

The Forum.

AUGUST, 1892.

UNPARALLELED INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

“THE development of the South means the enrichment of the nation.” This was the doctrine of the late Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania. When first promulgated, few people in the North accepted it. They could not see as clearly as he did that Southern growth was to be as important to the North as had been the development of the West.

The interdependence of the two sections and the reason why Southern advancement meant Northern wealth were probably never more graphically stated than in a letter written by Judge Kelley, in which he said:

“The States south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, with their half-million square miles of area, contain a wealth great enough for a continent—a wealth so vast, so varied in its elements and character, so advantageously placed for development, that these States alone can sustain a population far greater than the population of the United States to-day. Their products would be so different from those of other portions of the country as to afford the most profitable exchange, advantageous to all. And it is in these States that we must find the new and greater market for Northern surplus, whether that surplus be in the shape of accumulated labor of the past, that is to say, capital, or the future productions of labor, or of labor itself, because in these Southern States, more than elsewhere, the natural conditions of success exist. As to the rapidity with which it can be done, the past growth of the West furnishes the best answer. It was the building of an empire in the West that relieved and enriched the East as well as the West. The enormous energies, the ‘plant’ used in that task, unparalleled in the magnitude of the work and the greatness of the reward to all, is now seeking a new field of investment, and there is no spot on earth sufficient for it and within its reach but the South. I do not consider that there ever existed in the West, great as its wealth is, nor in any other portion of the country, anything like the natural wealth of the South.”

Copyright, 1891, by the Forum Publishing Company.



This is a comprehensive statement of the unequalled natural resources of the South and of the great wealth-creating possibilities of this section. It does not by any means exaggerate the conditions. It can be truthfully said that there is no other region on this continent or in Europe of equal area that has one-half of the advantages for supporting a dense population and for the creation of wealth as the South. In this section is found a remarkable combination of the advantages of all other countries. It has every variety of climate, its soil yields abundantly of the widest range of agricultural products, it produces three-fourths of the entire cotton crop of the world; but its cotton crop is now exceeded in value by its grain crops, a fact which comparatively few seem to know. It is becoming the market garden of the North, over five million dollars' worth of vegetables and fruits being shipped annually from Norfolk alone to Northern cities. Florida furnishes the country from three million to four million boxes of oranges a year. Georgia ships over ten thousand car-loads of watermelons every season. In the aggregate the shipment of early fruits and vegetables North and West probably amounts to nearly fifty million dollars a year, and this business is increasing very rapidly. Ten years ago it was of trifling importance.

But the South's profitable crops do not end with cotton, grain, fruits, and vegetables; they include about four hundred and fifty million pounds of sugar, one hundred and forty million pounds of rice, many million pounds of tobacco, and other smaller crops. Of all its crops, tobacco probably yields uniformly the largest profits to the grower. As compared with the net returns of tobacco per acre, the profit on grain in the West is extremely small. The possibilities in grain-growing in the South were illustrated two years ago, when a South Carolina farmer won the prize offered by the "American Agriculturist" for the largest yield of corn per acre, in competition with the most progressive farmers in every section of nearly every State in the Union. In no part of the country can agriculture be made more profitable than in the South. And a genial climate makes the cost of living and of caring for live-stock very much less than where the intense cold reduces the days of out-door labor to the minimum and adds a heavy burden of cost for food, clothing, and fuel for the family and for the shelter and feeding of all farm animals. The South is a well-watered country, with a regular and abundant rainfall. From the great mountain ranges that form its backbone, innumerable streams and rivers flow to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. Some fur-

nish cheap transportation and will forever regulate railroad freight rates; others afford water-powers, used only to a comparatively small extent now, but capable of furnishing sufficient power to spin all the cotton which the South produces.

