

Student's Note Book



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Simply a farmer and a business man, but a lover of my country and a lover of my race and I am proud of my state for I am a native North Carolinian, proud of her past glory, proud of her glory in war, proud of her achievement, accomplished in the past and I thank God I had the honor of being born upon her soil. I love her citizens; they are my people; I love her for in her soil lie my father and my mother surrounded by all my kith and kin ~~and~~ for five generations back sore

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Those who gave up Their
lives for Their Country ~~and~~
in the late war and in
the war of the revolution
and lie buried in our
sister states to the north
and south of us. My life
has been a quiet, peaceful
and happy one spent
upon the farm where I should
have been to day, in all prob-
ability, had Agriculture
had its need of success.
But about the year 1883 my
attention was first called to
the very serious depression
in all Agricultural pur-
suits. The fock ^{that} this depression

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was general and the reverse the
case with manufacturing stim-
ulated further investigation.
It was also noticeable in the
falling into disuse of Agr. Fairs
all over the country; in the
abandonment of Country
homes every where; in the
marked decline of profes-
sional spirit among farmers
and in the ~~difference with~~
~~which they were once treated;~~
in their incessant clamor
for cheaper freight rates to
compensate for the diminish-
ing prices in their crops; in the
~~great increase in the number~~
~~of trusts and strikes;~~ in the

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alarming multiplication of farm mortgages, and the increasing difficulty farmers had in paying the interest on them and in the gradual displacement of independent farming; in the perceptible loss of power by the farming class in Congress, state legislatures, conventions and over public affairs; in the abandonment, even by farmer's sons, of a vocation that yielded neither fortune, dignity or influence and in the steady degradation of the Agr. States to the position of provinces from which the colossal fortunes of the East draw their annual

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increment. These and other considerations, compelled me, as a duty, to cast my lot with my fellow toilers, with an earnest, honest effort to gain relief through the most available means. The first measure presenting itself was the North Carolina Farmers Association of which I was the Honored head. That was soon succeeded by the Alliance of which order I was twice made president holding the office the constitutional limit of two years. The faithfulness and assiduity with which these trusts were administered can be

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best attested to by the honor
you have conferred upon ^{me} in
the late state Convention in
naming me ^{for} your next
Governor - the highest office
in the gift of the people.

Now, fellow citizens, we have
come together to day to talk of
political issues dividing the
people. There are many. The
trouble is there are too many,
and in this great number we
are forgetting the one great
issue at the foundation of
the whole thing, and that is
the necessity of dethroning
The Republican Party. The

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party that has dominated this country for the past thirty years and is to day responsible for every obnoxious law upon the statute books that is so heavily oppressing the people. National Banks, ^{Protective} Tariff, ^{demonitization of silver,} Gradualism, Pensioners, Counties and Spoils, not forgetting their determination, so expressed in their platform and approved by Harrison himself, to still further degrade this beautiful Southland of ours, by the enactment of that infamous measure the Force Bill, which means an absolute annihilation of the liberties of the South,

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a godless rule of ^{plunderers} ~~black~~
under the patronage of Federal
bayonets, a reenactment of
the reconstruction days, a
period never to be forgotten
in North Carolina. I tell you
my friends as sure as the
sun shines, as sure as the
waters of the Nile will even-
tually reach the sea, that the
continuance of this party in power
for another four years will in-
volve the liberties of this people.
And altho the Democratic Party
has been in control, of first
one branch of the government
and then the other, it has
not seen the day in thirty

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years when it could make
or unmake a law. We will
admit that some Democrats
thirty years ago, in 1862, voted
to establish National Banks; That
some Democrats voted ten years
ago, ¹⁸⁸² to recharter them; That some
Democrats voted nineteen years
ago, 1873, to demonetize silver,
but no one seems to have known
any thing about that; That more
than twenty years ago, in 1871,
seven Democrats voted to repeal
the income tax; That twenty five
years ago, in 1866, some Democrats
voted to retire a portion of
the Greenback currency. we
will concede all this. Yet, the

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The declaration that the Republican party is the responsible party, remains true, absolutely true.

