After the Civil War, the nation’s farmers were poised to enjoy new opportunities and great prosperity. The Homestead Act of 1862 offered cheap land for sale out West for settlers to establish farms. Railroads attracted settlement because of the ease of travel and for shipping agricultural goods to distant markets. Moreover, recent technological innovations such as the mechanical reaper and steel plow promised much greater productivity. This was an attractive opportunity for farmers whose land on the East Coast was unproductive due to soil exhaustion.

The farmers’ vision of great prosperity in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not always match the reality of their lives. They suffered a variety of problems that threatened their livelihood. Farmers faced gradually declining prices during a general period of deflation in part due to the overproduction that was ironically the product of the mechanization of agriculture. The falling prices sometimes fell below profitability, while farmers were burdened at the same time by the costs of modernizing their equipment. Thus, farmer indebtedness began to rise, and many lost their land or were threatened with foreclosure. They bristled against the inequality that defined their financial straits and seeming powerlessness while industrialists and bankers were growing incredibly wealthy and powerful.

American farmers, especially in the South and West, suffered from a variety of economic ills, including real and perceived unfair business practices. However, their problems primarily stemmed from larger financial trends. Railroads offered big business large rebates for rates due to guaranteed high volume and made up the difference by charging farmers more. Farmers were severely affected by general economic trends such as deflation and changing supply and demand in the market. They often blamed Wall Street traders and bankers for the lower prices they received, and for the high interest rates they paid on loans. The tariffs, railroads, bankers, trusts, and other “Eastern interests” who supported the gold standard (that kept the money supply tight and contributed to deflation) bore the brunt of farmers’ frustrations. Their sense of powerlessness sometimes led farmers to seek scapegoats, and some blamed their economic woes on immigrants and Jews.

Southern farmers experienced unique difficulties because of the nature of agriculture in the region after the Civil War. With the collapse of many of the great antebellum plantations, millions of poor white farmers and freed African Americans became sharecroppers. They worked under a system of debt-lien in which they would borrow money to buy seed, fertilizer, and equipment and pay it off with a large percentage of the resulting crop. As cotton (and other commodity) prices fell, the sharecroppers were hard-pressed to pay their debt each year before going into further debt for the next year’s crop. This vicious cycle led to permanent indebtedness and a state of peonage, resembling servitude.
When faced with real or imagined oppressions, farmers began to organize to protect themselves against the powerful interests. In the 1860s and 1870s, thousands of farmers joined the Granger movement. The Grangers focused on social activities and agricultural education for farmers. They also organized cooperative marketing of products to both cut out the cost of the middleman and withhold crops from markets until prices increased. The national Grange bylaws rejected affiliation with either of the major political parties, but they lobbied for and won state regulations on railroads and storage facilities. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Supreme Court majority ruled that such laws made in the “public interest” were legitimate exercises of state police powers.

During the 1880s, farmers became more radicalized as their condition deteriorated and they joined an organization called the Farmers’ Alliance. In the early part of the decade, the Alliance was created to move beyond educational and cooperative marketing plans to advocate for more comprehensive reforms of the modern industrial system. The Alliance supported government regulation or outright ownership of what they believed were predatory, oppressive railroads. The Alliance also demanded the abolition of national banks, and the creation of a subtreasury plan, in which the government would store the farmers’ crop and lend 80 percent of its value to farmers at very low interest rates in order to increase the money supply. The government would also store the crops until farmers could sell the crops at a higher price. Opponents argued that the plan would violate the principle of limited government, lead to rampant inflation, and pay a subsidy to a particular class of Americans, and consequently killed the bill in Congress.

The Alliance grew rapidly with over 100,000 members in the early 1880s and expanded to more than one million with the 1893 economic collapse. The Alliance was divided geographically and racially. It was very popular among western farmers, and white southern farmers created their own Southern Alliance. Because of the racial hatred that trumped common economic oppression, the Southern Alliance did not admit African Americans, who formed the Colored Southern Alliance.

