous* freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day." (See testimony, P. 566.) As long as the unseen demon of bribery stalks through the lobbies of all our halls of legislation, both State and National, so long will the people's representatives be bought and sold.

Would it were possible to be more charitable; but not until the manhood of the people is aroused, and they frown down a lobbyist as they would a traitor, can they be free from suspicion. By their acts have our public lands been squandered, given away with a prodigal recklessness.

Our present system of transportation is carried on by two methods, rail and water. As the water routes will freeze up and remain out of use five months of the year (in the northern or grain-growing States,) and as this is from the time when the corn crop, the hog crop and the oat and wheat crops are in greatest demand in our Eastern States, and as the largest section of interior New England cannot be touched by navigable rivers, neither can the Western States use their water courses in the Winter; it follows that the internal commerce of this country must rely upon railroads for its prosperity. And those men who have given this subject the greatest amount of thought are fast coming to the conclusion that *railroads can carry cheaper*, all things taken into consideration, than canals. Facts talk the best: During this past season, the firm I am connected with (who handle more grain than any other firm in the Eastern States for our legitimate business), *have not had a bushel of grain by canal*; and we are at the junction of the Erie canal and the Hudson river with the Champlain canal running by our door, as it were; and why? you ask. Simply because we could get it *cheaper* by the New York Central Railroad than we could by the Erie canal; and this year's freight on the canal has been the lowest I ever knew. The same is true of the railroads. I stated before the "National Board of Trade" in 1872, that a ton of freight could be carried a thousand miles by rail (upon a properly constructed road) for two dollars and a half per ton; upon the supposition that the road could have all the freight it could carry; I did not mean one or two trains per day, but all that could be run day and night. I now think that it would be hard to tell how cheaply we might carry freight upon a road over which there was a constantly moving stream of freight. We would be astonished at the low figure it could be done for; just think of a constantly moving stream of freight. I would liken it unto a belt moving constantly East on one track and constantly West upon the other—upon which was the products of one section going to those who needed them in the other section and returning filled with the goods of another land, all done by that untiring power of "*steam*" guided by its sister "*electricity*." It calls to mind a portion of Geo. W. Cutter's poem, written in 1848, entitled, "*The Song of Steam*."

" I blow the bellows, I forge the steel,
 In all the shops of trade;
 I hammer the ore and turn the wheel
 Where my arm of strength is made.
 I manage the furnace,—the mill, the mint—
 I carry, I spin, I weave;
 And all my doings I put into print
 On every Saturday eve.

I've no muscles to weary, no breast to decay,
No bones to be 'laid on the shelf,'
And soon I intend *you may 'go and play'*
While I manage this world myself
But harness me down with your iron bands,
Be sure of your curb and rein;
For I scorn the strength of your puny hands,
As the tempest scorns a chain!"

How truly that poet pictures out our present situation. The locomotive, as it steams athwart our continent, can truly say, "I've no muscles to weary." On, on *it strides* carrying the products of the labor of a thousand (yea, ten thousand) laborers on every train.

The greatest secret of money making in this country, or any other, is to combine the profits of the labor of the largest number of laborers. Hence that man or corporation who can keep at work the largest number of people, can accumulate the fastest, providing there is a profit on the labor. So that in co-operative shipping and selling the Society have the profits of the united labor of all that is represented in their products, and they also employ the united labor and power of the locomotives and trains necessary to carry those products to the nearest seaport. If that be New York, Boston, or Portland, it requires one week's work of one or half a dozen locomotives to carry these products to market besides the men necessary to manage this train. I have never seen the estimate made of the number of horse-power of a thirty ton locomotive, but will assume it to be six hundred horse-power, and a horse-power to be equal to three man-power, we should then have six hundred multiplied by three, equal to 1,800 men. Thus you see you have the labor of eighteen hundred men working for you day and night (while you wake and while you sleep) for a whole week. What would the labor of that number of men be worth to you in that time if it had to be paid for at the ordinary price of day labor? Now, think if the Granges of Illinois and other States should so unite and co-operate in shipping, that it would keep twenty trains constantly going East with your productions. This would represent the labor of 36,000 men engaged in hauling your productions, to say nothing of the number required to load and unload this freight. This labor takes it to the Eastern seaport or consumer. If it goes further East over the ocean by steamship, here again you employ the agency of steam, representing a thousand horse-power, or 3,000 more men; add to this one thousand more necessary to load all those cars and handle the freight and put on board steamers, and you have the combined labor of 40,000 men (or that which equals it,) working for you constantly. And this is all possible for you to attain, there is nothing visionary about it. This twenty trains, or say four hundred cars per day, is not the one-tenth part of the traffic that your productions are giving to the railroads. I have often seen the arrival of nine hundred cars of corn and grain in Chicago per day, to say nothing of the live stock and other products. All that is wanted is a Trunk Line of railroad, double track, devoted to the freight business and the united

co-operation of the farmers, and you can realize far more than the labor even of 40,000 men.

The following report of the Committee on Railway Transportation, of the New York Cheap Transportation Association, will be found of great value and significance as relating to this question of a freight railway:

"The Committee on Railway Transportation respectfully submit the following preliminary report upon the necessity of a freight railway to the West, hoping that it may evoke discussion which will further the objects in view. It is generally admitted that business is in a depressed condition, that our receipts of grain and other exportable products have not increased in proportion to those of other ports, that many of our manufacturers are working at a disadvantage, that our great jobbing trade in almost every branch has to relinquish a portion of its legitimate profit in order 'to make up for the difference in freights,' and that so considerable a portion of our commerce has already been diverted, that its effect has been severely felt by the owners of real estate. In Baltimore and Philadelphia, the situation is much more favorable, and when we look for the cause we find it is largely the result of having the great lines of transportation over which their commerce flows operated in the interest of that commerce; surplus earnings are invested in extending these lines and completing their facilities, and when complete, rates of freight are reduced, and at all times their own citizens are given special rates for the avowed purpose of fostering their commerce. In New York the following brief chapter from the history of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroads, will tell its own story: In 1853 the New York Central Railroad was formed by the consolidation of ten separate organizations, owning the route between the Hudson River and the lakes. The combined amount of share capital and convertible bonds of these separate organizations was \$23,235,000, but a considerable portion of share capital had not been paid in. The equalizing process of the consolidation was that the Troy and Schenectady Company—that being the least productive of all—should come in at par, while the holders of stock or convertible bonds of the other roads received a premium in consolidated six per cent. debt certificates, ranging from seventeen to fifty-five per cent., making an issue of these certificates amounting to \$8,894,500, or *over thirty per cent.* on the true share capital of the company. From this time down to 1867, there had been no material change in the total of stock and debt of the New York Central Company, other than what could be nearly accounted for by actual value received, and its capital account was then represented by \$28,537,000 of stock and \$12,069,820 of bonds, a total of (including the water) \$40,606,820. The Hudson River Railroad Company at the time had a share capital of \$7,000,000 and a bonded debt of \$7,227,000—total, \$14,227,000, making these two companies, which in 1860 were consolidated, stand in 1867 as follows: Stock, \$35,537,000 and bonds \$19,296,820, or a total capital account of \$54,833,820. During 1867 the Hudson River Company presented its stockholders with: \$3,500,000 stock,

