THEIR WORK DONE.

The Alliance Convention Has Adjourned.

PRESIDENT U. S. HALL'S SPEECH

A Ringing Address Before the Assembly.

THE PLATFORM AS ADOPTED.

It is a Very Sensible One in Every Respect.

AT ST. LOUIS IN SEPTEMBER

The Next Meeting Will be Held in Furtherance of the Movement—The Proceedings in Detail Reported for Gazette Readers.

The work of the anti-sub-treasury and anti-third party convention that has been in session in this city for two days, was finished last evening at 5 o'clock. As foreshadowed in THE GAZETTE of yesterday morning, a very sensible and sound platform was adopted. It takes the Alliance back to its days of primal purity, when it was not torn and racked by internal dissensions or the reckless ambition of demagogues. They desire the Alliance to be, as originally intended, free from political affiliation.

That this Fort Worth convention is one whose influence will be far-reaching in extent, the following dispatch from Topeka, Kan., by the Associated Press, will attest:

"The Alliance leaders of Kansas are greatly chagrined and worried at the action of certain leaders of the Southern Alliance in calling the Fort Worth, Tex., convention to resolve against the sub-treasury idea. They claim that it is a scheme of Southern Democrats to break up the Alliance, and that prominent Democratic congressmen are at the bottom of it.

"The Kansas leaders fear this action is but the beginning of a movement that will disrupt the organization in Kansas, as thousands of Republicans, who affiliated with the People's party last year, would follow the course of their Southern brethren and go back to their old party."

It is a fact that this convention is remarkable, not only for its work and outspoken belief, but its personnel is worthy of note, and may be summarized as follows:

All were members of the Alliance.
All were farmers.
All have an occupation.
All are clean men.
None are in the pay of corporations.
None came here on free passes.
None were from Kansas or Michigan.
None were implicated in wrecking the Alliance exchange.
None have ever looted an Alliance treasury.
None who have ever been whitewashed.
No expelled preachers.
None whose neighbor would not believe him on oath.
None who have been conspicuous failures in life.
All were straight goods and no shoddy.

As Dr. Morrow expressed it last night, "Our purpose is to save the Alliance and denounce the methods of her opponents. We have been denounced as traitors, and threats of expulsion hang over us, but truth crushed to earth will rise again, and the sober second-thought of the people is never wrong."

The action of yesterday's convention is not confined to Texas alone, it is national in its scope. It is the keynote, and its vibrations will extend all over the nation, causing the masses of the Alliance to flock to its standard and again render the organization as it was in the days of yore, pure, free and untrammeled by political affiliations.

THE CONVENTION.

The Proceedings of the Body Yesterday. The Forenoon Session.

The morning session of the Farmers' Alliance was called to order by Chairman Kendrick. The report of the committee on resolutions was called for and the committee asked for further time, stating that the resolutions would be ready for reading by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The time asked for was granted. Immediately afterward Hon. U. S. Hall of Missouri, who had been advertised to speak, was introduced and addressed the audience for two hours. His speech was a masterly effort, reviewing in all their phases both the tariff and the sub-treasury questions. His propositions were clearly laid down and are clearly defined, and the audience was held to a man during the entire course of his argument. Mr. Hall showed the pernicious effect of the "robber tariff," which he said was the offspring of the Republican party, nurtured and fostered by them. That the system of protective tariff bore more heavily on the farmer than any other vocation, because they alone of all who engaged in the every day exchange of commodities could not fix a price on their products; that every other calling was able to ask a living price for what it produced, but the price on the product of the farmer's labor was fixed by others besides himself. Mr. Hall then took up the sub-treasury scheme, and dwelt on it at length, showing its utter impracticability, and holding up to light its weak points. He closed his remarks by warning the Alliance to steer clear of this ignis fatuus, the sub-treasury scheme, and to fight it and down it at any cost, for if allowed to stay it would be the disruption of the Farmers' Alliance.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hall's speech the audience showed its hearty approval by prolonged applause. When order was restored some inquiries were made relative to the investigation of Macune's record that took place at Ocala, Mr. Hall being a member of the investigating committee. He then disclosed the whitewashing method indulged in at Ocala, when he alone refused to whitewash him. Macune's demagogy and chicanery was freely reviewed, and his character presented a sorry spectacle when Mr. Hall had done. The convention then adjourned till 2:30, when Hon. W. S. McAlester of Mississippi was advertised to speak.

The Afternoon Session.

At 2:30 o'clock the convention reassembled and proceeded at once to business. B. F. Rogers presented the following resolutions for the consideration of the body:

Whereas, as the citizens of Fort Worth, through their mayor, having tendered to us the hospitalities of the city, and having done all in their power to make our stay in their city pleasant, now therefore be it resolved by this convention of representative Alliance men that the thanks of this body be and are hereby tendered to the citizens of Fort Worth for this kindness, assuring them that if our stay has not been pleasant it is no fault of theirs, and that the press of the city be requested to publish this resolution.