The lumbering business of Michigan and the adjoining States has been the foundation of much of their progress and prosperity; it has afforded employment to millions of capital, to many thousands of hands, and has yielded almost fabulous profits. In the extent and variety of its standing timber the South far surpasses all other sections. It has the foundation for a lumbering and wood-working business much greater than that of the North or West. Its vast virgin forests of hard wood will furnish the raw material for as many factories to manufacture costly furniture and fine woodwork of all kinds as are now in operation in the entire country; its cheaper lumber will go into the lower grades of furniture, while its pine will continue, as it now is, indispensable in all building operations. The editor of the "Timberman" estimates that the annual lumber product of the South is fully four hundred million dollars, or as much as the value of the cotton crop; but that is probably much too large an estimate. The South's resources in coal and iron ores, always the foundation for the greatest prosperity, are so great as almost to defy comprehension.

Nowhere else in the world, it is believed, are the natural conditions so favorable for the production of iron and steel on the largest scale that the increasing consumption demands and at the lowest cost. Less than ten years ago the foremost iron-makers and many of the leading journals of the North honestly believed that the South could never compete with Pennsylvania in the making of pig iron. They believed this because they had never investigated the combination of advantages for iron-making which the South possessed. When Alabama first commenced to ship pig iron into Northern markets, it was persistently claimed by those whose iron was being displaced that it could only be a question of a few months before these shipments ceased, because according to their views there was a loss on every ton. As months passed into years and the Southern iron-maker showed no disposition either to abandon his Northern trade or to fail by reason of the supposed losses on it, public sentiment commenced to change. Here and there was found a man who had investigated the foundation on which the Southern iron interests were building, and who saw that it was neither speculation nor town-lot booming. In the great mineral and timber belt which stretches from West

Virginia to northern Alabama, covering, roughly speaking, an area of about seven hundred miles in length and one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles in width, there is a concentration of mineral and timber wealth greater than can be found in any other equal area in America or Europe with ideal conditions for its profitable development.

Instead of having to haul ore one thousand miles, as many Northern furnaces do, and coke five hundred to six hundred miles, as many Western furnaces are compelled to do, the iron-maker in this section finds his ore and coal and limestone within a few miles of each other. In quantity they are, humanly speaking, inexhaustible; and as new railroads open up new and large fields, the cost of production steadily decreases, against a gradual but certain increase in a very large part of the North and in all of Europe. For a while it was believed by many that the quality of Southern ores and coke was inferior to the best grades of Northern, but the best Southern coals and cokes now equal or outrank the highest Pennsylvania grades, while Southern iron ores have gained a position equally as strong except for Bessemer iron. The Lake Superior district now furnishes the bulk of all Bessemer ores used in this country; but its monopoly cannot be maintained much longer. The Cranberry district of North Carolina, about whose Bessemer ores so much has been heard, and with which so little has been done, for reasons needless to detail, in all probability will soon be opened up to furnish ores at a low cost to neighboring furnaces whose coke will have to be hauled but a few miles. Magnetic concentration of these ores is now discussed; and this, when accomplished, will have a great influence upon the iron interests of the central South, as it will mean advantages for Bessemer-steel making in the South as supreme as those which it now has for iron-making.

In Llano County, Texas, Lake Superior iron-ore experts are opening up what they claim is the finest Bessemer-ore region in this country; but even if this be too strong a claim, it is certainly true that it is an exceedingly rich Bessemer-ore district, the development of which must have an important effect upon the iron and steel interests of the Southwest, as these ores are of such a high grade that they will bear long transportation. Some years prior to the war South Carolina had quite an important iron-making industry, and some fine-grade iron produced in that State was shipped to Sheffield, England, and made into steel cutlery, razors, knives, etc., which took a high prize at the first "World's Fair" in Paris. The ores from which this steel was made have remained undeveloped since the war, but an

English expert recently reported that on one property near Blacksburg from which these ores were mined there were at least twenty million tons of fine Bessemer ores, identical in character with the best Swedish ores. South Carolina may therefore become an important factor in Southern steel-making, especially as no ores now mined in this country make an iron equal in all respects to the best Swedish irons. In addition to these sources of supply, arrangements are being made which will put Cuban Bessemer ores into Southern furnaces if they should be required.

