

his house, or on his back: you will see that this tax falls with crushing weight upon every farmer in the land. But, the Radical will tell him that he must pay this tribute to A's factory, B's mill or C's furnace in order that they may create for him a home market. They tell him to hold on, this thing will come out all right. It is a little hard on you farmers now, but it is the making of the home market, and of the infant industries. This argument strikes us as being funny. In fact, it reminds us of a joke which sounds a little like Vance, but whether it comes from Senator Vance or Judge Gilmer illustrates the point. A boy took his daddy out to help train his dog to be a bear dog. The old man acted as the bear; the puppy got him by the nose and was giving him fits, when he shouted to the boy, "help! come take him off." "Oh," said the boy, "daddy hold on, stand it! it is hard on you, but it is the making of the pup."

The farmers of this country are not asking for any such customers, realizing that this luxury is too expensive and that a man who digs his dollars out of the ground cannot afford to pay such an extravagant price for a "home market."

The manufacturers seem to forget that the farmers are as good and regular customers of theirs as they are of the farmers. It seems to have been forgotten that the husbandman stands pre-eminently the lord of creation, that in no human presence should he cringe, to no human calling should he pay tribute.

"Agriculture can live without manufacturers, but manufacturers cannot live without agriculture." The farmer asks no tariff protection, but he is asking in thundering tones for "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." Some of the advocates of protection sneer at the efforts of farmers and their friends to secure reform in our tariff system, and they go so far as to say too much is raised, let the fields grow up in virgin forests. Let us see if any other class deserves more consideration or more relief than the one engaged in agriculture? Our farmers control the largest landed interest in the world, and their possessions should be the pride and glory of our Government. They are engaged in the oldest and largest industry of our country. Fifty-two per cent. of our population are connected with them and are dependent on them at the same time they furnish food for our whole population and send abroad seven-eighths of our entire exports. "An agriculture is the basis of all wealth, private and public." Farm life is more independent, is better calculated to make good men and good women, than those reared in any other station. Better soldiers are found on the farm in time of war and better citizens in time of peace. It is a nursery for big brained, broad-minded, large-souled men and true-hearted, pure-souled women. Yet there is now, and has been in the past, distress and hard times among the agricultural classes of this country. Many of our substantial farmers have gone to the towns to engage in trade. There is, to-day no such prosperity among the planters of this country as there should be. Go to your court houses and look over the black mortgages that cover everything from the farm, with its mansion, "to the skillet on the dirt hearth of the cabin." American farmers live harder, practice more rigid economy, have fewer of the luxuries, work more hours per day and are more troubled to make tongue and buckle meet than any other class of our people. They work in all kinds of weather from early morn to dewy eve, and for what? For money your answer. Money is the reward of labor and sweetens toil. But what has become of the fruits of the labor of 8,000,000 of American farmers? Statistics of the farm show that the values of farm property have increased less proportionately during the high tariff period than during the low tariff period. They also show that the mortgages on farm property from 1860 to 1880 (the high tariff period) has equalled the increased value of this property during that period. This is alarming. What has become of the profits of this great industry? They have been swallowed up by the monopolists. They have been absorbed in high prices resulting from high duties. These manufacturers have been hoarding their millions at the expense of the farmer. Who are the millionaires? Are they found among the tillers of the soil? No, they consist of such iron kings as Carnegie, who have made \$25,000,000 under a protective tariff, and who would continue to enrich themselves and make each a Ceresus by making the farmer and laboring man

