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SENATOR VANCE'S SPEECH.

A GALLANT FIGHT FOR OUR SOUTHERN MANUFACTURERS.

Facts About Cotton that will Enter- tain Every Manufacturer and Every Planter.

Mr. Vance—Mr. President, if there is any one branch of human industry in which America ought not only to be able to compete with the world but to take the lead of the world, it would seem to me to be this cotton. It is the most important of all the industries that pertain to this country, unless it be iron and its manufactures. It is growing in importance and the consumption of the manufacturers of cotton is increasing in quantity every day.

I have collated a few statistics with reference to the production and the growth of cotton, which I wish to impart to the Senate. For the last fiscal year the consumption of the entire world was 1,911,000 bales of cotton, 4 bales being estimated at 450 pounds. Of this sum the Southern States of the United States of America furnished 7,017,707 bales. Very nearly seven-tenths of all the cotton that is produced or consumed in the world was produced in the Southern States. There was spun and woven into fabrics in the United States in the same year 2,230,494 bales. The remainder was exported and sold to foreign countries.

To show the importance and the rapid growth of the cotton production in this country, I find by examination that there were produced in the year 1837-'38, fifty years ago, 1,804,797 bales, against 7,017,707 bales, as I have stated, produced last year. So the production of cotton itself in fifty years has increased 350 per cent. in the United States, and rapid as our population has grown the increase in production has more than kept pace with it; it has in fact largely exceeded it.

In all the civilized world the consumption of cotton has increased in the same proportion. In Great Britain in 1866-'67 there was consumed 2,560,000 bales, whereas in 1887 there were consumed in Great Britain 3,861,000 bales, an increase of over 50 per cent. in the consumption of that one country alone in twenty years.

On the continent of Europe the increase was still greater. In 1866-'67, on the continent the consumption was 1,703,000 bales, when in 1887-'88 it was 3,770,000, an increase largely over 100 per cent. In 1866-'67 the mills of the Southern States of this Union consumed only 76,000 bales of cotton. In 1887 they consumed 500,000 bales of cotton, whereas the mills of the Northern portion of the Union consumed in 1866-'67, 746,000 bales, and last year they consumed 2,030,000 bales, showing an increase in the consumption of the Northern mills of nearly 300 per cent. and an increase in the consumption of the Southern mills of over 600 per cent.

The latter result, the extraordinary ratio of increase in the consumption of the Southern mill, is not only astonishing, but to me is particularly gratifying, for it may be truthfully said that every particle of progress that has been made in the cotton manufacture in the Southern mills has been done without the benefit of a single dollar of protection, not only in opposition and in competition with the mills of old England, but with the mills of New England, which were established with an amount of capital and skill that made them quite as formidable as the mills of the old country. A statement I have here of the extent and distribution of the cotton mills of the Southern States will be found very interesting, and I ask the Secretary to read it for the information of the Senate.

The President pro tem. The document forwarded by the Senator from North Carolina will be read.
The chief clerk read as follows:

State	Number of Mills	Spindles	Value of Product	Consumption
Alabama	10	1,000,000	\$1,000,000	1,000,000
Arkansas	5	500,000	\$500,000	500,000
California	2	200,000	\$200,000	200,000
Colorado	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
Florida	3	300,000	\$300,000	300,000
Georgia	15	1,500,000	\$1,500,000	1,500,000
Illinois	8	800,000	\$800,000	800,000
Indiana	6	600,000	\$600,000	600,000
Iowa	4	400,000	\$400,000	400,000
Kansas	7	700,000	\$700,000	700,000
Kentucky	9	900,000	\$900,000	900,000
Louisiana	11	1,100,000	\$1,100,000	1,100,000
Maine	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
Massachusetts	12	1,200,000	\$1,200,000	1,200,000
Michigan	10	1,000,000	\$1,000,000	1,000,000
Minnesota	8	800,000	\$800,000	800,000
Mississippi	13	1,300,000	\$1,300,000	1,300,000
Missouri	14	1,400,000	\$1,400,000	1,400,000
Montana	2	200,000	\$200,000	200,000
Nebraska	3	300,000	\$300,000	300,000
Nevada	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
New Hampshire	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
New Jersey	16	1,600,000	\$1,600,000	1,600,000
New Mexico	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
New York	17	1,700,000	\$1,700,000	1,700,000
North Carolina	18	1,800,000	\$1,800,000	1,800,000
North Dakota	2	200,000	\$200,000	200,000
Ohio	19	1,900,000	\$1,900,000	1,900,000
Oklahoma	3	300,000	\$300,000	300,000
Oregon	4	400,000	\$400,000	400,000
Pennsylvania	20	2,000,000	\$2,000,000	2,000,000
Rhode Island	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
South Carolina	15	1,500,000	\$1,500,000	1,500,000
South Dakota	2	200,000	\$200,000	200,000
Tennessee	14	1,400,000	\$1,400,000	1,400,000
Texas	11	1,100,000	\$1,100,000	1,100,000
Vermont	1	100,000	\$100,000	100,000
Virginia	13	1,300,000	\$1,300,000	1,300,000
Washington	3	300,000	\$300,000	300,000
West Virginia	4	400,000	\$400,000	400,000
Wisconsin	10	1,000,000	\$1,000,000	1,000,000
Wyoming	2	200,000	\$200,000	200,000
Total	188	18,800,000	\$18,800,000	18,800,000