Every intelligent man in this audience or in this country knows that the party in control of the government is always held and necessarily ~~to~~ held responsible for the legislation of the government. It can not be otherwise, and the reason for it is too plain to admit of question. That reason is that the chosen party has been selected by the people at the ballot box for conducting the affairs of the government. The people have said by their votes "this is the organized

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party on which we confer the power to make our laws," and that party so selected has all power to pass good laws or bad laws. If they fail to make good laws or repeal bad laws they alone must take the consequences. But you may ask, does not responsibility attach to the minority? Yes undoubtedly, but it is the responsibility of individuals, and not the responsibility of the party for the reason that the people by their votes have not selected the minority but the majority to control legislation. The individual members of the

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minority are responsible for
their individual acts. The
Senators to their respective States
and the members of the House
to their districts; but it is not
a logical conclusion to claim
that an organized party, which
has been defeated at the polls,
shall be held responsible for
the legislation of the government
because some members of that
defeated party vote one way
and some another. Let us
bring the proposition home. Sup-
pose, for illustration, the Farmer's
Alliance, acting as a separate,
organized political party, had
endeavored to take control

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of the government and had succeeded in controlling both Houses of Congress and the Presidency. Do you not plainly see that in the eyes of all the world they would at once have become responsible, as an organized party, for all the legislation of this Congress? They, however, sent only a minority to the Two Houses. Some of these Alliance representations have taken one course of action and some another. Are you going to hold the Alliance, as an organized body, responsible for the individual opinions and

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separate action of each of these representatives? How utterly intolerable and senseless would be such a position! See folio 2th

This same Republican Party has transcended the powers of the constitution to make extravagant appropriations of the hard earnings of the people and its financial policy has been ^{in the interest} such ~~as~~ of the ~~closet~~ ^{as the incomes} to place the currency of the country in the hands of one man, the secretary of the treasury, who can expand or contract it at will, according to the dictates of the monopolies in which he may be interested. This policy has ^{been} ~~been~~ ^{proved} ~~beneficial~~

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Plutocracy into whose pockets flow steadily
year after year all earnings of the true
toilers, the creators of wealth. 189

~~to the plutocracy but not so~~
~~to the masses.~~ It has been Ham-
iltonian in principle and
practice, a government
of the people by a class
for the classes. Think my
friends. Are you willing to sit
down in the narrowed circle
of a little horizon and let
the country go to pieces? Let
us reason together like sensible
men and if we are in error
let us acknowledge it; if
we are right stick to the right.
Your vote for another than
the Democracy is half a vote
for the Republicans. Let me
beseech ^{you} not to do it.

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Now my friends I want to say
just a word about the St.
Louis platform. Admitting for
the present the pension plank
was not in it, and excepting
the ownership of Railroads, so
far as it goes, there is no
objection to it. it is good
sound Alliance doctrine. But
its sin is one of omission
much greater than commission
by ignoring the tariff issue
altogether. A question like Dan-
quo's ghost ^{that} will not down at
ones bidding and the frequent
efforts to side track it, as
a minor issue, are alike un-
successful. I propose to show

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you, if you will only beon pa-
tiently with me the intimate con-
nection between ^{protective} the tariff and
finance, so intimate that it is
difficult to say just where one
leaves off and the other begins
and how the present deplorable
financial condition ^{of our people} may be
attributable directly to it. I
would not have ^{you} think I am
minimizing the importance of
the our demands ~~upon~~ for fin-
ancial relief ^{for} by an incre-
ase in the circulating media,
but I do believe that had
we a financial jubilee and
the money now in circulation
divided pr Capita, it would

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take a less time than it has
to put the Agricultural class
in as deplorable condition as
they are to day.

Tariff.

Now let us look into it. Tariff
is a tax imposed upon articles
imported into a country from
abroad. It is of three kinds,
viz: revenue, protective and
prohibitory. The first is imposed
for revenue to support the
government. Protective Tariff
is imposed chiefly for the
benefit of certain home interests
while a prohibitory Tariff is
one so high as to prohibit the
importation of foreign

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articles it is levied on, and give to the Home manufacturers of the article an absolute monopoly of the home market. The duty on Sugar was a revenue tariff and yielded to the government \$56,000,000. We traded with the Republicans got the Tariff taken off agreeing to pay sugar producers a bounty of 2 cents per pound which we flattered ourselves would all come South, principally to Louisiana. More than half the Sugar in the world is now produced from beets and largely grown in the North West and California. By late agricultural reports

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from Wisconsin it is shown that upon 1945 acres the average yield of sugar was 2,267 pounds. The government bounty of 2 cents a pound upon which amounted to \$45.34 per acre. Now who pays this bounty. Every man who consumes ^{protected goods} ~~sugar~~. So they get us always when we trade with them. When we produce enough sugar in this country to supply the home demand ~~the~~ we will be paying, in bounty, as much tax as ever but the U.S. treasury will be minus \$56,000,000. Now the duty on blankets is ~~or was~~ ^{protective}. because the object is to