each a Lazarus. We commend the brain that by industry and management accumulates wealth. "But when bad men conspire good men must combine." Men count their millions now who a few years ago could not count their thousands. In the very nature of things it appears that this condition of affairs must be abnormal. It is true that men may start even in a race and some will shoot ahead and distance others in reaching the goal, but we do not believe that any later can reach the end before the others take the first step if all had a fair start and an equal showing. The Democratic party advocates the God-given doctrine, "Render therefore to all their dues," and protests against placing upon the farmer boy a saddle weighted down with the weights of protection and taxation, while the son of the manufacturer shall have all the advantages that Radical ingenuity can devise and run the race without saddle or weights. "Live and let live"—give them all a fair start, and then no matter which one outruns let him claim the prize and receive that which he has fairly won. If the farmer could find a home market for all his products it might make a difference, but in the very nature of things, this is also impossible. The farms of the nine manufacturing States produce more than is consumed in those States. Therefore the farmers of the South and West must sell their products in the unprotected markets of the world. Why the farmer should be compelled to sell his products at the real market value and the manufacturer be privileged to sell his at 47 per cent. above its value cannot be satisfactorily explained by any man. An Irishman, coming to this country in winter was attacked by a dog, and on stooping down to pick up a stone to defend himself, he found it frozen to the ground. He said to his companion, "this is a strange country, where the dogs are let loose and the rocks are tied to the ground." So the farmer can say this must be a strange country where everything he buys is taxed and everything he has to sell must be sold free. This class legislation which discriminates against farmers and enables other interests to absorb an undue amount of their wealth has at last induced a very large portion of the farmers to organize in associations for their own protection. The Farmers' Alliance is one of them and the Grange is another, and it is well that the farmers have been aroused and are organizing to protect themselves from the evils of this ungodly tariff. And it will be well indeed for the opponents of reform to beware and not to further provoke the suffering classes by resisting the moderate demands of the Mills Bill. The ballot is yet stronger than gold, and if the people through agitation ever become well acquainted with Mr. Tariff they will sweep from the Statute Book every trace of his class legislation, heretofore obtained through Congressional favoritism.

OVER-PRODUCTION CALLS FOR EXTENDED MARKETS.

If a protective policy favors one class, and it must be admitted that it does, then all will seek that class and the result is over-production. While, if the law would leave them to themselves, they would seek those occupations in which they were best qualified and thus diversify labor. The avenues of wealth should be open to all but no man or set of men have a right to be legislated into wealth. It is not more protection, but more customers that is the crying want of American producers of all classes. The sole dependence of the American farmers for a market for their surplus, which amounts to \$500,000,000 worth a year, is foreign nations towards whom our Chinese wall of protection is a declaration of war. The manufacturers of this country have glutted our markets by over-production, but they do not as the farmer, seek relief in the markets of the world. The usual course is to combine competitors into a trust or syndicate, or pool, and then hold up the price and limit production. The small manufacturer who happens to be left out of the combine is ruined. He cannot stand the pressure, and goes under. They carry oppression into their own camp, monopolizing monopolies. Our home market has become a home monopoly cornered and controlled by trusts and other agencies. Soon, very soon, we will be compelled to seek foreign markets or else over-production will cause the monopolies to die of greed. Shall the United States with its mighty bound of nature and giant industries decline to compete for supremacy in the markets of mankind, and continue forever to trade among ourselves under the same delusion that we are growing

rich by the process? Why should we let so many of our fertile acres lie barren, work our factories on half time, "allow our furnaces to grow cold under bond," while our mechanics are clamoring for work and the nations of the world are simply waiting for us to come and trade with them? These are the questions which press upon every farmer in the land and upon every manufacturer who is not so fortunate to be combined in a trust. England is the pet aversion of the average Republican and is denounced on all occasions. Yet England buys more than half of all the cotton raised in the States and more than one half of all our breadstuffs that are exported. We have nothing to fear from England but she has much to fear from us and knows it. An English Statesman speaking of the tariff in our country, points to the United States as the great industrial nation of the future, and exclaims "Luckily her protective policy is an incubus upon her industry and gives us in England breathing time to prepare for the coming struggle." England knows that if we unshackle the enterprise of our people, we will regain the commercial supremacy we once enjoyed when the American flag was a familiar sight upon all the waters of the globe and in the harbors of the world. No people can be great who do not "go down to sea in ships." Every people must trade abroad. Every individual is dependent on some other. If he be a poor man the soil and steam of traffic is in perpetual unrest to relieve his wants. If he be a rich man his Brazilian diamonds must be cut in Europe. The spices to favor his food must come from the caravans of the east. His cigar is from Cuba and Sumatra, his rum from the Indies, his wine from Champagne. China gives him tea and Java coffee. He will have his clothes in spite of laws from the looms of England and France, and his wife her silks and satins from Lyons, and her ribbons from Paris. The Democratic party looks forward to the time when our Navy shall be the pet of the nation—when this grand Republic shall rule the markets of the globe and fulfilling the prophecy show herself to be "queen of the world and child of the skies."

