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# HISTORY

—OF—

## The National Farmers' Alliance

AND

### CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.

—BY—

W. L. GARVIN

—AND—

S. O. DAWS.



JACKSBORO, TEXAS:

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*Wm. L. Garvin*  
*Wm. L. Garvin*  
*Wm. L. Garvin*

HISTORY

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The National Farmers' Alliance



CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA

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DEDICATION

To the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, the State Alliance of Texas,

AND

To the toiling, often weary, people of our time, who desire to know, at least in fair outline, the dawn, the morning, and the early day in the life of an Order now shedding its salutary influence far and wide, this volume is respectfully

DEDICATED,

With the hope and earnest wish that it may be the means of awakening a deeper interest in the welfare of our beloved Order, and creating a still greater love for its noble teachings and principles.

W. L. GARVIN,  
S. O. DAWS.

## *Preface.*

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IN presenting this volume for the perusal of the members of the Farmers' Alliance, we do so with no ordinary feelings as to its success. The positive need of a reliable history has been recognized for more than five years by all the members of the Order. The sale of an edition of nearly five thousand copies of a History of the Alliance, prepared by W. L. Garvin in 1885, has given an opportunity, in printing a second edition, to thoroughly revise and enlarge the History commensurate with the growth of the Order. The authors have spent many years working in the interests of the agricultural and laboring classes. The entire scope of the work is to give a trustworthy and accurate account of the History of the Alliance from its origin down to the present date. In doing so the authors have confined themselves strictly to the written and printed records, and to such facts as have come under their own personal observation, or that were obtained from other trustworthy and reliable sources. The toilers are looking to the Order as a grand medium through which they hope to gain the true value of their labor, to explain from the standpoint of the Order those principles which, coming to an issue at different times, have been decided by the Alliance to inspire love for our Order, our fellowman, our country, and an intelligent solicitude for its destiny. Experience has taught the members the value of certain methods of co-operation to make the principles and workings of the Order easy of remembrance, and to try to get them to appreciate the fact that their success hinges upon each other with their combined efforts. This work is offered to the Brotherhood in the confident hope that as they study carefully the objects and workings of our beloved Order they will learn to prize it more highly and love it more devotedly. That their enthusiasm will be kindled when they learn and see how slowly at first, yet how gloriously the Order has grown. What storms, what toil, what eager eyes of friends and foes watched every movement and outspring,

while farmers with brave and patriotic hearts have defended it; doing so through no selfish motive, but understanding the wants and needs of the laboring classes from actual experience, and believing that through the medium of the Alliance many of the wrongs and evils oppressing the agricultural classes could be removed. An organization that has been sanctified by the heroism and devotion of the members who formed the first Alliance, and so successfully vindicated its teachings and purposes, can but enlist the confidence and love of its entire membership throughout this broad land. The authors have carefully examined all the official documents and other recorded evidences bearing upon their work. No fact has been stated upon doubtful authority. It would no doubt be exceedingly interesting to the reader, and it would have been a pleasing task to the writers to have presented it, could the History of the Alliance in the several States and Territories have been more fully detailed. This, for obvious reasons, however, could not be done. In some States the Alliance has not yet been introduced, while in others it has been so recently established that no accurate data could be obtained. Our aims and objects have been shaped as near as possible by the demands and wants of the members. Hence, it has not been an important part of our plan, as it has, of course, been beyond our ability, to present a work of any great literary merit. But such a work at the present time is not needed, and it would seem that the present volume is necessary to prepare the way for its demand in the future. How far we have succeeded in our attempt to collect and arrange these materials in the form of a History of the Alliance, may now be seen, and we shall regret, indeed, if, after so much labor, our work has been in vain.

W. L. GARVIN,

S. O. DAWS.

## Introduction.

ALL things which concern the origin or history of the numerous minor societies or organizations in which so many people have from time to time formed themselves, with a view to bettering their mental, moral, or social condition, or for the more humane purpose of conferring acts of benevolence or charity upon their more unfortunate brethren who might be overtaken by sickness or misfortune, is worthy of preservation and careful study.

An account of the causes leading to their organization, or the hardships encountered by their projectors in the arrangement and prosecution of their primary plans, of the alternating emotions of hope and fear for the ultimate success or failure of their undertakings, which actuated them as they devoted themselves with untiring energy to its development, cannot, we think, fail to possess a charm for liberal minds, or in affording them in the perusal a fresh and ever pleasing theme for contemplation. "Mankind are created mutually dependent and co-operative."

The United States Government was founded upon the principle of the equality of mutual rights among men. This principle is affirmed and proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted by the fathers of the Republic; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It was the design of this government to protect the people in the just exercise of their rights, to secure to every man his life, liberty, reputation, and property, by the enactment and execution of just and equitable laws. Governments ought not to be established for the glory of a few would-be kings, but for the welfare of the whole people. Ours was established by the people and for the people. The people alone have the right to determine what kind of a system to adopt, and when they are not satisfied they may, in an orderly and legal

manner, change it and select some other form that is better adapted to promote their safety and happiness. The true strength of the Republic is in the willingness of the people to render obedience to authority. The people are the power, and the prosperity and safety of every community depend upon their willingness to execute the law. Popular sentiment is the lever that moves the whole political machinery, and every good citizen is interested not only in obeying the laws himself, but also in compelling the obedience of others.

In our country, with the people spread over so great an area, engaged in so many kinds of business, interests will often be found conflicting. The great variety of soil, climate, and situation affords infinite diversity of productions, which add to the wealth of the country and the happiness of its citizens. This diversity will create rivalry and opposition in trade that will tend to estrange one portion of the people from another, unless a sense of security and patriotic pride shall prevent it. Hence, the necessity for organization among the laboring class, especially the farmers, that they may be better acquainted with their own and the wants of their fellow-man. The counsel of the beloved Washington in his farewell address is worthy of perpetual remembrance. He urged the people to beware of sectional strifes, and besought them, as they valued the principles of liberty and constitutional government, not to consider themselves the citizens of the North or the South, the East or the West, but to unite and by sympathy, kindness, charity and brotherly love to secure the welfare of the whole country.

Why should the farmers organize? Can any good reason be given for such an organization as the Alliance? We think reasons can be adduced which no one ought to question. Why did not the farmers and laboring classes organize forty or fifty years ago? We did not hear of labor organizations then. Neither did we hear any talk about *money kings, monopolies, or railroad corporations* "*putting money, bonds, or stocks where they will do the most good*"—to influence the action of Congress or State Legislatures. The farmers have been fleeced by somebody. They are growing poorer and poorer every day. We have said before that when people are not suited they may use all honorable means to change

their laws. Something is wrong somewhere, and the people have found it out. Hence, the necessity for organization, and it means something. There is something radically wrong somewhere when those who work most get least, and those who work least get most. This fact forces itself home to every thoughtful mind. We want to find out where that wrong is. Therefore, we must organize. The Farmers' Alliance was organized for the purpose of studying and investigating the questions having direct reference to economic legislation. We have no warfare to wage upon any political party. As an Alliance every member is left free to choose his own political affiliations. We labor to improve the condition of our members mentally, morally, socially, and financially, and not to hoist a certain class of men into office on the strength of membership fealty. Democrats are Democrats still. Republicans are Republicans still, and no questions asked. Each member votes his own sentiments unrestrained and uninfluenced. The Alliance has among its membership men from all political parties and of all shades of opinion, working together in the cause of labor.

We aim to educate our members upon public questions affecting the welfare of the people in general, and especially of the laboring classes. Most of the public speakers in this country confine themselves to ideas gathered from the newspapers, which are too often paid to publish articles tending to mislead the people. It is our purpose as an organization to study and understand certain economic principles which underlie our structure of government, and upon which our prosperity as a people and our continued existence as a Republic depend. We, as an organization, do not charge the political sins to any one party. The Alliance is one of the grandest institutions the world ever produced; rising as it does above the slums of party politics, it aims to elevate its members to a higher plane of citizenship by a system of teaching in principles of political economy, in a strictly non-partisan sense. This will enable them to exercise the right, preservative of all rights, that of suffrage, to the best interests of not only themselves, but the country at large. This right, we believe we have testimony showing, the capitalists have bought and are controlling through the principal avenues of intelli-

gence. Thus you see, farmers, when you have finished a week of toil you take up your newspaper and read an article on trade, commerce, finance, or the productive interests of the country, supposing it to have been written by a sincere thinker, in your interests, its tone and arguments uninfluenced by any expectation of reward, while, in fact, it has been dictated by your monetary enemy, whose interests are just the opposite from yours. By controlling the channels of information the capitalist holds your confidence with one hand, while with the other he rifles your pockets. The money power is not only controlling the press, but the legislation of the country as well. President Lincoln said in his Message to Congress in 1861: "That monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I would be scarcely justified were I to omit exercising a warning voice against returning despotism. There is one point to which I ask attention—it is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of the government. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement to such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, until all of liberty shall be lost."

And again it was said by the editor of the New York Tribune, in 1873 or 1874, "That it is astonishing, yea, startling, the extent to which the faith prevails in the money circles in New York that we ought to have a monarchy." The above words were uttered before Jay Gould owned the Tribune; before riches had hardened the heart of the editor and driven patriotism from his breast. It is an alarming confirmation of Mr. Lincoln's fears expressed thirteen years before. Surely it is well to guard against this threatened danger to our institutions by the centralization of great wealth in the hands of the few. The American people as yet, comparatively speaking, know nothing of oppression. They have not visited countries where it exists, entailing its untold miseries upon the people, and being affected only by its gradual approach have paid little attention to matters of that kind. But the period of inactivity is passing away. They begin to feel the effects of the legislation of the

country, which has permitted this great centralization of wealth.

Dr. Aaron L. Chapin, D. D., President of Beloit College, in his excellent work on "Political Economy," published in 1878, uses this language: "It must be acknowledged that through greater facility for organization, through false views which have gained acceptance in the current usage of business, and through mistaken legislation in some things, *capital has been unduly favored*. It has advantage and inclines to oppress labor. Laborers have some reason to complain and ask for relief. Justice and philanthropy require that every man who fears God and loves his fellow-man should consider the rights involved and lend a helping hand to the weak." All the machinery by which despotisms are made is in operation in this country, and much of the motive power and lubricating oil necessary to keep the machinery running is furnished by the capitalists of Europe. Why do we make this statement? Because in 1872, silver being demonetized in France, England and Holland, a capital of \$500,000 was raised, and Ernest Seyd, of London, was sent to this country with this fund as the agent of these foreign bondholders and capitalists to effect the same object, which was accomplished. So you see that it was primarily the money power of Europe that caused the demonetization of silver in 1872. But it took \$500,000 to do it. What became of this money? Who got it? Don't you suppose it was used to "*influence*" the public press and also some of our dear Congressmen?

Mr. Seyd was a large owner of American bonds, which, under the existing laws, could be paid, interest and principal, in silver. In England our silver dollar is not worth as much by at least ten cents as our gold dollar. Thus, you see, by destroying the monetary power of silver, his bonds became payable in gold only, which added to his individual wealth at least six millions of dollars. The effect was the same upon all other bondholders. Now you can see why he wanted silver demonetized in the United States, and also whose interests our Congressmen were looking after.

We must, in our organizations, study these questions that we may understand clearly what becomes of our labor. Legislation that thus increases the value of

bonds, increases the burdens of the people to pay. It is to place capital above labor in the structure of the government. That was the purpose of the act demonetizing silver. It was that kind of legislation which Webster declared "would destroy the liberties of any people." Which Lincoln warned you "would add to your burdens till all of liberty would be lost." Capital is everywhere organized and alert to secure legislation favoring special plans and purposes. The so-called "*lobby influence*" at Washington has become proverbial. It is an organization of manufacturers and capitalists to secure legislation in their special interests without any regard to the public weal. Large sums of money are thus used each year. We do not say that direct bribery is used, but we do say that this money usually accomplishes its specific purpose. The money thus expended is returned from the pockets of the people increased a hundredfold. Can anyone say that the burdens thus imposed are required by the public welfare?

There is no branch of capital that is not thoroughly organized or perfecting arrangements for organization. Envelop manufacturers recently effected such organization, and immediately advanced prices nearly 100 per cent. Nineteen of the large publishing houses which furnish the school books for our children have banded together and will not attempt to displace each other's books now in actual use, nor under any circumstances reduce prices. We thus pay twenty cents for a First Reader that could be sold at a profit for six cents. But why enumerate. It is enough to say that combination and organization exists everywhere, save among the agricultural classes. Why should not farmers organize for self-protection, when all other vocations are combining? If all kinds of manufacturers unite to limit competition and get better prices for their products, why should farmers remain passive and suffer themselves to be victims of schemes and combinations whose lines of action converge on them? If the combination system of doing business is to be worked for all it is worth, why should not the class that produces seventenths of the wealth of the world have its share of the profits? The idea seems to have obtained in the minds of thousands of farmers that every man's hand is against them. That all other classes in their organizations have

combined for the sole purpose of oppressing them. That they have for years been the special target for every man to shoot at; and, hence, there is a kind of war spirit pervading their entire being. They feel that legislation, both State and National, have been directly against them, and that they alone, of all the classes, have been most shamefully neglected by the law-making powers of our land. Now, that there is a great deal of truth in this we do not question. We all know that laws have been enacted favoring the merchant, the banker, the money lender, the lawyer, the manufacturer, and the great corporations. There is no doubt that our legislation, both State and National, has too often favored these classes. What has been the primary cause that brought this about? These classes have not organized for the sole purpose of oppressing the agricultural classes, but for the purpose of bettering their own condition. They have obeyed the injunction, "Ask and ye shall receive." They have gone in well-organized bodies before the law-making power of our country and demanded such legislation as would subserve their interests. The law-makers of our land have not gone to these corporations and asked, "What do you want? What laws do you wish enacted?" On the contrary, these classes have organized, counseled among themselves, and determined what they wanted, and then have gone into the halls of our Legislatures in well-organized "lobbies" and there demanded such legislation as they desired. Have farmers been organized all these years and demanding just and equitable laws? No answer is needed to that question. Who, then, are really to blame for these things? The farming and laboring classes themselves to a great extent. They have shamefully slept upon their rights. They have, until quite recently, been entirely unorganized and content to let the world wag on as it would. To-day the work of organization is progressing rapidly. In the very near future the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union will have spread itself over the entire "Cotton Belt" of the South and many other States farther North. The Grange has planted its banners in nearly every State and Territory in the Union. The Farmers' Alliance of the Northwest is a large and influential body and rapidly growing in numerical strength. The Union of Louisiana,

the Wheel of Arkansas and Kentucky, and the Relief of Mississippi are rallying their forces, and it is only a question of time when all these great agricultural organizations will merge into one grand farmers' organization which will give us the prestige, power, and wisdom that will enable us to lay our hands upon the helm of the Ship of State, and steer her clear of the breakers amid these threatening storms of Anarchism, Communism, and combination bossism. These grand agricultural organizations are destined to move onward and upward until the mists that have hitherto enveloped the farmer shall have passed away.

A large number of the community are, or should be, deeply interested in the teachings and principles of the Alliance. If it shall succeed only partially in bettering the condition of its members financially, mentally, or in the discharge of their duties to themselves, their families, and the State, as citizens of one common country, that success can be recorded in its favor. The principle of pure morality requires that, instead of slighting the ignorant, defrauding the poor, and persecuting the weak, we shall give aid and comfort to those who need our care. We believe that the true happiness and real usefulness of each individual, and of every community, depend largely upon the application of the principles of the Farmers' Alliance.

"The gloomy night is breaking,  
E'en now the sunbeams rest,  
With a faint yet cheery radiance,  
On the hilltops of the west.

"The mists are slowly rising  
From valley and from plain,  
And a spirit is awaking  
That ne'er will sleep again.

"And ye may hear, who listen,  
The spirit's stirring song,  
That surges like the ocean  
With its solemn bass along."

### *Origin of the Alliance.*

THE name, Farmers' Alliance, originated in 1875, in Lampasas county, Texas. It seems that the first settlers were troubled a great deal about the land on which they had settled, and also had trouble to keep what little stock they had. The wealthy cattle kings did not desire the settlement of the country, and would frequently drive off the farmers' cattle or other stock. Is it reasonable that the settlers should remain idle and see the effects of their hard-earned labor taken from them without a struggle? No. They were necessarily compelled to unite and consult with each other relative to their interests, which resulted in an organization for self-protection, known at that time as the Farmers' Alliance. The Alliance, as thus organized, grew until in 1878 it had spread over Lampasas and three or four adjoining counties, when a few designing men that year converted it into a political party, which virtually destroyed that organization in its infancy. Within a year not a single one of these Alliances remained.

In the year 1879, W. T. Baggett, a member of the old Alliance, from Coryell county, moved to Parker county, and settled at or near Poolville. He brought with him one of the old constitutions and organized the first Alliance at Poolville, Parker county, Texas, July 29, 1879.

Among the early members of this first Alliance were J. N. Montgomery, John W. Sullivan, I. T. Reeves, Jeff. Womack, George W. McKibbins, and others. Those hardy frontiersmen banded themselves together as a band of brothers, and worked and toiled together for the interest of themselves, their families and the country in which they lived. Who were those sturdy frontiersmen? Little did they dream of the valuable service they were about to render their country, and of the many households that have been made to rejoice, who, perhaps, prior to this time, could not derive any pleasure from their hard labor. Such men should be remembered

for ages to come. Much good was accomplished by that noble little band, and others saw that they had done good, and would continue to do good, if all would lend a helping hand.

For ages past efforts have been made by the farmers to establish and perpetuate an agricultural society, by themselves, for the purpose of correcting the evils from which they, as a class, have been suffering; and, strange to say, most of their efforts have failed. Realizing the needs of the farming classes, and profiting by the experience of the past, the first Alliance was founded by men of integrity, men of justice and right, men who believe in the principles of democracy (the democratic principle of equal rights to all men), men who went to work organizing the Alliance, fully cognizant of the evils that awaited them in their efforts. They knew full well the prejudice that existed in the minds of the ignorant against all such class organization, but they had courage for the requirement of the hour. Judging from the declaration of purposes, to be found in the Constitution, they must have been men of courage, a combination of moral and physical qualities, noblest of characters, men of pure conscience, clear and intelligent minds, men who would dare to do right. Nothing is more distressing to an honorable mind than the idea of utter and hopeless dependence. Consequently, these men conceived the plan to lift them above the machinations of capitalists, who were striving to place them in a state of dependence, to avoid which, they organized the Alliance. In the first organization at Poolville, by a decisive vote, all party political features were struck out from the original Lampasas declaration of principles, uniting the Order firmly in a non-partisan brotherhood, guided by one noble object, namely: The general good of the producing masses. The declaration of purposes is now the same as it was when first adopted, but we have added to it the second and seventh articles. Truly and faithfully did these early members work, meeting with adverse winds, arising from ignorance and prejudice against a farmers' organization; yet they were not discouraged, but worked on, prompted mainly by patriotic motives, striving for the achievement of the objects of the order, the motto of which is: "In things essential, unity, and in all things charity."

Parker and adjoining counties were largely settled by enterprising farmers from the North and East. These men watched earnestly the progress of the organization, until they were convinced that it must do good, and intended good to their fellow-man, and that it had already accomplished much good and could accomplish more if they would join in the good-begun work, which they did, and thus was the Alliance formed, and from that day to the present it has retained the name, Farmers' Alliance. A second Alliance was soon formed at Central, Parker county, and a third in Jack county, Texas. Your humble servants joined No. 13, Friendship Alliance, in Wise county, in 1880, as charter members, and from that time to the present have been working in the interest of the Order and will continue to do so.

The first meeting of the State Alliance was held at Central, Parker county, Texas. It was composed of delegates from the twelve Sub-Alliances. Several meetings were held during the year 1879, the primary object of which was to prepare and perfect a new Constitution and Ritual. This work was not fully completed until the latter part of the ensuing year. When the Alliance was first formed or organized at Poolville, of course but little interest was manifested by the people in the surrounding country. They did not realize the importance of the movement, they had no faith in these new orders. But there is nothing new in the principles upon which the Alliance is founded. They are as old as time itself, and have been handed down from generation to generation in every age of the world.

"Great God, we thank Thee for this home,  
This bounteous birth-land of the free,  
Where wand'ers from afar may come,  
And breathe the air of liberty.

"Still may her flowers untrammelled spring,  
Her harvests wave, her cities rise,  
And yet till Time shall fold his wing,  
Remain earth's loveliest paradise."

Men of every age, philosophers, and all ancient and modern writers have striven to impress upon the human race the noble sentiments that are pictured in the above lines, the "bounteous birth-land of the free." They are now adopting this plan of uniting themselves into a band of patriots to accomplish this and to make a home

for the free. The principles of this Order should be implanted in every honest heart.

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes, in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit.

2. To indorse the motto, "In things essential, unity; and, in all things, charity."

3. To develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially, and financially.

4. To create a better understanding for sustaining civil officers in maintaining law and order.

5. To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.

6. To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices; all unhealthful rivalry and all selfish ambition.

7. The brightest jewels which it garners are the tears of widows and orphans, and its imperative commands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding; to assuage the sufferings of a brother or a sister; bury the dead; care for the widows and educate the orphans; to exercise charity towards offenders; to construe words and deeds in their most favorable light, granting honesty of purpose and good intentions to others; and to protect the principles of the Alliance unto death. Its laws are reason and equity, its cardinal doctrines inspire purity of thought and life, and its intentions are "peace on earth and good will towards men."

They are the foundation of all honest government, and without them such government cannot exist. The foundation principles of the Farmers' Alliance are protection and self-preservation, and these principles are as old as the race of man. They have in all the ages of the past been fostered and carried out by every organization in the history of the world, both secret and otherwise. Indeed, these principles seem to be inherent among all the nations of the world, both ancient and modern. In primitive times the banding together of various tribes or families, or the close tribal relationship, was merely for protection from enemies, and as the various tribes or societies increased in numbers, nations were formed and laws were enacted for self-

government and protection of interests against evil-doers. The various religious denominations are banded together with this view, and one of the objects stated is for mutual protection and benefit to each other, by doing good to each other and to prevent injury if possible. Then let us use every means in our power to advance the cause and to promote the interests of this noble work, fully assured that time will bring its reward and future generations will glory in the noble work of the present. They will look back down the vista of time and their hearts will be filled with the deepest gratitude when they see the sacrifices we, the present generation, have made, the obstacles we have tried to overcome, to promote their future welfare, and cause human opinion to justly appreciate the principles for which we have striven. It took no prophetic eye to discern the fact that the Alliance would be a power in the land. A few years ago its members could be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Now we number hundreds of thousands. Is not this an encouraging fact? And from *one* poor little Alliance it has grown to thousands, and from Poolville it has spread far and wide, until now it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes on the North to the Gulf on the South. As a proof of the expanding and growing condition of the Alliance, let us call your attention to the great difference in the Alliance of seven years ago and of to-day. Then it met to hold its State meetings at a country school-house with perhaps five or ten delegates from surrounding Alliances. Now it holds its meetings in the cities and numbers its delegates by the hundreds. Then they consumed only from one-half to one day in transacting their business. Now by close and laborious application, holding both day and night sessions, they may finish in one week. Thus we see it is rapidly growing and spreading, and has been of almost inestimable value to the agricultural classes, and they are beginning to recognize its merits and are flocking to it. They begin to realize the advantages of co-operation, and, while other professions and avocations meet in their boards of exchange, the laboring classes have the Alliance and other lodges in which they can meet and discuss plans that may be of mutual benefit to all—not only to those of the present age—but measures that will redound to the prosperity and happi-

ness of all future ages. It has been said, "Oh, the farmers can do nothing; the issue is between capital and labor, and do they hope to accomplish anything?" We answer, the issue is not against capital, but the centralization of capital to such an extent as to create a monopoly. We do not object to capital in the country, but say God-speed to any and all undertakings that will promote the happiness of mankind. Capital should be and was intended to be a blessing, and it is only the abuses it receives that make it otherwise. For many long years we farmers have felt the need of such an organization as the Alliance, which would devise, consider and formulate plans to advance the interests of our class, and if possible enable us to obtain better prices for our produce, and in many other ways by unity of action, which alone can come through organization, give us education, thereby bettering the condition generally of the producing classes.

The Farmers' Alliance is not, as some imagine, a combination arrayed in antagonism to other trades or classes of citizens. It is, however, a combination for self-protection, to nourish and stimulate those cardinal instincts that underlie the principles of human justice. The true spirit of our order only emulates the sentiment expressed in the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"—a human rule. In the progress of our grand civilization, with the general diffusion of knowledge, man's power to do right has been wonderfully enlarged, but with all this widely diffused intelligence we find him but little modified or advanced. The purity of our nature does not find pre-eminence in the present age; we often find our usefulness and superiority bounded still by passions that are the outgrowth of ignorance or selfishness. With all our boasted development of an advanced intelligence, we have yet a morbid condition in society, which, if it is not as vicious, is as odious as any that characterized our race in the past. This necessarily produces discordant elements, which work much harm to society. It comes forth in many forms and arrays faction against faction and neighbor against neighbor, without any just cause. We find in the journey of life that envy and malice, growing out of bigotry, ignorance and prejudice, are the causes which produce class distinction, where there

should be peace and good will among men. The creators of the Alliance could not see any cause for this class prejudice, hence we read in the declaration of the first principles of the Farmers' Alliance that it is the duty of its members "to constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind." We are one people in every sense of the word—Americans—and the various institutions, with all the public enterprise of our common country, should not be suffered to become impaired by any spasmodic or maddened folly. Society is made up of farmers, laborers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, preachers and merchants, and it requires all of these to form that great compact of human intelligence. Each trade is necessary for the general good, and we are all necessarily important factors in our grand American nationality, mutually dependent upon each other for the protection of life, liberty and property. These are the views that we find taught in the first principles of our noble Order.

[We read, again, it is the duty of members "to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, and all selfish ambition, with all unhealthful rivalry." ] The man who delights in discord, and works to kindle and fan class prejudice into a flame of passion, or stirs up sectional feelings, is an enemy to society and a curse to all laboring or class organizations. Impure motives actuate such men; perhaps greed for a political office is the incentive to action. Such men are the farmers' and laborers' worst foe. Though they may claim to be the farmers' friend, they work injury to our cause, because they leave the world to think our noble Order is founded in selfishness and bigotry; because, ignorant of the great and cardinal principles expressed by those farmers who organized the first Sub-Alliance. They were men who, perchance, had battled with the common enemy of the laboring millions, "oppression." They were men of staid integrity, of far reaching intellect, and could see the dark cloud of monopoly hovering over them like the genius of destruction, ready to swoop down upon them without a moment's warning. Knowing this, they resolved to make an effort to check that tide of oppression which was slowly but surely gathering round about to bind them firmly within its grasp of organized greed upon one hand and organized

socialism and anarchism upon the other, which are endangering our American institutions, both political and religious; therefore, they saw the necessity for speedy action. When the first meeting was held, do you suppose they anticipated such a general uprising, such a great interest as is now manifested? No. But to-day we look forward to the time when the whole United States will be joined together in this mighty work, and have become a power before which monopoly will tremble and die.