In the early 1890s, the leaders of the agrarian movement began formulating a third-party strategy and entering politics to implement the reforms the Alliance had sought. In 1892 they met in Omaha and created a platform of goals including free silver, abolition of national banks, government ownership of all railroads and telegraphs, and the direct election of senators and the president. The success of the Populist Party in the 1892 election was rather astonishing. The Populist presidential candidate, Civil War General James B. Weaver, received over one million popular votes (8.5 percent of the total) and won an impressive six western states for 22 Electoral College votes. Populists also won seats in state legislatures, particularly in the West, and a few were elected to Congress. Moreover, several events occurred that appeared ready to propel Populists into serious contention to seize many more national offices.

In 1893, a financial panic induced a deep economic depression that caused an industrial collapse with widespread unemployment and worsened the farmers’ woes. Agricultural prices sank to new lows, well below the cost of production. Waves of violent industrial strikes swept through the country. In the first organized protest march on Washington, D.C., a group of hundreds of unemployed workers called
“Coxey’s Army” marched from Ohio and gathered supporters from across the country, demanding jobs. Farmers and workers talked of combining forces into a “producer class” united against the capitalist “interests,” but the American Federation of Labor rejected the idea, and the Populists settled for supporting the eight-hour day for workers. The President and Congress further incensed suffering farmers by repealing the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. Farmers had demanded enactment of the Silver Purchase Act because they believed it would increase the amount of money in circulation and make it easier to pay their debts. The Silver Purchase Act never produced the benefits for which farmers had hoped, but its repeal further committed the U.S. to the tight money of the gold standard. Moreover, farmers objected to the 1894 Wilson-Gorman Act that protected several industries with the higher tariff rates that hurt farmers. Furthermore, a deal between President Cleveland and banker J.P. Morgan helped save and increase American gold reserves but was further evidence in the minds of Populists of a conspiracy of Eastern interests to keep agricultural prices depressed while benefitting eastern industrialists and bankers.

The 1894 congressional elections showed impressive gains in votes for Populist candidates and they won more seats in Congress. Populists then debated whether they would achieve greater political influence by continuing their third-party strategy or by fusing with Republicans or Democrats to win their reforms. Rhetoric centered especially on the idea of free coinage of silver because issuing currency based upon the gold and silver supply would inflate money and elevate agricultural prices. Although many Populists were opposed to fusing with the Democrats, the Populists finally decided that supporting the sympathetic Democratic presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, would yield the best results. Bryan delivered a rousing speech at the Democratic National Convention in which he praised American farmers as the backbone of the country and attacked the gold standard. He warned the Eastern interests, “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold.” Bryan, however, lost the election to Republican William McKinley, and the Populists largely disappeared from the political scene as a result.

Despite the political failure of their organizations in the Gilded Age, farmers won nearly all of their goals during the early twentieth century. The 1896-98 Klondike gold rush led to an increased money supply and the inflation of agricultural prices. The economy recovered from the depression, and farmers enjoyed general prosperity. They participated in the growing consumer culture by shopping through mail-order catalogs. The federal government regulated railroads and the trusts, and banned many of their discriminatory practices. Finally, Congress passed laws such as the Federal Farm Loan Act (1916) that guaranteed farmers low-interest loans and greater access to credit. Farmers entered the post-World War I era optimistic that good times would continue.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What problems did farmers face in the nineteenth century?

2. What unique problems did African-American farmers suffer in the South during the nineteenth century?

3. Compare and contrast the goals and ideas of the Granger, Alliance, and Populist movements, and describe the degree to which these goals were successful prior to the twentieth century.

4. List some of the results of the 1893 financial panic.

5. What economic and political developments eventually improved the lives of farmers in the early twentieth century?
**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. According to this newspaper report on the National Grange Meeting of 1878, what was the position of the Grange regarding partisan politics?

2. What did the Grange mean by “the great productive industries”?

3. What position did the Grange take with respect to the Coinage Act of 1873, and why?

4. In what ways are constitutional principles and essential virtues demonstrated? In what aspects of the events are they decidedly absent?
**Handout C**

**Farmers Alliance platform, Texas (1886)**

**Background:** By the 1880s, farmers’ economic situation grew worse and they looked for more concrete solutions to their problems than had resulted from Granger efforts. Delegates attending the 1886 Grand State Farmers’ Alliance of Texas meeting in Cleburne expressed farmers’ discontent in the first major document of the farmers’ revolt against the two-party system.