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protect the home manufacturer, thus enabling him to get a higher price for his blankets than he could get without it, by protecting him against foreign competition. If an English blanket is worth \$1. it is made to pay a duty of 50 cents. This increases the price to \$1.50, and enables the home manufacturer to exact \$1.50 for his blankets. So that for \$1. worth of blanket the government, your government - says you must pay your New England brother \$1.50. Robbery nothing else and the Treasury no better off. The Tariff on all protected articles operates

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in this way. But there is still more injustice in this. A friend of mine who is posted in tariff duties said to me a short while since that his better half had given him an order for a pair of nice blankets for the spare bed room. Upon getting in his buggy his man servant requested him to get him a pair of cheap ones. Examining the ~~schedule~~^{che} he found for his fine blankets he paid a tariff tax of 35% while the poor man paid about 65% upon his coarse ones. Do you not think this iniquity worth looking into? And this is the rule to tax the necessities of life

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Such as Salt, rice, saltfish, lumber, woolen goods of all kinds, cotton goods of all kinds, window glass and all glassware, table ware, tools, paper, soap, Tin plate, leather goods, wooden goods, hardware, needles, thread and so on. The average duty upon which is about 50% and you can not avoid paying it if you use them - you must pay either the customs duties or the protective duties and you may possibly pay more for the benefit of some trusts as I will presently show you. Duties under the present Tariff are both revenue and protective

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because they do not prohibit the importation of foreign goods entirely and therefore, yield both revenue ^{to government} and protection to the manufacturers - but as a rule three times as much to the manufacturers as to the government for the government gets the duty only on the foreign goods imported, while the manufacturers get it on all the protected goods they make which is five or six times as much. I heard a North Carolina farmer take a lot of Cotton to Liverpool worth there \$1000. sell it and invest in goods to that amount, upon his return he would be required

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we should be permitted to sell in England
for instance

Suppose a North Carolina
Farmer ~~raises~~ raises 10 B/c
and takes it to England &
sells it for \$500. He ex-
changes this amount for
the necessaries of life -
clothing, glassware, table-
ware, tools, paper, soap, leath-
er, good hardware,
needles, thread &c. He
brings them back ~~and~~ to
America with him, lands
them in New York, but
before he can take them
out of the Customs house
he must pay a duty
of 50%, which amounts
to \$250. In other words

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for \$500. worth of goods
The North Carolina farmer
must pay \$750. Now sup-
pose the farmer bought
in this country instead of
Europe, would the result
be the same? Exactly, ~~in~~
except in the former case
the \$250. would go into the
U.S. Treasury and in the
latter case it would go
into the pockets of the
New England manufac-
turers, who protected by a
duty of 50% are enabled
to exact from the home
consumer the enormous
price of \$750. for \$500.

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worth of goods. Now what
does this protection mean?
Just this, that you North
Carolina Farmers can
not take the money you
receive from the sale
of your crops and
invest it in the necessa-
ries of life without paying
50% more in the shape of
protection to some of the
favored manufacturers.
Now please bear in mind
this fact, that every pound
of corn, cotton, tobacco or
whatever else you grow
is taxed 50%, because
that, corn, cotton, tobacco or

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Wheat can not purchase
as much American goods
by 50% as it can of Eng-
lish goods - and at the
same time let us look at
the disastrous results of
such a policy right
here in our state, and
~~indeed in all agricul-~~
~~tural states you complain~~
~~and justly so, of being~~
~~so.~~ Let us take for instance
a county raising 2000 B/c
per annum. Is it to be con-
sidered ok that its farmers
are poor with \$50,000 going
out of the county from
their cotton crop alone,

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every year and never a
cent returning? These figures
are startling but true.
At \$50. per Bale the value of
the crop is \$100,000, 50% on
this is \$50,000. within the
last 20 years the farmers
have paid out on their
cotton crop alone \$1,000,000.
Every thing else they raise is
taxed in this proportion
when they exchange its
proceeds for the necessities
of life. Every agricultural
State in the Union is being
drained just as these
farmers are with no pros-
pect of relief except

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Through The abolition of this
iniquitous Tariff System.
Now if what I say be true,
ought we not to find all
the money of the Country
in the Manufacturing States?
Well look at the Statistics
and what do we find -
That the Manufacturing States
own $\frac{5}{6}$ of the Savings dep-
osits in the Country and
that Mass. alone has more
money in her Savings Banks
than all the Southern and
Western States combined.
Now is it not plain that
until this system is abolished
the Agricultural States must

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from poorer and the
manufacturing state
richer?