Whereas, grave charges and accusations have been made against President Evan Jones and other prominent Alliance characters; and

Whereas, said charges and accusations are made in such a way as to seriously embarrass the good work of the order in Texas and also impair its usefulness; and

Whereas, if said charges are true, (which we do not assent,) the parties accused deserve and ought to receive the condemnation of all honest men; and

Whereas, the chief actors in making their charges demand of the accused an investigation. Now, therefore be it

Resolved, as the sense of this convention, that President Evan Jones owes it to himself and to the order that he submit to a fair and impartial investigation of all the charges that have been made against him, and R. J. Sledge owes it to himself, the order and the cause of truth and justice, to submit to a like investigation as to the charges made against him in Georgia as a bribe-taker and corruptionist.

Resolved, further, that we deprecate the wholesale denunciations by President Jones and others, of their accusers, rather than a submission to an investigation.

Resolved, further, that we pledge ourselves to assist by all honorable means in bringing about said investigation; and that if President Jones and others who have been accused, can successfully and before an impartial tribunal refute the charges against them, we will surely assist him and them to forever expel the accusers from the order.

And, resolved further, that until President Jones and others who have been accused, refute the charges against them, that it is the sense of this convention that they are at least resting under a cloud, and that a copy of these resolutions be furnished Evan Jones and R. J. Sledge. The resolutions were unanimously adopted as read.

Mr. Rogers read the following telegram:

ST. JOE, TEX., June 11, 1891.

B. F. Rogers, Alliance Congress:

Sickness prevents my attendance. Give the boys my regards. Three cheers for Newton's letter. Yours to command,

A. P. CAGLE.

The following resolutions from the Austin County Alliance were read:

Whereas, from imperative necessity a meeting of Alliance members throughout the state who are opposed to the plans and workings of the executive officers of our noble order, now in authority, has been called to meet in Fort Worth July 10 and 11, 1891; and,

Whereas, we are glad to know that our brethren are rallying to our support in the fight which we made some two years ago.

And whereas, "The Southern Mercury" has refused to publish our proceedings as sent to them by our secretary, it being the mouthpiece of those only who see fit to indorse the sub-treasury scheme and certain Alliance bosses who try to bulldoze the thinking element of the order into the support of these measures. And

Whereas "The Farmers' World" has been founded and brought forward to the aid of the conservative element of the order;

Therefore, be it resolved by the Austin county Farmers' Alliance, in regular session, that we indorse the call meeting at Fort Worth, July 10 and 11, and the "Farmers' World," and bid them Godspeed in their efforts to purify our order and rid it of men who are acting from selfish motives.

And further resolved, that we denounce the "Southern Mercury" for the one-sided stand which it has taken.

Resolution No. 2 was read as follows:

Whereas, the State Alliance last August in Dallas referred the scheme known as the sub-treasury plan back to the sub and county Alliances for consideration and action; and

Whereas, we believe this plan to be:

1. Contrary to the Alliance principles of equal justice to all and special privileges to none.

2. That it is another movement towards centralization of power and parental government.

3. That instead of increasing it will lessen the amount of money in circulation.

4. That instead of raising the price of farm products it will only give speculators and the money power a surer and stronger hold on the market prices.

5. That it is impractical, visionary and a probable campaign movement originated by our enemies to split the Alliance.

Therefore, be it resolved by Austin county Alliance in regular session, that we are opposed to the said sub-treasury plan, and that our delegate to the state Alliance be instructed to vote against it.

After the reading of the last resolution, Hon. W. S. McAlester was introduced, and proceeded at once to his subject, which was an exposition of the objects and principles for which the Alliance was organized:

At the conclusion of his address President Kendrick resigned the gavel to Vice-President C. M. Wheeler of Fannin county, Chairman Kendrick being forced to take the 4:30 train for Weatherford. Upon the retiring of Mr. Kendrick from the chair, a resolution was unanimously passed thanking him for the fair and impartial manner in which he had presided over the convention since assuming the chair.

The committee on resolutions was then announced as ready to report. A motion was made and prevailed that the platform and resolutions be read by sections, the convention passing upon or rejecting the said sections as it saw fit. The platform was accordingly read and adopted section by section and then as a whole, the only correction being in one word, where maladministration was substituted for the word malfeasance. The platform was as follows:

We, your committee on resolutions, beg to submit for your consideration the following, to-wit:

We, the anti-sub-treasury members of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, recognizing the grave and responsible duties resting upon us as farmers and citizens and members of our beloved order, the Farmers' Alliance, hereby present for the careful consideration of our brother Alliance farmers the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, the Farmers' Alliance has been organized to the end that its members might become educated in the science of economical government, and that we might become more united in our action, having been divided through the influences of the war, while we have ever been united in interest; and,

Whereas, our beloved order, the Farmers' Alliance, was founded for the express purpose as set forth in our constitution to bring about the above most important results, and that this education and union should be brought about in a strictly non-partisan sense and manner; and