or a dividend of fifty per cent.; and again, at the time of consolidation, another of eighty-five per cent. on the outstanding stock of \$16,000,000, making an issue of \$13,625,000. The New York Central Company had in 1868 presented its stockholders with \$23,036,000, or eighty per cent., followed by one of twenty-seven per cent. \$7,775,000, at the time of consolidation. Thus in the space of two years the now New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company added to its capital the small sum of \$47,936,000, created out of nothing but the will of its Directors and the mixture of paper and printer's ink. From 1870 to 1872, the bonded debt was increased each year by one or two millions of dollars, since which it has been increased some twenty million dollars, for purposes of construction. Who shall say if any, or how much, of this has been additional "water" to make up the necessary amount of \$7,200,000 for annual dividends? It will be seen by the foregoing, that the known fictitious capital of this company, including the issue of 1853, is some ten million dollars greater than the real capital which had been invested down to 1869. This road, as is well known, pays regularly eight per cent. on its entire stock. Suppose it had, instead of manufacturing stock as above described, reduced its charges for transportation until they yielded but eight or ten per cent. upon its *bona fide* obligations, would we not have maintained our native position in the race for commercial supremacy? The Erie Canal, before the advent of railways, placed New York far in advance of other cities, and with equal railway facilities she need never fear a fair competition. *The volume of business done entitles her to lower rates than other points, for it is well known that the proportionate cost of transportation decreases very rapidly as the volume of business increases.* What is true in regard to the management of the New York Central, is also true of the Erie; both of these great highways have been managed as if the public were made expressly for their use, and that it had no rights which they were bound to respect. The stockholders even have been swindled by the managing Directors, and the history of the transportation system of this State, shows that this great business has fallen into the hands of a few men, who have no interest in the development of commerce, and who, feeling secure in their control of our highways, exact such toll as they please. Our present system of transportation is so filled with defects and abuses that the public are taxed at least double what they ought to pay for the service rendered, and if this is continued our commerce and all other interest dependent thereon must suffer further.

The question then arises how can this state of things be remedied? The roads having watered their stocks cannot now reduce them. You cannot legislate the water out that has been put in. The managers will not reduce rates until compelled to do so, and they can only be compelled by competition. Some people advocate competition by canals, but canals are closed a great part of the year, are too slow for many classes of goods, and cannot reach many parts of the continent. The elements of speed and certainty enter so largely into the calculations of modern commerce

that railroads have become the favorite means of transport, and, as in the case of the post office and the telegraph, the public will often pay a higher price for quicker transit. This element of time has a greater bearing upon the subject of transportation than is generally understood; it is not alone the interest on capital saved; trade combinations are made and plans are consummated which would not otherwise be practicable. Capital can sometimes be turned often at close margins with greater profit to the owner than on a less number of transactions with larger margins. Railroads have become the great distributors, and we are therefore forced to the conclusion that a double track railroad exclusively for freight, honestly built for ready money, will furnish the most effective competition. All our estimates of the cost of transportation by rail are based on the results of mixed passenger and freight traffic, in which, of necessity, passenger trains have the right of way, and freight trains have to lie up much of the time when they should be rolling on to their destination; owing to these detentions the present average speed of freight trains is under five miles per hour, while upon a road exclusively for freight, an average of ten miles an hour could be attained, and the capacity of the road so increased that freight charges could be reduced one-half. With such a road to Chicago and St. Louis, (with ultimate extension to other distributing points,) operated in the interest of its respective termini, as the Baltimore and Ohio is in the interest of Baltimore, New York need fear no rivals, and if we are to retain our commercial supremacy such a road is an absolute necessity. The cost of such a work would probably be about \$70,000,000 per 1000 miles of double track of the standard gauge, or \$45,000,000 for the same distance of narrow gauge. A large sum, but one which the real estate interests of New York alone could afford to contribute, and which, with the hearty co-operation of the different mercantile interests, it is by no means impossible to raise. New York City now loses, in reduced profits on merchandise, reduced rents on real estate, and exorbitant prices for transportation, more than \$70,000,000 every year, and could well afford to build such a road alone. But it would also benefit the West to an equal extent, and doubtless some aid for such an enterprise could be secured in that quarter. The capital stocks of all the trunk lines connecting New York with the interior have been watered until the original amounts have been doubled, and in some instances trebled, and they have all been subject, at some period of their existence, to mismanagement and stealing, which has greatly enhanced their cost. They also have been made up by consolidating a large number of small lines built to develop localities without reference to the requirements of through freight traffic, and do a mixed passenger and freight business which greatly reduces their capacity for freight purposes alone. Is it any wonder that with all these defects, and controlled by men whose only aim is to charge rates 'as high as the merchandise will stand' without being prohibitory, that our commerce is declining in the face of the sharp competition of other cities? The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad runs for

a great part of the way through a mountainous country, with heavy grades and short curves; is operated with a mixed traffic; has carried through freight for the past ten years at less rates than any other of the trunk lines, yet has paid ten per cent. dividends; has accumulated a surplus of over thirty millions of dollars, and its stock is never seen upon the market except at executor's sales. Is it too much to expect of an exclusive freight road, (or one on which passenger traffic would be subordinate to freight,) built on a hard-pan basis at the present low prices of labor and materials, connecting the Garden of the West with the principle seaport of the nation, and competing with roads having all the defects before mentioned, that it would pay fair dividends on the capital invested? In the opinion of your committee it would pay reasonable dividends from the time it was opened for business, and within five years from that time would accumulate a traffic which would enable it to carry at half the average rates for the past five years, and make it pay as largely as the Baltimore and Ohio now does. But suppose it did not pay one penny of interest, and that it sunk all of its earnings, it would be the best investment the merchants and property-owners along its line and its respective termini could make, for it would, as before stated, save its entire cost each year, save it to the merchants and manufacturers, the producers and consumers, both at the East and West. Save it in the increased value and productiveness of real estate, and save it ten times over to the whole country in the effect that it would have upon the management of our present railway system. And here we will remark that unless some power is brought to bear to prevent and counteract the abuses which have crept into every stage of the construction and operation of our modern highways, and which now tax the many for the benefit of the few—unless some power steps in and prevents reckless and unscrupulous speculators in 'Wall street' from using the vast wealth thus obtained to further reduce the profits of merchants, manufacturers, and producers—these interests may as well acknowledge that they are subordinate to and governed by the common carrier, who was established to carry their products; certain it is that the logic of events since the discovery of steam and its application to the purposes of transportation, point strongly in that direction, and the legislation of the day is largely in the interest of this privileged class.