While the Alliance does not wage war on any profession, it does claim the enactment of equitable laws, both State and National, to the end that all classes of our people may enjoy that equal and exact justice guaranteed in our State and Federal Constitutions; and pledges itself to use all honorable means within the power of an intelligent citizenship to secure the repeal of all laws tending to favor the few at the expense of the many. Through a system of class legislation we have piled wealth mountain high in the hands of the few, while the creators have grown poorer. We are now in the doorway of a great future, and we as farmers must meet it with organization and education. The Alliance will fill the need better than any other organization on earth, from the fact that it has a clearly defined policy based on human justice, extending good will to all mankind, and organized in favor of law and order, peace and good government, which must be upheld, or, if not, our future as a republic is written plainly in the history of the past. The men who organized the Alliance were fully if not more than abreast of the times, and put forth their efforts in devising and perfecting one of the most ingenious and effective organizations for the benefit and protection of the farmers' interests. Great success has attended all their efforts toward organizing and upbuilding the Order, and to such an extent have they succeeded that the Farmers' Alliance is to-day the most popular and prosperous organization in the nation, and has indelibly impressed itself upon every phase of society. The organization has been maintained to the present time, as originally founded, a strictly non-partisan, non-political society. To-day it ranks as the most powerful non-political institution in the agricultural community, hence it has steadily gained in public favor, and been

able to meet and overcome all the prejudice that has ever been raised against it, and with a less expense for management than any other organization in existence. Indeed, it is doubtful if in all the history of organized societies any other can show a more rapid development in all the elements of strength and greatness than our beloved Order. The Alliance has advanced until it has become almost the wonder of the age, and in the history of the farmers never before was seen such wonderful uprising and peaceful organization in a fraternal brotherhood. Our Order, in all of the past, has never known any angry contest, sectional strife, division into parties, or warring factions. Love for union in the entire brotherhood has existed from the beginning and has been deeply cherished, as is shown from the fact that political strife has never as yet been permitted to enter our ranks. All our associations and traditions have been free from all discord, and this union and peace have given our Order power and influence to confer its benefits upon the entire agricultural community. The founders of the first Alliance were building better than they knew.

"Honor to them to whom honor is due.

Honor and thanks and praise for all that they have done."

HARDSHIPS AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE ALLIANCE

THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN MADE BY THE WEATHERFORD ORDER WITH A VIEW TO THE PROTECTION OF THE FARMERS AND CITIZENS OF ALL COUNTIES IN THE STATE OF TEXAS FROM THE OPPRESSION OF THE PUBLIC FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE.

## *The Hardships and Difficulties of the Alliance.*

IN 1881, after the Alliance had begun to excite considerable comment and was generally discussed throughout Parker and the adjoining counties, it was unfortunate enough to attract the attention of some parties in Parker county who sought to sow dissension among its members and make the Alliance an object of ridicule. Their object in so doing is too well known to admit of discussion here. Suffice it to say, it was through motives of revenge for fancied slights or insults, which had no foundation whatever, in fact.

The Alliance, scorning to notice such trivial things, went forward. As this failed to check its progress, another mode was adopted to bring the Alliance into disrepute. All kinds of petty crimes and unworthy motives were attributed to the members, and immigrants were advised to not stop in the counties of *Parker, Wise* and *Jack*, as they were infested with thieves, robbers and even murderers. The Alliance was basely slandered, and for a time it seemed as though public opinion (moulded by a few men whose motive was to bury it beyond all hope of resurrection) would turn and overwhelm the Order yet in its infancy. But it was otherwise decreed. The Alliance fully, assured of the justice of its cause, and having nothing to gain by concealment, came boldly forward and invited a strict and impartial investigation of principles and purposes. The meeting convened at the court-house in Weatherford, Parker county, Texas, July 7, 1881, at 2:45 P. M., pursuant to the following call:

### PUBLIC MEETING.

"The undersigned members of the Farmers' Alliance desire a meeting of the business men of Weatherford and citizens of the town generally, at the court-house, in this city, at 2 o'clock P. M., to-day, in order to fully investigate the charges of lawlessness and other outrages that have been made against the Order. We deny

the assertions that have been made by the Weatherford Times, charging our Order with improper motives, and as citizens we ask the co-operation of all good people in a public investigation of this matter. We respectfully ask the attendance at this meeting of the Sheriff, County Attorney and other officers of Parker county."

The call was signed by B. G. Gilliland, J. N. Frazier, O. G. Peterson, C. M. Wilcox, T. B. Gilliland, J. W. Caldwell, W. L. Garvin, K. A. Patterson, T. C. Ensey, W. T. Culwell, T. N. Niblett, E. J. A. Ensey, J. H. Dover, Andrew Dunlap, S. O. Daws.

The meeting was called to order by B. G. Gilliland, who nominated W. L. Garvin for chairman. There were fifty-seven members of the Alliance present and about two hundred of the leading citizens of Weatherford and Parker county. Delegates from every Alliance were there; the greatest interest was manifested, for on that meeting depended everything. The honor and integrity of the Alliance were imperiled, and men came from far and near to see the termination of the struggle.

Andrew Dunlap, one of the members of the Alliance, was requested to state the objects of the meeting. He said he was unused to public speaking, but that he had left his farm and come from his home to consider the real status of the institution to which he belonged. He said he was a member of the Farmers' Alliance, and that he joined it from a very different motive than that which the public might believe, were they to judge from the paragraphs and editorial columns of the Weatherford Times. He knew of no lawlessness or mob-law proceedings indulged in by the members of the Alliance, as had been charged by that paper. He thought himself familiar with the institution and he defied anyone to point out a single act in violation of law or order recognized in any shape or form by any Sub-Alliance ever organized or on behalf of the Grand State Alliance. We have come here to-day to meet with the citizens of our county to investigate the charges made against us as members of the Alliance and as citizens by Mr. Smythe, editor of the Weatherford Times. The chairman, Mr. Garvin, then announced that the objects of the meeting being stated, the first business in order would be the reading of the published reports concerning the Farmers' Alliance, which was done. We regret to say that these

reports have been lost; the files of the Times were consumed shortly after by fire, and we are unable to give copies of these articles, but the reader can judge their import from the proceedings of the meeting as here given and reported at that time by the press.

The chairman at this time declared that motions and resolutions were in order.

Brother C. M. Wilcox—It seems that the objects of the Farmers' Alliance are not properly understood; therefore, that they may be better understood by the public, I submit the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we, the officers and representative members of the Farmers' Alliance, do allege that the statements made in the Weatherford Times of June 25, 1881, with regard to the Farmers' Alliance, are false and untrue. We do most emphatically deny that the Alliance as a body recognizes mob law or anything else that is not in strict accordance with the laws of our State, from which we as a body hold a legal charter, and that the Order of the Farmers' Alliance has ever sanctioned or authorized any individual or body of individuals to violate the laws of the State at any time or at any place, and if the editor of the Times, or any other person, will apprise the Farmers' Alliance of the fact that any individual member has been guilty of any violation of the laws of the land we will pledge ourselves to the expulsion of all or any such members from our Order."

The above resolution had been unanimously passed by the Grand State Alliance and was adopted by the mass-meeting.

Dr. O. G. Peterson then submitted for the consideration of the meeting the following:

"*Whereas*, The editor of the Weatherford Times has made repeated attacks upon the Farmers' Alliance, as a body, through the columns of his paper, and sent to the world the false impression that a reign of terror exists in the counties of *Parker, Wise, and Jack*, on account of mob law carried out by the said Farmers' Alliance. We, the members of the Alliance and citizens of Parker county, Texas, in mass-meeting assembled at the courthouse, in the city of Weatherford, do most emphatically deny that any such state of affairs, as named and charged by said editor, exists, and we do hereby chal-

lence said editor to produce the proof of the statements made by him through the columns of his paper."

The Chairman—You have heard the resolution, and you have all read the newspaper publication of the charges against the farmers and the good name of your country. These charges are false and are too strong for this or any other community to believe—that we are a set of lawless men, or the farmers of this or any other section of our country have turned themselves against the laws of the land. We deny the charges in the name of the Alliance, or that our country is guilty of such conduct, and demand of the editor of the Weatherford Times to point out the guilty person or persons or furnish the proof, otherwise we will charge him with slandering our Order and the community in which he lives.

Mr. Dunlap—Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the resolution is not understood, and I ask that it be read again, that everybody may fully understand the whole subject, and I call upon every gentleman here, or any one present feeling sufficient interest in the subject, to talk about it and ventilate the whole matter, even to the editor of the Times; we call upon him now to make good his false charges.

Judge Richards came to the front and gave the editor of the Times a thorough threshing for stirring up all this strife by slandering the Alliance because it was a farmers' order; he said it was composed of the best men of the country, and all this was to satisfy the diabolical passions of the editor of the Times.

Uncle Benson Gilliland said he was a member of the Farmers' Alliance. He landed in this county twenty years ago or upwards; that he did not want to make a speech, but necessity compelled it when his brotherhood was being slandered by a little nose-rag of a newspaper published in the town of Weatherford by one Harry Smythe. He had lived in Jack county, and rejoiced that his residence was on the farm in Parker county, and that he belonged to this farmers' organization; that he joined the Order in good faith to improve himself and the condition of his friends who were his neighboring farmers. He believed the Order productive of good and its results beneficial to the farming interests. He recited the various purposes of the Alliance; that it

was organized in favor of law and order, and the charges made by the editor of the Times were false, without any foundation, untrue, and the editor knew it. He further said the Alliance was not out begging friendship or asking anything for the farmers but that which was just, and was not seeking anything but that which was right.

Mr. S. O. Daws said he would like to hear from some gentleman from Weatherford, hence he called upon that talented and faithful friend of his country, the Hon. S. W. T. Lanham (at present a member of Congress). Loud cries were made for the distinguished counsellor, who arose amid much applause. He was exceedingly humorous in his remarks, and spoke encouragingly of the Farmers' Alliance and its principles; also of the wicked and cruel attack of the Weatherford Times upon the Order, and that the organization did not make any encroachments upon the prerogatives of the public officials.

Mr. S. O. Daws was called for, and followed in a neat and pertinent speech, referring especially to the aims and hopes of the brotherhood. He defended the Alliance against the assaults of its enemies in its purposes. He hoped it would redound to the glory and honor of this whole country, through the moral, social, and intellectual improvement of the farmers. As a class, he said, they had very limited opportunity for mental culture, for mutual good, in their disorganized condition, but through the Alliance he hoped they would be brought together, have libraries established, and ample protection afforded. He closed by asking the Weatherford Times to point out the time or place or the principle of the Farmers' Alliance that was wrong.

Lewis Wood, Esq., an attorney-at-law, spoke in favor of passing the resolution offered by Dr. Peterson.

Colonel J. N. Haney made an appropriate talk, after which, upon motion, the resolution passed by a rising vote, and the meeting adjourned.

It is sufficient to state that the primary cause of all this misrepresentation and slanderous attack upon the principles and teachings of the Alliance was from the fact that the Weatherford Times, jointly with the Weatherford Herald, had sought to be recognized as the official journal of the Alliance, that it might secure

the patronage of the members and the printing of the Order. The Order saw fit to indorse the Herald instead of the Times. Thus the Farmers' Alliance gained the enmity and ill-will of the Times. From that time until this indignation meeting the editor of the Times used the columns of his paper to attack the Order upon every occasion and try to destroy its influence for good; and it was said that he remarked, after failing to get his paper indorsed, that he "would buy a new press and burst the d— thing in six months."

After a close investigation of the Alliance and its purposes, its opposers were compelled to admit the fact that they were wrong, and the reputation they had given the Alliance was entirely undeserved. The Alliance came forth from the contest as a victor. It had been tried "as by fire," and it stood the test most faithfully and came through the ordeal unscathed.

The opposition the Alliance received exerted rather a beneficial effect than otherwise. It brought it into general notice, and the thinking class cannot fail to see that it is merit alone that has caused the Alliance to come so rapidly into favor with the laboring classes. Thinking men cannot but be favorably impressed with the stand it takes in all matters pertaining to the good of the masses. Persecution tries the qualities of men and human institutions. It brings out their good or bad qualities. So it proved in this case. Probably the Alliance would have remained comparatively unknown had it not been noticed in that light. But human nature is naturally constituted with a good share of curiosity, and anything that excites that curiosity will be examined into. It was so here, and had the opposite effect intended by its accusers, and the result was a victory gained, a forward impetus given the Alliance, and to-day no one can say aught against it. The Alliance is respected, its objects appreciated, and men are using every effort to advance the cause, which we believe to have been handed down to us from a time so long ago that the mind fails to comprehend the chasm that lies between that time and the present. A short time ago we did not thoroughly understand the Alliance. Perhaps those who tried to pull it down were in that condition, for it has ever been, that which we did not understand at a first glance, our opinions were formed, whether

favorable or otherwise, and in this case an unaccountable prejudice was formed, the result of a hasty judgment through ignorance of its merits, and as soon as the mind comprehended the fact that the intention was to do good, all the opposition ceased, except from a few, who are hardly competent to judge of the merits or demerits of anything.

An intelligent presentation of the early hardships surrounding the Alliance can hardly be given in the brief space allotted to this chapter. One of the earliest felt wants of the Alliance was an official organ of communication among the members. To-day we have the Southern Mercury and hundreds of other papers that are defending our principles and advocating our measures. We do not see how we could dispense with our present Alliance papers. If they are so necessary now, with our principles and policies well defined, what must have been their need when the Alliance was just beginning its struggle for popularity among the agricultural classes. There is not a prominent journal now that can say aught against us, so well understood are our objects and purposes. Then we had the opposition of the entire press, at a time also when the laboring classes themselves did not know what we were trying to accomplish. Without any experience as public speakers, the founders of the Alliance were compelled to defend its principles and advocate its policies. The absence of an official organ to explain in advance its principles and teachings made the labor of these men doubly arduous. Again, as is the case in the early history of all such organizations, there was great need of money to meet current expenses. As yet no means had been devised to create a fund to enable the Order to put a permanent lecturer in the field. A few local organizers were commissioned and arrangements were made to pay them *one dollar* for each Sub-Alliance instituted by them. It was not an uncommon occurrence for one of these organizers to labor three or four days in the establishment of a single Sub-Alliance; and the same length of time spent in explaining the objects of the Order to the farmers of a community sometimes resulted in a failure to organize.

An amusing incident, showing the lack of business experience, happened in a few months after the Alliance

was first organized. A committee was appointed and sent to Weatherford, Texas, to have printed one thousand copies of the Constitution and By-Laws. The printer engaged gravely assured the committee that it was worth not less than eighty dollars to print them, but as they were for the Farmers' Alliance he would print them for forty dollars. The proposition was accepted and the work done. The committee afterward learned that not to exceed *fifteen dollars* would have been customary rates. Another thing that operated against the Alliance was the recent disorganization of the *Grange* or Patrons of Husbandry. Starting in 1867, it had by 1875-76 spread over nearly the entire United States and parts of Canada. At the time of the organization of the Alliance the Grange had passed the zenith of its power and was now rapidly on the decline. This fact was everywhere pointed to as an evidence that agricultural societies were not capable of continued existence, and consequently could not exert any lasting benefit upon the communities where they were located. This view is always erroneous. Such a society never existed without leaving its impress for good indelibly stamped on the sands of time. The good accomplished by the Grange movement was of vast importance to the laboring people of this country, not only in modifying existing legislation, but, what was of more moment to them, in educating public sentiment in favor of co-operative protective associations. The Grange was thus an important factor in paving the way for the greater movement, the Farmers' Alliance. But the moral effect of the decline of the Grange was one of the greatest obstacles that the Alliance had to meet and overcome in its early history.

A great many good people also thought that the Alliance was in reality a secret political party. The fact was cited that the Alliances in Lampasas and adjoining counties had so existed. They argued that as we were working under the "original Lampasas Declaration of Purposes" in a modified form, we must sooner or later drift into party politics. They did not stop to consider that it was this very fact that caused the destruction of the Lampasas Alliance. We had profited by their experience. From the very nature of the case it is impossible for party politics to invade the sanctuary of

any organization, secular or religious, without perverting the original purposes of such organization. They did not know at first how carefully we had guarded against this danger by striking out from the "original Declaration of Purposes" *all reference to party politics*. It took time and patience to remove these objections.

Many other discouraging circumstances might be enumerated, but we do not deem it necessary here. No aspersions can now be cast on its character, and it is recognized as a power for good in the land. How true it is that there is no excellence without great labor. The Alliance is a living illustration of that fact; it has bravely battled with public sentiment, before which so many good measures have failed to stand the test, and has withstood the open and covert attacks of certain newspapers, and the early prejudice of that class who should have been its most ardent supporters, viz: the laboring classes themselves.

May kind heaven help us to be guided in the future as in the past, by patriotic principles; may the purity of our Order, and our interest in a common cause, unite us heart and hand to secure the love and allegiance of every member to the principles of our grand institution.

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HARSHNESS AND DIFFIDENCES OF THE ALLIANCE

any organization, secular or religious, without perverting the original purpose of such organization. They did not know at first how carefully we had guarded against this danger by striking out from the original purpose

*History of the Alliance in Texas  
From October 8, 1880, to the  
Organization of the National  
Alliance at Waco, January 21,  
1887.*

It will be seen that the Farmers' Alliance, when first organized, was not a chartered institution, but it was soon learned, meeting with so many obstacles arising from deep prejudices, which existed in the minds of so many people, against a farmers' organization, that they could not perpetuate and carry out successfully the great and grand objects of the Order with open doors to politicians and demagogues, hence an application was filed with the Secretary of State, asking for a charter, that the Farmers' Alliance might become a chartered institution, and receive that protection and enjoy the benefits accorded to all other chartered institutions. A charter was granted, and the Farmers' Alliance took its place in the world's history as the first organization that active, operative farmers ever formed for their own protection, benefit, and enjoyment, acting under the following original charter:

*State of Texas. Charter. J. N. Montgomery et al.*

STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF PARKER.

Know all Men by These Presents: That we, L. S. Tackitt, J. H. Dover and G. M. Plumlee, citizens of the State and county aforesaid, and such others as they may hereafter associate with them, have heretofore, to-wit: On the 12th day of August, 1880, formed themselves, with J. N. Montgomery, J. C. Gilliland, J. W. Sullivan, L. G. Oxford, Andrew Dunlap, J. S. Welch, William Thompson and others, into an association and organization under the name of "Farmers' Alliance," said association being formed for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, horticulture, and to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, and all unhealthy

rivalry and selfish ambition. The business of said corporation is to be transacted in the city of Weatherford, county and State aforesaid. The term of existence of this association is fixed at twenty-five years, from August 12, 1880.

The Trustees to-wit: J. H. Dover, W. T. Baggett, and L. S. Tackitt, residents of Parker county, were duly elected for the first year ending August 12, 1881.

Said society has no capital stock, and the estimated value of the goods, chattels, lands, rights and credit owned by said association is fifty dollars.

The following persons were elected officers for twelve months from August 12, 1880:

President—J. N. Montgomery.

Vice President—W. T. Baggett.

Secretary—J. H. Dover.

Assistant Secretary—J. C. Gilliland.

Lecturer—L. G. Oxford.

Assistant Lecturer—A. Dunlap.

Treasurer—J. W. Sullivan.

Doorkeeper—J. S. Welch.

Assistant Doorkeeper—William Thompson.

In witness whereof, we, as citizens of the State of Texas, have on this the 6th day of October, 1880, subscribed our names.

[Signed]

L. S. TACKITT,  
J. H. DOVER,  
G. M. PLUMLEE.

THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF PARKER.

Before me, J. M. Richards, Judge of the County Court of Parker county, State of Texas, this day personally appeared L. S. Tackitt, J. H. Dover, and G. M. Plumlee, citizens of Texas, to me personally known, and acknowledged that they signed the above and foregoing instrument of writing after the contents of the same had been fully made known to them, and that they voluntarily signed the same for the purposes and association therein expressed.

In witness whereof I have hereto signed my name and set my seal of office this 6th day of October, 1880.

[Signed]



J. M. RICHARDS,  
County Judge, Parker County, Texas.

ENDORSED.

Charter of the "Farmers' Alliance" of Parker county.

Filed in the Department of State, October 8, 1880.

[Signed]

T. H. BOWMAN,  
Acting Secretary of State.

THE STATE OF TEXAS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original charter of the "Farmers' Alliance" of Parker county, with the indorsement thereon now on file in this Department.

\*.....\*  
: SEAL OF STATE :  
\*.....\*

Witness my official signature and the Seal of State at the city of Austin, the 9th day of October, A. D. 1880.

T. H. BOWMAN,  
Acting Secretary of State.

Our readers should bear in mind that up to this time the Farmers' Alliance was local in its character, imperfectly organized, with no literature or means of educating its members, and nothing wherewith to push its organization save patriotic hearts and willing hands. Hence, it devoted itself to the social conditions and local questions affecting its members, pointing out the evils from which the farming classes were suffering and which all acknowledged, but there was no remedy to be found for them outside of a thorough organization of the farmers. The Grange had become disorganized, the farmers were scattered, divided in opinion, almost indifferent to their condition, the means employed in valuing their products, and without any means of expressing or enforcing their views as a class. And thus the Alliance employed what feeble means it had to effect an organization of the farmers.

In this chapter we shall only relate the important movements and enactments of the State Alliance of Texas prior to the organization of the National Alliance. The State Alliance convened at Poolville, Parker county, Texas, February 8, 1881, in called session. The Secretary was ordered to prepare charters for all Sub-

Alliances, and was also authorized to affix the signature of the President to the same. The advisability of selecting a newspaper that would give publication to matters of interest to the Order, in consideration of the united patronage of the members throughout the State, being under consideration, it was resolved that the Weatherford Herald, a live and influential paper published every Friday at Weatherford, by Curl & Wood, be adopted; and to facilitate the rapid increase of its circulation among the members of the Order, all Secretaries of Sub-Alliances were authorized to act as agents in their respective Alliances and solicit subscriptions to the Weatherford Herald.

The annual meeting of the State Alliance was held at Goshen, August 9 and 10, 1881, President J. N. Montgomery in the chair. At this meeting Cushing's Manual was adopted as the guide of parliamentary usage in the Alliance.

Brother Peterson, who had previously been appointed as a committee of one for that purpose, offered his report on Burial Service, which was received and adopted, being yet used, as originally drafted, in all the funeral services of the Order. The form of regalia to be worn by officers and members in open Alliance—a white scarf worn around the neck—as presented by Dr. O. G. Peterson, was adopted.

The State Alliance assembled in the court-house at Weatherford, Texas, on Tuesday, February 7, 1882, with President Andy Dunlap in the chair, and C. M. Wilcox Secretary. As the Farmers' Alliance was designed to be a social institution, where we meet with our wives and daughters for the purpose of discussing and bringing about a better understanding of those social principles which underlie the foundations of society and are the strength of all our institutions, and to encourage the practice of those virtues which purify the hearts and lives of men in their social capacity, hence, the Farmers' Alliance, at its meeting at this time, inserted an amendment in its Constitution restricting its applications for membership to *white* persons only.

Heretofore the secret work of the Alliance had consisted of three degrees and three obligations. It was deemed by this body impracticable with a farmers' organization to make any distinction between members;

that the work should be so simplified that the humblest member of any and all Sub-Alliances could enter the meetings of any County or State Alliance and participate in the enjoyments and benefits to be derived from these meetings; therefore a committee was appointed to combine the three degrees and three obligations into one, placing all members upon an equal basis, which was reported and adopted by this meeting, and the work thus simplified remains to this day, admitting any member to the meetings of the State or National Alliances. Thus the Farmers' Alliance became the first secret order having no privileged classes, controlled by different degrees of advancement, but any of its members can enter even its National meetings and have a voice in their deliberations.

The annual meeting of the State Alliance convened at Mineral Wells, Palo Pinto county, August 8, 1882. Regular annual business was transacted. An effort was made at this meeting to combine and co-operate with the State Grange in the sales of cotton, but for some reason it proved a failure.

This being the year of the State election, the discussion of party politics came up in some of the Sub-Alliances, when the following resolution was passed:

*Resolved*, That it is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and By-Laws of our Order to take part in party politics, and we will not nominate or support any man or set of men for office as a distinct party or political body."

Heretofore all the officers and standing committees held their positions and discharged their respective duties without salary and paid their own expenses to and from these meetings. The duties of State Secretary had now become so great that this body agreed to pay him one hundred dollars per year.

The Alliance selected Granbury, Hood county, Texas, as the place of meeting in February, 1883. Heretofore the officers and delegates had been very prompt in attending the meetings. They had put themselves to no little trouble and inconvenience to attend, but in this case they decided that "self preservation is the first great law," and the meeting was deferred until August, 1883. Well do we remember the terrific "norther" that was blowing when the time came when we should

have "taken up our line of march" for Granbury. It was intensely cold, the coldest weather of the season, and after mature deliberation we decided that they could do very well without us, a conclusion that seemed to pervade the minds of all the members, and for the first time (and the last) in the history of the Alliance there was no meeting at the time appointed.

The next meeting was at Weatherford, Texas, August 7, 1883. But before taking up the proceedings of that meeting we will notice briefly the growth of the Order up to this time. At the meeting at Mineral Wells the report of the Secretary showed that there were one hundred and twenty Alliances. True, they were not all represented, and some were not taking the interest they should, yet it showed how rapidly the Alliance was coming into favor with the laboring class of people. Already it had spread over the counties of Parker, Wise, Jack, Palo Pinto and Hood, and it was not altogether unknown in the counties of Somervell, Tarrant, Bosque, and Denton. It had spread south as far as Houston county, and east into Cooke, and even farther, into Red River county. There were fifty-six delegates in attendance, exclusive of the officers, that composed the Grand State Alliance, which shows very conclusively that the interest was rapidly increasing. There had been thirty-seven persons rejected as unfit for membership, which proves that the Alliance was not seeking to swell its ranks with any and every kind of men, but wanted good, moral men to enlist in her cause.

At this Weatherford meeting of the State Alliance all the State officers were absent except S. O. Daws, Lecturer, and C. M. Wilcox, Secretary. Only thirty Sub-Alliances were represented. This was the least number of delegates in attendance upon any of the State meetings since 1880. Many were the causes of the decline of the Order in the last year. The want of Alliance literature, the means to employ active lecturers to visit, instruct and encourage the Sub-Alliances and institute new ones. In their efforts to co-operate in buying and selling in the past they had almost been treated with contempt by tradesmen and others, and so far had failed to achieve practical benefits from their efforts. Again, it had been a very sickly year throughout the counties where Alliances had been formed, and

the year previous being a political year, a great many persons rushed into the Order for the sole purpose of their own personal, political aggrandizement; therefore, after the passage of the non-political resolution at Mineral Wells, they and their personal friends lost their primary interest in the Alliance, which caused the disorganization of several Sub-Alliances during that year. While this temporarily checked the growth of the Order, it fixed for all time to come the true status of the Farmers' Alliance on party questions.

The semi-annual meeting of the State Alliance convened at Chico, Wise county, Texas, February 5, 1884, with W. L. Garvin President and C. M. Wilcox Secretary. Previous to this meeting the condition of the Order had become a source of great solicitude to the officers of the State Alliance and early members. After careful deliberation the President, Mr. Garvin, employed S. O. Daws as Traveling Lecturer, one month prior to this meeting. The meeting was composed of delegates from fifty Alliances. The Traveling Lecturer reported seventeen Sub-Alliances reorganized during the present month. This body confirmed his appointment and elected him to serve in that capacity for the entire year.

The "trade store system" was not giving general satisfaction, hence, for the purpose of encouraging co-operation in trade, this body passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That we encourage the formation of joint stock companies in sub and county Alliances for the purpose of trade and for the personal benefit of the members financially."