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~~To pay at the New York Custom House~~
~~\$500. duties on them. If he ^{had} disposed~~
~~of his cotton in New York and~~
~~purchased goods in Boston the~~
~~result to him would have been~~
~~the same. The duties he paid the~~
~~Custom House going into the pocket~~
~~of the manufacturers. The ^{greater} gre-~~
~~ater protection, the less imports~~
~~and as imports are paid for~~
~~by exports, and ours are agri-~~
~~cultural products ~~alone~~ or almost~~
~~so, protection proves a still~~
~~further burden upon the South~~
~~and west to the benefit of~~
~~the northeastern section, inclu-~~
~~ding the nine States of Maine,~~
~~New Hampshire, Vermont~~

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Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. As an unprotected farmer pays taxes to a protected manufacturer, so all the Agricultural States pay taxes to the favored section where the protected manufacturers abound. It is often asserted by protectionists that cheap goods bring low wages but that is disproved by Maj McKimley himself in his speech in the House in support of his bill, but without intending to. He shows that the price of American carpets have cheapened more than one-half in the last eighteen

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years - one style from \$2. a yard
now .93 cents; another from \$1.46
per yard to .65 cents; and another
from \$1.20 to .45 cents; and other
manufactures have cheapened
similarly - And yet wages instead
of declining, have been ad-
vanced. New inventions, labor-
saving machinery, improved manu-
facturing processes and in-
creased consumption have brought
this about. In talking with
protectionist their invariable
advice is, "go into manufac-
turing yourself". Then my
friends, there would be no
one to prey upon and all
would collapse. Let us make

an illustration. Suppose ten men living near each other, and engaged in different industries, agree to encourage one another by paying each a weekly tax of \$1. to each of the other nine. Then at the end of the first week each would have paid the others \$1. apiece - or \$9. in all; and each would have received from the others \$1. apiece - or \$9. in all. Each man therefore, would have paid out \$9. for protection, and received \$9. for protection - and the whole party would be at the point they started from. But suppose one man persuades

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the others that his particular business, only, ought to be encouraged, and they consent to pay him, each, \$1. a week. This makes a very different showing, for at ~~for~~ the end of the first week, he has received \$1. from each of the others - \$9. in all, and has paid out nothing to the others. He is, therefore, \$9. better off, and the others are each \$1. worse off. At the end of the second week he is \$18. better off, and at the end of the third week \$27. He is growing rich at the rate of \$9. a week, and perhaps he points to his manifest increase as

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an evidence of the prosperity of the whole fraternity. In a little while he begins to loan money - the very money he took from them - to the other nine, at 8% and takes mortgages on their homes as security; and as the interest on these mortgages comes regularly in, in addition to the Tribute money of \$9. per week, he indulges in self complacent eloquence on the striking benefits of the system which the fraternity have adopted, and tries to convince the others that any abandonment of it, or even a reduction of the weekly Tribute from

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\$1. to .75-cents, would curtail his income, derange his financial affairs, force him to discharge one of his household servants, and lower his style of living, and bring dire disaster upon the whole community. This I think a fair picture of protection. In the same degree a protective tariff enriches one man, or one interest, or one section, it impoverishes others, and it can not be otherwise. Farming pays $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ while manufacturing pays 30%, which looks like taxing the poorest ^{paying} business in the land for the benefit of the

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best paying business. And that is not all. Protection draws money from the least prosperous sections, or rather, from all other sections of the Country, and gives it to the most prosperous one. These nine favored States own one-half the wealth of the Country.

In the year 1880 the estimated wealth of the entire Country was \$43,642,000,000 - over forty-three billion dollars. The entire population was 61,000,000 of this the nine manufacturing States, ^{previously} ~~above~~ named had 15,500,000, or ^{about} less than ^{fourth} one-third and the other States and territories

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had ~~\$5,500,000.~~ ^{about Three} ~~or more than~~
~~two-thirds.~~ Now the estimated
true wealth of these nine man-
ufacturing states is \$19,643,000,000—
the other states and Territories is
\$24,000,000,000. This leaves an
apparent excess of \$4,357,000,000 in
favor of the other states and
Territories. But it must be re-
membered that a large portion
of wealth in the other states
and Territories, consisting princi-
pally of Railroads and farm mort-
gages— not less than \$4,000,000,000.
— is owned in the manufacturing
states. This sum must therefore
be taken from one side and
added to the other— and when

it is done, The account will stand thus:- Wealth of nine manufacturing states \$23,643,000,000. Wealth of all other states and Territories \$20,000,000,000. This shows that the nine manufacturing states own over \$23.000,000,000 worth of the country's wealth and the other states and Territories \$20,000,000,000. Now as further proof that this great accumulation of wealth is with these manufacturing states - The aggregate deposits in all the Savings Banks of this country, at the time alluded to, were \$1.425,000,000 - and of this \$1.214,000,000, or nearly six-sevenths was in the nine manufacturing