The proximity of the raw materials in the mineral belt of the South—an advantage nowhere else equalled—is only one of the strong points which must help to make this the world's busiest workshop. A climate which has been the delight of every visitor is a factor of great importance. Of this section Judge Kelley once said:

“It is a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts. It is gorged with every mineral. . . . It is the most beautiful and the richest portion of God's earth upon which my vision or feet have ever rested.”

And Mr. Edward Atkinson, who deals in statistics so constantly that he never permits himself to grow enthusiastic, but is always careful and conservative in his statements, says:

“This mountain and plateau section possesses a climate in which any kind of work may be performed by white or black alike; in some portions of the area described are probably to be found the best conditions of climate, of soil, of humidity and rainfall, and of all the other elements which go to make stalwart men and women. To those who view natural scenery in its connection with the promise of homes for the multitudes who must be provided with them, there is nothing more beautiful or picturesque than the aspect of these mountains and valleys, which have been named ‘the Land of the Sky.’”

Mr. Atkinson extends the width of this belt to include the “blue-grass” region of Kentucky, and to cover about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles. This is equal to the combined areas of England, Wales, Scotland, and Belgium, and a half of Germany and a half of France. This central Southern region, equal in area to the countries named, is capable of supporting a greater population than their combined population. It can comfortably accommodate, and furnish a foundation for the prosperity of, more people than now live in the United States. Its greatest resources are its coal and iron and timber, and yet Mr. Atkinson estimates that it is capable, when well populated with thrifty farmers, of producing as much wheat as the entire country now consumes.

On one side of this mineral belt is the cotton, fruit, and truck-growing and yellow-pine region of the South, needing the coal, iron, and hard woods of the mountains, and furnishing in exchange its cotton, its fruits, vegetables, and its pine lumber, creating a mutually profitable exchange. On the other side are the rich and populous prairie States, which will afford an almost unlimited market for all the manufactured products of this central workshop region, while the development of these industrial interests will create a new and important market for the surplus grain and provisions of the West. The construction of the Nicaragua Canal, justly termed by Senator Morgan "the final consummation of the glory of this wonderful nineteenth century," will open to the cotton and the coal and the iron of the South new markets in which the demand will tax the productive capacity of this section. The world's commerce and shipping will centre in the Gulf of Mexico and at South Atlantic ports to a degree that can scarcely be comprehended now. Then wealth will be created, large cities will grow up, coal mines will be developed, iron and steel works built, and shipyards established on a scale little dreamed of now.

With this wealth of raw materials, of climate and soil, and with its commanding position between the ocean and Gulf and the mighty West, what is the South doing in material development? It is needless to ask as to what it is doing in the extension of education, in the building of churches, the establishment of libraries, and in all that tends to higher civilization, for these, in our country at least, naturally and inevitably follow material advancement. When the most disastrous, or rather the most costly, war in the world's history ended, the South was in a condition beyond the power of words to describe. For four years contending armies had occupied its territory, its fields were devastated, ruins marked the sites of thousands of its best houses, its fences were gone and its farms impoverished. Everywhere there was ruin and dismay. Its whole labor system was disorganized, hundreds of thousands of its best men had been killed or maimed in battle, and still larger numbers of its most progressive men were compelled to seek a living in the West or North. The census report of 1870, five years after the war ended, showed a decline of over two billion dollars in the assessed value of property as compared with 1860. Careful estimates put the money loss to the South by the war, counting the destruction of property and taking some cognizance of the losses due to the disorganization of the labor system, at from four to five billion dollars. If the loss as represented by the death of so

many of its foremost men and the great rush West and North just after the war be included, it is very reasonable to say that the war cost the South five billion dollars. The total capital invested in manufactures in the United States according to the last census is about three billion five hundred million dollars.