The State Alliance convened in annual meeting at Weatherford, Parker county, Texas, August 5, 1884. At this meeting there were one hundred and eighty delegates, and it began to look as if the farmers of Texas had determined to organize, and a general improvement of the condition of the Alliance was manifest to all. In their efforts to perfect a trade system for their mutual good, through correspondence with manufacturers, they were always referred back to their agents; in their communications to wholesale men for trade, they were continually referred by them to the retail merchant; and in the disposition of their cotton, in trying to reach the manufacturer, they were met by

the "bulls" and "bears" in the cotton market; hence, this State Alliance recommended to the county and subordinate Alliances the importance of establishing cotton yards of their own, for the purpose of bulking their cotton and selling, if possible, direct to the factories. This was accomplished to some extent, but was strongly opposed by the cotton buyers and speculators. In some cities and small towns the representatives of the Farmers' Alliance could not purchase lots on which to locate cotton yards.

The State Alliance convened in the court-house at Decatur, Wise county, Texas, August 4, 1885, with President J. A. Culwell in the chair and C. M. Wilcox Secretary. This meeting was a great surprise even to the members of the Order, who had not been keeping up with its progress. More than six hundred delegates were in attendance, which was the greatest body of true agriculturists that had, up to that time, ever assembled in the State. The same discussions, as in the previous meetings, relative to the cotton market and mercantile trade, were continued, as shown by the following recommendations and resolution:

*"Resolved,* That the Grand State Alliance recommend to the County Alliances that the members of all Sub-Alliances act as a unit in the sale of their produce, and to this end the County Alliance set apart a day or days in which to put their produce on the market for sale. We further recommend that a committee of correspondence be appointed by the County Alliance, who shall, if possible, make arrangements for the combined sale of the produce of members of the Alliance. We further recommend that none but members of the Alliance be allowed in this combination. The Secretary of the Grand State Alliance to notify each County Alliance."

Adopted.

*"Resolved,* That County Alliances appoint a committee of three discreet members from each County Alliance, whose duty it shall be to examine cost bills of freight bills of merchants with whom the Alliance has made contracts for sale of goods at specified rates per cent. A refusal to show such bills by said merchants shall terminate and make null and void such contracts with said merchants."

Believing that the business of the Alliance could be

better transacted by a less number of delegates, and to provide against a much larger delegation next year, the number of delegates was limited to three to each county.

The next annual meeting of the State Alliance convened at Cleburne, Johnson county, Texas, August 6, 1886. Delegates were in attendance from eighty-four counties. The management of the cotton during the past year, with the unity of members in the markets, and the strong opposition met, fully illustrated the magnitude and importance of the work they had begun. All of these efforts resulted beneficially to the Order and to the farmers, with very few exceptions, even where they were met with strong opposition. These exceptional cases of opposition were a benefit and a great blessing in every way, for they brought the farmers face to face with the evils and wrongs that stand opposed to their interests in marketing their produce. The efforts on the part of the enemies of the Alliance in some of the markets to break the combinations of the farmers have done as much good for the Order as any one thing. It taught them who and where the enemies of their interests were and in what manner their opposition was manifested.

The Committee on Sale and Shipment of Cotton reported as follows:

1. Recognizing that cotton is the most important crop—financially considered—that concerns the farmers of this great State; that its value for last year having been \$80,000,000, as paid by the spinners, and \$64,000,000 paid to the producers, leaving a margin of \$16,000,000, over half of which immense sum was marginal profits; that this year the crop will not vary much from that of last year; hence, if concerted action is not taken by the producers of Texas, eight or nine million dollars will again be swallowed up as marginal profits, over and above all fair charges, to liquidate expenses of transportation, sampling, weighing, inspecting, classifying, handling, etc. Eight or nine million dollars are lost each year to the producers of Texas, principally through false weights, defective sampling, cliques and corners, and enormous charges for transportation. Therefore your committee recommends, after careful consideration, that the cotton-yard system be adopted by the County

Alliances as the surest and most immediate relief to the producers of the State.

2. It is recommended by your committee that the County Alliances (either singly or where a number of counties lie contiguous to an oil mill) make the best terms possible for the sale of cotton seed, and that each County Alliance making such arrangement shall report terms of such to the Secretary of the State Alliance for transmission to all the County Alliances of the State, if that officer deem said report of sufficient importance.

3. Your committee recommend that each County Alliance in the cotton district hold a called meeting for discussion and action on the cotton problem as soon after receiving notice of this recommendation as possible.

4. Your committee suggests that the State Secretary, or Corresponding State Secretary, if such an officer should be elected, shall write to the general agent of the pooled railroad lines in Texas as to the best rates that said pooled lines will give on cotton shipments, and report such answer to each County Secretary. Also, to get statements concerning best rates on cotton from railroad lines not in the pool, for transmission to the County Alliances.

E. D. MACREADY,

B. F. ELLIS,

R. M. CHAMPION.

Adopted.

The record of the year showed a remarkable growth in membership, and upon every side we had manifestations that demonstrated the faith of the farmers in the stability of the Order; as an evidence of this fact we had only to look at the investments that were being made in establishing mills, co-operative stores and other institutions of our own. At this meeting the Southern Mercury, published at Dallas, was selected as the official organ of the State, and has since become the property of the State Alliance and official organ of the National Alliance.

To show that the Farmers' Alliance does not foster ignorance and class prejudices we here present the reader with the views of the Order upon industrial education, as expressed by the Cleburne meeting:

We desire to call the attention of this intelligent body of representative men of the industrial classes of Texas to the institution known as the Agricultural and

Mechanical College of Texas. This college owes its foundation and endowment to the act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, amended July 23, 1865, and to a joint resolution of the Legislature of Texas, approved April 17, 1871, and finally to a provision of the State Constitution of 1876, and was organized especially for the education of young men who purpose to follow some one of the industrial pursuits, and to qualify and fit them for the useful and practical affairs of life. While your committee cannot hope to present anything new on the importance of education, yet as one of the purposes of our noble Order is the mental improvement of the industrial classes, the importance of this subject should be ever present with us, for the development of the mind must go with that of material interests, if these classes shall ever be other than "hewers of wood and drawers of water." No expenditure is safe unless the foundation is solid, and as the teachers are the workmen who are laying the foundation of the educational world, for the sake of your children and the country that you love, see to it that the work is well done.

There are two questions we present for the consideration of this body:

1. Is there a necessity for a higher and better education for the sons and daughters of the industrial classes than can be obtained in the common schools?
2. Is the education obtained in the common schools of Texas alone sufficient to enable these classes to have that influence in the social and political affairs of our country which the importance of their vocation and citizenship justifies and demands?

Admitting the fundamental importance of the common school, yet in the opinion of your committee there can be but one answer to these questions. Then what shall the higher education be? Shall it be such as to lead the young man away from the farm and all other industrial pursuits, or shall it not rather be such as to make them better farmers, as well as to inculcate in their hearts a love for industrial pursuits, while it will at the same time enable them to take their proper positions as citizens and sovereigns of our State?

Your committee believe that all will agree that industrial education should be fostered and encouraged, as that will tend more than anything else to the advance-

ment of the interest of our whole people. Can such an education be had within our own State, or shall our boys be sent without its borders to secure it?

Your committee propose showing the members of the Farmers' Alliance that every facility for obtaining a useful and high standard of education is practically within the reach of a large majority of the farmers' and mechanics' sons at this moment in the State of Texas.

In 1862, when the land was convulsed with a terrific war, when one or more members of every family were absent on the tented field of Mars, when every breeze came laden with the rumors or sounds of sieges and battles, destruction, woe and death, a far-seeing and brainy man in the Senate of the United States succeeded in passing a law making an appropriation of public land for the endowment and maintenance of at least one college in each State, where the leading objects should be to teach such branches of learning as are related to agricultural and mechanical arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.

This man, Justin Morrill, by slow application and hard study, though surrounded by many difficulties, rose to his exalted position from the industrial classes, and, remembering this, all of his work was to smooth the way and lessen the cost to all who might come after, desiring liberal and practical education to fit them for the duties of life.

As the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas is the culmination of the above effort, your committee desire to present it to the favorable consideration of the people of the Alliance, as it stands, its doors open, the directors and its able faculty inviting the parents and guardians of industrial classes to send their boys that they may receive the benefit of the high standard of industrial education there to be obtained.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College, as now presented to you, is now carrying out the original purpose and design for which it was established.

But to enable it to be still more useful, a grievous want should be supplied.

The board of directors are frequently unable to supply improvements to further the purposes of the institution for lack of funds.

The interest alone of the endowment fund can be used, and that only for the salaries of the faculty. The appropriations made by the State have been for buildings, furniture, apparatus, machines and tools in the mechanical department, implements, tools, animals and fencing in the agricultural department, and for repairs in all departments of the college.

Until the last Legislature met one cent had never been appropriated for the support of the college. While the college is doing all that can be done with the means at its disposal, yet, to enable it to extend the sphere of its usefulness, it requires a regular annual income, independent of legislative appropriations, to maintain its present status and provide additional facilities and instructors as the attendance increases.

The framers of our Constitution in the State saw this necessity, and provided for it by making the Agricultural and Mechanical College a branch of the University, which has been liberally endowed by the State and now has a permanent fund invested in bonds of more than \$600,000 and more than 200,000 acres of land remaining unsold. By the Constitution of the State this magnificent fund belongs in part to the Agricultural and Mechanical College as one of the branches of the University.

As to the importance of this branch there can be no question, yet the Legislature in providing for the opening of the University has given to the regents of the Law, Literary and Medical branches the control and disbursement of the fund that belongs to the whole University.

These regents have not appropriated any portion of this fund to the Agricultural and Mechanical College, therefore the authorities of the college have been forced to obtain from the Legislature, by special appropriation, the small portion of the fund which has hitherto been used for the benefit of the Agricultural and Mechanical College.

This law should be amended so as to make an equitable distribution to all the branches of the University. Therefore, your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the worthy President of the State Alliance be directed to prepare, and, in conjunction with

the Worthy Master of the State Grange, present to the Legislature a memorial or petition, respectfully asking that the law be so amended as to set apart a just and equitable portion of the available University fund to be controlled and disbursed by the board of directors of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for its development, support and maintenance.

P. M. SCOTT,  
J. D. WHITE,  
W. A. SMITH,  
J. T. PAULBEE,  
C. W. SUMNER,

Committee on Education.

The report was adopted.

Shortly after the Cleburne meeting President Andy Dunlap, Vice President J. D. Eddleman and John H. Harrison, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Alliance, tendered their resignations, and the responsibilities of President of the State Alliance thus fell upon the Hon. C. W. Macene, who had first appeared as a delegate at this meeting.

"Two factors are essential to all great popular movements. The combination of favorable circumstances to prepare the public mind and make the times peculiarly adapted for the work to be done, and a great leader—one who is able to direct a people ready for the accomplishment of a purpose. Sparks of fire are small things when permitted to fall on blocks of ice, but very great things when they are thrown into magazines of gunpowder. Only the age that produced the Evangelical Alliance could have given to the religious world a Talmage, a Moody, or a Sam Jones. These great evangelists find their strength in the liberal religious spirit of the people in the age and among whom they labor. Send them to China or India, or give back to our own people the sectarian prejudices of the former century, and these giants would become weak as pygmies. The great leaders of the world are largely the product of the times in which they live."

The leader of to-day should be a full man, well endowed by nature with intelligence, sensibility, and will; with an eye wide open to the world around him. Such a man as receives into himself the spirit and principles which are struggling for life and expression in the

popular mind of the country, and thus he becomes a hero in giving them utterance and application. Hon. C. W. Macune found the public mind prepared for the movement in which he has become so conspicuous a figure. The spirit of organization and reform among the farmers throughout the nation was preparing to assert itself; it only needed a leader for the conflict. When the responsibilities of the Presidency of the State Alliance of Texas fell upon him he promptly took hold of the work, and not only looked at the interests of the Order in his own State, but at once grasped the details of the plan for the organization of a National Alliance. He was just the man needed for the times. He opened communication with the Farmers' Union of Louisiana. He commissioned the Hon. Evan Jones and sent him as a delegate to confer with that body in Louisiana, and invite them to co-operate with the Alliance of Texas in the formation of a National Alliance.

In the meantime he issued a call for a meeting of the State Alliance of Texas for the purpose of electing a President, Vice President, and Chairman of the Executive Committee, and to perfect plans of co-operation and elect delegates to meet with the delegates of the Farmers' Union for the purpose of organizing a National Alliance and Co-operative Union; and on the 17th day of January, 1887, the State Alliance met in called session in the city of Waco, C. W. Macune President pro tem., and J. H. Moore Secretary.

The State Alliance indorsed his action by electing Hon. Evan Jones, of Dublin, President; B. F. Butler, of Dallas, Vice President, and J. H. Harrison member of the Executive Committee, and the election of delegates to meet with the representatives of the Farmers' Union and organize the National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

This convention met on the following day and organized by the election of C. W. Macune, President; J. A. Tetts, of Louisiana, First Vice President, and G. B. Pickett, of Decatur, Second Vice President, and E. B. Warren, Secretary, framing a National Constitution, which was presented to the State Alliance then in session, and ratified by that body.

Within three months after the responsibilities of President of the State Alliance had been entrusted to

Hon. C. W. Macune he not only had a National Alliance organized, but also had organizers in nearly every Southern State.

Thus the Order spread into Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and some of the Territories, before the first meeting of the National Alliance at Shreveport eight months thereafter.

## *A Brief History of the Alliance in Some of the Other States.*

### MISSOURI.

In the spring of 1887 the National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America sent into Missouri the following National Organizers: J. W. DeSpain into the southeastern part of the State and A. H. Bryson, J. H. Moore and M. L. Andrews into Southwestern Missouri. The first Alliance was organized by DeSpain in Butler county. The Order spread very rapidly. The following counties were organized by DeSpain and his deputies: Butler, Ballinger, Reynolds, Wayne, Iron and Madison. The most efficient deputy organizer under DeSpain was Rev. J. Graves, of Texas. Vernon county was organized by Moore and Andrews. Newton county was organized by A. H. Bryson. The first Alliance was organized in Newton county, at Ritchey, with the following charter members: A. B. Johnson, J. W. Snyder, Zed. Dowthitt, George Maples and J. W. Stroop. On the 4th of October the State Alliance was organized by J. W. DeSpain, under proclamation of President C. W. Macune, of the National Alliance. Delegates from Newton, Vernon, Butler, Ballinger, Reynolds, Iron, Madison and Wayne counties assembled at Poplar Bluff, Butler county. The membership at that time was: Male members, 3062; female members, 1020; total, 4082.

The following officers of the State Alliance were elected:

President—A. B. Johnson, Ritchey, Newton county, Missouri.

Vice President—W. B. Anthony.

Secretary—Frank Farrell, Mill Spring.

Treasurer—J. N. Tatem.

Chaplain—J. A. Gross.

Lecturer—M. V. B. Page.

Assistant Lecturer—Thomas Hasler.

Doorkeeper—G. D. Johnson.

Assistant Doorkeeper—C. P. Inlow.

Sergeant-at-Arms—J. A. Myers.

State Business Agent—W. B. Ham.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

We herewith present a report from Brother J. B. Barry, one of the National Organizers for North Carolina. Since this letter appeared in the Southern Mercury a State Alliance has been organized in that State and the Order is in a very prosperous condition:

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., September 19, 1887.—*Editor Mercury*: I am pleased to get an hour's leisure to inform the brotherhood of our noble Order, through the columns of our National Organ, that now seems to circulate in every State throughout our country, that I have met with unbounded success and encouragement as Lecturer and Organizer of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

I got off the cars at Raleigh, the capital of the old "Tar-heel" State, which seemed to me was also headquarters of all opposition to the farmers organizing themselves into the grandest, noblest and most patriotic Order that ever existed since God first caused the sun to shine. I could not make this assertion were I not a member of most all other organizations, and know whereof I speak.

In spite of all opposing influences that could be brought to bear in Wake county, I met the farmers in public meetings twenty-seven times, and twenty-seven times they organized. I left the work with deputies, went into Harnett county, which I organized with eleven Sub-Alliances in twenty-one days, crossed Cape Fear river into Moore county and organized it with ten Alliances in fourteen days after I got there.

I run down by railroad to this place eight days since. The farmers of Cumberland county so far have organized every time I met them—only lack one having the requisite number to organize the county. Have every encouragement to say I will organize Cumberland to-morrow week, in seventeen days after my arrival. My brethren, who read the Mercury, think of this: "I was accosted by a crowd of farmers, all strangers to me, day before yesterday, who had come into the city to market. As I passed through the market they demanded of me the right to assist in the noble and patriotic effort of reform, which I readily granted by going up into the public hall above the market and organized them at once. The farmers seem like unto ripe fruit—you can

gather them by a gentle shake of the bush. Of course, there are a few who are more like unto hogs than men, that seem to think they will be rewarded in heaven for their ignorance and selfishness, and for being as little use to society as possible.

I go on to Onslow county from here, and my post-office will be Richland, unless I get orders to attend the organization of this State, which I see nothing to hinder, as there are now the requisite number of counties organized by myself and Brother Tealy to organize the State in time for it to be represented on the 12th of October in the most important meeting to farmers, laborers, and to our country that has ever been held in this continent. Our noble cause is suffering badly for want of more lecturers and organizers. I do hope our Executive and Examining Committee will leave nothing unturned on their part in getting into the field a full corps of recruiting officers.

I have volunteered three times in my life to fight the enemies of my country, all separate and distinct enemies, all of different colors and different languages. I have now volunteered the balance of my life to fight the fourth enemy, still of a different color and language, and the worst and most tyrannical and bloodthirsty enemy I have ever looked in the face—an enemy that has no conscience, no soul, and shows us no quarter; an enemy that's already in possession of our government and running it at the expense of our sweat and blood. To the careless and unthoughtful farmers and farmers who may look upon our organization as a matter of little consequence, I wish to say, in the language of an old patriot, your brethren are already in the field, why will you stand idle? Is slavery so sweet that you are willing to puppy down and lick the boot that kicks you? Are you willing to serve out your existence with the iron heel of a moneyed oligarchy upon your neck? Are you willing to transfer your posterity over to the posterity of this moneyed oligarchy as slaves forever? If so, you are filling a space in this world that you are not entitled to, as a man, a Christian, a citizen or patriot, and your children should denounce you as their enemy and a traitor to the world you live in.

J. B. BARRY,  
Lecturer and Organizer.

## ALABAMA.

J. M. Perdue, D. B. Hale, W. C. Griffith, William Garnett and Newton Gresham were commissioned organizers for Alabama. They went to their respective fields of labor early in the spring and worked with such enthusiasm that a State Alliance was formed in the State early in the summer.

## FLORIDA.

Oswald Wilson was sent as a National Organizer into Florida. He began work, and, just as a pebble dropped into the centre of a lake starts a ripple which widens till it reaches the encircling shore, so this grand movement, starting by the efforts of a single organizer, urged by him on the people, communicated by them to others, is sweeping onward in an ever widening circle. Before many months had passed there was a State Alliance formed with the following officers:

President—Oswald Wilson, Marianna, Fla.

Vice President—William Gomm.

Secretary—Thomas A. Hall, Madison, Fla.

Treasurer—J. W. Pooser.

Chaplain—W. A. Bryan.

Lecturer—J. B. Young.

Assistant Lecturer—W. B. Sheppard.

Doorkeeper—W. G. Coxwell.

Assistant Doorkeeper—S. A. Cawthan.

Sergeant-at-Arms—J. W. Mozley.

## MISSISSIPPI.

In February, 1887, C. W. Macune received a letter from W. E. Hull, of Jefferson, Miss., requesting that an organizer be sent into that State. President Macune commissioned S. O. Daws, W. F. Price, D. F. Burgess, W. W. Durham, W. K. Deason, and J. B. Graham as National Organizers for that State.

S. O. Daws made his first lecture on the 2nd day of March and organized his first Alliance on the 3d day of March at Oak Hill, Carroll county. W. E. Hull was elected Secretary of this Alliance. The work now began in earnest in nearly every district in the State. By the 1st of August more than thirty counties had been organized. On the 24th day of August a convention of

delegates met in the city of Jackson and organized a State Alliance in that State, electing Hon. R. T. Love, of Chester, Choctaw county, President—a man of fine executive ability, with all of those characteristics to make just such a leader of the Order in that State as the times demand. He was also elected by the National Alliance as one of its Vice Presidents. Under his able leadership in that State the Order has become a power in a short space of time. There are now 800 Sub-Alliances in the State, with a membership of 25 000. The State organization was completed by the election of the following officers:

Vice President—T. H. Freeman.  
 Secretary—C. T. Smithson, Newport, Miss.  
 Treasurer—T. L. Darden.  
 Chaplain—J. Q. Hyde.  
 Lecturer—James French.  
 Assistant Lecturer—V. Q. Adams.  
 Doorkeeper—T. A. Howell.  
 Assistant Doorkeeper—L. L. Moore.  
 Sergeant-at-Arms—J. F. Savage.

#### LOUISIANA.

Some time after the organization of the Farmers' Alliance in Texas the Farmers' Union was organized by the farmers of Louisiana. In its early history it met with the same difficulties and disappointments and was forced to meet the same kind of opposition as her sister organization in Texas. It continued to grow year by year, until it became a State organization of considerable magnitude. Its objects and purposes as published to the world are the same as the Alliance of Texas. Hence, when C. W. Macune, President of the Texas State Alliance, sent a delegate to Louisiana to confer with the Union of that State in regard to the co-operation of the two bodies, it found them willing and anxious to join heartily in the work, and thus the Union of Louisiana and the Alliance of Texas organized the National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America. And thus Louisiana stands side by side with Texas in this great reform movement for the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural classes of America, adopting the secret work of the Alliance.

The following is a list of the officers of the Louisiana State Union :

President—J. M. Stallings, Venice, La.  
 Secretary—O. M. Wright, Unionville, La.  
 Treasurer—W. J. Spinks.  
 Lecturer—W. J. Smith.  
 Assistant Lecturer—Samuel Skinner.  
 Doorkeeper—J. W. Simonton.  
 Assistant Doorkeeper—Jesse Gooden.  
 Sergeant-at-Arms—Sim Nobles.  
 Corresponding Secretary—J. A. Tetts.

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#### KENTUCKY.

J. L. Quicksell and A. J. Tillman were sent as National Organizers into Kentucky, and awakened an interest in that State. A number of Sub-Alliances were organized and the Order is prospering in that State. In July Vice President Pickett, of the National Farmers' Alliance, was commissioned by C. W. Macune to visit the State Wheel of Kentucky and solicit their friendship and co-operation and get them to unite with the National Alliance. His work was not in vain, they sending delegates to the National Farmers' Alliance meeting at Shreveport, Louisiana.

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#### ARKANSAS.

John W. Baker, William Davenport, and D. B. Hale were commissioned as organizers for Arkansas. They soon began to awaken an interest and wield good influence for the Order by the organization of Alliances in that State. In that State existed the State Wheel, an organization similar in character to the Farmers' Alliance, and by its compliance with the requirements of the National Alliance and adopting the secret work of that Order it was duly chartered and became a legal branch of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America. By this union of forces the organization has become prosperous and powerful, having attained a membership of more than 60,000 at the time the National Farmers' Alliance met at Shreveport.

The following list comprises the officers of the Arkansas State Wheel:

President—L. P. Fotherston, Forrest City, Ark.  
 Vice President—G. W. Martin.  
 Secretary—R. H. Moorehead, Walter Chapel, Ark.  
 Treasurer—L. B. Andigier.  
 Chaplain—I. P. Langley.

#### GEORGIA.

In March, of the same year, J. B. Wilkes, National Organizer, was sent into the State of Georgia. On his arrival, making known his mission, like other organizers, he met some farmers who were very friendly to the movement and made him welcome in their midst. Some farmers, actuated by other influences, gloried in opposition to the Order and opposed his efforts to organize. But one by one he commenced to plant the true principles of the Farmers' Alliance in Carroll county. Slowly yet surely the work prospered, and at this time (October 31) he has five counties organized and four more under good headway, which he will soon have organized. The Order at this time numbers about 1500 in his district. It is needless to say that the organizers in that State have met with opposition; it is useless for us to class that opposition or mention it, for all farmers and friends of the organization know from what source it comes. But success truly crowns the work in that State.

We herewith present our readers with a sample of the misrepresentation and application of the true principles of our Order appearing in the Atlanta Constitution of November 22, 1887, which is intended to be local, but is a simile of the opposition and its slanderous nature met with by all organizers:

"The monthly meeting of the Farmers' Alliance assembled at Newnan last Thursday afternoon with closed doors. Their meetings and proceedings were kept a profound secret. About two hundred members were present, half of whom were delegates from the various clubs in the county. Their meeting was not at all harmonious. There is dissension in the ranks, and, perhaps, like the Grangers, they will soon disorganize. Their object, it seems, is to drive out all competition by

electing one merchant in a town to do all their buying and one warehouseman to sell their cotton. One month ago they selected J. B. Mount & Co., a Jewish firm who have recently located here, as their merchant, and G. A. Broom as their sole warehouseman. Merchants who have been carrying the farmers from year to year for the past quarter of a century, and to whom the farmers were indebted for this and last year's supplies, felt cut by the desertion of their former customers, and especially for going to another store and paying cash while they were indebted to them.

"This brought about a conflict between merchants and farmers, and the result is both sides are putting on a bold front. The merchants were forced to organize in self-defense, the object of which is to sell to no member of the Alliance except for cash, and stop all credit to their members. There is certainly some foundation for the grievances of the farmers, but all their ills do not flow from the middlemen. It takes all the capital and credit of the merchants of Newnan, Grantville and Senoia to carry the farmers annually, and there is now a half million dollars on the books of the Newnan merchants due by their country customers.

"All this trouble has been brought about by a man who says he is from Texas, and who has been in Georgia since last June organizing new clubs. He gets from six to nine dollars for every club he organizes, and three dollars, half the fee of the local organizer, on all subsequent clubs. Since June he has organized over a hundred of such clubs in Georgia, getting at least \$1000 for the same, without conferring any material benefits. It is true, he gives them the pass-word and also the grip which admits members into the mystic conclave, but that is their chief benefit so far.

"Every farmer with Legislative or Congressional aspirations is prompt at all their meetings and loud in their denunciations of the merchants. Their declaration of principles would rival the creed of Mahamet and excite the envy of Confucius in his dream of a perfect state of felicity for mankind. It sounds like extracts from Plato and Socrates, and takes on the touch of the ideal. In fact, their declaration of principles, if carried out, would revolutionize our entire system of government, shutting out all competition, placing the commerce

between the producer and manufacturer in the hands of one man, closing up all stores save their own, and settling all disputes by arbitration, thereby compelling the lawyers to return to the plow. Everything shall be in common, the misfortune of one member is to be shared by all. They are to have better churches, better pastors, better school-houses, and more efficient teachers. All legislation—State, county and National—shall be for their exclusive benefit. If one has a poor crop, or fails to work it as well as his neighbor, his brother members are to make it up to him. Their declaration of principles seem to be the theories of Henry George boiled down, spiced with Socialism and flavored with extracts of Grangerism.

“Two members in this county have already declared themselves, it is learned, as candidates for the Legislature. They expect to ride into power upon the blinded zeal of their deluded brothers.

“Thursday they endeavored to get a new merchant to take the place of J. B. Mount & Co., and appointed a committee to get bids from several merchants in Newnan, Senoia and Grantville, but our leading merchants refused to bid either for cash or otherwise. The committee require the merchants to show them their invoices and allow the Alliance to say what shall be their selling figures. This our merchants decline to do. The Alliance members who are able refuse to be responsible for the debts of the less fortunate members, which will work a hardship on the poorer members, who have neither cash, collaterals nor credit. It will also, at the same time, place our younger merchants and smaller dealers in a close place. They are doing no country trade, scarcely, and unless a change comes soon business failures will be the result.”