The merchants and property owners of Baltimore and Philadelphia, recognizing the importance of transportation to their interests, have invested a portion of their capital in that direction, and as before stated, control their lines, while we in New York have been indifferent to this great question, have allowed our lines to pass from our control, are now suffering from the effects of that policy, and unless something is done about it, will continue to suffer in a constantly increasing ratio. Our situation is like the owner of a valuable coal mine who can produce the best quality of coal at a lower price than any competing mine, but who has no voice in the management of its transportation to market, and whose legitimate

profits are therefore absorbed by those who control his transportation and who have not the prescience to make their profits from fostering commerce by low rates and increased business. The wisdom of this latter policy may be recognized by comparing the policy of the Baltimore and Ohio road, with that of the New York Central and its connecting roads. Another feature in the agitation for reform in the conduct of our transportation system is that the older and more prominent merchants of this city and of all large cities throughout the United States are many of them antagonistic to any movement looking toward improved transportation facilities. When we come to examine into this anomalous feature, we find that these men were once identified with the welfare of our active commercial interests, in which they were at that time prominent, but having accumulated a surplus capital have gone into the railroad business or invested their capital in securities of railways having all the defects we have pointed out, and are now opposed to progress in a direction which would probably depreciate the value of their securities; in short, are now interested in taxing the very commerce with which they were once actively identified, to sustain the abuses of a defective system of transportation. This is, of course, natural, but it does not follow that the merchants, manufacturers, and property-owners at the East, and the entire producing and commercial interests of the West should passively endure these evils without effort to remedy them. It has been said of stock watering, that where it represents surplus earnings invested in improvements, the stockholders are entitled to such increase in value of their property; but it should be remembered primarily that a railroad is semi-public in its nature; that it is granted certain privileges, among which is the right of eminent domain—the right to take private property against the will of its owner, “because it is for public use”—and therefore it owes some duties to the public, which a private citizen or a manufacturing company does not. Again, most of our railways have been projected and built for the purposes of local development, but having accomplished that object and been largely paid for by local interests, have been unable in their early stages, before a large traffic developed, to pay as an investment, and have passed at low prices into the hands of capitalists, who instead of reducing rates as traffic increased, watered their stock so that public attention might be diverted from their immense profits, and when the commercial and other classes ask for lower rates and demur at the practice of stock watering and other abuses, they claim credit for constructing improved highways with which they had originally nothing to do, and that they are entitled to reap the entire benefit resulting from the application of the giant power of steam to the purposes of transportation. Highways are necessarily public in character, and until the application of steam, as noted above, were the exclusive property of the public. Since the discovery of steam, commerce has increased a thousand fold, and as it increased has extended its boundaries and become dependent upon transportation in even a still greater ratio; indeed, it may be said at this period, transportation is commerce,

and commerce is transportation. How necessary is it then that the commercial interest, and others which are largely dependent upon the prosperity of that interest, should have some voice in the management of our transportation system.

We have stated the probable cost of a railroad to the West such as we have described at about seventy millions of dollars, and the most important point to be considered is how this sum can be raised. We have shown that both our real estate and commercial interests are largely interested in this subject, and are yearly losing more than that sum for the want of such a road. We believe that if a hearty co-operation of these interests can be obtained, the amount can be raised, say one-half in this city, one-quarter at the West and along its line, and one-quarter on first mortgage construction bonds. If the merchants of New York will take stock in such a road to the extent of one per cent. upon their annual sales for three years, it would raise the entire sum, or if our real estate owners would do the same to the extent of seven per cent. upon the present reduced valuation of their property, it would raise the entire sum, as it is certain that unless we in some way obtain lower rates of freight both merchants and real estate owners will have to submit to greater losses than these: and as it is almost equally certain that capital invested in an honestly constructed and managed railroad, would, as before estimated, pay largely as an investment by itself, there ought not to be much difficulty in raising capital to carry out such an enterprise.

"The American Board of Transportation and Commerce," (formerly Cheap Transportation Association) met in Chicago on Wednesday, 15th of December, to discuss the Transportation question. It is to be regretted that our meetings thus accidentally come in conflict with each other as we are all working toward the same object. This question of a people's railroad will come up there and we hope to have the moral support of every farmer and patron in the United States in favor of the building of such a road.

I wish you could, when you adjourn, come there in a body and aid us; and if not possible to do that, that you send a special delegation for that purpose.

With the sincere hope that your efforts at co-operation and cheap transportation may be carried with success.

I remain, truly your friend,

R. H. FERGUSON.

*WHAT THE GRANGE MAY ACCOMPLISH.**

Worthy Master, Brothers and Sisters:

In accepting the invitation of your committee to address you on this occasion, in accordance with the liberty granted me, I have chosen to speak upon what the Grange may accomplish.

I acknowledge that in approaching my subject I do it with extreme diffidence, from the fact that there are brothers present who have expressed their disapproval of some of the doctrines I advocate, not as I conceive because they were wrong in principle, but because they were in advance of the times; and, perhaps, these brothers have not caught up with the spirit of the age, and advanced with advancing ideas upon the great questions that underlie our movement and the means necessary to remove the disabilities under which the labor of the country is resting, and have consequently failed to realize the means that are necessary to this object.

For myself, I freely admit that I have been radical from the beginning of our movement, perhaps for years before these brothers ever gave a thought to the degraded condition that labor occupies, or if they did, tacitly accepted it as its normal condition, governed by a power over which they have no control.

Despite all attempts to keep them down, the smouldering fires have burst forth, and we are to-day witnessing a spectacle new in the history of the world, when all labor in every department of industry is rising in self-defense and forming in solid phalanx to resist the encroachments of corporate and consolidated capital upon its rights. No matter whether the weak and timid may shrink from the contest with a powerful foe, there are strong arms and gallant hearts enough to grapple with him, and by a united, determined effort, crush out forever the enemies of labor and establish its rights upon the immutable principles of justice. And whether they will or not,

" 'Tis coming up the steep of time,
 And this old world is growing brighter;
 We may not see its dawn sublime,
 Yet high hopes make the hearts grow lighter,
 Some may be sleeping in the ground
 When it awakes the world in wonder;
 But we have felt it gathering round,
 And heard its voice of living thunder."