PAUPER LABOR OF EUROPE.

The terms "home market" and "pauper labor" are synonymous, that is they mean about the same thing. The former is used to deceive the farmer and the latter the working man. If protection protects the laborer and gives him higher wages, then in the name of heaven what has produced all this trouble and turmoil in the land? The fact is this, wages are a matter entirely irrelevant to the discussion of tariff, depending upon the laws of supply and demand. If the tariff regulates wages how is it that the wages of the different States of the Union are different while the tariff is all the same from Maine to California? How is that Russia with a very high tariff pays lower wages than free trade England? France and Germany have the protective system and the wages are lower than in England where free trade obtains. Senator Vance tells us that "labor was higher here than in Europe before we had a tariff, and whilst Europe was highly protected, it was higher when our first tariff of 8 per cent. was in force it has continued so ever since without the least regard to the state of the tariff." The efficiency of labor is, as every one knows, an important factor to be considered relative to the question of wages. Now the productive capacity of labor in our factories is estimated to be from one and a half to twice that of European labor. No class except the farmers have been so deluded and humbugged as have been the working-men of this country, by the manufacturers who have continually demanded a high tariff for the benefit, and in the name of American labor, but who have always coolly pocketed the receipts and left the poor laborer to take care of himself, thus proving that "the first refuge of scoundrels is in patriotism." The product of labor is protected but there is no tariff on labor. Mr. Perkins, of Kansas, in discussing this point on the floor of the House, says: "But, if the law is really intended to protect the one eight of our labor, those employed in the favored industries it is very curious that some direct and practical step has not been taken to effect the alleged purpose. If these gentlemen mean what they say, why have they not passed a law to prohibit the importation of foreign labor?" As it is the imported pauper labor of the world comes to the port of New York, bids good morning to the custom of

ficers and walks to free, in open competition with American labor which the Radicals pretend to protect. A border, barer, more transparent protection than this was never invented to cover up a scheme of spoliation. The monopolist gets his labor like the railroad king in the open markets of the country and as cheap as possible. Mr. Mills makes it clear. He says, "I want to show that none of these tariff rates go to the laborer the road is blocked, they cannot pass the pockets of the manufacturer. Take a pair of five-pound blankets. The whole cost as stated by the manufacturer is \$2.51. The labor cost he paid for making them is 35 cents. The present tariff is \$1.90. Now here is \$1.55 in this tariff over and above the entire labor cost of these blankets. It goes into the manufacturer's pocket. The poor fellow who made the blankets got 35 cents and the manufacturer kept the \$1.90." We will go a step further—the chilly winds of winter begin to blow, this same laborer who made this pair of 5-pound blankets, goes to the merchant, who is the tax-gatherer in disguise, and buys the identical pair of blankets paying the manufacturer his \$1.90. "Protection!" Protecting a man by robbing him of his labor and taking money out of his pocket. This illustrates the sham character of the whole business. For under the canting cry of protection the American people have been robbed out of one of their dearest rights and from the farmers and laborers of this country has been wrung enough to make every one of them rich. These four words "Home market,"—"pauper labor" have cost the tax-payers of the United States hundreds of millions of dollars.

ACCUMULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

The third and last theory of protection is that this country has grown rich from protection. It is true that our country has made wonderful strides in improvement and wealth in the last 20 years but it has not been because of the tariff but in spite of it. And it has been at a fearful cost to the great body of American people. The accumulation has not been of a uniform character. Hundreds have grown to be millionaires while tens of thousands have become paupers. We have accumulated wealth at a rapid rate in every decade since the birth of the Republic regardless of the state of the tariff, but never before in the history of this Nation have the lines of demarcation between wealth and poverty been so wide and distinct as now. It is a well known fact that the fertility of Ancient Egypt with its consequent wealth and civilization was due to the annual inundation of the river Nile, and that the Egyptians attributed this overflow to the benign influence of the Dog Star Sirius. Observing that the appearance of the Dog Star above the Egyptian horizon and the annual effluxion of the Nile were coincident, they imputed the rising of the river to the influence of the star. Reasoning in this manner the Republicans will tell you that the growth of this country is due to the tariff. But the logic which leads them to this conclusion is an "anachronism." It has no relation to this era. It should be remembered that there is no country on the globe which has the resources, the facilities, the opportunities, and the possibilities of ours, that our people are brave and energetic, that each son "is a peer of the realm and a prince of the blood," that we have the most fertile lands of the world which are freely given away for homesteads, that here we have free speech, free press, free religion, free suffrage and free trade among the States and that ours is the leading nation in education, in inventions, in transportation and in agriculture. We are rich in spite of the tariff and woe betide the day when the people of the United States come to believe that Congress can legislate them into wealth. No principle of political economy is so well established as this, that values cannot be created by statute, but that legislation can and does effect the distribution of wealth.

