

MORNING, APRIL 3, 1891.

HALL AND MACUNE.

SOME INTERESTING REMINISCENCES OF
THE OCALA CONVENTION.

Pat Calhoun's Fine Italian Hand in
Diverting Farmers' Organizations
From Their True Course — Ma-
cune as Editor and Borrower.

The St. Louis *Journal of Agriculture* publishes the following letter from President Hall of the Farmers and Laborers' Union:

HUBBARD, Randolph Co., Mo., March 26, 1891.—To the Farmers and Laborers' Union of Missouri and the Alliance Members in Other States: BROTHERS—Since writing my last letter I learn that Bros. Moore and Cockrell have fully vindicated any effort made by me relative to the Illinois United States Senator contest by voting for the man I have been abused for asking them to support. At the Ocala meeting I was selected as one of a committee of about twenty to investigate the conduct of President L. L. Polk, Dr. C. W. Macune and L. F. Livingstone of Georgia relative to the election of a United States Senator in Georgia.

This committee was located at Ocala, Fla., and the transactions we were called on to investigate had taken place at Atlanta, Ga. We could not go to Atlanta, and had no power to summon witnesses and compel their attendance; we therefore labored under difficulties that were more favorable to the accused than to the ascertainment of the facts, as there was no one making charges, no one to prosecute, and the three brothers asking an investigation were surrounded by their own brothers and tried by a jury of brothers, every one of us interested in clearing the characters of the accused, both from fraternal motives and a desire to see the order not injured by having guilt established against our leading officers.

This committee was in session for several days hearing the statements from the three accused brothers and from other brothers and persons who *consented* to come before it. On the first day's session of our committee the three accused brothers came before us at the same time and made their statements in the presence of each other. In order that my brothers may more fully understand the matter, I will now give a statement of the circumstances we were called on to investigate, and the parties concerned:

STATEMENT OF THE CASE.

A United States Senator had been elected in Georgia, by the Legislature of that State, and this Legislature was composed largely of Alliance men, there being more than enough Alliance men to elect a Senator on joint ballot. One of the candidates was General Gordon, who had formerly represented that State in the United States Senate, and I believe had been Governor of the State, admitted to be a man of high character, and one very much liked by the people. General Gordon was regarded as the only candidate until shortly before the election of November, 1890, when he came out against the sub-treasury scheme, whereupon other candidates began coming out for the place. One of these candidates was Mr. Pat Calhoun, who had been for a number of years, and then was, and still is, the general attorney of the Richmond Terminal Railroad Company, one of the largest railroad systems of the South. This road is under Gould's control, and Mr. Calhoun is Gould's general attorney for that road.

Mr. Calhoun wrote the letter signed "Georgian," in which he advocated the sub-treasury scheme and committed himself to a cordial support of that measure. L. L. Polk is our National president, and resides at Washington, D. C. Dr. C. W. Macune was then the chairman of the National legislative and executive committee of our order, and editor of the *National Economist*, our National official organ. He receives several thousand dollars a year from our order as his salary for filling these offices, and resides at Washington, D. C., never having lived in Georgia. L. F. Livingstone was the president of the State Alliance of Georgia, and resides in that State. Dr. Macune appeared before our committee twice, and when before our committee the first time stated that he had met and formed a liking for Mr. Pat Calhoun; had visited him at his residence in Atlanta, but that he was not for Calhoun for the United States Senate until after the Alliance caucus of the Legislature had nominated him. But when President Polk came upon the stand and said that Dr. Macune had asked him to help him nominate Pat Calhoun long before the Alliance caucus had acted, Dr. Macune then said he had been for Mr. Calhoun ever since he had come out so boldly for the subtreasury scheme, about five months before November, 1891. It therefore appeared, from Dr. Macune's admission while before our committee the first time, that on the 4th day of last November, he (Macune) went from Washington City to Atlanta, Ga., and remained there until the 17th or 18th of the same month, working for Mr. Pat Calhoun for United States Senator.

This was about all that appeared from Macune's admissions when he was before our committee the first time; but he was asked a number of times, "Have you stated everything in regard to your connection with Pat Calhoun and the Georgia Senatorial contest?" to which he replied that he had.

It further appeared from the evidence that the *Southern Alliance Farmer*, published at Atlanta, was then, and had been for some time, and still is, the official organ of the State Alliance of Georgia; that this paper was standing up manfully for the interest of the people and against the encroachments and consolidation of railroads; that the Hon. J. T. Olive of the Georgia Legislature had, some time before November, 1890, introduced a bill (known as the "Olive bill") which was for the purpose of preventing the consolidation of paralleled or competing lines of railroads; the *Southern Alliance Farmer* at first came out and advocated the passage of the bill, and the State Alliance of Georgia passed a resolution favoring the bill and requesting the Legislature to pass it; but Mr. Pat Calhoun succeeded in defeating the bill before the Legislature. But the *Southern Alliance Farmer* still advocated the passage of the bill.