Whereas, we declare to the world in our constitution that the Alliance would ever advocate, "equal rights to all and special favors to none;" and

Whereas, we declared to the world through the Alliance that we would make no war upon any of the legitimate interests of our country; and

Whereas, we were assured when we entered the organization that no one should be ostracised for opinion's sake and refused admittance into or turned out of the order on account of any belief he might hold on political questions; and

Whereas, we felt assured that this organization would be directed and controlled by farmers, who were honest men and who would labor to unite the farmers of our common country who were divided by the war; and

Whereas, we now find that the purposes and objects of the order have been defeated and the organization deflected and turned from this original purpose and intention in the following manner and ways:

1. By violating the plainest principles and declarations of our constitution, by advocating and declaring in favor of the sub-treasury and land loan scheme and the governmental ownership of railroads.

2. By debarring persons from membership and office for opinion's sake.

3. By putting men in important offices and keeping them there, who are known and have proved themselves to be dishonest, mercenary and corrupt, and have continued them in such offices.

4. By falsely and maliciously denouncing the just and honest chosen representatives of the people who have been elected to serve in public trust, although the honesty and fidelity of such public servants have been proved by long and faithful service.

5. By trying to direct and turn the organizations of the farmers and laborers of our land from one of the greatest curses of the age—the protective tariff system—and to commit them to the national curse of class legislation.

6. By placing in the highest official positions of our national and state orders men who are not farmers, nor have any interest in farming, but whose only interest and ambition is to keep the farmers in the depressed condition they now, are to the end that they may draw their salaries from them, knowing that the depression of the farming class is necessary to keep up an organization of this character.

7. By some of the leading officers of the order both state and national consorting with the enemies of good government against the true interests of the people, and corruptly endeavoring by dishonest methods to fasten upon the people the protective tariff and railroad combination—two of the evils that the Alliance was created to put down and destroy.

8. By private individuals in the Alliance, through corrupt and mercenary motives, buying up the state and national official organs of our order, thereby centralizing the power of this organization and that of the millions of farmers in it for the purpose of the personal aggrandizement and political ambition and corrupt ends of these men.

9. By changing our order from its non-partisan character into a partisan body, by applying partisan political tests to membership and office-holding in our order, and by declaring in a statute passed at Ocala, December, 1890, and by proclamation of our national president, that when the majority of the national Alliance promulgated any political principle, demand and heresy, that every Alliance man must subscribe to and conform to such political principle.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we denounce the sub-treasury and land-loan schemes and governmental ownership of railroads as violations of the first principles of good government, as paternal in their character, as centralizing in their tendencies, and if enacted into law would create such a horde of national officeholders as would fasten the clutches of the party in power upon the throats of the people so strongly that the voices of honest patriotic citizens would no longer be heard in the control of governmental affairs.

We further denounce these measures as being a violation of the constitution of our beloved order.

That we denounce C. W. McCune and his corrupt methods, together with the acts of his tools and henchmen, as being a disgrace to the order and a stench in the nostrils of all honest men who know of their corruption and villainy, and thus point out to the order by continuing such men as this in power they are enabled by betraying us and our interests to most effectually chain us to the Juggernaut cars of monopoly.

We further demand that those men who are not farmers be removed from the national and state offices of our order and that none but those who have their interest in farming be allowed to fill such places, to the end that the legislatures of our government may know that when the Alliance speaks it is the voice of the farmers and laborers of our land, instead of the wish of some paid tool of monopoly and corruption. We now appeal to all honest members of the Alliance through the United States in behalf of the poor and oppressed of our land whom these base men have betrayed in the name of our wives and children who must be relieved, if at all, by the united action of the farmers of this country, in the name of good government, to unite with us in putting down this common enemy and disgrace of our order. To this end we most earnestly recommend that the brother Alliance men of the United States would meet in national convention at St. Louis on the third Tuesday of September, 1891.

Lr. W. B. Morrow, Robertson county; R. C. Bragg, Fannin county; T. M. Smith, Navarro county; C. C. Bell, Denton county; David Bennet, Ellis county; R. N. Weisiger, Victoria county; W. D. Burney, Atascosa county; D. McCunningham, Leon county; Will L. Sargent, Stonewall county; J. C. Easterling, Freestone county; A. F. Landen, Hopkins county; U. S. Hall, Hubbard, Mo.; W. S. McAlester, Canton, Miss.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were then offered and unanimously adopted:

A motion was passed that the convention elect a national committee on finance, transportation and arrangement for the national inter-state convention to be held at St. Louis, the third Tuesday in September, 1891. The committee was composed of Hon. U. S. Hall of Missouri, Hon. W. S. McAlester of Mississippi and Will L. Sargeant of Texas.