"What is wit is wit," said Byron, what the Grange has accomplished has gone into history, what it may accomplish, whether its future shall go out in darkness, and we shall be what Charles Francis Adams says we now are, a "Phenomenon of the past," or whether we shall demonstrate that labor has within itself the inherent power to protect itself and to elevate and

*An address delivered by S. M. SMITH, before the Patrons of Husbandry, at their annual meeting, December, 1875.

make noble that pursuit which above all others is man's necessity, depends upon whether we wisely and honestly use the means in our hands, and leaving out all selfishness, all ambition, determine to make our Order the great benefactor of our class, not only pecuniarily but mentally, morally and socially.

That we have accomplished much, perhaps more than any labor organization ever yet has in the same time, is undoubted.

That we have not accomplished all that was attainable, and made our work so attractive as to keep alive an increasing interest in it, is proven to me by the lukewarmness of many who were enthusiasts but a year or two ago, and by the letters I receive. The following extracts are but samples.

"Will you come down on a given day and address a Grange picnic? The Granges in this county have got the dry-rot, we need something to arrest it." From another county: "Our Granges seem to have lost interest in our work, and meetings are thinly attended, and we need a general stirring up." From West Virginia a brother writes: "We have got over the enthusiasm of organization, we now need instruction, advice and encouragement. Come over and help us."

The above, in a greater or less degree, are no doubt the experiences of very many Granges. Having gotten over the enthusiasm of organization, or the newness having worn off, the novelty having ceased, there has been a too general lack of attendance and of interest, and notwithstanding the rosy pictures drawn by many who write and talk upon the Grange, it is patent to all who have observed, that we have outgrown the period when,

"By nature's kindly law
We are pleased with a rattle
And tickled with a straw,"

and that something more substantial, more attractive than the mere routine work of the Grange must be introduced if we would make that progress which the exigencies of the times demand, and I rejoice that this body has taken the initiative step in this direction by inviting speakers to discuss such questions as finance and revenue, questions that are so imperfectly understood by the majority of those who are so deeply interested in them, and which affect every man, whether a producer or consumer. I hope other State Granges may follow our example, and make such gatherings educational instead of so much mere relative work as has been the practice heretofore.

The National Grange has, in reducing salaries, set an example worthy of our following, and we will freely forgive them for their many shortcomings for this one act that cannot fail to be beneficent in its effects upon our future welfare, for, while denouncing salary grabs, and increase of salaries in public offices, to be honest and consistent we should guard against all such tendencies in our Order, and besides, high salaries operate as organized war upon members of such an organization as ours; they become prizes for the sordid and corrupt, and attract sordid men to office,

consequently offices are too apt to be filled with such. Keep down salaries if you would raise virtue and public spirit up.

Let no sordid man be encouraged in his appetite for office, for all such are a public curse, a promoter of oppression, taxation and demoralization.

The best men will serve us best, and most economically for the rewards of honor and gratitude, and we should attend to our duties and seek out such men. The greatest vice of our present state of society is the concession that office confers superior rank upon its holder, and that office when acquired is permitted to be used as a class privilege. The bitter fruits of these concessions are, that man's self-governing abilities are dwarfed almost to extinguishment by the imposition of human authority in almost every walk of life.

I say, then, tempt not sordid men with office, nor concede to its holder superior rank. It is contrary to the genius of our institutions and especially inconsonant to an organization like ours, but make office, as far as possible, honorary, thus securing the best men among us to fill them, and pay only where such services are rendered as demand it, then have the services commensurate with the pay.

In my judgment the National Grange should have laid out the work for the Subordinate Granges for the accomplishment of the reforms we seek. As a great representative body with all the facts before it, it should be aggressive. To conserve old wrong is not its nor our mission, but to grapple them with a force and power equal to the power that oppresses us, and as the stream never rises above the fountain, it is to be feared that until they rise up to the magnitude of the work we have in hand the Subordinate Granges will not.

It is only natural that a reaction should follow the enthusiasm that characterizes our movement in the beginning, but the sober second thought is generally more efficient and nearer right, and as the causes that brought our movement into existence instead of being removed are, if possible, intensified, if then we were right in denouncing monopolies and the extortions of railroads, the right still continues with us because all the wrongs we then complained of still exist, and the means by which monopolies and corporate capital continue to prey upon labor, may be summed up in the one word *combination*.

The bankers meet in convention, and the rate of interest is uniform with all up to the rates permitted in the several States, and all competition ceases.

A few railroad magnates meet and the price for carrying our corn and other products to the sea goes up to a price that will extort \$15,000,000 from the farmers of Illinois. The Lumberman's Association hold a meeting in Chicago, and within two weeks the price of lumber goes up in every yard in the State. So with the stove men, plow men, and even the undertakers have combined, so that it is about as expensive for a man to die as to live. While the National Grange meets and holds a session of some weeks, the State Granges are holding their annual meetings, but the price of our

products have not appreciated but instead have depreciated, in consequence of the combinations that have meantime been formed against us, and no counter combinations for our protection have, so far as I have observed, been attempted or suggested, and the robbery and wrong goes on, and the many are growing poorer, while the few are amassing colossal fortunes. In this one word, combination, lies all their power, destroying all competition and we are prostrate at their feet.

The census of 1870 divided the population into 20,000,000 farmers, 8,000,000 mechanics and 7,000,000 of all other labor, making 35,000,000 who create the wealth of the country, against 3,000,000 who create nothing, and yet this small minority, through their combinations, had succeeded in absorbing nearly two-thirds of the entire wealth of the country, by simply handling the products of labor, or loaning money at a rate far in excess of the increase of productive industry.

I am well aware that it is urged that we can never reach a point where we can successfully combine to meet the combinations against us, but, as yet, we have never tried to do so. Many things are possible where men will and determine, but nothing is possible without effort. I am confident that we can so combine as to keep our corn in our cribs until navigation opens next Spring, withhold it and we shall have accomplished more towards breaking down this great conspiracy against the public welfare, than has yet been done by restraining laws and judicial decisions. They will continue to practice these extortions as long as we submit to them, and by pouring our corn into a glutted market, we give to speculators and transportation companies all the profit, leaving to us only the labor and cost of production. And here comes in the real test of the benefits to be derived from our Order.