If we could conceive of some disaster which should wipe out of existence every manufacturing enterprise in this country and every dollar of capital invested, the loss would be so appalling as to stagger the world. It is impossible to depict the reign of terror and the suffering which would ensue. Many years would pass before any recovery could be expected. And yet this frightful condition and this overpowering loss would be less than the South had to face when it laid down its arms in 1865. Moreover, this loss would have to be borne by over sixty-five million people, who would have every aid that the world's capital could render in helping to overcome its effects; while the South's loss had to be borne by less than ten million people, and that, too, without any material assistance from the outside world and hampered also by political misrule. Following this came reconstruction and all its train of evils; and 1880 found the South just beginning to show signs of recuperation. At that time and in 1881 the conditions were peculiar. The South, scarcely ready to commence a new life, was almost as poor as in 1865; the North and West were rich because of the war and of the enormous emigration to the West and its great development, controlling the finances of the whole country, undergoing a marvellous advancement, and flushed with prosperity following the great grain crops of 1879, 1880, and 1881, and the demand in Europe for all our surplus grain.

This was the condition of the two sections ten years ago. Certainly no one would have been bold enough to predict that the rate of industrial and agricultural advancement of the South between 1881 and 1891 would be as large as that of the rest of the country. Such a prophecy would have been regarded as utterly absurd. Moreover, remembering that nearly five million immigrants have settled in the West in the last ten years and that this has been a period of an enormous advance in the grain production of that section, and remembering that the South has had no immigration, it would seem entirely natural to assume that the rate of agricultural growth in the South since 1881 has been very small as compared with the great growth of the West and North. The advance in manufacturing and mining interests has been widely discussed, but it

could not, of course, be expected, under these remarkable circumstances, that the rate of their growth in the South could be equal to that of the North. Ten years ago one section was poor and with hardly a foundation laid for industrial development; the other was rich, with vast manufacturing and mining interests flourishing and rapidly expanding. Let us look at what the South has accomplished as compared with the rest of the country. The growth of population in the South since 1880 has been almost wholly the natural increase; the growth in the North and West has been swelled by over five million immigrants. In 1881 the South produced 305,008,000 bushels of corn, and in 1891 535,942,000 bushels, a gain of over 230,000,000 bushels, or 75 per cent; while the increase in corn production in the balance of the country in 1891 over 1881 was 71 per cent, or a lower rate than the South. The aggregate production of wheat, corn, and oats in the South in 1891 was 672,459,000 bushels, against 404,301,000 bushels in 1881, a gain of 268,158,000 bushels, or 66 per cent. During the same period the gain in the rest of the country was 72 per cent. In other lines of agriculture the South's growth has been equally satisfactory. In 1881 the cotton crop was 5,456,000 bales; in 1891 it was about 9,000,000 bales. On the basis of prices which prevailed in 1881, the South's agricultural products of 1891 would have been worth about five hundred million dollars more than the total of 1881; but even with the very great decline in the prices of all commodities, the difference was about two hundred million dollars compared with 1881.

Railroad-building, unless based on speculation, may be accepted as a good test of the general advancement of a country or section. At the end of 1881 the South had 23,811 miles of railroad; at the end of 1891 it had 44,805 miles, a gain of 20,994 miles, or 87 per cent. In 1881 the mileage of the rest of the country was 79,332, and in 1891 it was 122,898 miles, a gain of 43,566, or only 56 per cent, against the South's 87 per cent. Probably the most striking comparison that can be made to show the growth of the South's railroad business is based on the census figures of 1880 and 1890. Comparing the richest and most populous section of the West, where railroad-building has been very active, nearly 18,000 miles having been constructed in ten years, with the South, it is seen that the relative progress of the latter between 1880 and 1890 has been far ahead of that of the former. In 1880 eight Southern States had 13,227 miles of road, which carried in that year 6,395,074 passengers, or less than one-third as many as were