**Cleburne Demands, August, 1886**

We, the delegates to the Grand State Farmers’ Alliance of Texas, in convention assembled at Cleburne, Johnson County, Texas, A.D. 1886, do hereby recommend and demand of our State and National governments,... such legislation as shall secure to our people freedom from the onerous and shameful abuses that the industrial classes are now suffering at the hands of arrogant capitalists and powerful corporations. We demand:

4. That measures be taken to prevent aliens from acquiring title to land in the United States of America, and to force titles already acquired by aliens to be relinquished by sale to actual settlers and citizens of the United States.

6. All lands forfeited by railroads or other corporations, immediately revert to the government and be declared open for purchase by actual settlers, on the same terms as other public or school lands.

9. That railroad property shall be assessed at the full nominal value of the stock on which the railroad seeks to declare a dividend.

10. We demand the rapid extinguishment of the public debt of the United States, by operating the mints to their fullest capacity in coining silver and gold, and the tendering of the same without discrimination to the public creditors of the Nation, according to contract.

12. We demand the establishment of a National bureau of labor statistic, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses of our citizens; and further that the commissioner of the bureau be a cabinet officer of the United States.

14. We demand the passage of an interstate commerce law, that shall secure the same rates of freight to all persons for the same kind of commodities, according to distance of haul, without regard to amount of shipment; to prevent the granting of rebates; to prevent pooling freights to shut off competition, and to secure to the people the benefit of railroad transportation at reasonable cost.

**Review Questions**

1. Summarize the demands of the Texas Farmers Alliance in 1886.

2. In what ways are constitutional principles and essential virtues demonstrated? In what aspects of the events are they decidedly absent?
Mary Elizabeth Lease Speech (1890)

**Background:** The daughter of Irish immigrants who settled in Pennsylvania, Mary Elizabeth Lease was born in 1850. Her father and older brother were both killed when they served in the Union Army during the U.S. Civil War, and her widowed mother struggled to care for her. In 1870, Mary moved to Kansas to teach at a Catholic mission school, later married a druggist, and enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle for the first time in her life. Her family was plunged into poverty in the financial panic of 1873, and they moved to Texas and then to Kansas to start over. Mary became involved in social reform movements such as prohibition, woman suffrage, the labor movement, and the Populist Party. In the 1890s she campaigned all over the country for the Populist Party's cause and candidates. Violating accepted decorum for women of the day, she became a nationally known fiery stump speaker, and a favorite target of those who believed a woman’s place was in the home. In June of 1896 alone, she delivered speeches in 17 different cities in Minnesota. She drew much criticism because of her forthright fearlessness on the public stage, but the vilification seemed to increase her strength. Emporia editor William Allen White, who disapproved of her political views, wrote “she could recite the multiplication table and set a crowd hooting and harrahing at her will.”

Wall Street Owns the Country;
A Speech by Mary Elizabeth Lease (circa 1890)

This is a nation of inconsistencies. The Puritans fleeing from oppression became oppressors. We fought England for our liberty and put chains on four million of blacks. We wiped out slavery and our tariff laws and national banks began a system of white wage slavery worse than the first. Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master. The West and South are bound and prostrate before the manufacturing East. Money rules, and our Vice-President is a London banker. Our laws are the output of a system which clothes rascals in robes and honesty in rags. The [political] parties lie to us and the political speakers mislead us. We were told two years ago to go to work and raise a big crop, that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted; the rains fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop that they told us to; and what came of it? Eight-cent corn, ten-cent oats, two-cent beef and no price at all for butter and eggs—that's what came of it. The politicians said we suffered from overproduction. Overproduction, when 10,000 little children, so statistics tell us, starve to death every year in the United States, and over 100,000 shopgirls in New York are forced to sell their virtue for the bread their niggardly wages deny them... We want money, land and transportation. We want the abolition of the National Banks, and we want the power to make loans direct from the government. We want the foreclosure system wiped out... We will stand by our homes and stay by our fireside by force if necessary, and we will not pay our debts to the loan-shark companies until the government pays its debts to us. The people are at bay; let the bloodhounds of money who dogged us thus far beware.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the main complaints of Mary Elizabeth Lease?