It is a very simple thing to wear the insignia of our Order, to remember and keep for use the pass words, signs, etc., but when it comes to the point of making practical our rituals, and the lessons it enjoins upon us in our intercourse with, and treatment of each other, I fear the task is not so easy, nor will the way seem clear when we have the power to protect a weak brother by personal sacrifices; or, combining a Grange, to help him over the rough places of life, shielding him by the strong arm of the Grange from the rude grasp of the money-lender and the heartlessness of the speculator, in the products of his labor. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was answered: "Thy brother's blood crieth unto thee from the ground," and the curse may be realized with us, if, while having the power, we failed to use it for his protection. There is no doubt in my mind of the practicability of such a combination, and, what is more, if we cannot accomplish this, to me the most important end and aim of our Order, that of protecting and helping the weak in their time of need, it is but a rope of sand that binds us, and our dissolution will not be a matter of regret to those who hope for something higher and holier than the mere forms and ceremonies that constitute so small a portion of the great objects that underlie our organization. A combination of eight hun-

dred millions of capital has bought, leased or stolen the entire anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania as well as all transportation lines leading thereto. This combination controls the price of coal in every market in the country. It has also effectually crushed out every attempt on the part of the miners to obtain their fair share of the profits, and reduced them to the lowest pittance that can sustain life. Their fate will be ours, just as soon as all capital can be combined, which is being done as fast as the varied interests can be brought into harmonious action, unless we use the means *now*, while we may, by combining our capital as well, before their extortions have robbed us of the power of successful resistance. Such a combination is one of the possibilities of our Order: is it one of the probabilities? I answer, yes! when we can forget our selfishness and be in fact what we are in name, *brothers*. The emancipation of our class, as well as all other labor, depends upon the active co-operative principle, or combination of wealth, as well as co-operative effort. And the end is not uncertain when our power is brought to bear upon the hoary wrongs that labor has suffered through the ages.

There are other grand possibilities for our Order; but their accomplishment depends as much upon individual as co-operate effort, and among the greatest is the elevation of our class through education. The so much talked of advantages in this direction have as yet been realized to a very small extent; and, however much may be done in this direction, the means thus far used are small indeed compared to the magnitude of the work.

I apprehend that one great impediment in this direction is the want of having acquired a taste for reading in early life. This is more inexcusable with us than any other class who labor for a living. Our long winter evenings, rainy days and odd hours of leisure are not for the mechanic and common laborer, and had we improved these privileges as we might, the stigma of ignorance would not be cast upon us as it is to-day. But, knowing and feeling this disadvantage as we now do, let us be wise for the future, and see to it that the coming generation of farmers are as intelligent and well educated as any class of men in any avocation of life. To this end we must provide for our children, not only newspapers, periodicals and current literature, but works on political economy, the science of government and the fundamental principles of our form of government as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. We need not urge their reading. No fear but they will use the tools if we but provide them.

One writer has said: "If I were to pray for a taste which would stand by me under every variety of circumstances, and be a source of happiness and cheerfulness through life, and a shield against ill, however it might go amiss and the world frown upon me, it would be a taste for reading. I speak of it, of course, only as a worldly advantage, and not in the slightest degree as superseding or derogating from the higher office and surer and stronger panoply of religious principle; but as a taste, an instrument,

and as a sort of pleasurable gratification. Give a man this taste, and the means of gratifying it, and you can hardly fail of making him a happy man, unless indeed you put into his hands a most perverse selection of books."

You place him in contact with the best society in every period of history, with the wisest, the wittiest, the tenderest, the bravest characters that have adorned humanity. You make him a denizen of all nations—a cotemporary of all ages.

The world has been created for him. It is hardly possible but his character should take a higher and better tone from the constant habit of associating in thought with a class of thinkers, to say the least of it, above the average of humanity.

It is morally impossible but the manners should take a tinge of good breeding and civilization from having constantly before one's eyes the way in which the best bred and the best informed men have talked and conducted themselves in their intercourse with each other. There is a gentle but perfectly irresistible coercion in the habit of reading, well directed over the whole tenor of a man's character and conduct, which is not less effectual because it is really the last thing he dreams of."

Feeling the want of having the means to acquire this taste in early life, as too many of us do, let us see to it that our children are not deprived of the means of acquiring it.

Starve the body, economize in everything else, but for God's sake, my brothers, don't starve the minds of your children.

What the Grange may accomplish is exemplified where they have dared to take an advanced step and break in upon old usages and customs and strike out for themselves a new path, in buying as well as selling, in cutting off middle-men, and buying direct from the manufacturer, and reducing their purchases to a cash basis, and thus saving the enormous profits that have been derived from handling the products of industry. I would infer from Brother Davies' address of welcome to the National Grange, that he was opposed to this departure from established customs, as he speaks of that body as a great "conservative one." If he means to convey to us by the use of the term the idea that he would conserve only the just, the pure and true in business, society and government, then I have no objection to the use of the term in reference to that body; but if, as I have reason to believe, he uses it in the sense in which it was used during the War of the Rebellion, I repudiate its application to the State and Subordinate Granges. It was conservatism that prolonged the war and cost us millions of treasure and tens of thousands of valuable lives. What, in the present condition of our country and our unjust and unequal laws would he conserve? old wrongs, the right of monopolies to extort from labor all its profits, the right of the moneyed power to control legislation, both State and National, in the interest of capital and at the expense of labor: If not these things, what would he conserve? Hosea Bigelow says:

“Conservative just means be kicked,
 In any way you phaze or turn it;
 It means that we're to own up licked;
 That we're poor shoats and glad to own it.”

I agree with him most heartily, and will say further that timid, time-serving conservatism has never benefited our race, never righted a wrong nor relieved the oppressed in any age of the world. Then

“Out of the light, ye priests, nor fling
 Your cold dark shadows on us longer;
 Aside! thou world wide curse called King!
 The peoples' step is quicker, stronger,
 There's a divinity within
 That makes man great whenever they will it;
 God works with all who strive to win,
 And the time cometh to reveal it.”

If the Grange ever accomplishes its grand mission it must do it by aggression. It was not conservatism that cast the tea into Boston harbor, not conservatism that struck down British tyranny on this continent, but determined, persistent, active hostility to the power that was crushing out the liberties of a whole people, and eating out their substance; hence our privilege of peaceably assembling here to-day and discussing questions of vital importance to us, and devising means of relieving us of our oppressions. No, my brothers and sisters, soft words and grass are not the weapons with which to fight the powers that are crushing the industries of the land beneath their iron heel, and reducing a great and free people to absolute pauperism and slavery. I cannot stop to reason with the hungry wolf who has me by the throat; time is too short and the danger too imminent.

Mr. Flagg, in a recent address on legislation in its relation to agriculture said, “It is an undeniable fact, that during the period when legislation was most profligate and partial, the agricultural interests have suffered most.”