carried on the 23,588 miles in the Western group; whereas by 1890 the number on 24,955 miles of Southern road had reached over 30,000,000, nearly one-half as many as on 41,299 miles of Western road. The number of passengers carried on Southern roads increased 369 per cent, and on Western roads 168 per cent. The freight moved increased in the same way, the number of tons handled having gained 247 per cent on the Southern roads, against 115 per cent on the Western roads. The gain in earnings both from passengers and freight shows very largely in favor of the South, but the most remarkable point is seen in the comparison of freight and passenger rates. In this at least the thickly settled West ought to show lower rates and a larger decrease between 1880 and 1890 than the South; but to the great credit of the managers of Southern railroads, and contrary to the statements made by many Southern legislators who seek to impose unjust restrictions upon the railroads, this is not so.

In 1880 the average receipts per mile per passenger were 2.541 cents on Western roads and 3.194 cents on Southern roads, a difference of .653 cent in favor of the former; in 1890 the average in the West was 2.338 cents and in the South 2.291 cents, showing that Southern roads are now carrying passengers at a lower average rate than Western roads. The decline in the South was 0.903 cent, or 28 per cent, and in the West 0.203 cent, or 8 per cent. Ten years ago the average receipts per ton per mile on Western roads were 1.369 cents, against 1.691 cents on the Southern roads, a difference against the latter of 0.322. By 1890 Southern roads had been able to reduce this average rate to 0.926 cent, a decline of 0.765 cent, or 45 per cent, while the decline in the West had only been 0.359 cent, or 35 per cent, the average rate in the latter section now being a little more than in the South.

Looking at the growth of the iron trade, we find that in 1881 the entire South made only 451,540 tons of pig iron, the output for the rest of the country in that year having been 4,190,024 tons. In 1891 the South made 1,914,042 tons and the rest of the country 7,359,413 tons. Starting in 1881 with 451,000 tons, the South increased its output by 1891 by 1,460,000 tons, or 323 per cent, against a gain of 78 per cent in the North and West. In 1881 the North and West made over nine times as much iron as the South; in 1891 they made less than four times as much. Ten years ago the South was almost wholly dependent upon other sections for its finished iron product, its cars, locomotives, engines, boilers, agricultural implements, etc. Now it

has some excellent locomotive-building works and many car-wheel and axle foundries which even ship their product to the leading railroads North and West, large machine shops, agricultural implement works, and the finest and best-equipped iron shipyard in the world, which has lately launched the largest iron steamer ever built in this country, with the exception of some of the new war vessels. The census figures will show that during the decade between 1880 and 1890 the increase in the number of persons employed in New England cotton-mills was 21,755, while in Southern mills it was 22,592; in the first case a gain of somewhat more than 17 per cent and in the second of nearly 135 per cent. Superintendent Porter lately said:

“The Southern States may well be proud of this magnificent showing. These States are employing in their cotton-mills nearly as many hands as Massachusetts did in 1870. In the ten years just closed, they have more than doubled the number of persons employed and the value of their product, and have nearly trebled the amount of cotton consumed and the number of their spindles. The increase in the amount of cotton consumed has been greater in the Southern States than in New England.”

The output of coal from Southern mines in 1891 was over twenty-three million tons, compared with about six million tons in 1881, a much greater percentage of gain than in the country at large. The forty cotton-seed-oil mills, with a capital of three million five hundred thousand dollars, in operation in 1881 have grown to over two hundred mills, with an investment of thirty million dollars or more; of phosphate rock the production in 1891 was between six hundred thousand and seven hundred thousands tons, as compared with two hundred and sixty-six thousand tons ten years ago.