2. Why do you think she attracted so much attention and criticism?

3. In what ways are constitutional principles and essential virtues demonstrated? In what aspects of the events are they decidedly absent?
Excerpts from the Populist Party
Omaha Platform: 1892

PREAMBLE

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; ... The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of those, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires...

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry...

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform...

We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity...

We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land...

PLATFORM

We declare, therefore—...

Second. —Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. “If any will not work, neither shall he eat.” The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.
Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

FINANCE.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, ...

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.
2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.
3. We demand a graduated income tax.
4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered...

TRANSPORTATION—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph, telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

[In an Expression of Sentiments, the document also included resolutions demanding the following:]

1. Secret ballot
2. Graduated income tax
3. Fair pensions for ex-Union soldiers and sailors
4. Further restriction of undesirable emigration
5. Shortening workingmen’s hours of labor
6. Abolition of the Pinkerton private police force
7. The initiative and referendum
8. Constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.
9. Opposition to any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What problems did the Populist platform assert?
2. What solutions did the Populist Party advocate?
3. Discuss whether some of their demands seem to be in conflict with other demands.
4. In what ways are constitutional principles and essential virtues demonstrated? In what aspects of the events are they decidedly absent?
**HANDOUT F**

**Farm Wife, 1900**

**Background:** In 1900, farmers made up about 38% of the U.S. work force. (By comparison, in 2000, less than one percent of the U.S. population were farmers.) In 1900, as 100 years later, most farms were family-run businesses, but in 1900 there was little mechanization and no electricity to help farm families get their work done.

“I am not a practical woman.”

*The following description of farm life was written at the turn of the twentieth century by an anonymous woman who had secret aspirations to be a writer. At the time she wrote this she was in her early 30s and had been married about 14 years. She and her husband, whom she describes as “innocent of book-learning,” have two children. In addition to providing insight into life on a farm, she reveals a much different attitude towards the marital role of women than we have today.*

“I have been a farmer’s wife in one of the States of the Middle West for thirteen years, and everybody knows that the farmer’s wife must of a necessity be a very practical woman, if she would be a successful one.

I am not a practical woman and consequently have been accounted a failure by practical friends and especially by my husband, who is wholly practical.

... I was an apt student at school and before I was eighteen I had earned a teacher’s certificate of the second grade and would gladly have remained in school a few more years, but I had, unwittingly, agreed to marry the man who is now my husband, and though I begged to be released, his will was so much stronger that I was unable to free myself without wounding a loving heart, and could not find it in my nature to do so.

... Later, when I was married, I borrowed everything I could find in the line of novels and stories, and read them by stealth still, for my husband thought it a willful waste of time to read anything and that it showed a lack of love for him if I would rather read than to talk to him when I had a few moments of leisure, and, in order to avoid giving offense and still gratify my desire, I would only read when he was not at the house, thereby greatly curtailing my already too limited reading hours.

... It is only during the last three years that I have had the news to read, for my husband is so very penurious that he would never consent to subscribing for papers of any kind and that old habit of avoiding that which would give offense was so fixed that I did not dare to break it.

... This is a vague, general idea of how I spend my time; my work is so varied that it would be difficult, indeed, to describe a typical day’s work.

Any bright morning in the latter part of May I am out of bed at four o’clock; next, after I have dressed and combed my hair, I start a fire in the kitchen stove, and while the stove is getting hot I go to my flower garden and gather a choice, half-blown rose and a spray of bride’s wreath, and arrange them in my hair, and sweep the floors and then cook breakfast.

While the other members of the family are eating breakfast I strain away the morning’s milk (for my husband milks the cows while I get breakfast), and fill my husband’s dinner pail, for he will go to work on our other farm for the day.
By this time it is half-past five o’clock, my husband is gone to his work, and the stock loudly pleading to be turned into the pastures. The younger cattle, a half-dozen steers, are left in the pasture at night, and I now drive the two cows, a half-quarter mile and turn them in with the others, come back, and then there’s a horse in the barn that belongs in a field where there is no water, which I take to a spring quite a distance from the barn; bring it back and turn it into a field with the sheep, a dozen in number, which are housed at night.