Resolved, that we most heartily indorse the course of Hon. U. S. Hall, president State Alliance of Missouri, in refusing to concur in the whitewash of C. W. Macune at Ocala, and also in opposing the sub-treasury scheme and the infamous efforts of said Macune and his henchmen to use our noble order for his own and his servile allies' personal aggrandizement. We earnestly pledge him our support in the noble and manly effort to rid the order, both state and national, of such men as Macune and Sledge, who have attempted in this and other states to sell our dearest rights to the railroads and other corporations.

CRAYTON AND SARGENT.

Carried.

Resolved, that we declare the action of Evan Jones, state president, in appointing a legislative committee as unauthorized by the constitution of our order, or the act of our last state Alliance, and a usurpation of authority that constitutes malfeasance in office, and that we condemn the action of said legislative committee in its demands upon the legislature, and demand a fair and impartial trial of the railway commission.

Carried.

Resolved, that we also desire to enter our protest against the action of our state executive committee in selecting and sending out from the Waco meeting lecturers who were unanimously in favor of and advocates of the sub-treasury, and many, if not all of them, noted as agitators of and strong supporters of a third party.

Carried.

Resolved, that the thanks of this convention are hereby tendered the press of the state that have been friendly to our views, and we hereby respectfully ask the co-operation of the entire newspaper press friendly to our cause.

Carried.

Whereas, four men in Stonewall county, pretending to act as a county Alliance, met and penned resolutions condemning the signers of a circular published extensively in the papers of our state; and

Whereas, Rayner Alliance, one of the only two working Alliances in the county, (of Stonewall) exposed the fraud of these four men; and

Whereas, Evan Jones in his official capacity as president of the State Alliance, without authority did suspend the charter and cited said Rayner Alliance to appear before the judiciary committee of said State Alliance, to show cause why their charter should not be revoked.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by this body that we condemn this high-handed outrage against a sub-Alliance whose only sin was the exposure of a plain fraud, this without any constitutional warrant, and a pure case of malicious abuse of his high office.

Carried.

Resolved, that this body elect an executive committee of five, who shall have general supervision and control in carrying out the objects and purposes of this convention.

Carried.

After the reading of the resolutions and the platform, some remarks were made upon their import and bearing upon the future of the Alliance by Messrs. Hall, Morrow, McAlester and Sellers.

A motion to appoint an executive committee of five was carried, which was followed by a motion that Hon. U. S. Hall of Missouri, Hon. W. S. McAlester of Mississippi and Will L. Sargent of Texas be appointed an executive committee to make all arrangements for the interstate Alliance convention which is to meet in St. Louis on the third Tuesday in September, 1891.

Before the final passage of the motion some discussion was indulged in as to the advisability of naming the committee an executive committee, Mr. Sellers taking the ground that the action in itself constituted a secession from the Alliance, as he looked at it, and further that he did not want it given to the world by the Macunites that the anti-sub-treasury Alliance men bolted from the Alliance.

Mr. Hall arose and stated that no such idea could possibly be gotten from the appointment of their committee, and that if any such accusations were brought it was only necessary to bring forward the constitution which expressly provides that the Farmers' Alliance shall be non-political, to show who had parted company with the first principles of the Alliance.

Mr. McAlester voiced the sentiments of Mr. Hall.

Just before adjournment the following resolution was read by J. W. Crayton:

Resolved, that we thank the Fort Worth GAZETTE, the Dallas and Galveston News and other dailies for the fair and impartial manner in which they have reported the proceedings of this convention.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and amidst the wildest enthusiasm the most important and vital convention ever held by the farmers of Texas adjourned. What effect it will have on the future of the Alliance remains to be seen, but as it combined both the brains and the honesty of the Alliance in this state, the principles promulgated by it, and which the members of the convention have determined to uphold, will prevail against the larger portion of the order, which, though it may have an equal amount of brains, certainly falls far below in the matter of sterling honesty and adherence of principle.

At 5 o'clock a large number of the members of the convention accompanied Mayor Smith in carriages to the packery and the principal points of interest in the city.

MR. M'ALESTER'S ADDRESS.

A Sound Argument by the Gentleman from Mississippi.

William S. McAlester of Mississippi had for his subject "A Mistaken Policy and Its Inevitable Penalties—Has the Press Treated Us Fairly?"

He began by reviewing the history of the Alliance, and traced its origin to twenty-five years of Republican class legislation; that to fully appreciate the importance of the Alliance as originally designed it was necessary to define causes in which government had its origin.

"Man" he said "is essentially a social being. His wants, inclinations and vital necessities compel him to form ties of association with members of his kind. That this was conclusively shown by the experienced fact that in no age or country had man been found in any other save the social state. That his individual or direct feelings were stronger than his social or sympathetic emotions, and therefore predominated over them. That this unruly, natural trait in his character prompted acts of wrong, jealousy, rivalry and often cruelty and fraud; that if this natural tendency, prompted by selfishness, was not checked by some controlling power it would culminate in universal discord and confusion, fatal to the ends for which society was ordained; that this controlling power wherever and by whomsoever instituted was government; that as society was necessary to man, so was government essential to society; that what affected the one affected the other, and therefore as society was, so would, through moral forces, be the government.