It is a matter of surprise that the Constitution, a paper national in its circulation, should stoop to malicious misrepresentation and falsehood to malign and traduce the principles and teaching of an Order numbering in its membership a million and a half of people, ministers, teachers, editors, doctors, farmers and their wives and daughters, in a vain attempt to check the rapid growth of the grandest fraternity of men and women ever seen in the Southland. If the Constitution would display the same zeal and earnestness for truth

that it has shown for falsehood and misrepresentation of the Alliance in the above article, it would be better for its readers—the people of the South.

We notice briefly some of these misrepresentations and misstatement of facts:

1. The article says "*their meetings are secret*" We will state for the information of the Constitution that the Alliance is a chartered institution, like Masonry and Odd Fellowship, necessarily secret, but whose Declaration of Principles and Purposes is published to the world.

2. It says "*the meeting was not at all harmonious.*" If their meeting and proceedings were kept a profound secret, as the Constitution says, by what authority can it publish to the world that their meeting was not at all harmonious?

3. "*All this trouble has been brought about by a man who says he is from Texas.*" We again state for the Constitution's special benefit that this man is a gentleman of honor, has been duly commissioned as a National Organizer of the Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, and sent to that section for that specific purpose. These facts could have been ascertained by an examination of its exchanges, the official journals of the Alliance, thus saving itself from casting a reflection upon private character, unless the intention was willful.

Its reference to "*the creed of Mohamet, Confucius, Plato, Socrates,*" etc., is so false, pernicious, mean and contemptible that it is mentioned only to be despised.

5. "*Their declaration of principles, if carried out, would revolutionize our entire system of government.*" Nine-tenths of the producers of this country believe that reform is necessary in our government, and the fact that they are organizing to bring this about in a peaceable, intelligent and legal manner is what is causing such energetic protests from the "subsidized press" of this country.

6. "*Everything is to be held in common.*" There is no such principle advocated in the Alliance, oral or written.

7. "*If one has a poor crop, or fails to work it as well as his neighbors, his brother members are to make it up to him.*" "The organic law of the Order requires that a person to become a member must be of industrious habits and of good moral character." Cases that require actual charity should receive the attention of all good citizens, irrespective of any benevolent organization.

8. "*All legislation, State, county and National, shall be for their exclusive benefit.*" There is no such principle in the organic law, nor has such a resolution ever been passed or demand made by any County, State or National Alliance from the origin of the Order to the present time.

9. "*Their declaration of principles seem to be the theories of Henry George boiled down, spiced with Socialism, and flavored with Grangerism.*" Such theories cannot be found in any of its teachings or working, neither have they been advocated by its members or embraced by this organization. All of its teachings tend to obliterate the "George" and "Socialistic" theories.

But, farmers, it should be remembered that this attack comes from a paper that advocates a high protective tariff, which robs you annually of millions of dollars. Such papers could not but be antagonistic to all organized movements having for their object the encouragement of the enactment of laws giving equal and exact justice to all, with special privileges to none.

#### TENNESSEE.

J. F. Alsup, W. W. Barker, W. D. Branum, N. H. C. Elliott, J. D. Ewell, A. B. Morton and L. C. Scott were commissioned as National Organizers for this State. About the 1st of April Mr. J. F. Alsup commenced his work. He found a great many difficulties in the way, but by perseverance and hard work he organized nine Sub-Alliances in one county, all of which are now in a prosperous condition. The farmers in this State are just awakening to the consciousness that they have submitted to the many wrongs that have been perpetrated upon them by the power of organized greed, in their disorganized condition. They see the need of some kind of a protective organization. They realize that the Alliance offers them a remedy for these evils; hence, it is taking rapid strides in that State. The union of the Wheel of Tennessee with the Alliance will greatly help this progress.

#### TEXAS.

While this rapid organization was going on in other States Texas, under the able leadership of Hon. Evan Jones, was busily preparing and perfecting her co-

operative schemes and plans for manufacture of woolen and cotton goods, through her business agent C. W. Macune. On the 4th of May, 1887, a Cotton Congress was held in the city of Waco. That body had much to contend with, and many visionary theories to combat, but it can congratulate itself, from the fact that it arrived at harmonious conclusions, which are strict and safe plans of operation.

When the Alliance at the Waco Cotton Congress decided to take action as a body in the matter of cotton and woolen factories, nobody doubted that in time such enterprises would be established,<sup>2</sup> yet few if any at that meeting realized how soon the plans there formulated would materialize. Only a few months had passed until the best factory site in the South had been selected and secured. The location referred to is, in Burnett county, Texas, at the celebrated Marble Falls. Of national reputation, this great water power, situated in the geographical centre of the State and surrounded as it is by a region rich in the products of raw materials, not only for cotton and woolen factories, but for various other industries, at once made it the centre of attraction as the place of all places for a concentrated movement. Who can estimate its possibilities for good to the producers of the State and the whole Southwest, when its rich array of resources and advantages is considered.

Besides the water power admitted to be the finest in the South, here also are found quarries of granite equal to any in the world, immense beds of variegated marble and other valuable stones, and deposits of coal and iron awaiting development. The rapidity with which the manufacturing spirit has developed shows that the times are ripe for such enterprises, and the farmers have only to "strike while the iron is hot" to inaugurate an era of material development that will astonish the whole country and have no parallel in the history of the South.

The Farmers' Alliance, the bone and sinew of the country, has but to say the word to make the greatest enterprise yet undertaken in Texas the grandest success that the most ardent advocate of progress and development could desire. From this Waco meeting the long talked of co-operation in Texas commenced in earnest. Within three months from that time tanneries, stores,

cotton yards and mills were being erected in many parts of the State, with a Cotton Exchange and State Business Agency for the purchase and sale of products and commodities, which was permanently located in the city of Dallas and established upon a safe, conservative, financial basis.

The city of Dallas, to secure the location of the Alliance Exchange in that city, made the following donations in real estate and cash subsidy:

A donation of \$10,000, about one-third of that being paid in cash and an obligation given for the payment of the balance. This donation was made contingent upon the erection of the headquarters of the Farmers' Alliance Exchange in the city of Dallas for a term of ten years.

A donation of one city lot on the corner of White and Market streets, 100x150 feet, valued at \$16,000; contingent upon the erection of a building of the value of at least \$20,000 on or before the 1st day of January, 1889.

Fifty acres of land southwest of Oak Cliff, a suburb of the city of Dallas, valued at \$5000, to which is added a \$5000 cash donation; both of these donations are contingent upon the erection of a factory of not less than \$150,000 valuation within three years. This land has living water, which is thought to be valuable.

A donation of fifty acres of land, which is a gift in fee simple, lying near the Cole Fair Grounds, valued at \$25,000; also two acres in the Cole Fair Grounds, on which is located an old exhibition hall. These two acres are valued at \$5000 and are also deeded in fee simple. The considerations of these two land donations is a bond of \$10,000 and \$1000 respectively, that the Farmers' Alliance will build or cause to be built, or be instrumental in having built within three years some kind of a manufacturing plant to be of not less value than \$100,000.

A donation of a sufficient amount of money to pay all rents, necessary to furnish facilities for conducting the business of the Exchange, till May 1, 1888. To meet the conditions of this donation the citizens of Dallas have placed \$1500 in bank, subject to the order of the Exchange, for rent.

The probable value of these donations when conditions have all been complied with is \$67,000. When these

conditions are complied with, or any portion of them is complied with to such an extent that each donation is vested in the Exchange, it will belong to the members of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas. Hence, every dollar of assets of the Exchange belongs to the State Alliance.

The following States have indorsed the Macune Business System: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, and the National Wheel at its last meeting recommended to their States the importance of electing at once State agents to participate in this grand move of co-operation. All the States are making assessments—Arkansas of 25 cents per capita, Mississippi of \$1 per annum for five years to furnish their agents with capital to purchase and carry into effect these plans of manufacturing and co-operation. The Texas Exchange has been, and is to-day, a Grand Success! It has saved more than a million dollars to the brotherhood already.

#### THE ALLIANCE EXCHANGE.

["A Friend," in the Southern Mercury.]

"What!" and he looked at me wond'rous strange,  
 "Has the Alliance now its own Exchange,  
 Through which members sell their wheat and oats,  
 Corn and hay, horses, cattle, sheep and goats?"  
 Yes, sir; but indeed you have quite forgotten  
 That they sell through it, also, their cotton.

I have heard, also, that pretty soon  
 Their business agent, C. W. Macune,  
 Can have them from the factories sent  
 'Most any kind of implement,  
 That they may need to till their crops,  
 At cost and carriage, from the shops.

"Since this be true, my honest friend,  
 I shall join the Order, you may depend;  
 Work for the Exchange with might and main,  
 And sell through it my stock and grain.  
 I will take their 'Mercury,' read it, too,  
 And show the boys what I can do."

The following is a list of the officers of the Texas State Alliance:

President—Evan Jones, Dublin, Tex.

Vice President—T. M. Smith.

Secretary—H. G. Moore, Fort Worth.

Treasurer—J. A. Landers.

Chaplain—Mr. McCrorey.

Lecturer—B. F. Rogers.

Assistant Lecturer—J. I. Moody.

Doorkeeper—T. Calloway.

Assistant Doorkeeper—John Worbash.

Sergeant-at-Arms—L. D. Wright.

Executive Committee—B. J. Kendrick, Chairman.

## *The National Alliance at Shreveport. Part I.*

THE National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America met in regular session at Shreveport, Louisiana, October 12, 1887.

The following officers were present:

President—C. W. Macune.

First Vice President—J. A. Tetts.

Second Vice President—G. B. Pickett.

Third Vice President—J. M. Perdue.

Secretary—E. B. Warren.

Treasurer—R. F. Butler.

Lecturer—Ben Terrell.

Assistant Lecturer—B. F. Rogers.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Nat Draughn.

This was the first regular meeting of the National Alliance, and delegates were in attendance from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky and North Carolina.

As it is the primary object of this History to set forth to the world the true principles of the Farmers' Alliance through its proper and authorized exponents, we here present our readers with the address of the Hon. C. W. Macune, President of the National Alliance, as delivered at Shreveport:

*Brethren of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America:*

This is indeed an auspicious occasion. It is the first session of this body; and this body is the first organization of the real cotton raisers ever inaugurated on a plan calculated to assist the poor man. It is a time in the history of cotton raising, when the price of that staple is not equal to the cost of producing it. This is a gathering of representative men from States, men who represent the greatest of all industries, assembled

here, not merely for the pleasures and emoluments to be gained by their attendance, but I trust imbued with proper conceptions of the great responsibility resting upon them, thoroughly alive to the conditions of the times, and firmly resolved to work out the proper and true solution of how to relieve the depressed condition of agriculture in our beautiful Southland, and, when found, to stand shoulder to shoulder in one solid phalanx till the effort is crowned with victory.

As the first legislative body ever convened in the Order, you will have a great work to perform, and the future prosperity of this great movement is, therefore, largely in your hands.

Your attention is called to the causes that combined, created the necessity for this organization. The plan on which organization has been effected, comprising the organic law of the Order, both written and unwritten, and the objects and conditions it is expected to achieve, in the event that success attends the effort. The laws to be made by this body will be statutory and will be based upon and explanatory of the organic law; they should be prompted by the necessities that gave rise to the existence of the Order, and executed with a spirit of devotion to the objects we seek to achieve, bounded only by the limit of possibility.

Mr. Garvin, in his History of the Alliance in Texas, says that it was started somewhere between 1870 and 1875, in Lampasas county, by a number of farmers who associated themselves together in a defensive league, to resist the encroachments of land sharks, who proposed to rob them of their homes. The history of the move from its inception up to 1886 was not attended with much interest. It had grown by August, 1885, to the number of about 700 subordinate Alliances, and had changed its objects and workings until they resemble very closely those of the present. From August, 1885, to August, 1886, a most prodigious growth was recorded; the increase was about 2600 Sub-Alliances. Among the reasons for this rapid growth, and probably one of the most potent, was the fact that all other occupations were either organized or were rapidly organizing, and the farming interest was unable to cope with them without organization, therefore the necessity for organization for self-defense. Again, the results of combination

had reduced the price of all products the farmer had to sell to such an extent that in many cases they would not pay hirelings' wages to the one who produced them, and were really grown at a loss. The rule was, that a year spent in the most vigorous labor and rigid economy would with good management yield a bare subsistence, and in many cases it yielded less, and would finally result in a surrender of the farm to the mortgagee merchant and the addition of one more family to the army of renters.

It seemed to be an admitted fact that organization was the only hope of the farmer, and as the Alliance was presented as strictly a farmers' organization its ranks were rapidly filled with all those who felt disposed to unite and resist the encroachments of other organizations, and who realized that it required organization to meet organized power. Such large numbers joining a secret organization in so short a time rendered proper instructions as to the principles and objects of the Order impossible; consequently, many joined who were not as well posted as they should have been, and vast differences were entertained as to the policy to be pursued in order to accomplish with speed and certainty the objects of the Order.

Some contended that the only hope was in the ballot box, and that united political action was the only way for the Alliance ever to accomplish anything; others realizing the danger to American institutions, by the introduction of a secret political party, contended that we must eschew politics altogether, and that the Alliance was a social and benevolent organization, calculated to make a man a better farmer and a better neighbor. Others had different conceptions—some that it would make all farmers' boys orators; some that it would stop horse stealing; some that it would make all its members truthful and honest; and the contention between the different factions was beginning to assume alarming proportions, as a family quarrel, when the called session of the Farmers' State Alliance of Texas was held in the city of Waco in January last. One object of that called meeting was to devise some plan of extending the work into other States. The Louisiana State Union, which had met just prior to that time, had elected and sent to that meeting a delegate to co-operate with the State

Alliance of Texas in the extension of the work. It was there shown that there was already in existence an organization in the Northwestern States calling itself the National Farmers' Alliance, but that it was a very loose organization and was non-secret; that the door to membership was too wide for it to meet the wants of the times in the South.

It was the prevailing sentiment that none but those most interested in farming should ever be admitted. It was, after a full investigation, decided that the organization, as it existed in Texas and the other States of the South to which it had spread from and by the authority of the Texas Alliance, could accomplish nothing by joining the National Farmers' Alliance of the Northwest, and in view of the fact that the cotton belt of America was a circumscribed country, there was a necessity for a National of those residing in the cotton belt, to the end that the whole world of cotton raisers might be united for self-protection. This was a grand conception, and one susceptible of results beyond our expectations. It was, therefore, decided to organize, in connection with Louisiana, a National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America; to make it a strong national order, with the one great battle cry of co-operation as the universal principal upon which all could unite; co-operation in its broadest sense; that is, that we will assist one another, that we will stand shoulder to shoulder in bearing the crosses and burdens of life, that we will intelligently pull together in everything, in buying and selling, in producing and consuming. There is a necessity for enlightened co-operation in everything, leaving local issues for local or State Alliances to settle.

The necessity for the extension of the work lay in the fact that other States were in as bad a condition as Texas and Louisiana, and that as the interests of the cotton producer were identical, and the evils from which they were suffering generally, the greatest good could not be effected without uniting the whole cotton belt. It was necessary to the local business experiments already commenced that they be made general, and be participated in by all of our class in order that they prove a greater success. Single towns or counties could not inaugurate a move that would affect the cotton

business much, and a whole State could not accomplish as much acting alone as it could in conjunction with the other ten. It will be seen then that in the organization of this National association the object was to organize the agriculturist of the cotton belt for business purposes, and that purpose has been carried out and has been found to give sufficient scope to the ability of all, and that the dissensions spoken of in the early history of the Order, in regard to politics and other subjects, have entirely died out and given place to an enlightened effort to accomplish something grand—a business organization.

If we look back through the history of this and other countries we will see that some branches of industry have always been knocking at the doors of legislation, and when weak begging for class laws that would assist their business efforts; if they were strong they would either demand or buy such favors, but in either case they have too often been successful. It is proverbial that the other two great classes of production, the manufacturing and the commercial, which includes railroads and transportation lines, have been largely built up to their present condition of wealth and prosperity by government favors and assistance. Now, if this be true, at whose expense has the government done this, as there are only three classes of producers? It must evidently have been at the expense of the third class, which is the great agricultural. The agricultural class, then, has not only received no government favors, but has been bled to enrich other classes. This is now fully realized, and is productive of a determination on the part of our people to submit to such wrongs no longer.

But in spite of the necessity for action, many of them realize, and those who do not should be taught a lesson by those who have been successful in procuring favorable legislation. They do not organize a new political party to carry out their plans—they call upon the government to correct the evils or provide protection, as the case may be. It is realized that class legislation is a great evil, because it builds up two classes at the expense of the third. Then either let the third class be the recipient or do away with class legislation. If a party was organized for that purpose the party would die when that purpose was accomplished. Under our

system of government we should not resort to a new political movement to carry out every reform necessary. We have the two great principles and conceptions of the genius of our institutions as contended for by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, as a basis for a division into two great political parties that should suffice. Let every one carry his ideas of reform to the party to which he belongs from principle; and as the agriculturist comprises a large majority of all the voters he will necessarily comprise a majority in each party; but his greatest influence in politics can be brought to bear not at the hustings, but in the halls of legislation, by the proper and judicious exercise of the right of petition. There they step forward as Alliance men strong and united, and demand that the government redress wrongs committed by it, but in partisan politics the members of our Order should participate not as Alliance men, but as citizens, because politics is for the citizens.

Let the Alliance be a business organization for business purposes, and as such necessarily secret, and as secret necessarily strictly non-political. This is somewhat of a digression, but is made in order to show the ideas that were entertained at the time this National association was launched forth on the sea of experiment as a business organization of the farmers of the cotton belt. The plan on which organization has been effected is to some extent new, and while it, perhaps, contains nothing original, it is experimental, in that it combines the features of several different systems. Being a secret organization, it is necessarily to some extent like the father of all secret organizations, monarchical in form, but being a chartered association, under the laws of our country, for business purposes, and being composed of a people who are familiar with and devoted to a republican form of government, its written law is in conformity to that system. You will, therefore, find in the construction of a code of statutory law that you must provide for a membership who occupy a dual relation to the Order—that is, the Constitution is the written organic law, and outlines a republican form of government. The secret work is the unwritten organic law, and is co-ordinate with the written and outlines a limited monarchy. By keeping these ideas in view you will avoid confusion, and will find questions of law much

easier of solution. It is a great pleasure to be able to congratulate you on the rapid extension of the work under the plan outlined. There are now State organizations in nine States, and in many States the work is progressing in a very satisfactory manner, as the report of the Secretary will show.

The plan of organization seems to meet the necessities, with perhaps a few modifications. There appears to be no prominent defects in the plan as a National enterprise, and as complete jurisdiction is surrendered to the State Alliances when organized, it rests with them to make laws to meet local conditions. There is a feature of the Alliance that is very important, and has always been a part of the unwritten work, that it might perhaps be well to introduce some laws and regulations in the written work, in order that it may be more universally understood—that is the trade system and the co-operative efforts being made to act in harmony in the sale of products and purchase of commodities. On the success of this feature much of the prosperity of the Order depends; hence, some general laws and recommendations should be in print, in plain and easy to be understood language, so that all may understand and tend towards one and the same object.

Much might be said as to the future of this great movement, and still it is all expressed in the single sentence, "There is no limit to the possibilities." However, I call your attention to the fact that our people, owing to money pressure, and the fact that cotton is our great money crop, are disposed to rely too much on it, and purchase many things that should be produced at home; therefore, this body should strongly recommend more diversity of farming, to the end that our people become more self-sustaining and, therefore, less dependent. State Alliances should be called upon to take steps to assist their members in procuring the facilities for diversifying their products and to assist them in the sale of their surplus; and, further, these States raise 7,500,000 bales of cotton yearly; a little over two-thirds of this enormous crop is sold in Europe, and the price not only for that, but for all that is used in America, is fixed in Great Britain, and yet our government does not allow one yard of cotton cloth imported without a tax of about 60 per cent. of its value. This enables American

spinners to undersell the British looms and prevents the importation of British cloth, but does not prevent British spinners from discriminating against American cotton in every conceivable manner, and in constantly crowding the price of the staple down so as to enable them to compete with the American spinner. The condition simply is that the British spinner fixes the price on every pound of cotton raised, and the effect of our law is to make him virtually interested in reducing the price of our cotton. Were it not for this tariff law discrimination against him by an ad valorem tax he would as soon see cotton high as low, and would perhaps prefer it high. Our people occupy the ridiculous position of not only paying the New England spinner about 50 per cent. more for the cotton cloth than it is worth, but they, by submitting to that law, allow conditions that very naturally reduce the price of every pound of cotton they raise.

It is not claimed that as cotton planters and Alliance men we should demand the abolition of all tariff—that would not be our province in that capacity. We may do that as citizens, if we choose, but as cotton raisers and an Alliance business organization we have a right to demand the correction of evils that afflict and sap the very life blood from our business. Merchants, bankers, insurance men and all others do the same. But in so doing we should be careful that we do not inflict wrongs on others or on other interests.

It is claimed by many intelligent and honest thinkers that if we reduce the tariff on manufactured cotton goods we would ruin American manufacturing; and we might with propriety reply, which is the most essential, that the few American factories keep on paying a dividend of from 20 to 45 per cent., and that the many farmers become tenants, serfs and slaves, or that the manufacturer be placed on a level with the agriculturist, and that each be allowed the fruits of his own labor and a fair interest on the money invested? But our object is not to show the effect that a reduction of the cotton tariff would have on the mills. In the first place, there is no surplus of cotton raised in the world, and this is proven by the fact that there is no accumulation of it. Now it is that the old doctrine of price being regulated by demand and supply holds good in this instance, but

in a country where every seventh person is either a pauper or is the recipient of public charity in some shape the demand is very materially modified by the ability to purchase; and that whenever the ability to purchase is enhanced the demand will be very materially increased.

Now, if by reducing the tariff English cotton goods were introduced cheaper, goods would increase, the ability to purchase and the increased demand would act upon the limited cotton supply by increasing the price of the raw cotton, which would in turn again raise the price of cloth to its present price, or perhaps higher, and still keep up the increased ability to purchase by the increased amount of money put in circulation by the cotton producer, who would be receiving an increased price for his cotton. Therefore, the result would be not to lessen the price of cotton goods, but to increase the price of raw cotton; and, it is held, that the increased demand, as far as justice is necessary, compensate the mills for the loss of profit.

In conclusion, it is hereby recommended that this body formulate some plan of universal co-operation among our people, whereby each sub, county and State Alliance shall have an agent, and that the National agent be chairman of a board composed of the different State agents, and that a system be established for conducting the production and disposition of the cotton crop. Such a board could have accurate and reliable information every month as to the condition of the crop in every neighborhood in the eleven Southern States. They could negotiate and consummate arrangements tending to an increased price; and should all negotiations prove of non-effect, they could adopt a graduated scale for the reduction of the cotton crop, which would be an injustice to none. This plan is simply offered as a suggestion, and it is hoped that something of this character will be adopted.

*The National Alliance at Shreveport. Part II.*

S. R. ERWIN, President, and H. C. Brown, Secretary of the State Wheel of Kentucky, and J. H. McDowell, Secretary, and Alf. E. Gardiner, Treasurer of the National Wheel, were introduced and initiated and granted the privilege of participating in this meeting.

The Southern Mercury was indorsed as the official journal of the National Alliance, and steps were taken looking to the establishment of a National Printing House.

The Committee on Co-operation made a report, setting forth at length the details of a plan for perfecting a National Exchange and Business Agency, for the purpose of buying and selling commodities, which will soon be carried into effect and a permanent National business agency established.

We have, in another part of this History, presented the reader with the original "Declaration of Purposes" under which Alliance No. 1 was instituted, and we now give the "Declaration of Purposes" of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, as adopted by this body:

*Declaration of Purposes of the Farmers' Alliance  
and Co-operative Union of America.*

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The wealth, strength and permanency of a government depends mainly on the prosperity and success of its agriculture and labor, and in these being kept in a healthy state, lies a vigorous germ of all true patriotism, and that pure and elevated moral public sentiment necessary to vitalize and keep in active operation the principles and teachings that alone will preserve and perpetuate republican institutions and the blessings of human liberty; and,

WHEREAS, One of the prime objects of good government should be to promote the intelligence, loyalty and conservatism of its citizens, and afford them the highest possible facilities for securing and enjoying the full measure of liberty, prosperity and happiness; and,

WHEREAS, Viewing with alarm the tendency in this government to reverse these cardinal conditions—a republican form of government and a free and prosperous people—by the concentration of its wealth and power in the hands of the few, to the impoverishment and bondage of the many, and the rapid growth of centralization and aristocracy; and,

WHEREAS, Believing that if these baneful influences and tendencies are not checked and overcome they will subvert the government, destroy its form and spirit, and in the end utterly impoverish and enslave the people; and,

WHEREAS, Believing further, that the overthrow and certain destruction of the growing and menacing dangers to the institutions of the country and the liberties of the people depends on agitation, education and co-operation, carried on by the means of thorough organization of the masses, and especially of the agricultural and laboring classes, established on just and correct principle, non-partisan and non-sectarian in character, with clear and well-defined objects and purposes; therefore, we, the Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, in national convention assembled, in order better to perfect our organization and meet the necessities of our class and a public want, adopt and publish the following Declaration of Purposes:

#### EDUCATION.

Regarding the education of the people as fundamental to good government in sustaining its institutions and multiplying its blessings, as well as an essential qualification for accomplishing our purposes, we shall at all times advance and encourage it in the highest possible degree among farmers and laborers and their children by every means in our power. Through the means of investigation and discussion in our Alliance meetings, our press and public speakers, we propose to examine the various methods and systems of education in use, with the view to determine the best adopted to the wants

and conditions of the agricultural and laboring classes, believing the correct theory, when established, will embrace the moral, physical and industrial, as well as mental training of our children in every grade of schools; that this system will strengthen the attachment of these classes to their profession instead of alienating them from it, as the prevailing methods has a tendency to do; that it will better qualify them for success and happiness in life; will render the farm and shop more attractive and remunerative; give the means and time for more general thought and useful study; increase the opportunity and inclination to adorn the home and practice the social virtues; broaden the sphere of their knowledge and usefulness, and give character and influence to husbandry and labor; and for these reasons we are specially friendly to industrial education, and shall labor to advance and build up the agricultural and mechanical schools of the country by extending them every possible encouragement and support at our command.

#### BUSINESS MATTERS.

In business matters we believe the prevailing system is in many particulars wrong, and that between the producer and consumer, the buyer and seller, the methods should be changed, the process shortened and the expenses reduced, and plans adopted that will more justly and satisfactorily distribute profits and give to labor a fair share of its earnings. We believe that in co-operation a remedy may be found for most of the evils and inequalities growing out of the methods now in general use; that in co-operation exists, as we believe, the very essence of justice, fairness and equity; that when well understood and closely observed, its principles, by intelligent and honest management, may be successfully applied to most, if not all, the business pursuits and enterprises of the country; that it possesses the elementary forces for solving the vexed question of capital and labor, and for breaking the power of monopoly; and, hence, we shall urge the study and practice of co-operation in the Alliance as a mighty lever that would lift the burdens and weight from labor and the productive industries of the country that are lying with such crushing force upon them, and by which the

possibilities of the Alliance for carrying out its good work may be increased and strengthened.

#### POLITICAL MATTERS.

Without disturbing political party lines or party affiliations, or provoking partisan feelings or strife, we shall boldly enter into the discussion and investigation of all laws, public measures, and governmental policies that have a direct or remote bearing on the productive industries of the country and its material welfare generally; approving the good and condemning the bad, offering through the ballot and other means in our reach such remedies for existing evils and threatening dangers as we believe the public interest demands.

We shall teach unfaltering hostility to all class legislation, the tyranny and oppression of monopoly, excessive taxation, the lavish expenditure of public moneys, and to every species of wrong and abuses practiced in government affairs, and shall denounce and expose fraud and corruption in public official places, whenever discovered, no matter from what source they may come.