The agriculturists constituted nearly the same part of the population in 1850, 1860 and 1870. In relative numbers it has held its own.

But the agricultural wealth of the country, which constituted 55 per cent. of the whole in 1850, and 56 in 1860, fell to 37 per cent in 1870. The whole national wealth of the country increased between 1850 and 1860, 100 per cent., and between 1860 and 1870, 90 per cent. The agricultural wealth increased at about the same rate as other wealth between 1850 and 1860, but between 1860 and 1870 it increased only 40 per cent. while manufacturing increased 110 per cent. and wealth not employed in agriculture, manufactures, mining or fisheries increased 200 per cent. or as 5 to 1 compared to agricultural wealth. Now what has the Grange accomplished towards arresting this unequal distribution of the wealth that we, as a class, in the largest degree create? Up to this time very little, in fact, nothing compared to the power it possessed through its local, State, and National organizations. If then this unequal distribution of wealth comes through corrupt legislation, what is the remedy, and what our plain duty

It is expecting too much of human nature to look to the class of men who so largely compose our legislative bodies to do even justice to other classes when an opportunity occurs to legislate in the interest of the class they represent.

A religious bigot cannot have a beneficent influence upon fallen humanity, and a Grange bigot will antagonize all other labor, forgetting that by co-operating with labor in every department lies our strength to cope with the combinations against us, such men must come to realize that,

“When men, wielding plow and ax and pen,
Join themselves as one man—then
We shall plant our cause so deep,
That all the world its fruit shall reap.”

Many things are possible for our Order that can be accomplished only by means adequate to the end. Our members must make the work one of individual responsibility, not depending upon the State or National Grange to do the work, nor upon the Master of the Subordinate Grange, but insist on yourself, never imitate, that which each can do best none but his Maker can teach him, no man or woman yet knows what they can do or are capable of, until that person has tried to exhibit it. Be not content then to do that which is assigned you, you cannot hope too much, or dare too much.

There is from every one of you an utterance brave and grand, if you will but strive to give it voice, then with the cumulative force of all your lives, cultivation and experiences, you may enrich the whole with the individual thoughts of each, and make the Grange a grand store-house of all that can elevate and ennoble our class. The Grange can accomplish another grand and noble object, if it will, but to do this some straight-laced notions must be got rid of, some of the “stand aside I am holier than thou,” feeling eliminated, that all who labor may be recognized as brothers with whom we can affiliate up to the point whose certain forms and rites forbid, they are doing the same work in their own way as we are doing in ours, those who condemn without understanding the aim and scope of our Order would be our friends if we were less tenacious of our adhering to secrecy where no cause for it exists. Every family has its secrets which are sacred to them, we have ours as well, but beyond these few and simple safeguards that are necessary to protect ourselves from imposition, there is nothing but what the outside world might know, indeed ought to know, and knowing it, much of the hostility manifested towards us would cease. It is because we so isolate ourselves, and the mystery with which we are surrounded, that many refuse to join us, when if the principles of the Order were explained in open Grange meetings, our aims and objects freely put before the public as they might and should be, in my judgment it would add to our numbers and increase the interest in our work more than any means in present use can possibly do. If open meetings could be advertised at intervals, and the public invited to attend, a flood of light might be let in where there is only apparent darkness, and we should the

sooner accomplish the so much desired end, that of enlisting all of our class, and the easier effect a combination that will break down the combinations against us, which we are in a great measure powerless to do in the present largely unorganized condition of the agriculturists of the country. To me this may seem more important from my experience of the effect of such meetings, and I use, by way of illustration, an occasion where I was invited to address an open Grange meeting, the result of which was that thirteen applications were handed in at the close of the meeting. I am not vain enough to suppose that my eloquence effected so much, but the presentation of the great truths that underlie our Order, the advantages of co-operation and combined effort, together with the social privileges that were incident to our organization was the inspiration, and a weak Grange sprang at one bound into a strong one.

The word *all* has great significance with me, for only in enlisting all who labor in one common cause, acknowledging all such as brothers, and combining our strength, can I see hope to overcome the power that is crushing all alike? "Who is my neighbor?" was asked 1800 years ago. My answer now would be, they who by combining to oppose the oppressor of labor, relieve one of God's poor down trodden creatures are his neighbors, no matter what distance divides them, and the miners of Pennsylvania who are being driven to starvation and death by the power of consolidated capital, are my neighbors, my brothers, my sisters, and though the priests and Levites of the press pass them by, or as many of them do give aid and comfort to the oppressor, I cannot excuse myself on the ground that they are not of my class, but looking away over and beyond all selfish considerations, we must work to the end that their fate may not be ours, as well as from the holier motive of rescuing our common humanity from the grasp of the tyrant capital. Again, our councils should be governed by that great-heartedness that recognizes all men as brothers. Banish every jealousy from the Grange, and let the grand inspiring principle of the universal brotherhood of man characterize us in our intercourse with each other and the world at large. Let us have union as far as possible, let us make overtures for it to labor in every department of industry, and theirs, not ours, be the responsibility of resistance to the plain indications of Providence. Theirs, not ours, the unchristian enormity that outlaws all who cannot utter some shibboleth of an organization.

Thus far I have spoken of what the Grange may accomplish morally, socially, pecuniarily, but there is another work for the Grange to do of equal importance to either, because upon its accomplishment, depends, in a large degree, the accomplishment of all else that is worthy of effort through our organization.

Much has been said, and sung, and written of what the Grange has done for woman. It all sounds very prettily in theory, but practically what has been done or attempted towards relieving her from the toils and everlasting round of drudgery incident to the life of a farmer's wife? Literally nothing; she still cooks, washes, irons, scrubs, makes and mends

sixteen or more hours a day as before the Grange was organized, or she permitted to share in its offices or take part in its deliberations.

I clip the following from a California paper by way of illustrating what the condition of the average farmer's wife is:

NOTICE.—“All persons are hereby warned not to trust Mary E. Aborns, (my wife) as she has left my bed and board without just cause or provocation, and I will not pay any bill contracted by her on and after this date.
Signed JOHN ABORNS.”

San Jose, February 6th, 1875.