If further examples or illustrations of the South's progress are needed, they may be found in every line of development. Probably no feature of Southern growth has commanded more attention during the last few years than the increase in business at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports. The tendency of Western produce has been to seek a foreign outlet through Southern ports, and so great are the advantages of these as compared with the more northerly routes that the business which has been started must of necessity grow rapidly. With Western grain and provisions added to Southern cotton, coal, and lumber passing through these ports, there is a foundation for large commercial cities at every good Southern harbor. Railroad construction is already tending in that direction. The official government figures can again be called upon in behalf of the South. The value of exports from Southern ports in 1881 was \$257,535,401 and in

1891 \$349,801,999, an increase of \$92,266,598; the value from all other United States ports was \$576,013,726 in 1881 and \$620,713,801 in 1891, a gain of \$44,700,075. Not only did the South gain 36 per cent, against an increase of only 7.7 per cent at all other ports, but the actual gain by the former was \$92,266,598, as compared with \$44,700,075 by the latter. Examining the banking business, it is found that the South has six hundred and forty national banks, with an aggregate capital of \$99,905,405, against two hundred and twenty-three, with a capital of \$45,010,000, in 1881, the percentage of gain being very much larger than in the rest of the country.

That the advance has been general as to States and as to all lines of progress is conclusively shown by the assessed value of property. In 1880 the total assessed value of property in the Southern States was \$2,913,436,095. By 1891 this had increased to \$4,816,396,896, a gain of one billion nine hundred million dollars. The average assessed value *per capita* in 1891 was \$271, while in 1880 it was \$187. It would only require the same rate of gain *per capita* and the same rate of increase in population as during the last ten years—and certainly these will be maintained—to give the South a total assessed value of nearly eight billion five hundred million dollars ten years hence. Summing up in tabular form some of the foregoing statistics, we find the following condensed showing of the South's progress:

	1881. ¹	1891.
Assessed value of property	\$2,913,436,095	\$4,816,396,896
Assessed value of property <i>per capita</i> ...	\$187	\$271
Railroad mileage	23,811	44,805
Yield of cotton, bales.....	5,456,000	9,000,000
Yield of grain, bushels.....	404,301,000	672,459,000
Value of chief agricultural products.....	\$749,000,000	\$926,000,000
Coal mined, tons.....	6,000,000	23,000,000
Pig iron produced, tons.....	451,540	1,914,000
Phosphate rock, tons	266,000	About 650,000
Capital invested in cotton-seed-oil mills..	\$3,504,000	\$30,000,000
Number of national banks.....	223	640
Capital of national banks.....	\$45,010,000	\$99,905,405
Exports from Southern ports.....	\$257,535,000	\$349,801,000

The past ten years have only served to show the possibilities of Southern advancement. It would require too much space to elaborate the facts which prove that the growth of the whole country necessitates and will insure even greater progress in the South in the future than in the past. The increase in the population of the United States in the next ten years will about equal the present population of the entire

¹ In a few cases these figures are for 1880.

fourteen Southern States. The growth in manufactures is illustrated by the fact that the increase in capital invested in manufacturing in 1890 over 1880 was more than the total capital so invested in 1870. The steady growth in the consumption of iron will demand an increase in production sufficient to require the building of at least as many furnaces in the South in the next ten years as have been built in the past ten. These facts and many more that will suggest themselves to the reader will show that even if the South maintain only an equal rate of growth with the country at large, it will accomplish far more between 1890 and 1900 than it did between 1880 and 1890, while in all probability its rate of growth during this decade will, as during the previous one, exceed the rate of growth in nearly all lines of development of the rest of the country.

Coincident with very rapid industrial progress and with increase in population and wealth in any community there is invariably more or less speculation in real estate. No section of the country is free from this. For many years the West was the centre of attraction for real-estate operators, and the whole country was flooded with the stories of the marvellous increase in town-lot values as grain fields or forests were almost in a day transformed into booming towns. Throughout the great West there are many sad monuments of blasted hopes in deserted towns that failed to realize the expectations of their founders; but on the other hand there are magnificent cities, such as Denver, Omaha, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Spokane Falls, Duluth, Tacoma, and dozens of others, whose phenomenal growth has been largely due to the work of the real-estate "boomer." When the South commenced to develop, the real-estate operators turned their attention this way. The Southern people, who had heretofore been great speculators in cotton, now became speculators in corner lots, first in Birmingham and then in Anniston, Sheffield, and other places.