We shall encourage and strive to increase the facilities among ourselves for a closer study and better understanding of the organisms, powers and purposes of government; more attention to the laws of the country, local and general, the better to understand their scope and meaning, their influence on society and the public good, and thus educate ourselves in the science of economical government, elevate the standard of citizenship, and qualify ourselves, without bias, to judge correctly of the merits of candidates for office, their efficiency after elected, and then to co-operate with them in the execution of the law, that it may be respected, order maintained and society improved.

#### IN GENERAL.

We shall discourage law-suits and litigation between members of the Order, and shall teach and insist that all differences and misunderstandings should be settled and adjusted by arbitration in the Alliance; and in general we shall strive to cement our brotherhood in the closest bonds of a common interest, and perpetuate our Order by frequently meeting together on all matters

that relate to our mental, moral, social and financial interest, and to educate, train and discipline ourselves to work together in carrying out the laudable objects of our Order.

We shall teach and strive to induce our membership to act upon the important truth that no great undertaking and reform like the Alliance movement can be successful without a clear understanding of its principles, purposes and plans, and an earnest and intelligent devotion to the cause; that harmony of feeling and action, coupled with a persistent effort, based upon the great central thought or fundamental idea, that in things essential there should be unity, and in all things charity and brotherly kindness to one another, and good will to all mankind, are necessary to insure strength, influence and final triumph to our cause; that the evils of which we complain and the condition we would improve are the growth of many years, aided largely by class legislation, and that it will require bold efforts and long and continuous struggles to change and better them; that it must be accomplished largely through a change of public sentiment, produced by agitation, that will arouse and enlighten the masses, and that those who desire and intend to aid in the glorious work must exist in the war.

We shall constantly strive to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices; all unhealthful rivalry and all selfish ambition, and teach that, as citizens of one government, we should feel a common interest in its affairs, and that our patriotism and good will for one another should not be measured by sections or geographical lines to suit the purposes of politicians.

By our frequent meetings we confidently believe we shall be able to break up the isolated habits of farmers, improve their social condition, increase their social pleasures, and strengthen their confidence in and friendship for each other.

We propose to make the study and improvement of practical agriculture in all its branches a part of the Alliance mission, that its standard may be raised, its profits increased and its followers made more prosperous and contented.

We shall encourage more diversity of farming; the production of less cotton, more grain and meat; selling less raw material and more in manufactured articles.

In our meetings and through our press we shall discuss and examine into the best and most approved methods of farming; the preparation of the soil; planting, cultivation, harvesting, handling and marketing of crops and farm and agricultural products generally; also the raising of live stock, dairying, fruit growing, gardening, etc; and, in short, every branch of agriculture that goes to make up the full line of farm life and render it pleasant and profitable.

Through our organization we shall endeavor to furnish facilities for and shall encourage the study of the laws of business and trade, the best methods for buying and selling, and the transaction of all kinds of business it may be found desirable for farmers and laborers to engage in, and under all circumstances shall discourage the credit system.

We propose to attend to our own business affairs in our own way, and make no fight against any legitimate business, but shall oppose methods found to be contrary to justice and equity.

Believing that a strict observance and practice of these teachings, principles and purposes will insure our success, we submit our cause to a fair and impartial public, invoking the blessing of heaven upon our undertaking.

It is thus seen that the founders of the Alliance, like the men who assembled in convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and after a session of nearly three months gave to us that immortal Constitution, under whose guidance we have become the most powerful nation in the world, in their original "Declaration of Purposes," at Poolville, framed an instrument which has stood like the "Rock of Ages" amidst all the expanding and far-reaching growth of the Alliance, the guide-post by the wayside to which the weary traveler could look with hope and see that the end of his journey was not afar off.

We have now examined the organization and traced its history and growth from its origin in 1879 to the present time. Its history has been remarkable in the past, and no one can safely predict the future. The growth of the Order during the past year has been almost unprecedented. All the organizers in their

respective fields report the people ready for the work, and there is a demand for organizers in every Southern and Western State. "But a mere handful in 1880, it is now a vast army stretching over the entire South, with a well arranged and satisfactory system of government, with definite and honestly avowed claims, and ample means of attaining its ends; and it is increasing by thousands every week." It is certainly destined at no distant day to embrace the entire agricultural community of America. The farming classes have revived under its operations, from the fact that it furnishes them ample means of protection and encourages them to hope for a greater degree of prosperity and happiness, making them better and more prosperous farmers. Every farmer in the land should work for its success, for if it should accomplish its objects it will benefit all classes. When it shall have broken the power of organized greed and secured to the farmer the true reward of his labor, its results will be the bettering of the financial condition of the entire community. We do not expect to see this done in a day or a year, but that this will be accomplished we firmly believe. We must not expect to achieve too much before we have time to educate, or to accomplish the objects of our Order too soon.

The Alliance is confronted with many great problems that will require wise leadership and individual intelligence among the members. Our principles are correct, and if we, as an order, accomplish what we give promise of doing we will have great cause to rejoice, but should we make mistakes and become in the end dismembered it will be attributed to bad company and selfish, ambitious leaders. So long as our actions as an organization are controlled by wisdom, combined with human justice, we will, as an order, have the approval of the larger portion of the people not members of our association, and lose nothing but fools and demagogues. We should remember, as an institution, that we are quite young, and as our Order is advancing we are opening new fields for that thought and continually presenting ideas new to the world; we must not go too fast for public opinion, but found ourselves in every case in our onward march upon the common sense of the community. As true Alliance advocates we should never so forget the noble work of our Order, in our enthusiasm to advance the

cause, as to appeal to the prejudices or passions of any class; but let us appeal to the judgment of men as to the justice of our cause, and to them present the true principles and virtues of our grand institution in the sunlight of human intelligence. As we are asking for justice we should always be ready to render justice to society.

The farmers possess a power by which they can make their wishes respected, and it is the duty of the Farmers' Alliance to guide this power aright, in those channels that will benefit the entire country. "That this work can be accomplished without opposition we cannot hope." Elements of opposition have arrayed themselves against it from its earliest organization. Corporate wealth, in the shape of railroad monopoly, tariff monopoly, land monopoly and money monopoly, will use their corrupt influence, through their handmaids, the politicians, to seek to check its growth and prosperity in the future as they have in the past, whose vast gains are directly endangered by the co-operative feature of the Alliance. "All these are its natural and bitter enemies, and they will seek by every means which they can employ or their ingenuity can devise to weaken and disorganize and prevent the achievement of its great work." "A greater portion of the press of this country is in sympathy with the opposition, will take up their cause and endeavor to discredit the Alliance in the eyes of the public." "The opposition which the Alliance must encounter has as yet scarcely begun." "The rapid and astonishing growth of the Order has taken its enemies so entirely by surprise that they have not yet recovered sufficiently to organize their opposition, but as assuredly as it came to the Grange." So it will likewise come against the Alliance with all the fury of its power; but let the members be steadfast in their purposes and above all let them patronize the official journals of the Alliance in the different States, which will enlighten them in their duties and relationship to each other, and keep them informed in regard to the lines of the enemy's attack. Appreciate, read and circulate among the members Alliance literature—then shall she live in the zenith of her glory with all the beauty and grandeur of an organized society, giving light and intelligence to the agricultural world. "The very life, the very existence

of the Order depends upon the unity of action of its officers and members. Such outside support and influence as it needs it will quick be obtained when the people see, as they soon will when the fight is fairly opened, that the Farmers' Alliance is truly battling for the rights of the whole people as well as those of the farmers." "This movement has the good of the nation at heart, and its aim is to be just and generous in the exercise of its powers."

The following are the demands of the National Farmers' Alliance upon Congress:

*Resolved*, That we, the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, in convention assembled, advocate and indorse the following principles as in accord with the sentiments and demands of the tillers of the soil:

1. We demand, first, the recognition, by incorporation, of trades unions, co-operative stores and such other associations as may be organized by the industrial classes to improve their financial condition or promote their general welfare.

2. We demand that all the public lands be held in small bodies, not exceeding 320 acres to each purchaser, for actual settlers, on easy terms of payment.

3. That large bodies of land held by private individuals or corporations shall be assessed for taxation at such rates as they are offered to purchasers, on credit of one, two and three years, in bodies of 160 acres or less.

4. That, whereas, large bodies of our public lands have been sold to foreign capitalists, thus tending to the establishment of land aristocracy in this country similar to that which has reduced the people of Ireland and other monarchical governments to a condition of abject serfdom; we demand the passage of laws forbidding the ownership of lands by aliens, whose allegiance belongs to other nations, and that the public domain be held as the heritage of our own people and our children after us.

5. That 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 lands.

6. We demand that all fences be removed, by force if necessary, from public lands unlawfully fenced by cattle

companies, syndicates, or any other form or name of monopoly.

We demand the 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.

8. We demand the substitution of legal-tender Treasury notes for the issues of National banks; that the Congress of the United States shall regulate the amount of such issue by per capita circulation, that shall increase and keep pace with the growth of the country's population and the expansion of her business interests. We farther demand the repeal of the present National banking system.

9. We demand that the Department of Agriculture be made one of the Departments of State; that it shall be increased in scope and efficiency, and in connection therewith there shall be established a bureau of labor statistics.

10. We demand the enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employes according to contract in lawful money for their services, and the giving to mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the products of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

11. That the laws relating to the suppression of the transmission of immoral, profane or obscene literature through the mails be made more stringent, and be extended so as to suppress the transmission of such literature by any public carrier.

12. We demand that the United States government purchase, by right of eminent domain, the telephone and telegraph lines, and operate them as adjuncts of the United States postal service.

13. That in view of the fact that the delegates to this body represent a majority of the cotton producers of the cotton belt of America, which belt produces over two-thirds of the cotton of the whole world, and in view of the further fact that two-thirds of the cotton in the cotton belt is demanded and used for export to a foreign power, which fixes the price on every pound of our cotton; and in view of the fact that the said power is debarred from returning to this country a single yard of manufactured cotton, thereby making said power

interested in crowding down to the lowest figure the price of cotton. We hereby demand that the United States government adopt a speedy system of reduction of the import duty on manufactured cottons, in such a way as to do justice to this, the greatest of all classes of producers.

14. We demand such a revision of the tariff as will lay the heaviest burdens on the luxuries and the lightest on the necessaries of life, and as will reduce the incomes from imports to a strictly revenue basis.

15. That as a remedy against the unjust accumulation and encroachment of capital we demand a graduated income tax.

16. That as upon the intelligence of the people depend the stability and perpetuity of our own free government, we demand for the masses a well-regulated system of industrial and agricultural education.

17. That we oppose the continued influx of pauper labor from the monarchies of Europe, whose anarchic views and communistic doctrines are breeding discontent and disloyalty to law, order, peace and good government, and by an overplus of worthless labor, reducing our own laboring classes to starvation, we therefore demand more stringent laws to prevent this country being further used as an asylum for the communists and paupers of other countries.

18. We demand that the Constitutions, both State and National, be so amended as to provide for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

*Shreveport, La., October 12, 1887.*

•They are a band of sisters and brothers.

One million five hundred thousand strong;

Their aim is not to injure others,

For they would scorn to do a wrong.

•Their main object is to educate

The agricultural masses,

And try by this means to regulate

The monopolistic classes.

•That are sheltered and protected

By the government's strong arm,

While all their dimes are collected

From the proceeds of the farm.

"There are the railroad corporations,  
Built up by Jay Gould, the millionaire,  
And the national bank associations  
That confront us everywhere.

"May the Alliance grow in number,  
Until each farmer in the land  
Shall with his name encumber  
The roster of this band."

The following are the officers of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union:

President—C. W. Macune, Dallas, Texas.

First Vice Presidents—L. L. Polk, North Carolina; R. T. Love, Mississippi; S. B. Alexander, North Carolina; H. P. Bane, Alabama; Linn Tanner, Louisiana; W. H. Moore, Arkansas; S. B. Erwin, Kentucky; A. B. Johnson, Missouri; J. H. McDowell, Tennessee; M. D. K. Taylor, Texas; Oswald Wilson, Florida.

Secretary—E. B. Warren, Texas.

Treasurer—A. Gardner, Tennessee.

Chaplain—J. C. Jones, Louisiana.

Lecturer—Ben Terrell, Texas.

Assistant Lecturer—J. A. Tetts, Louisiana.

Doorkeeper—I. N. Gresham, Alabama.

Assistant Doorkeeper—Mr. Brown, Kentucky.

Sergeant-at-Arms—T. E. Groome, Mississippi.

## *Co-operation and Exchange.*

THE success of the Farmers' Alliance or any other order, in promoting the happiness and prosperity of mankind, depends in a great measure on the interest manifested by its members. As a class, the farmers are very credulous, and that trait of their character has caused them to be imposed upon by listening to the representations of men who have cared naught for their interest, but were working to further their own selfish designs.

The Alliance is no experiment; its success we believe to be an assured fact. Its principles of co-operation are not new; it is the application of these principles to the every day life of the members and its bearings upon society. This is the question that excites interest in every heart and is being closely watched in its application by both friends and enemies, each through different motives. By uniting they have proved a mutual advantage to each other. Their association daily in their organized capacity with men, who through observation and experience have gained knowledge, gives them the benefit of their ideas, and the advantage of the influence that thus surrounds them cannot be estimated. In this way they can control trade to a certain extent in their purchases, and by selling in bulk their produce through their Exchange they command better prices than in the old way, which was every one for himself. That this is the keynote of prosperity for the Order—the National Exchange, the refuge and hope of the agricultural classes—none can question. It has benefited them; hence, they have placed great confidence in it and are co-operating to carry out its principles. Farmers work harder in their lines of production than any other class of men. But there are other things they have not worked for in the past which are equally as important as working for production, and as they have neglected that interest their good Providence has neglected it too. They have neglected their duty in

looking after the interests of their products after their toil has brought them out of the earth—namely, the values of them. In ages gone by it was said that "The gods help those who help themselves," and this but expresses a great truth which will serve as well now as it did three thousand years ago. The lesson to be learned from this is that Providence will neglect the interests of all men who neglect their own interests; so it has been with the farmers of the South in valuing their products.

It is a matter of indifference or little importance what the farmers may or may not produce; it is all the same in results unless the producers get the benefit or true value of what they produce. Our lands have yielded abundant crops, so vast that they have astonished the world in their magnitude. But here is the all important question—who has been benefited by these bountiful crops? They benefit the farmer who has produced them the least of any class in our country. Why is this? We let our productions go upon the markets, taking their chances in a blind, helter-skelter fashion, setting them adrift upon the ocean of commerce, regardless of the pirate fleets which swarm every sea and prey upon every honest trade. And here is where we have so signally failed to help ourselves in the past and the reason why we see the decline of the agricultural interests. For instance, farmers should spend all the time and means necessary to find out how it happens that the market value of their products is cut down at such a heavy per cent. when the season comes that they are compelled to sell. We can have such information and protection through our National and State Exchanges.

This Exchange is one of the greatest efforts ever put forth by any farmers' organization. Farming never can be as profitable as it ought to be until farmers begin to realize their importance as citizens and begin to use the power they really possess. This "trust to luck" policy has kept them down for these ages, and will continue to do so without organized effort on their part. Before the late civil war the mortgage and credit system were almost unknown in the South, but since that period this section has been gradually but surely drifting into a most dangerous experiment, all the more dangerous

because of its alluring promises and seductive methods of marketing their cotton in advance of its production. Hence, an Exchange of their own has become an absolute necessity. To resist those pernicious influences and to serve as a protection against them and their exorbitant demands, the Exchange, national in character, with a central head, extending its branches and striking its roots into every nook and corner of the land, and embracing as its members all who are interested in the success of agriculture, became an absolute necessity. And by co-operation we can overthrow the power and counteract the evil influences of the past. For with such an arbiter as the Farmers' Alliance Cotton Exchange and Commission Business Agency, "the hawks will make their trades with the doves" no more.

A country is truly rich when its producers are prospering, and any scheme or schemes to keep them in poverty is like sapping the foundations of a building—the superstructure may be grand and imposing, but the rotten support will assert itself sooner or later and lay the house in ruins. We are drifting rapidly toward the breakers that destroyed Venice, overthrew Rome, and has more than once torn up the government of France. The Southern farmers—by which term we mean the active tillers of the soil—are a hardworking class of men and women, who create the wealth of this section of our country; yet, since competition has been destroyed in the markets by combinations of speculators, the farmers of the South, after all their years of hard toil in creating wealth, often find it difficult to make "buckle and tongue meet." It has become a maxim that it takes thirteen months of each year to prepare the soil, raise and gather a cotton crop and dispose of it. Now, such labor should have its proper reward. But we find this is not the case. That the most rigid economy fails to leave a surplus to carry the cotton raiser through another season, and he is compelled to purchase on credit at credit prices, with crops under mortgage to give them enough "hog and hominy" to live on. This constitutes the general rule to-day in the South. Low prices for their crops, caused to a great extent from the fact that they bonded to some one else for supplies, which so frequently leaves the farmers in debt for these necessities that their noses are eternally fast to the

grindstone. The result of this system is that some of them who once owned farms of their own are now too poor to own land, too poor to live in comfortable homes, too poor to properly educate their children, and yet they "own an unused power that could take the giant world by the throat and force an intelligent recognition of their needs."

To seek out the cause of these evils, and to suggest plans, co-operate and carry into effect such principles as will not injure other honest industries, but secure to the farmer the proper share of the wealth he creates, is the mission of the Alliance Exchange.

The Southern planter clothes the world, and the cotton farmers have a practical monopoly in the raw material, for the combined product of India, Egypt, and South America, their only competitors, only amounts to about one-fourth of the world's supply, so that practically the cotton toilers of the South furnish the world and are entitled to fair pay for their service, and can get it in and through co-operation and the support of their own Cotton Exchanges.

Cotton fabrics are almost necessities, and it would be hard to name figures that the world would not pay for them if reduced to extremities. But the Alliance is not banded together as an organization of forestallers, yet the Alliance Exchange should have every encouragement possible from the producers of the South. It will stand between the needy toiler and the speculative world, and their cotton should be so concentrated in and through the Exchange that the buying world would know that they must pay reasonable prices for their supplies. But are the farmers not receiving a fair price now? No. Two or three years ago, when printed cloth was selling for less than three cents per yard, spinners were paying eleven cents for cotton, and during the past year, with the same class of goods fifteen to twenty per cent. higher, the spinners grumbled at having to pay nine cents for cotton. These figures give some idea of the price at which cotton should be sold, giving to the spinner and the farmer a fair price for their respective products. "As the world goes, self-interest pushed to the extreme of *over-reaching selfishness* is continually interfering with competition, to make it neither free nor fair. Thus, in the actual working of competition,

falsehood, trickery and fraud are introduced in manifold and subtle forms. In the intense struggle of conflicting interests, also, high handed measures are adopted to rule out competition, because in its normal working it hinders selfish greed from attaining its ends." "The true function of such associations is to secure a better understanding of the laws of production and of the actual condition of particular branches of trade and of the causes, manifest and hidden, which vary the products of industry."

The farmers say it is time to call a halt of the forces that are tending to injure them, and are marshaling themselves under the banner which they believe will lead them to prosperity. If the farmers will but sustain this institution and use it with prudence and judgment they will at once begin to reap the benefits of better markets, and the South will be as in the days of old, when cotton was king.

Thirty years ago mortgages upon realty were almost unknown in the South. Millions of dollars now rest in mortgages upon the homes where your children have been born and are increasing every year, and through this system, with the means employed to control the markets, depressing and destroying the value of crops, mortgages have been foreclosed and homes forfeited, rapidly increasing the number of white tenant farmers; and should the present system continue nothing but serfdom awaits the small farmers.

"For ten years past the margin between the market value of most kinds of farm produce and its cost of production has been steadily narrowing."

"That legislation is largely manipulated in the interests of other classes and against the interests of farmers is a fact too patent for denial; but there is no one to blame so much for this as the farmer himself. Let farmers obtain that broad knowledge of human affairs which shall enable them to understand and appreciate the relative importance of their calling among other human industries and its just and equitable rights; let them unitedly assert and maintain these rights, and agriculture will have taken the grandest upward step its history has ever known."

Following our primary objects, as heretofore shown, of upholding our officials and presenting the thoughts of

others when better than our own, we have selected the following articles from the Southern Mercury, the official journal of the National Alliance, which we believe directly applicable to the subject under discussion:

FACTS AND FIGURES FOR THE ALLIANCE BROTHERHOOD.

One of the greatest mistakes made by Southern farmers is their strained efforts put forth in enlarging their farms and planting larger crops year after year, in the hope of making money, and still the fact stares them in the face that with renewed efforts, enlarged farms and enlarged crops they are barely able to make "buckle and tongue meet," and sometimes the tongue does not reach the buckle.

Farmers are astonished and cannot understand why it is that they are forced to work harder, use more economy, and yet have nothing left when they pay up at the end of the year. There are many reasons, plain to us, why these things are so, but we cannot speak of them all in one editorial, but will speak of one or two.

It is a fact that we have not figured on, as we should, that the price of farm products are nearly all below the actual cost of production, and of course there is no money to be made in raising produce when the cost of production is greater than the price received for the produce. The present status of things are such that there is no money in cotton at eight cents and wheat at from fifty to seventy-five cents, and corn at twenty-five cents and oats twenty-five cents, etc.

Just so long as the present price of farm products and manufactured commodities remain at present figures just so long will the large majority of farmers remain poor.

We are now going to give some facts and figures which we would like every farmer in the South to consider. We want to call their attention to the vast millions of dollars that are being paid annually by Southern farmers to feed, clothe and keep up in good style an army of men that farmers could do very well without; but if we are compelled to feed, clothe and keep them up in good style we would better let them impose a direct tax upon us for that purpose.

We have gathered up the following facts which we stand prepared to prove. There are twenty-five leading

popular wagon factories that sell annually 40,000 wagons in Texas at an average cost to farmers of \$80. These wagons bought direct from the factories will only cost about \$60 per wagon. Then we are paying an army of men right here in Texas \$800,000 profit on wagons.

There are about 3000 self-binding reapers sold annually at a cost of \$175 each, which do not cost at the outside figure over \$125, delivered here. Then we are paying to this army \$150,000 on reapers.

There are about 30,000 buggies sold annually in Texas at an average profit of \$35 per buggy, which gives to this army \$1,050,000.

Now, on these three items alone we are paying to this little Texas army \$2,000,000, which could with proper organization be kept in our own pockets.

Now, consider the immense numbers used of mowers, rakes, cane mills, pumps, wind mills, plows of the various kinds, besides the heavier and more costly machinery, such as engines, gins, mills, etc. On all these things immense profits go into the pockets of men of Texas who sell them to farmers mainly.

The amount of machinery, farm implements, etc., sold annually in Texas will, in the aggregate reach over \$25,000,000, one-fourth of which might be saved to the consumer by a judicious system of co-operation, which would be the immense sum of \$6,250,000 annually saved.

Now, note the fact that this vast sum is being paid annually by the laboring people of Texas to support in affluence an army of men as useless as the curl in the end of a pig's tail. This vast sum of money can be saved to the farmers and laborers of Texas without the expenditure of one single dollar on their part. All that is needed or required is a well-managed system of co-operation; is to stick to the present system inaugurated by our Business Agent, Brother C. W. Macune.

#### MOBE LIGHT.

Farmers have often remarked in our hearing, "I am not so much concerned about what I have to buy as what I have to sell. If I can get a good living price for what I have to sell I can manage the buying." The fact has opened upon the minds of thousands of farmers that just the reverse is true; that is, that we can get better

stand the prices which we get for the products of the farm than the enormous and ruinous prices we have to pay for the implements and machinery which we use in making these products; and not implements and machinery alone, but everything else which we, the producers, consume.

And to-day, when we look the facts squarely in the face, and learn that we have been paying from 100 to 500 per cent. above the cost of manufacturing, for nearly everything we buy, from a wool hat to a pair of brogan shoes to the finest suit that a poor farmer is able to wear, and from 100 to 500 per cent. for every implement or piece of machinery on our farms, we are amazed that every farmer in this government is not bankrupted.

We cannot see how it is that farmers have endured this tremendous strain upon their resources. We only wonder that every farmer who has had to depend upon the products of his own farm or upon his own labor is not to-day a pauper or slave.

We do not wonder that millions of acres of the farms in our country have been swept from their owners and millions more are now under ironclad mortgages.

We have before stated that a few years ago we paid here in the city of Dallas \$335 for a self-binder to reap our wheat, which only cost, according to the sworn statement of one of the great manufacturers, \$57 to manufacture it, and that we paid from \$75 to \$95 for a farm wagon which only cost the manufacturer about \$30 or \$35; from \$46 to \$65 for a sewing machine which only costs from \$7.50 to \$10 to manufacture; and now have gathered up the fact that sulky plows, for which we have paid \$65, only cost at the factory about \$20, and it only costs about \$5 to ship them down here. Then it is very plain to the average mind that somebody has made above first cost and carriage \$40 on an implement which it only cost \$20 to manufacture.

The editor of the Mercury has worn out four of these sulky plows on his farm, and now testifies that he paid \$260 for the four plows which only cost \$80 at the factory. That is a fraction over 300 per cent. above cost.

Our readers may ask, "Then, why did you not buy direct from the factory?" We answer, simply because the manufacturer, with an air of great indifference,

contemptuously refused to sell to private individuals, and coolly, if he condescended to notice them at all, referred them to his *State agents*. Hence, it is plain that there is no alternative left the poor farmer but to "hold up his hands" and be squeezed (is that the right word?).

Now, the question arises, is there any relief? Shall the great army of Southern farmers, who produce annually hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth, take no step or make no effort to shake off this army of squeezers who are squeezing unjustly, unmercifully and unnecessarily these thousands upon thousands of dollars annually out of the pockets of the tariff-ridden, struggling and oppressed people?

Again we ask, is it wise to stand and make two-bit calculations and kick at a \$2 assessment, when the fact stares us in the face that by gathering around our central Exchange and giving it our hearty support we can stop the leak on one side, and by going down in our pockets and establishing a few grand co-operative manufacturing enterprises we can stop it on the other side. We are anxious to see every State establish its central Exchange and rally to its support.

The financial benefits that will accrue to the members through the workings of the State Implement Agency, as well as through the Produce Exchange, will be of immense proportions, and will do more to relieve the farmers of the unbearable burdens, that they are now and have been weighed down with, than anything else which, under all the circumstances, could have been done; besides, it will be of incalculable benefit to the members in giving them a business education, which every one knows is indispensable to the success of the Order.

Heretofore, while the Alliance has been strong in members, it, as an organization, has been weak in methods, hence has not been able to achieve that success in its undertakings that was legitimately expected by its members.

The education and rapid advancement of the brotherhood in understanding and putting into practice the great principles of the Order is fast eliminating all schisms and dissensions, and rapidly unifying them into one solid compact body, and perfect concert of action will be the outcome in the near future.

"We stand in the light of a dawning day,  
 With its glory Creation flushing;  
 And the life-currents up from the prisoning clay  
 Through the world's great heart are rushing,  
 While from peak to peak of the spirit land  
 A voice unto voice is calling:  
 'The Night is over, the Day is at hand,  
 And the fetters of earth are falling!'

"But the world goes thundering on to the light,  
 Unheeding our vain pre-ages,  
 And nations are clearing a path to the Right,  
 Through the mouldering dust of ages,  
 Are we, then, to rest in a chill despair,  
 Unmoved by these new elations,  
 Nor carry the flag of our beautiful land  
 In the onward march of nations?"