Mr. Vance—Almost all, you may say 95 per cent., of the goods manufactured in the Southern mills are of a square inch, and therefore can not be affected beneficially or otherwise by protection. These goods not only supply the local demand of all the South and Southwest, but to a very great extent are usurping the Northwest, so much so that but a few years since I saw the statement in the financial and commercial papers of the country that the spinners of similar coarse goods in the Northern mills had applied to the great trunk-lines

leading to the Northwestern country for special rates, putting it upon the ground that unless they could get some advantage of the Southern manufacturers by special freight rates they would be driven out of the market.

Not only have the Southern mills pretty well taken the market of this country for that trade of goods, but large numbers and values of them are exported to foreign countries, as I shall show in a moment. I ask permission to read here a letter from one of our most intelligent gentlemen in my State, who is well acquainted with the condition of the mills in that State, and whose exposition of their condition will answer very well for mills in the South at large:

I proceed to answer your queries. First. The mills of North Carolina are relatively numerous, but they are small, and they do not make a fine grade of yarn. ("The number of a yarn" is the number of hanks of that yarn it takes to make a pound.) Our mills mostly make from 14's to 20's; the great bulk is 14's and the average is 25's. The numbers, however run from 8's to 22's. A few mills even finer numbers. At Wilmington they make 26's.

Second. The cloth made in this State is almost entirely either "brown sheetings" (unbleached plain white goods) or "plaids."

Brown sheetings is mostly 4 yards wide and 3 yards to the pound. Plaids are mostly 24 to 27 inches wide, 4, 4½, and 5 yards to the pound. The yarn almost exclusively used in both of these goods is No. 14. No. 14 yarn makes 44 threads to the inch, or, counting both ways, 88.

No. 14 yarn, running 44 threads to the inch, 25 inches wide, makes a cloth weighing about 5 yards to the pound. But if it can be "beat" thicker so that the cloth will be heavier, and will take only 4 yards to make a pound; the width also varies to 27 inches.

I inclose samples of cloth made from No. 14 yarn, weighing 4, 4½, and 5 yards to the pound, sent by Mr. Willard. I also inclose a sample of a finer yarn, possibly No. 22, running over 6 yards to the pound. You will perceive the difference in texture between that and the others, and can feel the difference in thickness from beating between the others, all made from No. 14 yarn.

Goods weighing 5 yards to the pound sell wholesale at 5 cents a yard; 4½ yards to the pound at 5½ cents, and 4 yards to the pound at 6½ cents.

In spinning there is a waste of one-fifth, so that spinners say 100 pounds of cotton will make 83 pounds of yarn. Say 1-15 pounds of cotton make a pound of yarn. With cotton at 10 cents, 12 cents of cotton is 1 pound of yarn. Cotton is now about 9 cents, and No. 8 (2 ply) yarn is quoted at about 12 cents. The cost of spinning is seen to be almost nothing, relatively.

But in some cases finer numbers are used, say, then, from 14's to 20's. The great bulk, however, is as above. (At Wilmington the mill makes Nos. 32 to 36 yarns which it makes into "print cloth." The square inch contains 64 by 64 threads. This is the standard "print cloth," on which calculation is "printed.")

The products of our North Carolina mills, as far as I have information, are not exported.

The brown sheetings are sold here at home chiefly. The plaids were formerly for local consumption, but the business proving profitable the mills increased and the supply was more than Southern demand. The surplus has found a market at the Northwest, and in a less degree at the North.

Before the war our mills made the yarns which were shipped to Philadelphia, where there was a large number of looms employed merely in making "plaids," which were sold at the South. The Southern mills have largely broken up those looms, although some are yet run in Philadelphia. At the North our Southern plaids are not used much. They have other "colored" goods, but the women do not wear this class of goods there for dresses, as at the South.

Print cloth is made into calico only at the large printing mills at the Northeast.