To which Mrs. Aborns answers as follows:

“The above notice appears daily in the San Jose *Daily Patriot*. Why am I thus published to the world? and what human being on earth has the right to do it? Let us look at the facts. I have been the wife of John Aborns for about ten years, and lived with him during the whole of that time—the prime of my life—that makes 3,650 days. During that time I have cooked about 10,000 meals of victuals, set the table as many times, and cleared it off and washed the dishes. During that ten years I have spent between 10,000 and 15,000 hours over a hot cooking-stove both in summer and in winter; I have cleared up and swept his house for him over 10,000 times. During that ten years I have borne him six children, five of them now living, the youngest two and one-half years old. Beside the pains and anxieties incident to child-birth, (which every mother knows,) what steps, cares and troubles (to say nothing of sickness and anxious cares for my children,) it has cost me to bring them up, it is impossible for me to say, every mother knows it better than I can possibly tell it. In addition to that, I have made all their clothing (besides my own), and during that time I have also made clothing and done sewing for others for money, which went into the community funds; that is as I understand it, all the property made by the husband and wife is community property, but in reality belongs to the husband, and it is called in law community to take off the sharp edge of the injustice. More than that, during those years I have milked, on an average, three cows twice a day, which will make about 7,000 milkings, besides taking care of the milk and making the butter from it. I have during the whole of that time attended to the poultry, and often have assisted Mr. Aborns in loading hay, sewing sacks, and even in cleaning out his stables.

“Now I have drawn the picture very mildly. I have made allowance for my sickness, when I have had help, something after the way that a farmer would hire a horse if his own was sick and unable to work. I had nothing when I went there, and nothing at the end of those ten years of servitude. I have lived, it is true, and was very moderately furnished with clothing. This is all for my labor. What man is there in the world that would do the work I have done for the same compensation?

“I make this statement not out of any feeling of revenge for Mr. Aborns, for he has done only what hundreds of others have done. In many respects he is a good man, industrious, and like hundreds, yea, thousands of others, honest with everybody except his own family.

“I choose to live with him no longer; my reasons are my own; and I say again, what right has he to impair my credit by publishing me? In the name of all that is just I solemnly protest against it.”

MARY E. ABORNS.

And now, my brothers, I might stop right here and let the article I have read carry its own weight with you, but as I have read it as a sort of text, I propose to add a few words by way of application or exhortation, which ever you may please to call it.

How many farmers' wives may tell the same sad story, only they may multiply Mrs. Aborns' statement by two and three, and many by even four as she, to them, sad result of being a farmer's wife, how many have felt all the hardships and privations that have been their lot, yet have suffered on in silence and gone to their graves without giving voice to the feeling that injustice had been done them, and yet without design, on the part of those who had sworn on the altar of their God to love and cherish them. Now what has the Grange done to ameliorate the condition of the wives and daughters of its male members, if anything, what? If nothing, what is our plain duty in the matter? Must this state of things continue for ever and ever, is there no remedy within our reach? Have brothers given sufficient thought to the subject, or rather have they given it any thought at all? Finding their house in order, their food well cooked, and being absorbed in the purchase of a self-binding reaper, or the new self-adjusting windmill that will save all the labor of watering stock. What will lighten the wife's labor, or relieve her from the terrible strain that is slowly but surely sending her to the lunatic asylum, or an early grave. They find out too late that the poor wife and mother has given her life for the loved ones with perhaps on our part no sign of appreciation, or sympathy that might have made her lot more tolerable, or lighted her pathway to the shadowy land.

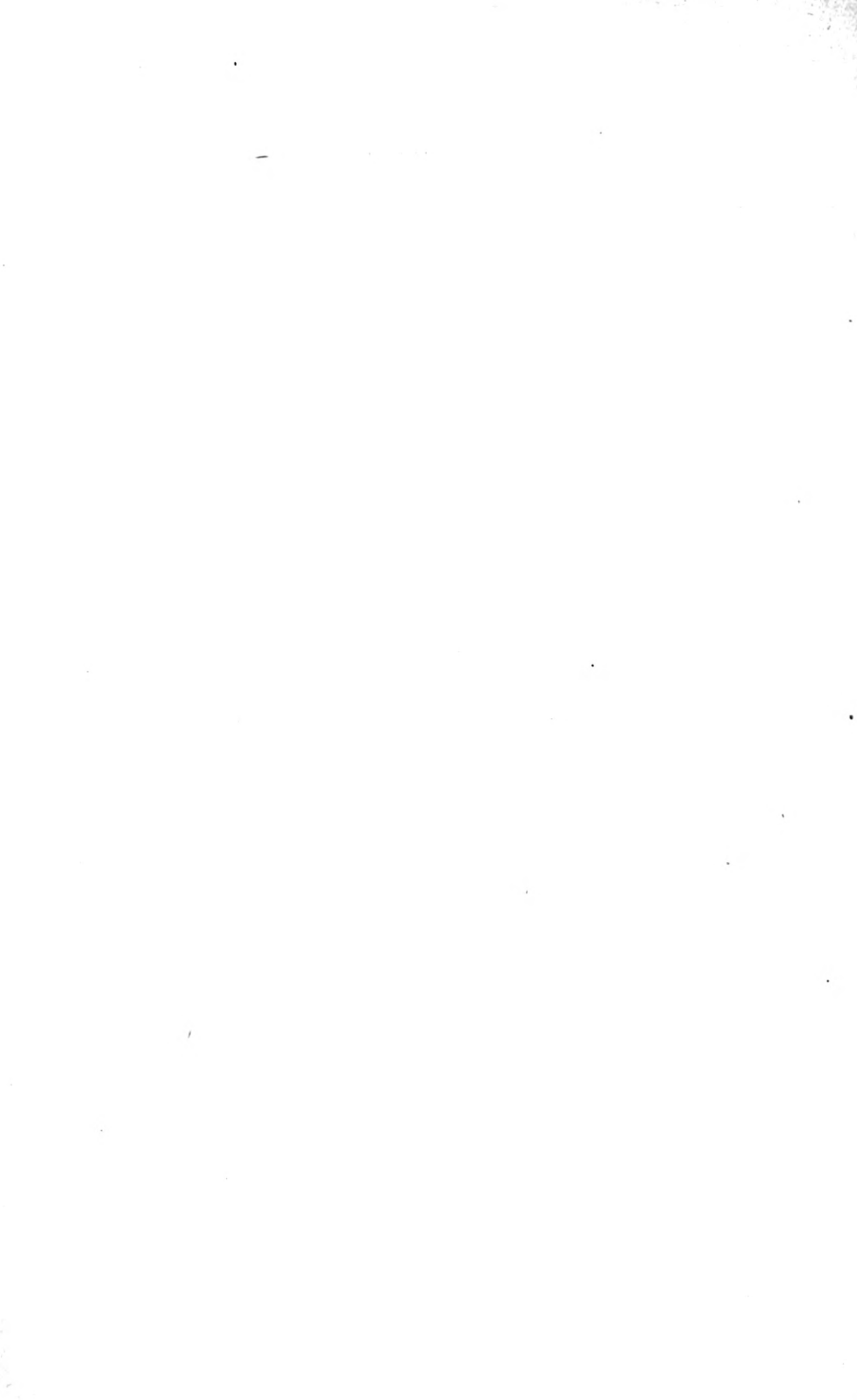
But you may ask what remedy for these evils would you propose? Ought not our wives to be content to share our lot, and bear their portion of the burdens of our life? I admit they ought, but the burdens are too heavy for frail women, unnecessary to a very large extent; if we appreciated what they were, and could be lightened if we used the means within our reach and applied as much thought to them as we do towards lightening the work on the farm or to facilitate our labors.