"Shall our hands be folded in slumber, when  
 The bonds and the chains are shattered,  
 As stony and still as enchanted men,  
 In a cave of darkness fettered?  
 The cave may be dark, but we'll flash bright gleams  
 Of the morning's radiance on it,  
 And tread the New Path, though the noontide beams,  
 As yet, fall faintly upon it.

"For souls are around us, with gifts divine,  
 Unknown and neglected drying;  
 Like the precious ore in a hidden mine,  
 Unworsed and as useless lying.  
 We summon them forth to the mortal war,  
 The sword of the spirit using,  
 To come with their forces from near and far,  
 New strength with our strength infusing.

"Let each bear a torch with the foremost hands,  
 Through the future's dark outgoing;  
 Or stand by the helm, mid the shoals and sands  
 Of the river of life fast flowing  
 Oh, Brethren! be with us, our aim is high,  
 The highest of Man's vocation;  
 With these priceless jewels that round us lie,  
 To build up a noble Nation!"

## *Woman in the Alliance.*

AMONG the aborigines of this country women were compelled to do all the labor, all the drudgery of their savage mode of life. But a few hundred years ago, and listening to the Gospel of Christ, they must occupy separate galleries in the churches. With the advance of civilization has come that deeper respects, love and veneration for woman. Woman was created for man's companion. There is nothing with which she comes in contact that is not purified, refined, ennobled. "Man was made to protect, love, and cherish, not to undervalue, neglect or abuse woman." Treated, educated and esteemed as she merits, she rises in dignity, becomes the refiner, and imparts a milder, softer tone to man. No community has ever exhibited the refinements of civilization and social order where women were held in contempt and their rights not properly respected and preserved. Degrade woman and you degrade man more." "Women have exercised a most remarkable judgment in regard to great issues. They have prevented the casting aside of plans that led to very remarkable discoveries and inventions. When Columbus had laid a plan to discover the new world he could not get a hearing till he applied to a woman for help." "When God intends to make a great man he first makes a great woman."

The Alliance is the best means that has been devised by the farmers of America for cultivating that social relationship which should exist among them as a class, and this feature alone is invaluable to the farmers and ought to make the Order indispensable to them. The great Creator has given to every human being a social spirit which must be cultivated by men and women of every class, to insure them enjoyment and happiness in this life, and to make them what He designed them to be—useful and intelligent, mutually dependent, and a blessing to society. It is only the people who live in the agricultural districts that can understand the monotony of the farmer's life. They who live in the

crowded cities have one source of recreation after another—balls, parties, lectures, operas, and religious entertainments. The farmer and his family, day after day, month after month, and year after year, pursue the same round of labor. There cannot be any cessation from or change of toil. From seed-time till harvest, and from harvest till seed-time, there is the same continuous routine of daily toil, broken, it is true, by the weekly recurrence of the Sabbath. But from the isolation of their condition attendance upon religious worship is then not always accessible to them; and even where they do attend they do not go as a neighborhood or community, but are divided by parties and creeds, each attending his special church for the purpose of hearing his own peculiar doctrines, and not to cultivate social privileges or for social enjoyment.

If the condition of the farmer is thus weary and monotonous what must be the condition of their wives and daughters. Wives, mothers and daughters are more dependent upon society than husbands, sons and brothers. The monotony of their lives affect them quicker and more powerfully. They need rest and enjoyment to a greater extent than men. They should have recreation from toil and be furnished with some form of amusement in order to insure their happiness and make them, as God intended, a "help-mate."

It has been said that "a farmer's work is from sun to sun, but his wife's work is never done." Then how weary must be her lot if her husband should not break the monotony of her life by occasional social recreations. These enjoyments form a part of her very existence. She has sacrificed the pleasures of her young womanhood for the greater responsibilities of wifehood. In addition to her never ending household duties she must train and care for her children. These social meetings are to her what the oasis in the desert is to the weary traveler. The farmer's constant toil leave but little or no leisure time for even the enjoyment of the family circle. Farmers do not prize social intercourse as they should—none need it more than they. Visiting is not as common with them as with other classes, for want of time and opportunity. This causes them, by the force of circumstances surrounding them, to lead lonely and secluded lives. They rarely go beyond the limits of

their own farm, except to attend the election, go to market or the country store. And even most of these minor matters are left to John or Mary. A visit to relatives in a distant part of the country is planned for years and looked forward to as an epoch in their lives. Shall this monotony continue? No. The Alliance has been formed and designed especially for the farmers, their wives, sons and daughters. Its social features are not only pleasing, but are particularly adapted to meet the wants that existed among the agricultural classes—some method by which they could bring their families together into a closer connection and sympathy than has heretofore existed.

It has a tendency to break up the humdrum life that so many farmers' wives have been leading, and this feature of the Order should have the encouragement of every member and be fostered and developed by every means possible. Here at least once a month can the farmers, accompanied by their wives, sons and daughters, meet, not with any feelings of sectarianism or party prejudices, but as members of one community, having a unity of interests and working for one common cause—the improvement of their members, "socially, mentally, morally and financially."

Wherever woman is found there is found also refinement, integrity, gentleness and love. Her presence hushes the tongue of slander, smooths the acrimony of debate, causes the impure word to die upon the lips, and by intuition, as it were, suggests the right thing at the right time and in the right place. In these meetings she forms new acquaintances and new friendships. Her burdens of life are lightened and the buoyancy of her spirits pervades every one with whom she comes in contact. She realizes that her life is not a life of toil, but that she has her place in the economy of nature, with a specific mission to perform. No great movement ever yet failed because woman was permitted to make suggestions as to its management. Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Russia in mid-winter with half a million of men, against the advice of his divorced wife, Josephine, and as a result the bones of his soldiers lay bleaching upon every plain of Europe from Moscow to the Rhine. The Farmers' Alliance values the influence of the good women of this country more than any other organization

in the land. In Masonry they have established the degree of the "Eastern Star" for woman. In Odd Fellowship the degree of "Daughters of Rebecca." The Grange went farther, and conferred all four of its degrees upon her, and even created three minor offices for her to fill. In the Alliance they have gone farther. They admit women into full membership and do not charge them any initiation fee. Neither will it permit them to pay dues or ask them for assessments. They are in the Alliance as in the home circle—considered as companions. Every office, from the highest to the lowest, is open to them. We admire the ladies because of their beauty, respect them because of their virtues, adore them because of their intelligence, and love them because of their influence and power for good in society. "The hand that rocks the cradle sways the world." And as to her work and value in the Alliance we now present to you an essay read before the Morris County Alliance by the lady Assistant Lecturer:

*Mr. President, Brethren and Sisters of Morris County Alliance:*

As you have honored me with the position of Assistant Lecturer of this Alliance, and as I am expected to cast in my mite to help on the good cause in which we have embarked, I will endeavor, in my weakness, to present a few thoughts of encouragement for our noble order.

In casting about me for a suitable subject for this occasion I find the field so wide and subjects of importance so numerous that my mind is so bewildered that I scarcely know where or how to begin, and if I should ramble over the wide field, and the thoughts I present should be varied and scattering, I trust you will view it charitably and attribute the same to my earnest desire to advance the glorious cause of our grand organization.

First, we will notice the object of our Order; this is plainly and forcibly set forth in our Declaration of Purposes, to-wit: To better the condition of the toiling millions of the human family mentally, morally, socially and financially. What a grand object! What a glorious mission! The subject alone spreads out before our admiring eyes and wondering mind a field of sufficient scope to fill a volume, but we will leave it to abler pens

than ours, and will only take a superficial glance at its beauty and loveliness in this short essay. The cultivation and improvement of our minds and our moral natures are important as a prerequisite to fit and qualify us for the full and proper enjoyment of our social relations and all other blessings that come to us through the channel of a sound financial condition. On the other hand, a solid financial condition is absolutely necessary to secure the proper cultivation of our minds, through which medium the other blessings and pleasures will naturally flow; hence, you see the importance and necessity of embracing all those talismanic words, *mental, moral, social and financial* improvements in our Declaration of Purposes. The condition of a large majority of the agricultural class, each one acting individually and alone, had become such as to place those blessings and pleasures far beyond their reach, owing solely to financial depression brought about by organized monopolies to wring from the toiling masses their hard earnings.

In order that the wheels of the Juggernaut car of monopoly that is crushing out our life blood may be clogged; in order that the iron bands and galling chains that have been forged upon our hands by the dreadful monster may be broken; in order that we may once more become a free, happy and prosperous people, worshipping God under our own vine and fig tree, where none dare molest us nor make us afraid, we must have thorough organization, co-operation and united effort.

Now, my sisters of the Alliance, we see the fearful battle in which our noble husbands, fathers, brothers and sons are engaged for our freedom from wrong and oppression. Is there nothing for us to do? Shall we sit idly by with folded hands and take no part in the struggle and have no share in the precious conquest? I say to you, my sisters, no, a thousand times no! There is something for us, too, to do; there is work for all to do. While we may not enter the arena of politics, or mingle in the busy commercial mart with the sterner sex, in our sphere at home, by the fireside, and in the social circle, we can make our influence felt for the good of our noble Order. In many ways we can hold up the hands of our protectors and defenders. When they are

worn, weary and faint from the toil of battle, when trials and troubles assail them, and discouragements meet them on every hand, we can whisper sweet words of encouragement in their ears, make our homes pleasant and happy, and thus inspire them with renewed energy to fight on till the victor's wreath shall crown their noble efforts.

Again, if their labors are rewarded with complete success something else will be required of us besides our moral support. Such grand and gigantic enterprises as have been inaugurated by our State Alliance and our own noble Macune can never be carried to successful accomplishment unless they are supplied with the sinews of war. Here is a field that we can occupy, here is a place in the ranks where we can work, here is where we can make our influence and labor felt for good to the glorious cause we have espoused. By curtailing our household expenses to the last possible extent, by practicing the most rigid economy, by denying ourselves, for a time, the few luxuries we enjoy, by foregoing the very great pleasure of every woman, a new bonnet, by stopping the many little leaks through which the nickels and dimes imperceptibly slip from our purses, we can save by littles a large amount to place in the hands of our noble leaders and greatly assist in putting our business enterprises on a sure and solid foundation.

Mr. President and brethren, to you I would say, go on with the good work so nobly begun. Cease not from your labors until you wear the victor's crown, and rest assured that in all your noble efforts you have the prayers and hearty encouragement of the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the farmers of Texas.

I cannot close this lecture without exhorting every member of the Alliance to take the Southern Mercury. It is our paper, "Uncle Snort" says, editor and all. If that is so, we own some very valuable property and ought to use it. I maintain that a man cannot be a full-grown member of the Alliance without taking and reading the Mercury.

With our paper in every Alliance family; with our publishing house established; with our Produce Exchange on a solid basis; with our Business Agency in complete running order, and our manufacturing enterprises booming above the horizon, it certainly will make

our institution, in its success and beauty, "bright as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners."

"O woman! lovely woman! nature made thee  
To temper man; we had been brutes without you.  
Angels are painted fair, to look like you:  
There's in you all that we believe of heaven;  
Amazing brightness, purity and truth,  
Eternal joy and everlasting love."

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## Railroads.

"RAILROADS," says Judge Paine, "are the great public highways of the world, along which its gigantic currents of trade and travel continually pour—highways compared with which the most magnificent highways of antiquity dwindle into insignificance. They are the most marvelous inventions of modern times. They have done more to develop the wealth and resources, to stimulate the industry, reward the labor and promote the general comfort and prosperity of the country than any other or perhaps all other physical causes combined. There is probably not a man, woman or child whose interest and comfort has not in some degree been subserved by them. They bring to our doors the productions of the earth. They enable us to anticipate and protract the season. They enable the inhabitants of each clime to enjoy the pleasures and luxuries of all. There is scarcely a want, wish or aspiration of the human heart which they do not in some measure help to gratify."

They are a necessary factor to our advanced civilization. "But every power for good may be abused and perverted into a power for evil. Experience reveals a tendency in great railway corporations to acquire and to exercise despotic power, in a way to obstruct trade and to bring a blight upon productive industry—a power which sometimes aims by base means to control legislation and sometimes attempts to defy the law. Grave and complicated problems are thus presented, which need to be studied in the light of economic principles." "By abuse of their power as monopolies the railway corporations may diminish the returns of all industry. They may set their rates so high as virtually to deprive producers of the advantage of an enlarged market. Thus the railway charges for transporting the agricultural products of the West to the seaboard sometimes absorb all the difference in prices. When increased demand abroad has raised the price of wheat in the foreign

market the railways have been known to increase their charges, so as to cover all the advance, and rob the Western farmer of his share in the advantage. Such a course must be depressing to industry. It is possible in the relations of the parties, but it is a violation of mutual rights in these relations. *Harmony and co-operation* characterize the true relation of railways to all other departments of productive industry. It is a foolish, short-sighted policy which for a temporary advantage disregards this fundamental truth."

The farmers are not opposed to internal improvements, such as railroads, telegraph and express companies, but to the use and abuse of their power, which they wield in absorbing the wealth of the producers. Railroad management in the United States for the last twenty years has been entirely in the interest of a few individuals, who have had the shrewdness and dishonesty to manipulate rings and combinations for their own benefit, utterly disregarding the interests of the farmers of this country at large, and have only been careful to shield themselves by the bought friendship of legislators and so-called terminal points.

Cheating does not thrive sometimes long enough to sap the foundations of honesty and virtue in a government, but corporate wealth is sometimes more dangerous to a people than armies or navies of a foreign enemy. One railroad is thought to be good, then another is needed in order to get competing rates, and the one proposing to compete is swift with good promises; a third and a fourth and yet others will come upon the scene of action. Just then, when it seems that the people are beginning to think they are going to realize their hope of benefits from this lively competition of different roads an agreement is made and a "pool" is formed by these roads against the people that have helped to build them; by this act cutting off the last hope of those who had done so much to help establish these competing lines, putting the carrying trade of these communities into the hands of a great monopoly; all the more powerful to do the people an injury, because of the assistance that these roads from their combination have received from each other. This but serves to illustrate the tendency of corporate combination which exists throughout the whole realms of trade. More

and more is the carrying trade of this country passing into the hands of soulless syndicates and corporations; more and more by "pools" and combinations are the farmers shorn of the benefits of legitimate and honest competition. The money power controlling these corporations is zealously and sleeplessly at work devising means with which to crush out competition, and are and have been compelling the great body of producers in this country to pour tribute into their coffers. Well may it be said, "they may abuse their powers."

According to Poor's "Railroad Manual" for 1883 there was \$7,495,471,311 of capital stock, bonds and other evidences of indebtedness issued by the railroads of the United States at the close of 1883; at least two billions was represented by "watered stock." What does this mean, and what does it accomplish? "Watered stock," says Senator Coke, "means stock created by the stroke of the pen, costing nothing except the paper and ink used in making it, representing not a penny of actual capital or value, but which is added to the actual bona fide stock which represents capital and is counted as a part of the cost of the roads." Freight and passenger rates are fixed high enough to pay dividends upon the whole of this \$2,000,000,000 fictitious value, as well as upon the real value.

Through this shameful piece of robbery by these corporations the carrying trade of the country is made to bear double burdens. By this kind of highway robbery farmers are compelled to pay nearly double rates for transportation, because these corporations claim the right to fair profits or dividends upon the entire stock, "watered" as well as real. "Watered stock" represents nothing but the intent to cheat and wrong the public and the crime that created it. Yet it stands on the books of the railroad corporations, in the stock markets, everywhere, on the same footing with stock honestly representing cash value; draws the same price, and the people are taxed in transportation charges to pay interest upon it, as if it represented full and honest face value. This is a plain view of the subject, showing the wrong which defrauds the farmers of this country of a portion of their just compensation for their own honest labor. These roads, in their construction, have been aided largely by the general government, by the governments

of the different States through which they pass, by voluntary taxation, by donations of labor, money and right-of-way.

Hear Senator Terrell, of Texas, upon this subject: "Capital has combined everywhere in corporations, and as surplus capital increased, new fields of enterprise were sought in the South and West, and new pretenses were invented to induce government, both National and State, to sustain the few in grand enterprises at the expense of the common property and general treasure. Men seemed almost, without regard to party, to forget that this was a government of the people, made by them, and for their benefit. Thus it happened that during the late war, when all things were demoralized, over two hundred million of acres of public lands, obtained by war and treaty, by and for the whole people, was granted to incorporated capitalists to build railroads. Texas also joined in this crusade to build steam roads into the wilderness, and gave away 46,000,000 of acres. Enough land was given away by National and State governments to furnish five acres to every man, woman and child in America—more land than there is in Great Britain, Ireland and France combined, and nearly twice as much as in New York and all New England combined. Only three years ago Secretary Teller reported that 215,600,000 acres of land had been given to railway owners, a vast portion of which was tied up in unearned grants to roads chartered twenty years ago, on which not a spike had been driven, and that the people were prohibited from pre-empting on these lands.

"When you remember that this profligate waste of choice lands, from the foot of the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri river and from the Gulf of Mexico north, was done under the pretense that government aid was a necessity, the rank hypocrisy will stand revealed when I tell you that more miles of railroad were built in 1882 than ever before in one year, and that, too, without land grant or subsidy. This Congressional larceny of the people's heritage, this rape on the rights of landless millions, was not born of the genius of true democracy, whose principles are eternal, and which never enriches the few by bestowing on them from the public treasure, under any pretense. No matter who were parties to the robbery, the spirit of democracy, which means the

greatest good to the greatest number, was disregarded or forgotten. But corporate greed did not stop there. It asked for and obtained the aid of the government to the extent of \$123,000,000 in bonds to build their roads to the Pacific Ocean. On these roads, as shown by Mr. Bayard in the American Senate in 1878, was netted in clear stealage of government bonds to their incorporators \$43,960,000, under the Credit Mobilier villainy. Pause here a moment and answer me: Whose money was that? The government has no money except that received from the people in taxes, direct or indirect, and so that money, which represented the labor of millions of American citizens, was loaned to capitalists, who were already enriched by protected enterprises, to build railroads, to be owned and operated by themselves.

"Thus has a race of manufacturing princes, pampered by partial laws, developed into a new breed of men in America called 'railroad kings,' who dominate the great thoroughfares of the people, and who transmit their orders from New York over telegraph wires, also owned by them, to their emissaries at National and State capitals, and have thus far defied control. Does any man doubt this? Then listen to the words of Allen G. Thurman, that grand old tribune of the people. On April 2, 1878, he said: 'I have seen this Senate chamber filled with the railroad lobby; I have seen the galleries filled; I have seen the corridors filled; I have seen the committee room besieged; I have seen the Senators besieged at their houses by a railroad lobby, but never did I see one man, or hear of one man, here urging legislation hostile to these companies.' And, for saying that, a railroad lobby of Ohio defeated his re-election to the United States Senate.

"Let no man deceive himself; the grand cause of discontent among the laboring people to-day had its root in government partiality to favored classes, who mould the policies of governments, and who, being incorporated and law proof in their castles of vested rights, are this day kindling a volcano which threatens the very liberties of this people."

This is not all. Look at the subsidies and franchises that the people have given these roads from first to last. Thousands of miles of right-of-way have been given them by the people, and every city and town

through which they run are forced to subsidize them liberally. If the citizens of the country, town or city did not "put up" to suit these corporations they went around them and made a town themselves on land that somebody had given them, realizing high prices for lots that cost them nothing, and utterly destroying the value of property in the town so "froze out." In their preliminary surveys of location they run parallel lines to induce the greatest possible amount of subsidy from the conflicting interests of local trade centres. They at the same time get the people along their respective routes worked up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm in their hopes of securing a road, when it is given out that the road will be built on a certain line (not the one selected) or that it has been abandoned, and when the people have lost all hopes of the road the railway magnates, through their agents, quietly buy up the most valuable lands along their routes at ruinous prices, and hold them for the purpose of speculation.

Again, in many places, notably North Mississippi, counties by vote have contracted bonded debts to aid in the construction of roads, in which the original incorporators have only established a partial grade or road-bed, selling their rights to new corporations, who abandoned the enterprise, and after a lapse of twenty years, without a tie laid or a spike driven, the people of these counties have, by the decision of their highest courts, been compelled to pay these subsidies, to protect the rights of "*innocent purchasers*."

Thus the children of the men who voted this tax and suffered themselves to be swindled by these original corporations, upon reaching maturity, are compelled to pay a tax, principal and interest, which they did not contract, and from which they derive no benefit whatever. Two things are certain to them—death and taxation. We do not oppose the people of any community honestly aiding in the construction of a great thoroughfare of travel in their midst, but we have never favored the idea of giving a rich man 10,000 acres of land if he will build a mile of railroad for himself, with permission to tax us for its maintenance and interest on his investment. And how much worse is it to pay a tax for construction where a road is never built. Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, says: "The real and personal

property necessary to the establishment and management of a railroad is vested in the corporation, *but it is held in trust for the public.*" It is, therefore, *as an agent of the State*, that a railway corporation takes land from its citizens and establishes a highway of intercourse and commerce for the public service; hence, in the very nature of the case, its powers and vested rights cannot be held and exercised independently of the State.

The government is false to its own sacred trusts if it does not hold such corporations ever responsible in all respects for their conduct in the discharge of their proper functions. Until the government shall take some control of these public highways, subsidized with the people's land and money, and regulate their earnings it can never know how much they can afford to pay labor, and yet have fair and honest dividends upon the capital really invested. We hear of roads going into the hands of receivers, aggregating in capital stock and bonds millions of dollars. We hear of strikes and great strife sometimes between railroad employes and their managers, which affect the channels of trade and locks the greatest wheels of commerce, resulting disastrously to our whole community of interest. And we hear a loud and continuous cry of freight and passenger discrimination coming up from every quarter of our country, with the urgent demand for restrictive and protective legislation.

There must be many screws loose somewhere about these corporations; and there are great wrongs and evils existing in some way. For the safety and welfare of our country the farmers demand that these screws be tightened up, the wrongs righted and all the evils corrected. The Inter-State Commerce Law, so long and so faithfully advocated by Senator Reagan, of Texas, is the only speedy, safe and sure solution of this stupendous question—the railroad problem. And it is for the best interests of all the people to give the law their moral support and encouragement. It is constitutional and just to the people, just to the railroads, and this is all the farmers of this country ask or demand of any legislative body, State or National. All that the farmers wish is their just rights and the protection that is proper for their enjoyment of them. All that they are willing to concede is that these giant corporations have a liberal

interest upon all stock representing cash actually paid in, and all "watered stock" unrepresented in the payment of dividends. This payment upon "watered stock," if continued, is only continued robbery. The farmers have silently and uncomplainingly borne these wrongs, while they have viewed these encroachments of power until they have perceived that to submit longer will be to allow the webs woven around them so strongly that they cannot be broken.

The Inter-State Commerce Law is the greatest step taken by the National Legislature to protect the interests of the agricultural community from corporate greed in the last twenty years. While it is not what its friends and supporters wished, yet it is the entering wedge to a greater and broader law in the future. Let the Commission enforce the law in the case of railroads just as it would be done with any other citizen or citizens. "These great arteries of trade, if once controlled in their methods and curbed in their combinations, may be made what they were intended to be—a source of honest profit to their owners and a blessing to all the people. But let them remain unchecked in their power and exactions, and, like the many-headed red dragon in the apocalypse, they will forever rule these States with their rods of iron, and stand ready to devour the fruits of honest labor. It concerns, therefore, every citizen of the United States that the railway shall feel, in all its operations, the ever present power of the government, and be subject to its control."

"We must retrace our steps and begin to narrow the chasm dug by partial laws, or we will soon have no rights left worth preserving. Every acre of land granted as a subsidy, by National or State governments, which has not been fairly earned in the time prescribed, should be reclaimed and kept for the people. The crime of bribery, that convenient tool of corporate power, and unjust discriminations and rebates that make or break towns and tradesmen, should be visited with sudden punishment. Gambling in the necessities of life with capital, whether corporate or individual, and the making of pools and corners to set at naught the natural laws of trade, should be punished as a conspiracy against the people, and a felon's garb should be placed on any official of a corporation who speculates in securities." "A clear

apprehension and consideration on the part of our intelligent citizens generally, in the light of both economic and moral principles, of the evil as well as the good involved, will work out the surest correction of the evil and the truest safeguard of the good. Grave questions of legislation are before the country on which the people, as well as their law-makers, need to have an intelligent judgment. How shall the rights of innocent stockholders be guarded against the machinations of unscrupulous managers? How shall these corporations be protected in their just private rights, and yet be held under restrictions and responsibilities which will keep them true and faithful in their legitimate functions as agents of the State for great public interests? Shall all be left to the separate and varying action of the several States, or shall the National Congress exercise its constitutional power to regulate commerce between the States by enactments which shall be uniform and authoritative over the whole country? The wisest and profoundest statesmanship in the land is needed for the solution of these problems. But back of all legislation, more effective than all statutes, is the sound public sentiment, formed and guided by a good conscience on the part of the body of our people—a sentiment which rests on an intelligent regard for the fundamental principles of political economy in this as in other applications—a conscience which holds individual conduct to the ways of justice and honor, and which expresses itself, through all channels of social intercourse and popular influence, in condemnation of treachery, fraud and robbery, however subtle and shrewd the processes, however grand the scale of operations, however rich the results of successful wickedness."

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#### THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

BY LINN TANNER.

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The farmers are now banded  
 In one vast and mighty throng;  
 Their forces are now blended.  
 They are marching grandly on.

Their war cry now is sounding  
 On every hill and plain,

From the Atlantic Ocean's billows  
To the Rocky Mountain's chain.

This mighty mass is moving,  
With grand, triumphal cry;  
And their watchword is: Monopoly  
Must either yield or die.

For long, long years have noble men  
Been crushed by monied rule,  
Theirselves and wives kept toiling,  
Their children kept from school.

With energy amazing,  
The Southern bent to toil,  
Hoping that in coming years  
They'd be masters of the soil.

For many years they lived on hope,  
That they might prosperous be;  
But all in vain, they poorer grew,  
Ruled by monopoly.

That tyrant's grip each hour grew strong,  
More greedy and more proud;  
And placed itself as master  
Over the patient, toiling crowd.

This power they felt too strong to break,  
If tried by single man;  
So the cry was raised: "Fall into line  
And form a single band."

As by a quick, electric spark,  
The millions heard the call,  
And joined the ranks, determined that  
In God they'd trust their all.

These men are joined in heart and hand,  
While noble is their cause,  
They'll fight for freedom as one man,  
Until justice frames their laws.

## Tariff Tax.

SINCE the adoption of our Constitution and the assembling of the first Congress under the same, we have had a tariff law of some kind. What is a Tariff? "It is a law of Congress which requires goods landed in our ports, or brought into our country, to pay a tax, and this tax is called a duty.

"The first great object of such a law is to raise revenue for the National Treasury, to pay the expenses of the government. The goods when landed pass through custom-houses at the ports, where they are examined, weighed, measured or counted by the government officers, who receive the amount of the tax.

"But this tax, although first paid, by the importer of the goods at the custom-house, is at last *paid by the people*. Because the higher the tariff or tax is on a particular kind of goods the higher must the wholesale importer sell it afterward to make a profit in his business. For instance, if the importer brings in cloth for which he gave one dollar a yard, and he wants to make 10 per cent. profit on it, he must sell it for one dollar and ten cents. If the tariff duty or tax on it is 100 per cent. that is another dollar on the yard, and as he wants to make 10 per cent. on all his outlay he must sell it for two dollars and twenty cents. This he sells to the Southern or Western merchant, and the latter also wants to make his profit of 50 per cent., being one-third more. He will, therefore, have to sell it to one of our farmers or mechanics for three dollars and thirty cents a yard. Here we see that the importer, in the first place, paid only one dollar a yard tax into the Treasury, but the dollar at last comes out of the farmer or mechanic who buys the cloth for use, with the profit on it, *making sixty cents more*. Thus we see that the importing merchant, when he sells his goods, not only charges the first cost and a profit on it, but he adds the amount of the tax at the custom-house and a profit on it also; and an additional profit is charged on both cost and tax by every

merchant through whose hands they afterward pass, until they are at last bought for actual use of the retail merchant, who charges his profit at say from 33 to 100 per cent. *on the whole.*" That in the end the consumer has to pay this tariff or tax no one can deny.