The young calves are then turned out into the warm sunshine, and the stock hogs, which are kept in a pen, are clamoring for feed, and I carry a pailful of swill to them, and hasten to the house and turn out the chickens and put out feed and water for them, and it is, perhaps, 6.30 A.M.

I have not eaten breakfast yet, but that can wait; I make the beds next and straighten things up in the living room, for I dislike to have the early morning caller find my house topsy-turvy. When this is done I go to the kitchen, which also serves as a dining-room, and uncover the table, and take a mouthful of food occasionally as I pass to and fro at my work until my appetite is appeased.

...Finally the children are washed and churning done, and it is eight o’clock, and the sun getting hot, but no matter, weeds die quickly when cut down in the heat of the day, and I use the hoe to a good advantage until the dinner hour, which is 11.30 A.M. We come in, and I comb my hair, and put fresh flowers in it, and eat a cold dinner, put out feed and water for the chickens; set a hen, perhaps, sweep the floors again; sit down and rest, and read a few moments, and it is nearly one o’clock, and I sweep the door yard while I am waiting for the clock to strike the hour.

I make and sow a flower bed, dig around some shrubbery, and go back to the garden to hoe until time to do the chores at night, but ere long some hogs come up to the back gate, through the wheat field, and when I go to see what is wrong I find that the cows have torn the fence down, and they, too, are in the wheat field.

With much difficulty I get them back into their own domain and repair the fence. I hoe in the garden till four o’clock; then I go into the house and get supper, and prepare something for the dinner pail to-morrow; when supper is all ready it is set aside, and I pull a few hundred plants of tomato, sweet potato or cabbage for transplanting, set them in a cool, moist place where they will not wilt, and I then go after the horse, water him, and put him in the barn; call the sheep and house them, and go after the cows and milk them, feed the hogs, put down hay for three horses, and put oats and corn in their troughs, and set those plants and come in and fasten up the chickens, and it is dark. By this time it is 8 o’clock P. M.; my husband has come home, and we are eating supper; when we are through eating I make the beds ready, and the children and their father go to bed, and I wash the dishes and get things in shape to get breakfast quickly next morning.

It is now about 9 o’clock P. M., and after a short prayer I retire for the night.”

References:
REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Farm Wife begins her account by writing, “I am not a practical woman.” Based on her description of her life, to what extent do you agree with her self-assessment?

2. What seems to be the general tone of the account? Does the farm wife seem to be happy or unhappy with her life? What are her complaints? What are her joys?

3. What tasks occupy the majority of her time during the day?

4. Explain the aspects of this account that you find surprising.

5. What virtues does Farm Wife demonstrate?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handout B:</th>
<th>Purpose of document</th>
<th>Main ideas/concerns</th>
<th>Effects/ Historical Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“National Grange Meeting” Rocky Mountain Husbandman, Diamond City, Mont. 10 Jan. 1878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handout C:</th>
<th>Purpose of document</th>
<th>Main ideas/concerns</th>
<th>Effects/ Historical Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers Alliance platform, Texas (1886)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handout D:</th>
<th>Purpose of document</th>
<th>Main ideas/concerns</th>
<th>Effects/ Historical Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Elizabeth Lease Speech (1890)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handout E:</th>
<th>Purpose of document</th>
<th>Main ideas/concerns</th>
<th>Effects/ Historical Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Populist Party Omaha Platform (1892)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Highlight common themes that emerge in the documents related to farmers’ concerns in the Gilded Age. For example, you might use green for methods of increasing the money supply, yellow for opposition to interests the farmers thought treated them unfairly, and so on for other themes you identify.

2. What similarities to current events can you identify?
### Debrief Questions

**Constitutional Principles and Essential Virtues**

Use these checklists in your discussion of the examples of farm revolt in the Gilded Age. In what ways are the principles and virtues demonstrated? In what aspects of the events are they decidedly absent?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Checks and balances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of contract</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of speech, press, &amp; assembly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable rights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation of powers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential Virtues</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil discourse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>