The fever of speculation excited by the marvellous advance in values in Birmingham when fortunes were made in a day, and when the stock of the chief land company there rose from \$100, the par value, to \$4,500 a share, based on dividends in one year of 2,200 per cent, spread to several other Southern States. This excitement was checked by the collapse that followed the Baring failure; and because the corner-lot booming and the founding of new towns have temporarily ceased, many people wrongly imagine that the general advancement of the South has received a severe blow. On the contrary, the future development of the South will be on a sounder basis and

on a broader scale by reason of the lessons learned since the panic of 1890. The solid industrial interests of this section have stood the strain in a way to command universal attention and to prove to the world the claims made as to the superior advantages of the South. The fact that the largest iron company in Alabama, which is also one of the largest in the world, earned more money during its last fiscal year than ever before in its history, notwithstanding the extreme depression in iron, has made a deep impression upon iron men everywhere; and when a revival in business comes to the country at large, capital will seek the South as never before, because of the vitality displayed by its iron and other industrial interests during the last two years. In addition to the depression which has been felt throughout the business world since the Baring failure, the South has had to suffer from an overproduction of cotton, resulting in very low and unprofitable prices. This, however, is a matter which soon regulates itself, and will prove a blessing in disguise, as it has already driven Southern farmers to the cultivation of larger food crops. Present indications point to very large grain crops in the South, and a cotton crop sufficiently small to insure much better prices than those of last year. With these indications realized in the fall, Southern farmers will be more prosperous than for many years.

It would be a great error for the public to charge the present financial troubles of several Southern railroads to lack of business. The South is in no way responsible for this condition of affairs. To Wall Street speculators who for years have manipulated the securities of these roads to their own personal gain must be charged their bankruptcy. In no way, probably, can this be more clearly seen than by contrasting the management and its results of these now bankrupt roads with those of such roads as the Seaboard Air Line, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Norfolk & Western, and the Chesapeake & Ohio. While others were operated from Wall Street and made the foundation for new issues of securities almost without number, these were being managed in the interest of their stockholders and of the country tributary to them and without Wall Street manipulations. The Wall Street roads were driven into bankruptcy, the others have prospered and they have made prosperous the country along their lines. Let the blame rest where it belongs, and not on the South.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF A FORCE BILL.

AFTER years of peace, without special complaint from any portion of the country, the Republicans of the Fifty-first Congress deliberately offered and urged legislation now commonly known as the Force Bill. The people in the fall of 1890, at the ballot-box, repudiated both the party and the issue. Still the bill was pressed in the Senate, and with a desperate effort most of the Republican senators sought to make it a law. The Republican party now presents a candidate for President who has approved the measure, a candidate for Vice-President whose newspaper labored for its passage, and a platform which practically gives it an indorsement. In view of these facts, it is clear that a Force Bill is before the American people. They must decide upon its desirability at the polls in November.

The same men who prepared and supported the old Force Bill of 1890 and 1891 will have charge of the new Force Bill in 1893 and 1894. It is just to infer that their new Force Bill will be similar to their old Force Bill. The Force Bill of 1890-91 embraced a scheme for the appointment of supervisors who were to control Congressional elections. They were to be appointed by the circuit courts and to be backed by deputy United States marshals. The original bill gave them authority to visit private residences for the purpose of investigation, to inquire of wives and daughters about husbands and fathers concerning politics, nativity, residence, and anything else which the supervisors might think related to the right of suffrage. The supervisors could also carry on this mission, deputy marshals to aid the enforced examinations of women of families, while the men were away from home. This plan of supervision could be brought into any district in the Union on the application of one hundred men; and the number of officers, not including deputy marshals, who could then take charge of the district has been estimated at not less than six hundred. What district is there where there are not one hundred men so far below the standard of manhood as to ask for supervisors, if only for the purpose of becoming supervisors themselves? The circuit judge would first appoint his chief supervisor, and this man could