A tariff for revenue is not only all that Congress has power to levy, under the Constitution, but it is just and equitable to all classes and all interests. Such a tariff must be levied chiefly upon goods which come most sharply in competition with those of home manufacture and home labor. It places domestic manufactures upon perfect equality with those of foreign governments, and this is all they should ask and all they should have.

A protective tariff is a tax levied upon the whole people, to favor a special class of manufactures. Such a tariff tax never has been nor never can be made fair and equitable to all, for its fundamental principle is an *unjust favoritism* against which the classes not so favored instinctively protest. It does not make any difference what name a government may assume, when its legislative acts are in the interest of a certain class its system is wrong.

Protectionists claim that American manufacturers are a class of paupers, unable to support themselves by the sale of their products at their market value; therefore, the government must subsidize them by levying a tax upon the great body of producers of the country and donate it to them. To support these manufacturers the National government has inaugurated an indirect tax, a protective tariff of from 40 to 60 per cent. upon imported goods, that these manufacturers might realize more for their products than they are worth in the market.

This protective tax is levied by government upon the plea of protecting "*infant industries.*" It is not claimed by its advocates that it should be "*permanent.*" But in the history of this government it has not yet considered itself old enough "*to walk alone,*" although past its "*three score and ten.*"

Henry Clay, in discussing the tariff in 1816, said: "The object of protecting manufactures was that we might eventually get articles of necessity made as cheap at home as they could be imported, and thereby produce an independence of foreign countries." In "*three years,*"

he said, "we could judge of the ability of our establishments to furnish those articles as cheap as they were obtained from abroad, and could begin to legislate with the lights of experience." He believed that "three years would be sufficient to place our manufactories on this desirable footing."

Sixty-nine years have passed since these sentiments were expressed by Mr. Clay, and what was then asked as a bounty to manufacturers is now claimed as a blessing to the whole people.

In 1824 Mr. Webster said that the cotton manufacturers in Massachusetts had even then "passed the point of competition"—that is, that protective legislation was no longer needed by them.

These industries which then begged for "*temporary bounties from the people*" now arrogantly demand greater concessions than they dared ask for in the beginning. Do these industries need greater protection now than at their establishment? This tariff tax has been variously rated as follows:

In 1779 the duty was only 8 1-2 per cent. ad valorem; between that and 1792 it was raised to 11 per cent.; in 1792 to 13 1-2 per cent.; from 1821 to 1826 the average was 34 per cent.; from 1826 to 1832 it was 42 per cent.; from 1832 to 1845 the average rate was 31 per cent., and from 1846 to 1860 the average rate was only 23 per cent. The present tariff rate is about 42 per cent., but it should be borne in mind that by the present law, especially upon all kinds of goods used by farmers and laboring people in this country, the burdens are much higher, while the articles of luxury, used by the rich, bear comparatively light burdens. The duty upon window-glass is from 59 to 84 per cent.; on iron bands, hoops and cotton-ties from 62 to 81 per cent.; on blacksmith's hammers, 81 per cent.; cotton thread, 55 to 61 per cent.; cottonades, etc., 49 to 58 per cent.; woolen shawls, 65 per cent.; woolen blankets, hats, etc., 90 per cent., while the duty upon *diamonds, cameos, gems, pearls, rubies, and other precious stones*, articles used only by the wealthy, is only 10 per cent., so that the average rate upon articles of necessity is probably above 50 per cent. These comparisons could be carried much farther, varying but little in their general application.

There is no class in the country to-day more discon-

tented on account of class legislation, both State and National, or more outspoken in their expressions of discontentment than the agriculturists and laboring classes. Unfortunately for them they are scattered all over the land; they are separated from one another by the necessities of their lives. In the past they have not had the facilities or benefits of organization and could not have conference for united action, which the laboring men in the cities possess, or which the manufacturers know so well how to use. But, on the other hand, the very men who are responsible for the depression of the entire agricultural interests are now and have been banded together by bonds which even party fealty can not destroy. They control the value of the farmers' toil, like the old feudal lords, and their sinews of war are provided by the plunder taken.

It is idle to talk of the agriculturists being satisfied with the existing condition of this system of taxation, and it is equally idle to deny that Congress is deaf to their appeals, because of the superior power of organization and greater financial resources of the manufacturing lords. "A smaller body of men, compactly organized, with abundant resources, have always been able to oppress the disorganized majority."

The tariff was first imposed in order to equalize the benefits of nature; in order to make the factory as profitable as the farm. It takes, therefore, from the farm and gives to the factory. It was imposed because the ordinary and natural returns of agriculture, for the capital invested and labor employed, were so great that the profits of manufacturing were not equal to agriculture. It was thought that agriculture could for a few years bear an additional burden in developing our "infant industries." Now let us see what the effect in equalizing things has been. From 1850 to 1860 the increase in value of farms was 100 per cent., or \$3,273,469,581. From 1860 to 1870 it was 41 per cent., or \$2,714,758,654. From 1870 to 1880 it was 9 per cent., or \$924,293,915. Let us see the effects that this tariff tax is having upon the farmers of this country, from another standpoint, as shown by the statistics from 1870 to 1880:

Farms of 3 acres and under, 37 per cent. decrease.  
Farms of 3 to 10 acres, 21 per cent. decrease.

Farms of 10 to 20 acres, 14 per cent. decrease.  
 Farms of 20 to 50 acres, 8 per cent. decrease.  
 Farms of 50 to 100 acres, 37 per cent. increase.  
 Farms of 100 to 500 acres, 200 per cent. increase.  
 Farms of 500 to 1000 acres, 379 per cent. increase.  
 Farms of 1000 acres and over, 663 per cent. increase.  
 In the cotton States during the same period :  
 Three acres and under, 31 per cent. decrease.  
 Three to 10 acres, 22 per cent. decrease.  
 Ten to 20 acres, 10 per cent. increase.  
 Ten to 50 acres, 24 per cent. increase.  
 Fifty to 100 acres, 77 per cent. increase.  
 One hundred to 500 acres, 349 per cent. increase.  
 Five hundred to 1000 acres, 491 per cent. increase.  
 One thousand acres or over, 1050 per cent. increase.

The average farm in the United States in 1870 was 134 acres; in 1880 the average was about 325 acres. Should this rate of increase continue, in 1900 the average farm in the United States will be 600 acres. If we allow 20 acres to the hand, in 1900 we will have 30 tenants to one landlord.

In the State of Illinois about 90 per cent. of the farms are mortgaged for 90 per cent. of their value. Within the last five years the farmers of Illinois have spent \$52,000,000 more than their farms produced. In 1886 they lost about \$19,000,000; during the same period the railroads of the State realized a clear profit of \$20,000,000.

In the States of Nebraska and Kansas over 78 per cent. of the farms are mortgaged for about 80 per cent. of their value.

Foreign landlords own 50,000,000 acres of American lands. The National government gave to the Northern Pacific railroad in lands an area equal to a strip two miles wide encircling the globe. It is thus seen that the lands of the United States are passing rapidly into the hands of landlords and monied corporations. No friend of American institutions will deny that if a change, speedy, thorough and effectual, is not at once inaugurated an end will surely come to our republican form of government.

The decade from 1850 to 1860 was that of a revenue tariff. The decade from 1860 to 1870 and from 1870 to 1880 were those of a high protective tariff—namely,

taking from the farmers by law and giving to the manufacturers. The same indication of decay in the general prosperity of the agricultural classes—for it is nothing else—is shown if we take the value of agricultural implements, machinery and of live stock, and taking every thing on the farm, as well as the farm itself. We find that in the first decade the increase was 101 per cent.; the second it was 39 per cent.; the third only 9 per cent. Taking the decade from 1850 to 1860 as a measure of the natural growth of the agricultural wealth, the normal and healthy growth, healthy alike for the whole people, and extending it to 1880, we find that at that period the farming wealth should have been \$32,241,990,002, when in fact it was only \$12,104,081,441; or if discarding the per cent we assume that the actual increase from 1850 to 1860 was the only fair measure, the total agricultural wealth should have been \$16,052,597,732, when in fact it was \$4,000,000,000 less than this sum. We have used these figures to indicate a tendency, which is undeniable, that has been going on with the farmers, and which they are not able to counteract by production.

Again, the farmers comprise one-half of the population of this country. We now call the attention of the reader to another observation on this subject. The census reports show that from 1860 to 1880 the farmers increased their wealth by \$4,122,588,481. The other half of the population has increased their wealth \$23,359,774,851. It is also true in this latter statement that four-fifths of this wealth has not gone to the mechanics and day laborers of our country, but to increase the wealth of the already over-rich corporations.

Every intelligent, thinking man, with these statements of facts, knows that something is very wrong, for the farmer creates the wealth of the country from the soil. We see that though one-half are farmers, and they toil sixteen hours a day, supplying the community at large with food and wealth, yet after the most rigid economy their savings have only been one-sixth of the savings of all other classes; or, in other words, when the farmer gets one dollar out of his toil some one else makes six out of it. "That the American government, whose freedom and independence had their birth in the resistance of an unjust tax, levied upon a few articles

to aid the British government in reducing her debt, should so far forget the principles and teachings of her fathers as to turn pirate upon the most defenseless portion of her own citizens and plunder them for the benefit of another class who have already grown strong and powerful by favoritism, is a sad commentary upon republican institutions."

"What advantages do European manufacturers possess that we cannot compete with them in our own markets? We possess a country more prolific than any in the world. Our natural resources are inexhaustible, and we search in vain to find a land where every want can be as nearly satisfied as in our own. In the production or purchase of raw materials foreign manufacturers have an advantage in but two articles, raw silk and wool; all other materials, especially those used in the manufacture of the great staples, our manufacturers can obtain at lower prices than their foreign competitors. In the purchase of wool our manufacturers would be upon an equality with their foreign competitors, and probably possess an advantage, if it was not for the tariff. Cotton we not only raise to supply our own manufacturers, but to furnish material for our competitors; and to admit that they can purchase the same from us, pay transportation to their manufactories, purchase food from us and pay transportation on the same to feed their laborers while manufacturing it, and then pay transportation back to us and sell lower than we can manufacture at home, is to confess a want of ability and enterprise in our own people that is humiliating. In our own markets we possess the advantages of transportation over all other countries, and over our greatest competitors, the English, we possess the advantages of cheap lands, cheap rents, cheap building material, and cheap food."

"Why should the government put her hands into the pockets of one class and take from them a portion of their hard earnings and give it to another? We leave this question for the farmer to answer, as he follows in the furrow of his plow; the mechanic, as he toils in his shop; the miner, as he digs beneath the ground with his pick, and the laborer as he goes home at night weary and tired." "Protection is no longer claimed for our manufactories on account of their infancy." They are

entirely too old to plead the "baby act." "They now ask protection for American labor, asserting that they cannot employ the same at current wages and compete with the pauper labor of Europe."

Let us see by the Census Reports of 1880 what the real status of the manufacturers and laborers in this country are. The value of materials used in manufacture was \$3,896,823,549. The value of products manufactured was \$5,369,578,191. The amount paid in wages was \$947,953,795. The excess of the value of products over wages and materials was \$1,024,801,847. The capital invested in manufactures was \$2,790,272,606. If you divide the value of products over cost of materials and wages paid, \$1,024,801,847, by the capital invested, \$2,790,272,606, you have nearly 37 per cent. profit. That is to say, after deducting 7 per cent. for insurance, taxes and repairs these manufacturers realized a profit of 30 per cent. on their capital invested—usury worse than that for which the Prophet Nehemiah cursed the Jews through all the moods and tenses of divine objur-gation. The pretense that American manufacturers can not exist without being subsidized by this tax exacted from the people, through the agency of a protective tariff, is mere sophistry. The true object of the protective tariff is to build up in this country an aristocracy of money, and to reduce the great body of the people to servitude to them, making slaves, in the end, of all men who labor.

Let us examine the figures as to the pretense that the tax thus raised from a protective tariff goes to the benefit of the workingman. From the same official tables, Statistics of Manufacturers, 1880, we learn that when manufacture turns out \$100 in products the case stands thus:

Wages on \$100 of products, \$17.65.

Materials, \$63.26.

Wages and materials in \$100 of products, \$80.91.

Therefore, when \$100 of products is created, labor gets \$17.65, materials cost \$63.26, and capital gets the balance; \$100, less \$80.91, leaves \$19.09; that is to say, that when combined labor and capital make \$1, each laborer gets 48 cents, and on the product of labor capital takes 52 cents from each. If 1000 laborers created a value of \$1000, capital takes \$520 of it, and all the 1000

laborers together get \$480. The average product per annum for each hand, after deducting the cost of material, is \$721.93, of which the laborer gets \$346.52 and capital gets \$375.40. Capital takes more than half of the value which labor creates, and labor supports itself out of its pittance.

A newspaper correspondent from the mining regions of Pennsylvania recently wrote: "Laborers at the mines are paid as low as 60 cents a day for ten hours work; some get 75 cents and others 80 and 90 cents, but the average is about 60 cents." Strange to say, this labor which receives 60 cents a day, and lives on "boiled potatoes, molasses and bread," is very highly protected. For every ton of ore dug out of the ground the American laborer is supposed to receive 75 cents a day *through the tariff*, besides the pay for his labor, to protect him from the half starved labor of Europe. Now, as he digs about a ton a day, and gets 60 cents, what has become of his 75 cents worth of protection?

Mr. Frank Gessner, Secretary of the Window-glass Workers' Branch of the Knights of Labor, at Pittsburg, in January of 1885, said: "Last year the average monthly wages paid in Belgium were \$86.87. They have been in New Jersey as low as \$61, and if the present reduction of wages is accepted in Pennsylvania the men here will earn about \$40 per month. About fifty men have returned to Belgium in the last few months under guarantees from the government that their wages should be higher than they are here. They can actually make higher cash wages to-day in Belgium, in the glass industry, than they can here with a protective tariff of 147 per cent."

"It certainly requires no argument to convince laboring men that capital purchases labor the same as any other commodity at as low figures as possible. Does any laboring man know of an instance where the wages of American laborers were raised above the prices paid in other trades, by manufacturers, on account of the tariff?"

In 1884 the capital invested in manufacturing enterprises was \$3,000,000,000; they received a tariff protection 41 per cent., as against 19 per cent. in 1860. For over a half century the labor of agriculture has paid tribute to manufacturers, who are able, under the high

prohibitory tax against foreign products, to combine and at high prices control the home market. The concentration of factories in New England was natural. With a poor soil, their people early looked to manufacture as a source of profit and to commerce. The National Treasury was depleted to improve and fortify their harbors. And so American factories grew up near our Northern-seaboard, while the great West and Southern States gradually became so many dependent plantations to furnish our Northern brethren with supplies, which were manufactured at large profits and sent back to us for sale. The tolls made them rich. Vast fortunes were thus made as manufactories increased. Human labor was diverted from agriculture, and the States bordering our North Atlantic coast became the great centres of American wealth.

The demands of class legislation are always increased by concessions; so it was with these "infant industries." When the pretense that they were infants had grown threadbare, these infants began to love the manufacturing laborer, and with ghastly hypocrisy wanted a tariff for *his protection*, for, while under pretense of over-production, they were running their machinery on half time half pay, or both. They kept the American laborer in subjection by a European contract system for importing cheap pauper labor, under long-time contracts, to take the place of the American laborer.

Thus were brought into this country the Nihilist from Russia, the Socialist from Germany, the Anarchist from Italy and Austria, and the Chinaman from Asia, "who can almost subsist for a month upon *three grains of rice* flavored with a *lizard*."

We produce cotton goods cheaper in this country than they are produced in England. In 1883 we exported 137,700,751 yards of cottonades, England being a large purchaser not only for home consumption, but also for export.

"Facts showing the ability of American manufacturers to compete with those of Great Britain in almost every line could be multiplied, but when protectionists are compelled to admit that they can undersell and *do* undersell them in their own markets what more is necessary. Why is it that American manufacturers can sell textile goods, clocks, edge tools and cutlery in Manchester,

Sheffield and Birmingham; woolen cloths in France, in competition with the manufacturers of that country, and yet cannot sell to the farmers of this country without a protective tax of more than 60 per cent?"

Another argument used by the advocates of protection is that it builds up home markets. If the protectionists can induce the farmers to believe this they may continue their iniquitous tax until they shall have pauperized the country. Did you ever hear of manufacturers sending out committees of investigation to ascertain where they could best locate their factories in order to consume the most of the farmers' produce? Do they not locate to suit their own interests?

There has been a great increase in the quantity of agricultural products in this country within the last twenty years. In 1860 we produced 173 104 924 bushels of wheat, while in 1880 the crop was 498 549,868 bushels. "But the manufacturers are already making more than we can consume. Now, when they propose to increase their number, so as to be able to consume our agricultural products, will they tell us where and to whom they expect to sell their goods?"

For several years we have been accustomed to see the doors of our manufactories close for the purpose of allowing the "over-production" to be worked off or consumed. While our manufactories have been filled with goods and our granaries overflowing with cereals, thousands of laboring men, for the want of work, "have been starving at the feast and famishing at the fountain." *Home market for our farmers!* The absurdity of such a proposition is apparent from the fact that of \$804,223,632 exports in 1883, \$619,269,449 were the products of agriculture.

The manufacturers, protected by the tariff, form an insignificant portion of American consumers. It is the farmer that furnishes a market for the manufacturer, and not the manufacturer that furnishes a market for the farmer. It is safe to say that the total number, including operatives and their families, protected by the tariff do not exceed 5,000,000 persons. The amount of wheat consumed by each inhabitant in a year is six bushels. The total amount consumed by this class, who propose to devour everything the farmers can raise, is only 30,000,000 bushels. In 1880 we supplied their demands,

all other demands of home consumption, and still exported 153,250,995 bushels. Instead of furnishing the farmers a market manufacturers are destroying the same.

No truth is clearer than that the exchange of products between nations must in the end be equal. Now, to illustrate the point in a practical way, suppose our farmers, instead of selling at their nearest railroad stations, should all ship to New Orleans, and there load their produce on board ships, and place the same under the control of a dozen or more of their number, with directions to take the same to Liverpool, and exchange for such articles as were suitable. Those in charge, after making the voyage safely and exchanging their cargoes for such goods as they were directed to bring back, reload their ships and safely return to New Orleans, from which point each farmer is to receive his share. As soon as the ships enter the port government officers take possession and remove everything to the custom-house. Now, the farmers, had they not been advised of such a proceeding, would look upon the same as an unwarranted interference, and would demand by what right their goods were taken possession of. Under the present condition of the law and circumstances such a demand by the farmers, we can readily imagine, would lead to the following colloquy between one of their number and the chief officer:

Farmer—These goods we bought in Liverpool. We could not sell all of our products at home, so we shipped our surplus to Liverpool and had to take what you see here in exchange. We have nothing but common cloth for our families, cheap carpets, a few blankets, some trace and halter chains, and other articles such as we need, and we want to divide the same and send each man his share.

Officer—This may all be true, and I don't doubt it; but before you can divide these goods or take any of them away you must pay the government a tax which is fixed on each article by a law of Congress.

Farmer—Pay a tax to the government! What do we have to pay a tax for?"

Officer—The government requires that every person bringing goods from a foreign country into this must pay a tax on them, with which to pay the expenses of the government.

Farmer—We did not think of this. It's all right. We should pay our portion of the expenses. How much does it require from us?

Officer—We find you have \$619,000,000 worth of goods. A portion of your goods are taxed very high. Your cloth is taxed from 49 to 70 per cent., carpets 50 per cent., blankets 90 per cent., etc. We find that the total amount you must pay is \$190,000,000.

Farmer—What! \$190,000,000 from us farmers to carry on the expenses of the government! Why, sir, how much does it take to run this government?

Officer—Well, enough has already been collected from other sources to pay all the expenses but \$90,000,000. There is a surplus of \$100,000,000 every year left in the Treasury, but Congress has fixed the exact amount on each article, and we must have the full \$190,000,000.

Farmer—Congress has fixed the amount, and compels you to collect \$100,000,000 a year more than is necessary from us! What did Congress do this for? Ninety million dollars is enough for us to pay.

Officer—That extra hundred million is put on to protect our manufacturers. That is a penalty you must pay for not buying your goods at home. Next time you must not buy so much in Liverpool. Bring money home and buy your goods here.

Farmer—But we could not get money. We had to take goods or lose our products. Does the government intend that we shall sell nothing to foreign countries nor buy anything from them?

Officer—We do not know about that. You must get rid of your products as best you can; but you must not buy anything abroad. If you do you must pay this penalty every year.

Farmer—Well, sir, this may be a law of Congress, but a law that punishes us for taking goods in exchange for our products is infamous. What right has the government to prevent us from trading outside? This may be a law now, but in the future the farmers of this country will vote for no man for Congress who will not pledge himself to vote in favor of a reduction of this tax until no more money is collected from us than is necessary to administer the affairs of the government economically.

"Listen to what the Mercury has to say,  
For you have all the tax to pay;  
And heed not what the protectionists teach,  
Who seldom practice what they preach.  
They've robbed us of our hard earned dollars,  
Placed on our necks the debtors' collars;  
While "economize" is the tune they sing  
They would have us practice no such thing.

"Attend the elections, poll your own votes,  
For men that will not steal your coats,  
And send you off with aching fingers,  
While the night with mourning lingers,  
To pick roasted cotton in the cold,  
That their coffers might be filled with gold;  
If we don't do this we are but fools,  
And should never have been sent to schools."

## *Biographies.*

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It is obvious that in all organized movements which affect the public sentiment, not alone the historic events distinguishing the past, but also the actors, in brief outline, with whose lives those events are so intimately identified, must be a subject fraught with interest, not only to the members of the organization, but to those who endeavor to keep up with the spirit and progression of time. The authors regret their inability, in this volume, to present a more extended list of biographies and portraits.

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Hon. W. T. Baggott, first Organizer and Vice President of the Farmers' Alliance, when it was first chartered, was born in the State of Georgia. He is about forty years old, and came to Texas when a young man, locating in Lampasas county. He was early identified with the old Alliance movement in that part of the State. At the organization of Hillsdale Alliance, in Coryell county, April 30, 1878, he was chosen its Secretary. He was its Chairman of Committee on By-Laws, and was chosen as delegate to the Grand Alliance.

As before stated, these Alliances permitted a few designing politicians, who had crept into it for the purpose of using the organization to subserve their personal political ends, to incorporate into its organic law objects which gave to it a political tendency; hence, it soon disintegrated and fell to pieces.

In the spring of 1879 he came to Parker county and began teaching school at Poolville. He brought with him one of the old "Declaration of Purposes" of the Lampasas County Alliance. Here he married, and yet resides on a small farm in the vicinity. He had been an active member of the old Alliance, and believing that the Order could be re-established and perpetuated by removing the objectionable features from the "Declaration of Purposes," he earnestly set about to organize an Alliance at Poolville.

In this work he was successful, and Alliance No. 1 was organized in July of that year. Looking back,

from a present Alliance membership of one million and a half, only eight years, to the organization of the *first Alliance*, ought to be a pleasing theme of contemplation to any of the early Alliance organizers, and far more so to him through whose influence Alliance No. 1 was instituted. He was one of the hardest workers in the first organization, doing more and perhaps sacrificing more for the upbuilding of the organization than any other one man in the Order.

While he frequently differed with his brethren as to the best methods to be adopted to carry out the designs of the Alliance, yet in all his actions and all his labors he was animated by one single purpose—the highest good of the Alliance and the placing of it in the foremost rank of the Agricultural Organizations of the day; and he has lived to see his fondest hopes realized.

When an institution has become popular, prosperous, rich in its own resources, everybody its friends, with newspapers in every section advocating the cause, it requires no degree of patriotism to be its representative; but when it has none of these things, as in this case, and forced to meet all the popular prejudice, the heroism and patriotism with the devotion to principle it requires should be rewarded and appreciated.

His interest has always been with the farming people. He is a man of genial disposition, a pleasant companion, a warm and devoted friend. He is greatly attached to his home and family, a loving husband, a kind and indulgent father. He is at present President of Poolville Alliance No. 1.

“Lives of great men all remind us,  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time;—  
Footprints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er life's troubled main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing shall take heart again.”

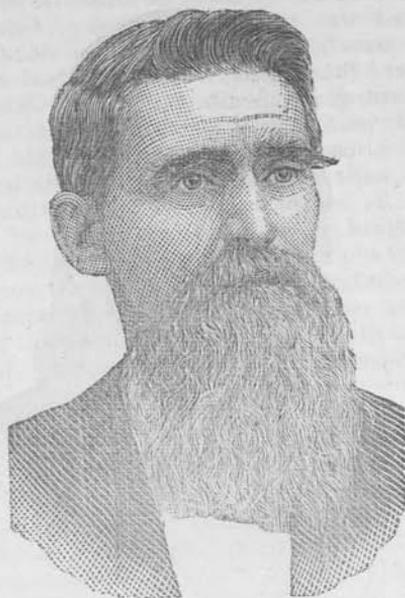


THOMAS J. WOMACK.

Thomas J. Womack was born in the State of Arkansas, May 1, 1834. The family moved to Texas in 1842, settling in Collin county on a farm. He came to Parker county in 1854, and was married the next year to a Miss E. J. Ensey, and opened and improved a farm on Walnut creek.

He joined Poolville Alliance July 29, 1879, as a charter member, and was elected its first President.

He moved to Jack county in the winter of 1879. He is a man of very few words but great force of character, a strict member of the Methodist Church, and an honest, upright citizen.



J. N. MONTGOMERY.

J. N. Montgomery, one of the first Presidents of the Grand State Alliance and a charter member of the first Alliance organized at Poolville, July 29, 1879, was born in Pulaski county, Missouri, April 4, 1833. He came to Texas in 1851, settling in Kaufman county. He remained in Kaufman county until the year 1857, meanwhile uniting in marriage with Miss S. L. Jones. He then came to Parker county, settling on the Clear Fork of the Trinity river, where he now lives on one of the best improved and most successfully cultivated farms in the State.

When the civil war broke out he, with the rest of his countrymen, entered the Confederate Army, serving during the entire four years of the war. At the close of the war he returned to his farm and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, which has been his only occupation. His word is his bond. He is a member of the Masonic Lodge, a Christian gentleman, beloved, honored, and respected by his neighboring farmers, for his

fidelity and uprightness in his dealings with his fellow-man. He became a member of Poolville Alliance No. 1 in 1879, and was elected President of Center Alliance No. 2 the same year. In 1880 he was elected President of the Grand State Alliance, and was its President when it was chartered by the State. He was Chairman of the Committee on Constitution, and also of the committee to secure a charter from the State. He drafted the first charter for Sub-Alliances during his term of office, 1880-81. He was opposed to a class political organization or a secret political party organization; but believed it was in the province of the Farmers' Alliance to discuss all moral, social and financial problems that affect the farmers' interests, free from all sectarian and party prejudice. Mr. Montgomery is at present a member of the Commissioners' Court of his county.



D. B. GILLILAND.

D. B. Gilliland was born November 11, 1854, in Madison county, Arkansas. His parents emigrated to Texas in 1857, and settled in Parker county, near Springtown. His parents continued to reside there and in the vicinity until the fall of 1867, when they returned to Madison county, Arkansas.