The true mission of the Alliance is to regenerate society by "educating the masses in the science of economical government in a strictly non-partisan spirit," thus infusing new life-giving blood into the arterial and venous systems of the benumbed social organism, and thus indirectly imparting revitalizing power to the government. That partisan political action was forbidden both expressly and by implication; that the Alliance is a secret organization, and when politics are introduced it necessarily becomes a secret political organization; that such institutions were repugnant to the spirit and genius of free institutions, and if sanctioned, must inevitably destroy them; that their unhallowed history was written upon the darkest pages of the past, and the records of social disruption, bloody commotions, and the tragic wreck of governments tell the tale of their havoc and woe; that the Alliance should shun such a policy as it would a pest-house of pestilence, or the fangs of venomous reptiles.

The speaker next took up the St. Louis platform, and said it was conceived in duplicity and framed under false pretense; that it first proclaimed to the world "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and wound up with the most gigantic piece of class legislation of modern times; that the sub-treasury bill was conceived only with a view to forming a third party and not to relieving the agricultural class; that it was to force upon the Alliance secret partisan politics so as to enable bribe-taking blatherskites and mercenary impostors like C. W. Macune and his lickspittles to bargain and sell out Alliance legislatures to railroad attorneys, as was done by Macune to Pat Calhoun of Atlanta, Ga., in the senatorial election of last year.

That there was more substantial relief to be derived from a reduction of the tariff to a strict revenue basis, than from all other relief agencies combined; that tariff reduction was an important plank in the Ocala platform, yet Macune had denounced it in the Economist as the "galvanized ghost of sectional strife," and "fit emblem of disloyalty and rebellion."

That the reason why Macune and his third party conspirators sedulously sought to suppress tariff reduction was because they recognized that it would make Democratic accessions. That since Satan attempted to destroy celestial sancity through the heresy of rebellion there had been none greater than the sub-treasury. That it would take its place in history with the dreams of the alchemists and South sea bubble, and should be entitled "An Act to Ruin and Desolate the Agricultural interest." The speaker next compared its author C. W. Macune to Warren Hastings, declaring him to be the arch-enemy and despoiler of the Alliance, and that his (Macune's) career verified the assertion of Edmund Burke, that "the plane of humanity was a desert daily producing new monsters."

The speaker spoke at length upon the importance of educating the masses. He said:

There is no truth of more universal acceptance than that a republican form of government cannot exist unless the masses are competent for self-government. How can they govern wisely and judiciously unless they have the knowledge requisite to that end?

"We live under a form of government where each citizen is a sovereign, and sovereignty requires as much intelligence when exercised by the people, as a whole, as when exercised by a single individual. A government of and by the sovereign people, therefore, requires that high degree of popular intelligence which will enable the masses of men to comprehend the true principles of government, and so direct its administration as to insure the greatest possible measure of general welfare. A republican form of government really requires a higher degree of popular intelligence than any other, and cannot exist and descend from generation to generation unless the citizen sovereigns are liberally educated in the science of "economical government. It has been said that as civilization advances it will uproot social evils and afford a panacea for all the ills of society. Civilization is a result of education, and hence in the ratio as the masses advance in education will civilization make onward strides in corresponding degree."

The greatest danger to the perpetuity of free institutions is ignorance among the masses. "It will transform the sunniest field into a desert waste, and will make the palaces of princes fit only for tattooed savages.

"Knowledge removes the murk and mist of prejudice from the brain, and hurls the ghost of error from the clouds of superstition."

He next took up reform movements and said that they, as a rule, were of slow development; that all the beneficient elements in society do not develop at once in equal or in contemporaneous degree, but to-day one force springs forth and gains the dominating position, to-morrow another shoots up and wins the ascendant attitude and thus proceeds the refining process of elemental experiment, when finally the heaven-anointed law of progress will interpose and select the fittest and and appropriate their uplifting virtues to the God-inspired design of "a more perfect society over a more perfect citizenship under a more perfect government."

The speaker then grouped and analyzed the causes which immediately preceded the French, English and American revolutions, and showed that they had their origin in unjust and unbearable systems of taxation and general fiscal mismanagement.

"Here," he said, "are the three greatest revolutions of any race or age having their origin in the selfsame crimes and conditions. Now, take the history of the Federal government for the past twenty years under the Republican party; take the seven successful financial conspiracies to rob, plunder and impoverish the people; take the war tariff, being perpetuated in time of peace; take the Credit Mobilier-Sanborn contracts, back salary grab, Star Route thefts, and the Union Pacific railroad swindle; take the national banking acts, and the infamous pension raids upon the national treasury, which the people are being daily taxed to replenish; take them all, and you have the true causes of the tattered rags worn to-day by American labor—the true causes that have wrung tears from the cheek of unpaid toil.