The number of mills in North Carolina is stated, as follows:

Eighty-one mills, 240,081 spindles, 5,856 looms, consuming 80,485 bales of cotton, weighing 35,668,479 pounds, the average yarn being No. 15.

Although no foreign shipments are made of North Carolina products (as far as I know), yet shipments are made from other Southern points. One mill in South Carolina I have heard (perhaps at Greenville) has sold all of its products for some years in China.

The foreign trade in cotton goods has not varied largely for some years, excepting in 1886 and 1887, when our shipments to China were very heavy. This increased shipment to China has not in 1888 been maintained.

As far as the tariff is concerned, it is inoperative as protection to our Southern makes of yarns or goods—the cost of labor in the goods not being considerable. The tariff is protective as to the finer grade of goods, where the cost of labor is a larger item. The tariff on goods like Southern goods does not permit an increased price, because prices are determined as to them by adequate competition here locally. But the cost of production (which regulates the limit which competition can legitimately reach) is increased by the tariff on machinery and articles entering into the product. The cost of the plant

were reduced, the price of our cotton goods would rule much lower here, and we could export successfully and largely increase our milling interests.

Since that letter was received I have received others, giving more information in regard to the exportation of these Southern-made goods. I have a letter from the same gentleman in which he states that on subsequent inquiry he has found that the Piedmont Manufacturing Company, of Greenville, S. C., and another mill under the same management, export their goods abroad; and the Clifton mills, at Clifton, S. C.; the Graniteville mills, at Graniteville, S. C.; the Paconet, and the Langley, and the King's mills, and the Sibley mills, at Augusta, Ga., and many others. They are passed through the custom-house for export under the name of "domestics," and by observing the reports of the exportations you will see that very large quantities of domestic goods go to China, to India, to South America, to Mexico, and all parts of the world, the bulk of which are no doubt from the Southern mills.

The activity of British manufacturers of cotton goods, maintained under very adverse circumstances, should be a sufficient example to a protective tariff. They have not only maintained their trade in the face of the increased production by the mills of the United States, and the continent of Europe, and all the rest of the world, but they have at the same time maintained their rate of wages.

For the past year, ending October 1st, their trade in cotton goods, cloth and yarn, reduced to nominal for convenience sake, was 1,200,000,000 pounds, against 1,145,456,000 pounds in 1886-'87, and 1,116,810,000 pounds in 1885-'86, showing a constant and steady increase; and the consumption of the goods of the British mills is not due to their increased sales, particularly upon the continent of Europe, but chiefly their sales have been increased and their business has been advanced in India and in China, in the face of the cheap labor in the world, by mills paying the dearest labor in the world, except the United States, showing conclusively that England has not acquired and maintained her supremacy in the manufacture of these cotton goods by the cheapness of her labor, for she pays more than anybody else in the world except the manufacturers of the United States, nor by the cheapness of the raw material, for she gets the raw material as cheap as she gets it herself, or cheaper, by freight, insurance, commissions, etc., incident to transportation; but she has acquired it by the cheapness of the material of which her plant is composed, by the cheapness of the interest on the capital which she employs, by the cheapness of her fuel and all that runs her operations; and, I might add, by the wisdom and the enlightenment of her commercial policy.

The Senator from Arkansas (Mr. Jones) gave us yesterday some interesting comparisons of the cost of spinning cotton in this country and Europe, taken from Mr. Schoenhof's investigations and inquiries while he was consul at Tunstall. They also refer to the same statement. I have a personal acquaintance with that gentleman. I know him to be a man of high character and very considerable ability in the investigation of financial and commercial questions, and I have every reason to believe that what he has stated in his official report cannot be successfully contradicted, and that if it could have been done long ago, it would have been done long ago.

In his statement he says that in England the waste by the spinner of cotton is much smaller than it is in the United States; that in England 125 yards of cloth requires 14 pounds of cotton, whilst in America 125 yards of the same kind of cloth requires 18 pounds of cotton. The profit to the English manufacturer consists principally in sizing and the starch and other materials to give it sufficient weight. The cost of spinning in England, per pound, he puts at 3.506 cents, or, as we would say in round numbers, 3½ cents per pound. The cost of spinning in America is 3.21 cents, showing that it is positively costlier to spin a pound of cotton in England than it is to spin a pound of cotton in the United States, whilst in North Carolina, according to the testimony of the most intelligent and reliable manufacturers to whom I have applied, the cost of spinning a pound of cotton, for the making of such cloth as I have described, is 1½ cents—50 to 51 cents, according to the quality of the cloth. The very highest quality of yarn spun in North Carolina costs the same or little less than the same quality of cloth costs to spin in England, whilst the cheapest quality of cloth costs 50 per cent. less to spin in North Carolina than it does in Massachusetts.