In 1878 D. B. Gilliland returned to Parker county, Texas, and for the ensuing two years followed the profession of teaching. He joined County Line Alliance in the summer of 1880; moved to Jack county in the autumn of 1880, where he has ever since resided. In Jack county he became a member of the Alliance at Newhope, where the fourth Sub-Alliance was organized. He is a thoroughly self made man, having through his own energy and industry qualified himself for the profession of teaching, holding a first-grade certificate in his native State and in Texas. He followed his profession for two years after coming to Texas, and since then till 1886 has been engaged in farming and teaching. At

the meeting of the Grand State Alliance, held August 9, 1881, he was elected Lecturer for one year, being the first brother called to that important position after the Alliance was chartered by the State. He is at present serving as County Clerk of Jack county. During his term of office as State Lecturer he wrote and published some able articles in defense of Alliance principles and teachings.



DR. O. G. PETERSON.

Dr. O. G. Peterson was born in Johnson county, Illinois, in 1846. His early education was obtained in the public schools of his native State. At the age of twenty-two he was elected Tax Assessor for Johnson county. He now determined to enter the medical profession, and with that end in view he took a thorough course in reading and study to fit him for an intelligent discharge of the responsible duties devolving upon the practicing physician.

In 1873 he came to Texas, locating in Cass county, where he remained for two years engaged in the practice of medicine. He then removed to Springtown, Parker county, Texas, where he continued his duties as a physician for the ensuing two years. In 1877 he purchased a farm in Wise county, Texas, where the town of Garvin now stands. Here he continued the practice of medicine, at the same time attending to his farming interests. He joined Friendship Alliance No. 13 as a charter member, and at once became an active

and influential member, not only being prominent in the councils of his own Alliance, but in the County and State Alliance as well. He was an active local organizer, instituting several Sub-Alliances. He assisted in drafting the first Constitution, framed most of the unwritten work, and otherwise gave moral tone and permanency to the Order.

"Claiming that it was a fact of history that no organized society could or ever had long existed without the acknowledgment of a God," he was appointed as a special committee of one to prepare the Alliance Funeral Service. Our impressive funeral service, as it exists today in every State Constitution, is his work. He served as Secretary of the Wise County Alliance for two years. He is still practicing his profession at Springtown, Parker county, is an active member of the Alliance, and an honored Christian gentleman.



W. J. WOMACK.

W. J. Womack, of Jacksboro, Texas, was born in Washington county, Arkansas, February 1, 1833. He came to Texas in 1849, following the great tide of emigration pouring into the State after the close of the Mexican war. He settled in Parker county, and in 1856 married Miss M. N. Ensey, who died nineteen years thereafter. He afterward married and moved into Jack county.

He joined Alliance No. 21 in 1880, and was at once commissioned by the State Alliance as an organizer, and for five years he continued as an organizer in the counties of Jack, Young, Hardeman and Willbarger; hence, he realized and endured all the hardships which the early organizers underwent, and is to-day full of hope for the future success and final triumph of the principles of the Order that he has worked so faithfully for and sacrificed so much in its early organization.



J. A. CULWELL.

J. A. Culwell was born in Washington county, Arkansas, August 8, 1855. His parents moved to Texas and settled in Parker county, on Walnut creek, four miles west of Springtown, in 1857. He grew up on the farm, contending with all the hardships and privations of a frontier life. He commenced farming when only ten years old, and it has been his constant occupation. He was married July 8, 1877.

He joined Mount Pleasant Alliance No. 9, May 7, 1880. He has been an earnest, faithful member from its first organization. He was a member of the committee on first Constitution and Ritual, and, with S. O. Daws, a standing committee on the unwritten work of the Order, from 1881 to 1886, being called to that important position by the Grand State Alliance. He has served as President of his County Alliance and as Vice President and President of the State Alliance of Texas. He is a Christian gentleman and a man whose character is above reproach. He is a resident of Wise county, Texas.

## ANDY DUNLAP.

Andy Dunlap was born in Scotland in 1847. He emigrated to America in his seventeenth year. He came to Parker county, Texas, in 1868, and engaged as a farm laborer. The next year he was united in marriage to a native Texas lady, Miss Lizzie Clark. He soon thereafter moved to Wise county and opened up a farm, where he now lives. His industry, economy, and good management were rewarded by a rapid increase in property, and at the same time he steadily grew in popular favor with those around him.

He was initiated as a charter member of Annis Chapel Alliance No. 17. He at once became prominently identified with Alliance interests. This Alliance has never missed a single meeting since its organization, always having more than the necessary quorum for the transaction of business.

He has served as President of the Grand State Alliance for four terms, and upon many important standing committees. While it is true he did not lecture and organize, yet he was a very important factor in the early history of the Alliance in his State. He has been also distinguished in other secret organizations, and has been elected by the citizens of his county to important county offices. He was, at the organization of the National Alliance, elected Assistant Secretary of that body. He was once elected Secretary of the State Alliance of Texas, but the duties of that office interfering with his private business, he tendered his resignation.



W. L. GARVIN.

William L. Garvin, the subject of this brief sketch, was born in Hines county, Mississippi, April 5, 1841. His ancestors on his father's side came from England, on his mother's from the Emerald Isle. They were among the early settlers of Virginia. When young William was seven years old his father moved to Lafayette county, Mississippi, residing there six years, thence to Newton county in the same State. In 1858 the family came to Texas, settling in Red River county. The free school system had not then been generally established in the South. The schools of that day, especially in the country districts, were far different from those of the present, being, in many instances, open only for three or four months in the year. The teachers were frequently selected, not so much for their mental qualities and ability to successfully impart instruction, as on the score of economy in salary, and physical ability to successfully cope with the more turbulent and unruly class of pupils over whose destinies

they were for the time called to preside. Besides this, Mr. Garvin's parents were in comparatively humble circumstances, so that his opportunities for study were exceedingly limited. He was a diligent student; possessed of an active, inquiring mind, he made rapid progress so far as the means were at his disposal.

At the age of twenty-four he quit the farm, where his whole life had been spent so far, and entered the profession of teaching, being employed as teacher in a district school.

In the winter of 1865 he was married to a widow lady, Mrs. Leach. In a couple of years he returned to his first love, farming. In 1878 he moved to Wise county, to the place where the town of Garvin now stands. Here he again taught school.

In April, 1880, he joined Friendship Alliance No. 13 as a charter member. There was something in the Order that aroused his curiosity, excited his imagination, and awakened in him a deep interest. Its principles made a deep and lasting impression upon his mind. He at once became an active member of the organization, was appointed on a committee of secret work of the Order, and was made President of the Wise County Alliance, which was the first County Alliance ever organized. He remained its presiding officer for two years. He was one of the first local organizers, being appointed in 1880. At the meeting of the Grand State Alliance, held August 10, 1881, he was chosen Vice President of that body. At the August meeting, 1883, he was elected President of the Grand State Alliance.

He had early set about acquiring a knowledge of the causes that led to the organization of the Order, its true objects and principles, and was recognized by his brethren as a safe leader. At this time the Alliance was apparently on the down grade. There was no organizer in Parker county, and not a single Alliance at work in the entire county—in fact there were not many active Alliances at work in the State. The condition of the Order awakened his deepest solicitude. In the winter of 1883 he employed Brother S. O. Daws as Traveling Lecturer. Within a month seventeen Sub-Alliances were reorganized. Soon thereafter the Grand State Alliance met at Chico, in Wise county, and indorsed

President Garvin's action by electing S. O. Daws Traveling Lecturer for the entire State. The progress of the Alliance from that time forward was very rapid. For the past four years Mr. Garvin has been President of the Jack County Alliance. He has attended every meeting of the Grand State Alliance except one.

He is a consistent Christian and an honored citizen of his county. He is at present serving for a second term as County Treasurer.

In 1885 he published in pamphlet form a History of the Alliance, containing the minutes of all the sessions of the State Alliance to that date. Since the publication of that work he has been collecting data, enlarging and rearranging this present Revised Edition.



S. O. DAWS.

"Mr. S. O. Daws is an old citizen of Wise county, residing on his farm near the Parker county line, a few miles from Springtown, his postoffice. He was born in Kemper county, Mississippi, thirteen miles west of DeKalb, on the 28th day of December, 1848, making him now about thirty-eight years of age.

"The ancestors of Mr. Daws, on his father's side, are of Ireland, while his maternal forefathers came from the colder region of the Baltic. From the Emerald Isle cosmopolitan America draws mainly her genius of wit, quick intellect, sentiments of bravery, venturesomeness and irrational impulses, while the sturdy Teutonic blood soothes our nationality with industry, caution and the love of equal liberty in all its aims. Having been born of poor parents, it is readily conjectured that the facilities held out to him for an early education were limited, since in those days he did not have the advantages now given the poorest youth of this generation by beneficent laws to acquire a common school learning;

but, as he says, by some hook or crook, he managed to acquire these rudiments, which only stimulated his mind with a thirst for a broader knowledge of the world and its highest creation—man. This desire he nourished by reading history, especially that of his own country. Later on he gave to agriculture his studious application, not only as a means for individual subsistence, but from a more intellectual standpoint, when finally important public topics, touching social and economic relations, attracted his inquiry. He is cheerful to acknowledge, also, the great benefits he derived when a boy from his regular Sunday-school attendance, and from the divine lessons of life as expounded from the pulpit to the congregations of God. Thus taught in his early life that systematic application and a faithful discharge of any task imposed upon him was the most satisfactory way in which a duty could be performed, and though he may have demurred to the rule of his parents, requiring him to be afield at the break of day and to remain at his hoe or plow until the setting of the sun, this became at last a habit to which Mr. Daws now attributes in no small degree his health, his vigorous strength and the confidence reposed in him by his associates.

Mr. Daws emigrated to Texas in August, 1868, where he resumed his life-long occupation, being now a farmer in Wise county.

He was appointed in July, 1881, by J. N. Montgomery, President of the State Alliance, Organizer for Parker county. At the annual meeting of the Grand State Alliance, held at Goshen, August, 1881, Mr. Daws was elected to the same position for Wise county, also, which is now one of the strongest Alliance counties in the State. In August, 1882, the regular annual meeting was held at Palo Pinto, when his tried ability was called again into a more extended service. Here Mr. Daws had conferred upon him by the growing organization the responsible office of State Lecturer. During the winter of 1883 the President, Secretary and other officers of the State Alliance, deeming it important for the best interest of the Order to extend more rapidly its principles, Mr. Daws was selected from among his brother members by W. L. Garvin, then filling the office of President, Travelling Lecturer for the whole State. At that time there were 152 organized Alliances, but

fifteen of which were in active working order. At the semi-annual meeting of the Grand State Alliance, held in February, 1884, at Chico, Wise county, the Traveling Lecturer made a report, which was approved, and he was unanimously elected to continue his good work in that capacity for the remainder of the year. The annual meeting of that year was held at Weatherford in the month of August, when Mr. Daws was re-elected, the number of Alliances being now 187.

"The Traveling Lecturer had large powers conferred upon him. He visited the various counties in North and Middle Texas, lecturing, appointing local organizers in each county, and acting as the general director and manager of the affairs of the organization, now grown to enthusiastic robustness. His labors day and night in its behalf, his growing solicitude for the cause, and his incessant devotion, were amply rewarded with the most satisfactory results, for his annual report at Decatur, in August, 1885, showed the Order to consist of 550 active Alliances working together in constitutional harmony. Six hundred delegates convened at that meeting, who manifested the greatest satisfaction over the success and work of their Order, not yet five years old, under the new regime. Again Mr. Daws was elected Traveling Lecturer for the ensuing year, and the immense strides and marvelous growth of the Order since January, 1884, in an immeasurable degree are due to the sound advice, the comprehensive addresses and practical directions given by the Traveling Lecturer to the officers and members of the subordinate Alliances in every county through which he has traveled in his official capacity, and in every instance the local Orders are in a healthy condition—zealous in their objects."

Since the above article appeared in the public press, January 15, 1886, S. O. Daws continued in the discharge of his duties as Traveling Lecturer until the meeting of the Grand State Alliance at Cleburne, August 6, 1886. His annual report showed an increase of 2200 Sub-Alliances during that year. The Grand State Alliance this year discontinued the office of Traveling Lecturer, the Order being established on a firm basis in the State. After the National Alliance was organized he served as National Organizer in Mississippi until the meeting of the National Alliance at Shreveport. The following

press notice appeared in the Decatur Post after the return of Mr. Daws, in October, from Mississippi:

"The Hon. S. O. Daws, National Organizer for the Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, returned a few days ago from an eight months' tour over in Mississippi. He reports the Order as in a flourishing condition. Mr. D. seems to grow more enthusiastic in the Alliance cause as the years roll by. He attended and had the honor of installing the officers of the National Alliance, which met in Shreveport on the 12th inst. The success of the Alliance in Texas and elsewhere is largely due to Mr. Daws' untiring energy."



J. A. TETTS.

J. A. Tetts, First Vice President of the National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, the subject of this sketch, was born in Sumter district, South Carolina, September 1, 1847. He was kept in school from the time he was old enough to enter the schoolroom until he was fifteen years old. At the age of sixteen he entered the service of the Confederate army. When the storm clouds of war had passed away and peace was once more restored to our country, he, with thousands of others of the noble sons of the Southland who had lost all in that dreadful conflict, started out in life to do what God had commanded all men to do—to eat bread in the sweat of his face—to win from the world that which is every man's duty, an honest living.

He spent four years learning gin making and repairing, and in 1870, in Fairfield district, South Carolina, was married to a daughter of William Crosby, of Crosbyville, and then settled down to a farmer's life.

Mr. Tetts moved to Louisiana in 1872, and has lived there ever since. He assisted in the organization of the

first Farmers' Union that was organized in the State of Louisiana; in fact, was one of two who put the movement on foot, and has been zealously and earnestly engaged in the grand work of organizing Farmers' Unions for the purpose of uniting the farmers in an earnest effort to free themselves from the crushing burdens which have been laid upon them by the heartless Shylocks of our land.

We met Mr. Tetts for the first time on the 18th of January, 1887, in the city of Waco, in attendance upon the called session of the Farmers' State Alliance. He came to us as a representative from the Farmers' Union of Louisiana, and by his manly deportment, his telling speeches and intelligent counsel won the admiration, confidence and esteem of our brethren, who, when the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union was organized at that session, unanimously elected him First Vice President of that body.

Mr. Tetts will long live in the hearts of hundreds of Alliance men of Texas.



C. W. MACUNE.

Hon. C. W. Macune, President of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, was born and reared in the State of Illinois, left fatherless in his infancy. His paternal ancestor was a blacksmith by trade, and a most exemplary man, having died when the subject of this sketch was only one year old, leaving the family to provide for themselves.

He went to school until about ten years of age, when he commenced working on a farm, making a full hand, plowing and harrowing, at three dollars per month, for six months. At the age of fifteen he started to learn the drug business, which he followed for some years, and has practiced medicine for the past nine years. He was married at Burnet, Texas, September 1, 1875, to Miss Sallie Vickery, of Salado. He has resided in Texas for the past seventeen years. In the spring of 1886 he was made a member of the Farmers' Alliance in Milam county. The same year he was called to active service as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Farmers' Alliance of Texas. In this capacity he devel-

oped that executive ability which won for him the admiration and high regard of the membership of the Order. By the resignation of the President and Vice President of the State Alliance he became ex-officio President of the Order, in the fall of 1886, which position he filled, in addition to his duties as Chairman of the Executive Committee, until the called meeting of the State Alliance in the city of Waco, on January 18, 1887. It was during the session of this body at Waco that the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America was organized and the subject of this sketch elected President.

The formation of this body was, as its name indicates, a union of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas (numbering nearly 4000 lodges, with a membership of 250,000) with the Farmers' Union of Louisiana, which numbers over 10,000 members. This body, of which Mr. Macune is the executive head, has now sent out into at least fifteen of the Southern States, and some of the Territories, a corps of organizers and lecturers, representative Alliance men, well instructed and equipped, who have commenced the work of organizing the farmers into Alliances.

This is but a brief sketch of a man whom the entire Alliance membership looks upon with admiration and even devotion, recognizing the true value of his bright intellect and mature judgment.



EVAN JONES.

Evan Jones, President of the State Alliance of Texas, was born in Woolford county, Kentucky, June 19, 1846. In 1857 his parents emigrated to Schuyler county, Missouri. His father died soon after their arrival, leaving young Evan, at the tender age of eleven years, as he expressed it, to fight the battle of life in a strange land and among strangers. Fully aware of the importance of an education, and undaunted by the many obstacles in his path, he diligently applied himself and succeeded in acquiring a good education.

In 1866 he professed religion, joined the Methodist Church, and is still a useful and consistent member of that organization. Having grown to manhood, and realizing that "it is not good for man to be alone," he met and fell a victim to the charms of Miss Mary Meadow, to whom he was happily married November 12, 1868. Following his inclination, he settled on a farm in Schuyler county, and was soon recognized as a successful farmer. Here his early manhood was spent. In 1876, having heard glowing accounts of the fertility

of the Texas soil, and many other advantages to which her sister States are strangers, he at once moved and settled on Green's Creek, near Dublin, Erath county, Texas, where he still resides.

He is a charter member of Harbin Alliance No. 131, the oldest organization of the kind in the county. He represented Harbin Alliance at the organization of the Erath County Alliance, February 1883; was appointed Treasurer in April and elected Vice President in October of that year. He was elected President of the Erath County Alliance in 1884, which position he still holds. He was elected to represent Erath County Alliance at Weatherford (1884), and was one of the Committee on Constitution. In 1885 he was a delegate to the State Alliance, which met at Decatur, Wise county, Texas, and was appointed on the Finance Committee for the ensuing year. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the State Alliance at Cleburne in 1886, which position he filled with credit until the called session in January, 1887. He represented the Texas State Alliance in the Louisiana State Union, which convened at Ruston, Louisiana, in called meeting, January 12, 1887, and presented to them a proposition of consolidation, which brought about the necessity of a National organization.

For its present flattering prospects the Alliance is greatly indebted to Mr. Jones. He it was who introduced the resolution providing for the organization of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America. He was elected President of the State Alliance in January, 1887; re-elected August of that year, which position he still fills with credit to himself and the perfect satisfaction of the many members of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas.



R. T. LOVE.

R. T. Love, President of the State Alliance of Mississippi, was born June 1, 1817, in Oktibbeha county, Mississippi, about seven miles north of Starkville, and has always lived in Mississippi.

He joined, when a boy, what was known as the Vaiden Artillery, in July, 1864; was made color-bearer for it in December, 1864; it was attached to the First Mississippi Regiment of Light Artillery, of which he became color-bearer the latter part of March, 1865, and so remained until the surrender of the regiment at Meridian, Mississippi, in May, 1865; he was captured at Blakely. After he was paroled he farmed in Oktibbeha county, Mississippi, three years. He then moved to Attalla county, Mississippi, during the winter of 1868, and farmed there until 1871. He then commenced the study of medicine and graduated in the spring of 1873, and commenced the practice of medicine at French Camps, Choctaw county, and did a large practice for eight years. His health failing, he bought a

farm on which he lived until 1883. He then sold out to move to Texas, but abandoned moving on account of a new railroad being built through the county, and moved to Ackerman and went to merchandizing, which ended disastrously for him in 1885. He then bought and moved onto his present farm, where he now resides. He was elected President of the State Alliance of Mississippi at its organization.



A. H. JOHNSON, President of the Mississippi State Alliance.



A. B. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE MISSOURI STATE  
ALLIANCE.

## *Plan for Co-operative Stores.*

THE Committee on Co-operative Stores reported, and the report was adopted.

*To the President and Members of the Farmers' State Alliance of Texas:*

Your committee, to whom was referred the matter to formulate a plan for operating co-operative stores, beg leave to make the following report:

### ARTICLE I.

The name of this association shall be called the  
--- County Farmers' Alliance Co-operative Association.

### ARTICLE II.

This association is formed and created for the purpose of owning and managing a mercantile establishment upon a co-operative plan of buying and selling real estate and such other property as may be necessary to promote the object of its creation, and of transacting any and all kinds of business incident or appertaining thereto, for the mutual profit and benefit of its stockholders, who must be members of the Farmers' Alliance.

### ARTICLE III.

The place of business of this association shall be in --- city or town, --- county, Texas.

### ARTICLE IV.

The association shall have succession and shall exist for the full term of ten years.

### ARTICLE V.

The business of this association and the general management of its affairs shall be vested in a board of five directors, who shall be stockholders, and shall be elected by the stockholders, and shall serve for one year.

### ARTICLE VI.

The capital stock of this association shall be divided

into shares of five dollars each, which shall be transferable, but cannot be withdrawn.

## BY-LAWS.

### ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. The regular meeting of this association shall be held on the first Monday in June, or such time as each association may determine in each year.

SEC. 2. Special meetings may be held upon call of the President, Board of Directors, or upon the order of the association, provided ten days notice has been given through the postoffice or otherwise to each shareholder.

SEC. 3. Quorum for transaction of business to be determined by each association.

SEC. 4. The meetings of the association shall be open to all members of the Farmers' Alliance in good standing, but discussion and voting shall be confined to shareholders alone.

### ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. At the regular meeting in January (or such other time as each association may determine) of each year the association shall elect a board of five directors, at which meeting the directors shall elect one of their number President and appoint a Treasurer and Secretary.

### ARTICLE III.

#### *Duties of Officers.*

SECTION 1.—President—It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the association and Board of Directors. He shall sign all certificates of stock and all orders on the Treasurer; shall receive and carefully preserve all bonds that may be executed to the association, and perform all other duties that may be required of him as the chief executive of the association. In his absence the association shall elect a President pro tem.

SEC. 2.—Treasurer—It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive all moneys from any and all officers and agents of the association that may legitimately come into his hands; pay all orders signed by the President and Secretary, with the seal attached; keep a true

and impartial account of all moneys received and paid out by him in a book kept for that purpose; keep his books at all times open for inspection by the Board of Directors, and from time to time give bond in such sums as may be required by the Board; make a full and complete report of all moneys passed through his hands at the annual meeting of the association. At the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver to his successor in office all books, papers and money or other property in his possession belonging to the association.

SEC. 3.—Secretary—The Secretary shall keep a correct record of all the proceedings of the association and Board of Directors, and shall keep impartial accounts between shareholders; he shall sign and affix the seal to all certificates of stock and all orders on the Treasurer drawn in pursuance to orders of the association; pay all moneys coming into his hands to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor. His books shall be at all times open for inspection by the Board of Directors. He shall perform all other duties imposed on him, and shall give bond from time to time. He shall be entitled to such compensation for his services as the Board of Directors may allow, subject to the approval of the association. At the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver to his successor in office all books, papers and property whatsoever in his possession belonging to the association.

SEC. 4.—Directors—The Directors shall have charge of all property of the association and the general supervision of the business; they shall appoint a Manager, who may be of their number; also employ salesmen. These selections must be submitted to and approved by a two-third vote of the association. (All employes must be members in good standing of the Farmers' Alliance.) They shall fix the amount of bond of all officers and employes of the association and approve the same. They shall, as often as they deem it necessary, examine all books, papers and accounts belonging to the association or connected therewith, its officers, agents or employes, and report to the association at the regular meetings. They shall have authority to receive on deposit such sums of money as may be offered to the association for its use by members of the Alliance, not to exceed five hundred dollars from one depositor, nor

for a shorter time than one year, on such terms as may be agreed upon; provided a higher rate of interest than 10 per cent. shall not be given. They shall also have power to adopt any rules and regulations, not in conflict with the Constitution and By-Laws, that they deem of advantage to the business, and all such rules and regulations shall be binding on the association and its members until rescinded by the Directors or rejected by the association; and to this end such rules and regulations shall be submitted to the association at the first regular meeting after their adoption for ratification or rejection. It shall be their duty to keep their capital stock as closely invested as practicable in articles demanded and used by members and others, which shall be sold at such a per cent. profit as they may determine. It shall also be their duty to report in writing at the regular meetings of the association, giving a true statement of the progress of the business method of doing the same, and financial condition, together with such other information as the association may require from time to time; and to this end they shall meet once every four weeks, and also within three days of the regular annual meeting, and have before them all books, papers and other data necessary to a complete, correct report of the condition of the association. The Directors shall have power to discharge any and all persons employed by them or under their direction; to suspend any persons who have been employed by them and confirmed by the association, which suspension shall be acted upon by the association at the next regular meeting, and confirmed, or the suspended party reinstated, as the case may be.

SEC. 5.—Manager—It shall be the duty of the Manager, under the direction of the Board of Directory, to take and exercise general supervision over the business of the association in buying and selling; to have charge of all employes, and obey all orders and instructions from the Directors. He shall keep, in books provided for that purpose, complete and correct accounts of all his transactions, which books shall at all times be open for the inspection of the Directors or those appointed for that purpose. He shall render to the Directors semi-annual and annual accounts of his transactions at their meetings, and upon their order take an inventory of all

goods, merchandise and property under his charge, and make a balance-sheet as often as required, which, together with the report of the Board of Directors, shall be presented to the association for approval and filed with the Secretary for record; and from time to time pay over to the Treasurer such sums of money as may be in his hands, when so directed by the Board of Directors. He shall receive such compensation for his services as may be determined upon by the Directors, subject to the approval of the association. He shall give bond in such sum as may be required by the Board of Directors.

## ARTICLE IV.

*Membership.*

SECTION 1. This association shall consist of members of Alliances in good standing, and can be admitted as shareholders by making application to the Secretary or the Manager of the store at any time.

SEC. 2. No individual member shall be allowed more than one vote in their own right, but may cast as many as ten votes for other shareholders. Proxies must be in writing.

SEC. 3. Shareholders may send a delegate to represent their interests at the meetings of the association, provided such delegate is in good standing.

## ARTICLE V.

*Stock.*

SECTION 1. No member of this association shall hold more than one hundred shares in the capital stock of this association.

SEC. 2. All money for stock shall be paid to the Secretary, who shall give a receipt for the same, which shall draw interest from date of deposit.

SEC. 3. At each meeting of Directors the Secretary shall make application for persons having one or more shares deposited, who desire more shares, and upon being granted by the Directors, he shall issue certificates to such person or persons, bearing date of acceptance.

SEC. 4. When certificates have been issued for shares it shall be a permanent fund, and cannot be withdrawn until five years have expired. Shares may be transferred to members of the Farmers' Alliance who are in

good standing, but no transfer shall be legal except when made in writing and entered on the share-book by the Secretary; provided the transfer has been submitted to and accepted by the Board of Directors.

THE END.



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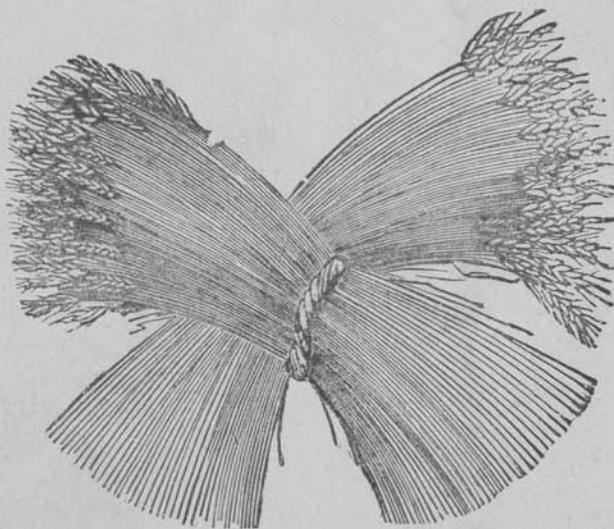
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