"These are amazingly the same causes that cost Charles I. of England his head in 1649, and put Oliver Cromwell on the throne; astonishingly the same causes that forced our forefathers to to declare their independence in '76, march to Bunker Hill and gloriously disperse at Yorktown; alarmingly the same causes and conditions that deluged fair France in streams of blood in 1789. The scriptures have said that the thing 'that hath been is the thing that will be.' Vast standing armies failed to suppress these disturbing causes in the past, and it does not stand to reason that here in America, where 'men are free to fight and don't know how to run,' that a conflict can be much longer held in abeyance, unless radical relief concessions are timely granted. If revolution, anarchy and despotism are averted in this country it will be through the conservatism of the producing classes, and a de-sectionalized ballot—through the influence and practical application to government of the doctrines taught by Jefferson, Monroe and Madison.

The speaker took decided ground against the third party movement, insisting that the Democratic party was the friend and champion of the people against trusts, monopolies and the money devil. In conclusion, he said: "The principles in behalf of which all true Alliance men are enlisted survived the bloody battle-fields of past ages, and in later times have signally contributed to the social and political regeneration of the whole family of man. They gave religion her smiling martyrs and politics her glorious self-abnegating heroes, and when they become effective in government the Alliance will be hailed as the morning star to the sunrise of brighter, grander and more glorious day for the toiling masses throughout the civilized world."

SUB-TREASURY FALLACIES.

The Speech of Mr. U. S. Hall Yesterday Forenoon.

I intend to-day to discuss and try and point out to my brother Alliance farmers the reasons that force me to object to the sub-treasury scheme.

It has been with feelings of deep regret that I have felt myself forced to oppose any measure that is held to by the Alliance with which I have been connected for several years, and for which I have labored long and hard.

And the fact that this organization has placed me at the head of the largest state Alliance in the United States, and that the national legislative council has elected me to one of the most responsible positions in the gift of our national Alliance only makes it the more difficult to object publicly to this sub-treasury scheme. And I will frankly assure my brothers of this order that the only consideration that has impelled me to this action, is that I am a farmer, with all that I have invested in my farm. Every cent I make I make by farming, and I am fully convinced that were this scheme to be enacted into law and carried out it would bankrupt me and every other farmer in the United States, and hasten, if not bring about, our national destruction.

Some of my brother Alliance men seem to think that I ought not to publicly attack this measure, especially in view of the position I hold in the order.

If the sub-treasury scheme is right the more fully, publicly and oftener it is discussed the sooner it will be enacted into law. If it is wrong, a full, free and public discussion of it will the sooner bring out its fallacies, and we will be enabled to see them and quit advocating a wrong measure the sooner.

We are told that as Alliance men we are bound by a statute law passed at Ocala last December which declares that "all measures presented for consideration may be discussed fairly, fully, honestly and thoroughly, and when the action of a majority has been had all who participate in the meeting are pledged to support such action. It is the duty of every member, where the body has spoken, to stand as a unit before the world."

I deny, in the first place, the right of the national body to enact any such a statute for the reason that our order declares in its constitution and obligation of membership that our political views shall in no wise be interfered with, meaning our views relative to political (that is legislative) matters. I wish the order throughout the United States to know how "fairly, fully, honestly and throughly" the sub-treasury bill was discussed at Ocala before its passage.

The members were limited to one speech of not to exceed five minutes each in which to discuss this bill.

One speech of five minutes to discuss a bill or scheme which, if enacted into a law, would change the whole financial system of our government since its foundation. After the sub-treasury advocates had by this means gagged free discussion even within the order and forced upon us without us having a chance to expose its fallacies this scheme, they then organized every Alliance newspaper in the United States together under an iron-clad and steel-ribbed constitution, known by the name of the Reform Press association, and these Alliance newspapers do not dare publish one word against these demands, under the penalty of being expelled from the association, denounced by the executive committee, and their newspaper property destroyed.

I now appeal to that sense of fairness and honesty and love of fair-play that has ever characterized the farmers of this country and ask them what other channel have I to object to or to expose the fallacies of any scheme except in the old-fashioned way—on the stump and through the public press? I have ever expressed myself as willing to meet in joint discussion any advocate of this measure, to the end that we might discuss it in a free, kind and fraternal spirit.

Now, brother farmers, how do you like this method of fastening the sub-treasury scheme upon us? Do you not see that its advocates have bridled free discussion by us except in our secret meetings, and there you have all the literature and argument that everyone in the order in the United States can produce on one side, and no one to answer it on the other, and should some brother oppose it, he is soon informed that he must shut up or get out.

I maintain that no honest measure that was pushed and advocated by its authors from honest motives would have any such methods as this resorted to to carry it forward, and would not fear to have a full, free, public discussion of the merits of the measure, and let it stand or fall, as all public measures in the past, upon its merits.

I now ask you as farmers to give my arguments fair, honest and careful consideration, remembering that I am discussing a measure in which we, as farmers and citizens of our common country, are financially and deeply interested. And in considering and weighing what I have to say please bear in mind you are being talked to by one who has no interest but farming, and who is not nor never was an office seeker. I claim, brother farmers, that this sub-treasury bill was originated and is being pushed by its author, C. W. Macune, for but one purpose and that is to sell us out to the protective tariff manufacturers of the Eastern states.