PROTECTION UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

The Republican party in its last convention went farther than it had ever dared to go before and, ignoring the constitution of the United States declared for "protection for protection's sake." The constitution provides for the levying of taxes to defray the expenses of the Government but beyond that it does not go. The fundamental principle of American institutions is the greatest good to the greatest number. This is a cardinal principle of Democracy, but the protectionist will tell you that this theory has been explored and that it should read the greatest good

to the whole number. Why they argue from this standpoint we are unable to see, as the result of this tariff is the greatest good to the least number and the least good to the greatest number. It has been decided by the United States Supreme court in the case of the Loan Association vs. Topeka that protection is robbery. Speaking of the taxing power Justice Miller says, "This power can as readily be employed against one class and in favor of another so as to ruin the one class and give unlimited wealth and prosperity to the other, if there be no implied limitation of the uses for which the power may be exercised. To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprise and to build up private fortunes is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and called taxation." This is the clear and forcible language of the highest tribunal in the land. In the light of this decision no man with a particle of reasoning in his composition can say that protection is anything else but robbery. Nor does the Republican party say that it is anything else. It says "The Constitution be hanged!"

TAX REFORM AND THE SOUTH.

The Republicans inform us that the President's Message bodes no good to the South. On the contrary it gives her joyful assurance of the dawn of a better day. It comes to her "as a glory beaming star" from the dark clouds of reconstruction and class legislation. The South does not ask for help. She only asks to be relieved of oppression. Tariff reform tells her that the raw materials which lie in rich and varied profusion at our feet will invite and welcome idle capital which seeks investment. The labor of the world could not dig up our coal and iron ore in 500 years. We have a practical monopoly of cotton, a staple which clothes two thirds of the human race and the South knows and the Yankee manufacturer realizes that with anything like "fair trade," New England cannot buy our cotton, manufacture it 1200 miles away, pay two transportations, and sell it in competition with the mills beside the cotton fields. The President assures the South that the distinctions and partialities of the present tariff shall be leveled and that the mighty possibilities she possesses shall have ample opportunity for expansion. It also sets before her the rainbow of commercial promise, "with its wing on earth and its wing on the sea." The eyes of the world are fixed upon this highly favored land, and all people are learning of our well-nigh boundless, but until recently almost hidden wealth. The capitalists, the men of industry, energy and enterprise, the sturdy farmer and ambitious youth, are all coming among us to find a welcome and enjoy with us the advantages of a blessing which a Divine Providence has so lavishly bestowed upon us.

The South has ever protested against this tribute exacted from her people to enrich citizens of the North and East, and has done and is doing solid work towards speeding the day of tariff reform which will free her from unjust and obstructive laws. She hails the on-coming of fair trade. Her loins are girt for a new and unfettered race. Already beneath her feet she feels the stir of a marvelous life. And North Carolina with charity and with courage is calling upon the Democracy within her borders to rally, to unite and help settle this great question which involves the very life of every interest in the State and in the Union. Will the "third party," in whose ranks are found a few of the best men in the State, forget the issues, cease to cherish liberty as well, and throw the Government into the hands of a race marked as distinct from the white race, and which has not the experience nor the capacity for the responsibilities of self government?

Let every true Democrat rally around the standard of his party and if there is any real or imaginary clash among classes or between men in this State, let them be buried in concessions in order that we may present a solid line of battle to the enemy and prevent the deplorable and blighting results of tariff oppression and negro supremacy. These great vital issues will never be overlooked by this people. But North Carolina, looking forward to a career full of the promises of prosperity and wealth under tax reform, will on the Ides of November give a majority of 80,000 strong for the Standard Bearers of Democracy, the champions of the people, and against the greed of monopoly and the leaders of oppression.