The net waste of cotton, resulting from spinning in Lowell, is stated by Mr. Schoenhof, by the authority of the manufacturers whom he consulted, to be 14 per cent., whilst the highest average net waste in spinning the same yarn in Lancashire is 8.1 per cent. The cost of weaving per pound in Lowell is stated at 4.736 cents; the cost of weaving in England is 4.802 cents; whilst the cost of weaving, by the same authority, of the coarse goods which I have described as made in the Southern mills in North Carolina is 1½ cents per pound, or one-half cent per yard where the goods run three yards to the pound. The cost of weaving per "cut" of 50 yards in Lancashire is 25½ cents, whilst the cost of weaving a "cut" of 50 yards in Lowell is 20 cents. In England one spinner attends 576 spindles, whilst in America a spinner attends 960 spindles. In America one weaver attends 63 looms, whilst in England the same

weaver would attend 4 looms. In America the average earning per loom per week of the operative is \$5.08; in England the average earning per loom per week of the operative is \$6; showing a difference of only 8 cents in the aggregate earning of the two. The output of the American weaver per week is 1,270 yards, whilst the output of the English weaver is 908 yards.

Mr. President, if these figures are true, I should like to ask what this protection is for? It cannot be for the benefit of the operative, because, although his earnings are somewhat larger in this country than they are in England, they are not due to the tariff. He only earns more money by reason of his larger hours of labor, his superior skill, and his more industriable industry, and the greater results which he gives to his employer.

Now, sir, why should we, with this great continent so admirably fitted to the production of cotton, occupied by a people whose genius is directed to its production, where all the elements of manufacturing successfully are to be found in a superior degree to those of any other country upon the face of the earth; and having, as you may say, a monopoly of the raw material—for the rest of the world is dependent upon us—why should we hamper our native goods with these restrictive laws, which can only have the effect of hampering and crippling trade, and cannot put any money into the pockets of the beloved working men?

Mr. President, the best evidence that we can compete without protection is that we do compete under all the disadvantages of protection. If a man could travel 20 miles a day and carry a heavy load, is it not reasonable to argue that he could travel much further in the day if he carried no load? If, with all this enormous protective tariff taxation upon the plant, upon everything with which we operate except along the raw material, handicapped by higher wages in this country than they pay in Europe—if we can successfully compete in one item of cotton manufacture, why can not we successfully compete in them all if the restrictions upon our progress were removed?

To show the injustice and uselessness of this duty, especially upon the cheap grades of cotton cloth, I cite the fact which is disclosed by the returns of the treasury department of the enormous exportations of these cheap cloths.

The total exports of cotton cloth, both colored and uncolored, which we receive from foreign countries are 27,360,100 square yards. The total exports of cotton cloth to all the world from these United States are 294,092,057 square yards, being seven times as much of the same kind of cloth as we import. Our total export of all cotton manufactures, exclusive of raw cotton, is \$1,423,332. It is only in the matter of linen, edgings, embroideries, trimmings, and fancy grades of cotton manufactures, that the balance of trade is against the United States. In all the ordinary manufactures of cotton we are today heavy exporters. The country to which we export the largest amount of cotton cloth is China, who takes 7,360,170 square yards, under the protection, not only with Great Britain but with her next-door neighbor, India, where the cotton is manufactured by the cheapest labor in the world.

The next largest customer of our cotton cloths is the Republic of Mexico, which takes over 12,000,000 square yards. Then comes Venezuela, which takes 19,000,000 square yards. Next comes the colored Republic of Hayti, which takes over 7,000,000 square yards. The United States of Columbia take 5,000,000 square yards, and the Island of San Domingo takes 4,250,000 square yards, whilst Great Britain herself takes twenty-one million square yards in her own territory proper, besides the amount that I have given as being sent to her possessions, when we receive from her only 17,000,000 square yards all told.