I know this is a great charge, but I have my reasons for thinking so, which I will give you.

I was on the National Alliance committee on demands when we met at St. Louis in December, 1889. I offered in that committee a resolution demanding that the national government remove the protective tariff tax from cotton ties, jute butts, binding twine, farming implements and all the raw material that went into making them, and all of the necessaries of life that the poor of our land must have, and it was voted down by Macune's men at his special instance.

I then tried in several other resolutions to attack that system of protective tariff by which the plutocratic manufacturers of the East were by national legislation robbing the farmers of our country, and in every instance Macune men voted them down, but at last I presented our fifth demand in the St. Louis platform and got it through by a small majority, and it reads:

"Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special favors to none, we demand that legislation neither state or national shall be used to build up one industry at the expense of the others."

And when we met at Ocala, Fla., on last December I drew our tariff plank so as to demand, "That the present heavy tariff tax be removed from the necessaries of life, that the poor of our land must have, and further demanding that the national government should cease legislating so as to build up one industry to the ruin of the others."

The demands were as much demands of our order as the sub-treasury demand. Macune says that anyone who opposes the sub-treasury demand should be dismissed from the order. And yet he has been opposing and denouncing this tariff demand through the National Economist, our national official organ, and declaring that "the tariff question is a hoary breeder of sectional strife." That its agitation by the Democratic party is an "attempt to galvanize this old ghost of sectional hatred." That its agitation is a tariff dog-fight in which the farmers should take no interest." And in almost every issue of this paper Macune, as editor of the national official organ, and holding the office of chairman of the national executive committee, has denounced and derided this demand of the national Alliance and pleaded with the order to only turn its attention to the sub-treasury scheme. Now, why has he taken such a course, and yet trying to force me to resign as a member of the national legislative committee? There is one answer, and in my opinion but one. Macune has been bought up by the protective tariff barons of the East to try and draw the minds of the farmers from our greatest curse, the protective tariff, and to divert our attention to a species of legislation that will prevent us from righting it. Knowing full well that his only hope to build up a third party in the South is the sub-treasury scheme, for he knows one of the political parties will come to any demand that the farmers make, or that we can by united action bring it to them.

And he knows that the sub-treasury scheme violates every principle of Democracy, as well as good government, and that the Democratic party cannot and will not indorse it and that thereupon he can get enough of the farmers of the South to vote with a party that does advocate it to bring around a defeat of the Democratic majority of the South and turn aside the danger that now stares the protective tariff barons of the Eastern states in the face, for this reason and for this reason alone, in my opinion, he is sneering at the tariff question and trying to keep the sub-treasury scheme only in view

I will now examine the sub-treasury scheme and ask my brother farmers, for the sake of your wives and children and for the love you bear them, to listen calmly and dispassionately to a plain brother Alliance farmer while he gives his reasons to you, in a kindly and fraternal spirit, the reasons why the sub-treasury scheme is fallacious, and why it will bankrupt and destroy us if enacted into law.

1. The whole scheme and system is based upon an assumption—a false premise.

Macune says, in all his arguments on the sub-treasury scheme, "that the volume of the circulating medium in the United States that fixes prices, is a fixed volume, say $1,500,000,000, which is enough to transact the business of the country for nine months in the year, but that during the months of September, October and November $750,000,000 worth of farm products is thrown upon the market and that this makes an increased demand for money, but there is not money sufficient to meet it. That this flexible demand comes in contact with an inflexible volume, thereby producing fluctuations in prices, on that well settled principle of political economy "that the price of a product is fixed (supply and demand being the same) by the volume of the money in circulation at the time." Macune is right when he says that any increase in the volume of currency increases prices, and that any decrease in the volume of money decreases them, for Mr. John Stuart Mill tells us in his great work on Political Economy, book 3, chapter 8, section 4, that this "is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any of the others." Mr. Mill does not mean that an increase in the volume of money increases the value of products, but only the price, a most important distinction which should be kept constantly in view.

But you will see from the above quotation of the position of Macune, that he bases the whole sub-treasury scheme upon the statement that the volume of the circulation that makes prices in this country is a fixed volume.

Did anyone ever see or hear of a sub-treasury advocate try to prove this proposition? No, and why not? It is the very foundation of the whole scheme, for they all say the only element of the sub-treasury system that we care anything about is the flexibility in the volume of the circulating medium that fixes prices.

Then why did not Macune go to work first and show that this volume that fixes prices was a fixed inflexible volume? Because it is not true. The volume of the circulating medium that fixes prices in our country is a flexible volume and has always been a flexible volume, and it is an utter impossibility for it to be a fixed volume.

I will now prove my last assertion, asking you to bear two things in mind.