With the improvements in machinery both for farm and household, six hours a day ought to provide for all our wants; that our time of labor is not shortened proves a wrong somewhere. Notwithstanding all these improvements labor finds no rest, no time for recreation, or recuperating the tired body and mental lethargy consequent upon this constant strain, shows how important the work the Grange has undertaken, how imminent the necessity for combined effort to relieve labor and give to us what those who create nothing are taking every year. Who does not long for the cool retreats of the mountains, the healthful sea breezes, or the healing waters of the springs after the summer's work is ended with the harvest? And why may we not take our wives from the hot cooking stove for a brief season at least, giving her a new lease of life, and new and brighter hopes for the future? Who does not know that she, especially, needs this change of scene, this relaxation from the drudgery she is now forced to endure? The reason is we have not so willed it; we have submitted to an inequality of compensation, until the wealth we create has been to a large extent absorbed by those who do no work, whose wives and daughters "toil not, neither do they spin," and "yet Solomon

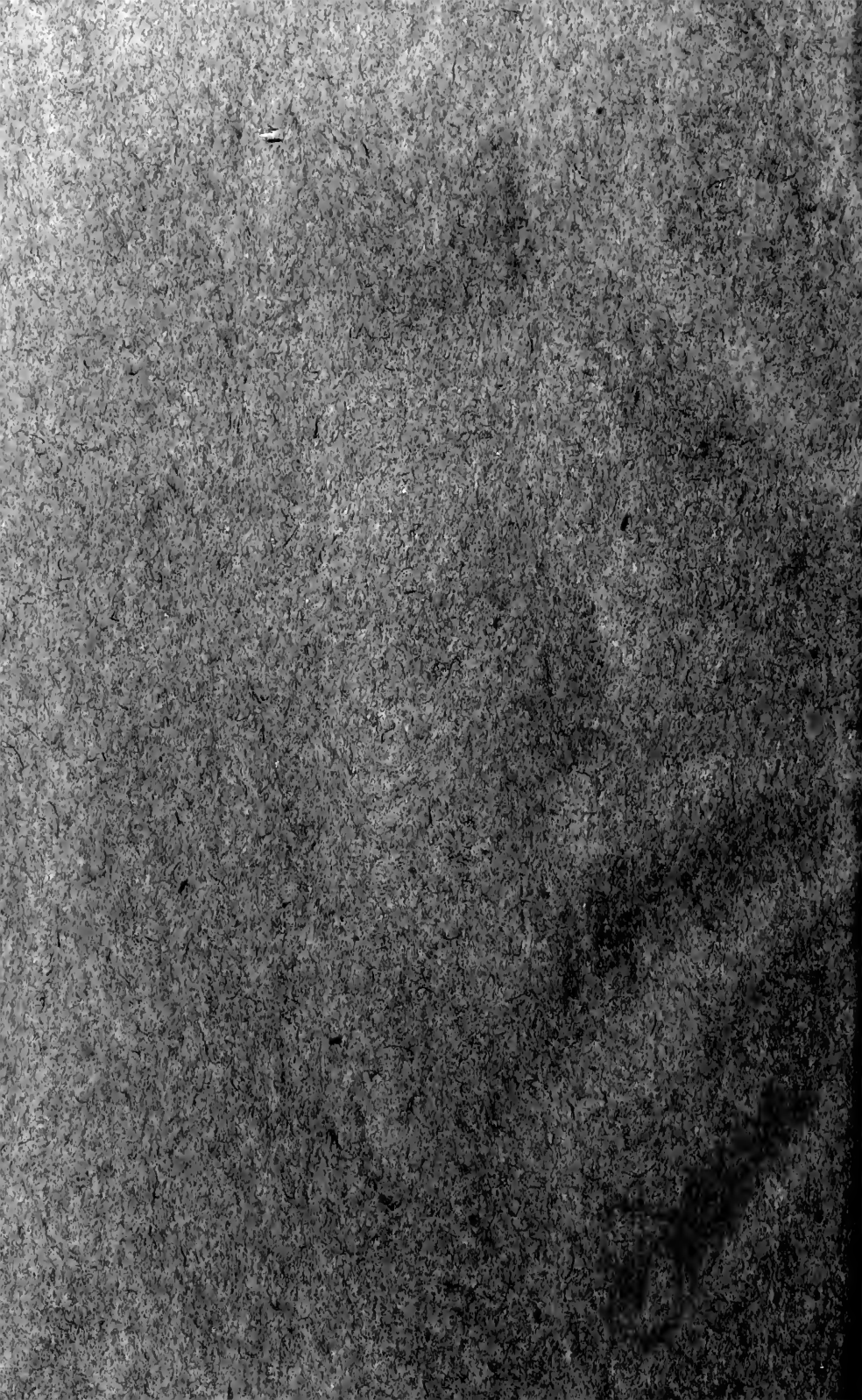
in all his glory was not" flounced and frilled and furbelowed and pinned back like one of these, who may flirt and flitter away the long summer days at the sea side, or the springs, spending money they never earned, while our wives and daughters continue to toil through the hot days of Summer and the cold ones of Winter without rest or relaxation, and never a prospect of change or relief.

When the Grange accomplishes woman's emancipation and elevates her to her proper position, then we may point with pride and exultation to our work.

That the Grange is moving slowly to this, and the accomplishment of these reforms gives courage and hope to the hearts of its thousands of votaries. But the great truths that underlie our movement are but little understood as yet with the average minds of which we are composed. Light is breaking upon many; but more reading, more thought, and more determined, persevering work is necessary to overcome the many obstacles that beset us and surround us on every side, but mind must grow, and hopes must grow, and hearts must grow, and nowhere with more healthfulness than in the agricultural walks of life; the hopes of the down-trodden in this and other lands are with us, ours is the great school from which the democratic idea of the world in its best and yet future era of usefulness, of classless society, must largely graduate, and those in future, unless of the future society, will be no generation of dunces.







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