If we could do that, why can we need still to cover our statute-books with these prospective laws—restrictive laws, as they should be called? It seems to me that the spirit of protection is very hard to satisfy, very hard indeed. Now that it is shown by the amount of our exportation that we are able to send cotton cloths and yarns to the Kingdom of Great Britain and into all of her possessions, and to meet her upon all the neutral markets of the world, and actually and successfully compete with her, what is kinder to us from doing it? Having become accustomed to leaning upon the Government and to depending upon taxation, we have got to believe that there is no human endeavor that can be successful unless it is supported by public taxation; and consequently we hear every session as we have heard this session and as we shall hear again that there must be subsidized lines of steamships to bear our products to market. We have become so accustomed to ask governmental aid in every thing we do to supplement our own incompetency or our own greed, whichever it may be, and I believe it is generally both, that although we make the cheapest goods in the world, although we have the raw material cheaper than any other people have in the world for the manufacture of these cotton goods, and the labor cost in the manufacture of them is less than that which enters into the composition of any other piece goods of a similar character in the world, yet the Government must be once more called upon to bear the expense of taking these goods to market. That is what a subsidized line means. Not only must the American people pay taxes for the purpose of

securing a profit in the manufacture of these goods, but they must actually contribute out of the public Treasury to the carrying of those goods to market.

The illustration given the other day by the Senator from New York, whom I do not see in his seat, of the wisdom of Germany in producing cheap sugar, simply meant that the German people were taxed to give cheap sugar to foreigners outside of the German Empire; that is all it meant, and that proposition is to be made here. There is a great desire on the part of the protectionists to have a market for the surplus, and that surplus must be sold at whatever reduction of cost. It is more profitable for the producer to sell it at half price than to let it lie upon his hands, and if the surplus were once a year thrown on the American market it would disturb the values of the home market, and that must be avoided. Therefore it has to be sent abroad to be sold cheaply, at half price or anything it will bring, to these miserable foreigners whom we profess to dislike so much.

That must be one of the exigencies of trade. A man must get rid of his surplus in some way, but in heaven's name let him get rid of it at his own expense. In the name of common sense and common honesty if he wants to furnish foreign paupers with cheap goods for which the Americans have already been taxed, let him bear the expense of taking them to market, and selling them at the best he can, and not call upon an overtaxed people for further contributions.

The total increase of this cotton schedule, as they make it, over the existing law would amount to \$233,000, which sum would have to be increased by the very large amount on which the duty is raised, on cotton, velvets, plushes, fine goods, etc., amounting to the sum of \$16,000,000; and the amount of the increase of duties upon those can not be computed for want of data, and therefore it can only be estimated.

I should say, judging by the increases on those goods, the data for which have been furnished to the Treasury Department and where the calculations have been made—I should say that the increase in the balance of the schedule would amount to fully as much more, or, say, \$500,000 increase in the duty on cotton, and that under the circumstances which I have explained. Upon an article where the raw material is free, where machinery is most perfect and the labor is most skillful, and where all the conditions of manufacture are the most favorable here of any country upon the face of the earth, instead of going back in the direction of freer trade, in the direction of a liberal policy for the purpose of pushing our point of advantage until we wrest from Great Britain and all the continent of Europe the control of and domination of this great trade, we are going backward in the direction of the dark ages and increasing the duties on the cotton schedule to the extent of at least half a million dollars.

There will be more contested cases this year, in both branches of the Legislature, than for a number of years.—Raleigh Christian Advocate.

Not a death recorded for the month of December within the corporate limits of Salisbury, among either the white or colored population.—Carolina Watchman.

North Carolina has 600,000 children of school age, and spent nearly \$700,000 for their education last year—a little more than a dollar per head. Massachusetts spent \$7,000,000 last year for the education of her children; twenty dollars per head. What a contrast!—The Home (Pittsboro).

The first General Assembly of North Carolina, independent of the crown, was held at Halifax in 1776. The annual session continued until 1876, just 100 years, the session of 1876-'77 being the last. The biennial sessions began with the Assembly of 1879; there having been five biennial sessions; the present session is the 100th.—News and Observer.

Mr. M. O. Sherrill, cashier of Collector Craigie's office, has become a very fine expert in the detection of counterfeit money. During the month of December he took in over \$50,000 and did not have a cent of counterfeit passed on him. Good authorities say this is a fine record.—Newton Enterprise.

Twice has the farmer's candidate, S. B. Alexander, gone to the wall. Last June his name was presented before the State Convention for the Governor's nomination. Contrary to the expressed desire of the farmers he was defeated and a lawyer given the nomination. Now, in a fight in which he openly declared himself a candidate, and in which both he and his friends put in hard work, he is again defeated by a still larger majority than for Governor. What is the matter?—Concord Times.

Religion is a life, not a garment to be put on or off. It must be interwoven with the very fibers of the soul, and must be developed as the muscles of the body are developed—by exercise. It must flow out to other lives in order to bless our own, and the child-heart should be taught the beauty of such a life. This should be the atmosphere through which all else should be viewed. All else should be subservient to its high demands.

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GENTLEMEN:
THIS WILL BE A GREAT BARGAIN WEEK AT
W. KAUFMAN & CO.'S
CORNER CENT