1. That it was his duty to have proved that the volume was fixed, because he asserts that it is, and bases his whole sub-treasury scheme upon this assertion, and no man should be permitted to bring forward and advocate a measure which will change the whole financial system of our government unless he first proves every statement he makes, especially a statement so vital as this one which rests at the very foundation of his whole system.

2. That if I show that the volume of the circulating medium that fixes prices is not inflexible, but on the contrary is and has ever been flexible, then his whole system goes down for the lack of a foundation. The volume of money in circulation in the United States is, we might say, a fixed volume (i. e., the amount of money coined, stamped and issued by our national government is fixed). But it is not the volume of money alone that fixes the price of products. It is the volume of the circulating medium that acts and is used as money and in its place, that is by far the most important element in fixing prices. And that thing that acts in the place of and performs all of the functions of money is credit and is not and has never and cannot become a fixed volume.

I will make my meaning clearer by reading from the best recognized authority on political economy, John Stuart Mill. "In a state of commerce in which much credit is habitually given, general prices at any moment depend much more upon the state of credit than upon the quantity of money," "and a person who having credit avails himself of it, in the purchase of goods, creates just as much demand for the goods and tends quite as much to raise their price as if he made an equal amount of purchases with ready money."

"The credit which we are now called upon to consider as a distinct purchasing power, independent of money, is, of course, not credit in its simplest form, that of money, but by one person to another, and paid directly into his hands; for when the borrower expends this in purchases he makes the purchases with money, not credit, and exerts no purchasing power over and above that conferred by the money.

"The forms of credit which create the purchasing power are those in which no money passes at the time, and very often none passing at all, the transaction being included with a mass of other transactions in an account, and nothing paid but a balance. This takes place in a variety of ways." See book III, chapter xi, section 3.

Again, when a bill drawn upon one person is paid to another (or even the same person) in discharge of a pecuniary claim, it does something for which, if the bill did not exist, money would be required. It performs the functions of money. This is a use to which bills of exchange are frequently applied. See same book and chapter, section 4.

Suppose I have no money in bank, but my credit is good and I go to my banker and say I want to buy $5000 worth of cattle to fatten and ship, and he agrees to honor my draft for that amount and I come here to Texas and buy $1000 worth of cattle from A and give him my draft upon my home bank for that amount and he pays it to B for $1000 worth of cotton and B pays it to C for $1000 worth of real estate and C deposits it with his banker in a small town in the interior of your state, and that banker sends it to his bank in Fort Scott with which it does business, and the Fort Scott bank sends it to his St. Louis banker, and that goes to balance the bank account between the Fort Scott bank and the St. Louis bank, and the St. Louis bank with this $1000 draft balances or puts it on the account of my home bank. With it, then, we see that $7000 has been added to the circulation of our country and not one dollar of money has changed hands.

Transactions of this and similar kinds are taking place daily and hourly, and millions and billions of dollars of credit are thus put in circulation directly affecting prices, with but few dollars of money passing from hand to hand; in fact all of the large business transactions of our country are carried on in this way. The way the balances are adjusted is by means of what are called "clearing houses," which are very simple in their operation, and can be made plain to you by any good business man.

According to Mr. Locke (inquiry into the Currency, page 27) the adjustment of the clearing house, even away back in 1839, amounted to $15,000,000 daily, while the amount of money passed was only one-fifteenth of that amount.

Mill again says in the same book and chapter, sec. 6, "By means of the various instruments of credit which have now been explained, the immense business of a country like Great Britain is transacted with an amount of money surprisingly small."

And in the United States the reports made by the bank examiners show that out of every $100 that circulates and thereby fixes prices, $92.50 is credit and $7.50 is money; that is, that twelve-thirteenths of the circulation that fixes prices is credit, while one-thirteenth is money.

Mill again says, book III, chapter xii, section 1: "But we have now found that there are other things, such as bank notes, bills of exchange and checks, which circulate as money and perform all the functions of it, and the question arises, do the various substitutes operate in prices in the same manner as money itself? Does an increase in the quantity of transferable paper tend to raise prices in the same manner and degree as an increase in the quantity of money?"

His answer is plain and to the point.

"What acts on prices is credit, in whatever shape given, and whether it gives rise to transferable instruments or not. I will proceed to explain and substantiate this opinion." And again he says: "A man may obtain goods upon his note payable at a future time. These purchases have exactly the same effect on prices as if they were made with ready money. The credit itself, and not the form and mode in which it is given, is the operating cause." Why was it, my friends, that the recent failure of Baring Brothers in London should have brought down the price of wheat ½ cent a bushel in Missouri? Why was it that this failure 3000 miles across the ocean, in a foreign country, lessened the prices of everything that a farmer had to sell in the United States? It was not because there was any less money in this country after than before the failure. It was because the confidence of the moneyed men of the world was shaken in corporate and individual credit. This caused a contraction of what? The credit of our people—the 92½ per cent—and this contraction brought down prices, on that principle that any contraction of the purchasing medium decreases prices.

Mr. Mill again says: "Thus general prices, during a