All at once, about six or eight months before the meeting of the Legislature last November, Dr. C. W. Macune and a Mr. Sledge of Texas bought out the *Southern Alliance Farmer* at Atlanta, Ga., and that paper, still the State official organ of our order in Georgia, then came out *against* the Olive bill and indorsed the position taken by Mr. Pat Calhoun, and then began circulating the letters written by him and signed "Georgian."

Dr. Macune testified before our committee that he was a poor man, and was in debt for his home, which he had bought in Washington, and that he was paying for his home at the rate of \$100 per month. Yet he further testified that he paid \$3,500 in cash for an interest in this Georgia paper, located nearly a thousand miles from his home; and as soon as he got this interest the paper came out in favor of railroads consolidating, in direct violation of the following provision of the Constitution of the State of Georgia. "The General Assembly of this State shall have no power to authorize any corporation to buy shares or stock in any other corporation in this State or elsewhere, or to make any contract or agreement whatever with any such corporation which may have the effect or be intended to have the effect to defeat or lessen competition in their respective businesses, or to encourage monopoly; and all such contracts and agreements shall be illegal and void;" and despite the further fact that the State Alliance, of which that paper was the official organ, had denounced such consolidation.

BORROWED \$2,000.

Although Dr. Macune had stated when first before our committee that he had told all of his dealings and transactions with Pat Calhoun, while he was down in Georgia trying to get the Alliance men to support Calhoun for the United States Senatorship, yet when he came before our committee two days afterwards (the committee still being in session) he admitted that he travelled to and from Georgia upon an annual free pass issued by the Richmond Terminal Railroad (Pat Calhoun's road); and also said that just before he got ready to return to Washington he borrowed from Pat Calhoun \$2,000 and that he gave Calhoun his warrants on our National treasurer as collateral security for the "loan."

What, then, are the undisputed facts that appeared before our committee?

C. W. Macune (holding the three most important offices in our order, chairman of the national legislative and national executive committees and editor of our national organ), goes to Georgia on a free annual railroad pass, pays \$3,500 in cash for an interest in the State official organ of that State (he being in debt for his home at the same time), uses that organ and

State Alliance of Georgia testified before our committee was the "brightest flower in the garden of monopoly of the South"), and then borrows \$2,000 from this same Gould attorney.

These are the reasons why I refused to sign the report of the remainder of the committee, which said in its report: "We have found nothing in Bro. Macune's conduct relative to the Georgia Senatorial contest unbecoming an officer or gentleman. And for refusing to sign this report and for giving my reasons for not doing so was why I was hissed at Ocala.

THE CASE SUBMITTED.

It is now for the brothers of the United States to say whether I deserved those hisses or not. I now give this warning to my brother Alliance men of the United States: That if we do not clear our order of such demagogues and corruptionists as Macune and his kind, in the United States, our order will go down amid the hisses of every honest man and woman in our country. I feel that our noble order is the last hope of the farmers and laborers of our country to unite for our common defence against the money power of the East, and I now call on you for the sake of our families, homes and country to rise in your might and drive from power a body of men who have no interest in farming and no interest in our order, except to use it for their own corrupt pecuniary ends.

I have no word of reproach for my brother members of that investigating committee who signed that report, exonerating Macune, for the reason that I know many of them signed it fully convinced of Macune's guilt, but from a sole desire to shield the order from the censure that would arise from the world, knowing that we had such a man at the head of the order. I cannot agree, however, with the conclusion or reasoning of these brothers, as I feel that the only way for us to preserve the integrity of the order is to show to the world that we have the moral courage to sweep our house from within.

Our investigation conclusively showed that Bro. L. L. Polk had acted through that entire matter with his own honor and the honor of our order ever before him. His conduct was that of a brave, true and honest man.

With regard to L. F. Livingstone, no one testified before the committee in a way to directly implicate him in any dishonorable action.

In my next letter I desire to discuss the action of the *National Economist*, our national official organ, and try and show the brotherhood that it is now, and has been for more than a year, working in the interests of the protected manufacturers of the East, and against the interests of the farmers and laborers of this country.

U. S. HALL,
President F. & L. U. of Missouri, and a
Member of the National Legislative Committee of the F. A. & L. U. of A.