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States, and only \$211,000,000, or one-seventh, in all the other States. All the banking institutions in the land, national, savings, state, private, and trust companies show total capital, surplus, undivided profits and deposits of \$5,201,000,000 - and more than three-fifths of this, or \$3,377,000,000 - is in the nine manufacturing states, and less than two-fifths, or \$1,823,376,000 in all the other States. Now my friends this shows that we are protecting the best paying business in the Country at the expense of all other kinds of business and that the benefits of the policy

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go chiefly to the richest section of the Union, which stands least in need of it. The people of Kansas have not a dollar in saving banks, while the people of Massachusetts have over \$300,000,000. - nearly enough to buy the whole state of Kansas, at its assessed value.

I promised to show you a while back how the protective tariff can and does aid the trusts to the detriment of the farmer and we will take the Axe Trust as an example. Twelve Companies met together in Buffalo in 1890 and formed what is known as the Axe Trust. At

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This time standard axes were selling at \$5.25 pr dozen but this included a protective tariff tax profit of 45% equalling say \$1.57. Upon these prices the trust advanced prices \$2.25 pr dozen, making a total profit—over and above ~~what~~ a legitimate ^{one} profit—of \$3.82 pr dozen or $31\frac{2}{3}$ cents pr axe, and this your government says right. Every man who uses an axe must take out of his pocket .31 cents and put into the pocket of the axe trust and all growing out of the infamous protective tariff. And this is so with all trusts. There can be no trusts unless the

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articles are protected. Now it is fair to presume that the average farmer's family consume \$150. worth of the necessities of life ^{per year} from the list I have mentioned. So that in the last thirty years, since the protective tariff has been enforced, he would have spent \$4500. $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ of which or \$1500. would have gone to protection and he would have gotten but \$3000. worth of goods. At a glance you will readily see that this tax could and would have produced the present deplorable condition of the finances of this country.

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Now fellow citizens tell me
where the iniquitous protective
tariff seeds ^{and} financial oppressions
begin? They are as intimate
as were the Siamese twins. Destroy
the cause and the effect can
be rationally treated.

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While Mr Cleveland was not
the choice of the people of North
Carolina he is now the
Candidate of the Democratic
Party and more nearly represents
the reforms demanded by
the people than other candidates.
~~I need not repeat.~~ The de-
mocracy at least claim to be the
party of the people and until they
have had the power to aid you
and refused, your interest, your
love of justice and your country
must appeal to you to stand by it.
Can the reforms so greatly needed
be had within the party lines? God
knows I believe it else I should
^{standing upon the scales of democracy}
not so declare. I need not

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repeat my warmest sympathies
are with the oppressed and
unprotected masses against the
protected and favored classes;
but in seeking remedies I must
be governed by my conscience
and my best judgement and
~~and~~ if I cannot get all
I want I will take what I
can get. It is a strange doctrine
that a man should be less afflic-
ted with 100 bolts than with 10.
less afflicted with bayonet. rules
than the demonitization of silver,
with war taxes in time of peace
all of which the republican
party has inaugurated. Then with
a tacit assent to a constricted

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Currency, the only short coming
of which the democracy stands ac-
cused. ~~Not as a credit and the~~
~~truth is certain.~~

For sixteen years the democrats
have had undisputed control of
every department of the state
government. History does not
point to an administration that
has been more economical and
more just. Taxes have been decrea-
sed, while the public school fund
has been increased and jobbery
and scandal, have been un-
known. The state under this
rule has even been mindful
of the interest of the masses.
No rash action, no intemperate

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~~great~~ utterance, no injustice should
to others can help the cause of
reform. These aggravate, there is
need for moderation and wisdom
upon the part of all men who
need reform.

I feel that it is unnecessary
for me to say that I have no
selfish motive in speaking to
you of these things. I am no
politician, no sinner after spoils,
my own inclination would
be, as I stated before, to have
remained on my farm, where
I have suffered as you
have suffered, and seen, as
you all have seen, the dis-
astrous effects of unscrupu-

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low legislation, but ~~the state~~
your decree was otherwise
and I am endeavoring to
do your bidding.

In conclusion then, I beseech
you ~~for~~ all in the name of
our common Country, our
interests, our history, and our
Traditions to put aside all
wranglings, and all jealousies
and with a united effort
let us forever crush that
demon of greed which
has wrought such havoc in
this the land hallowed by
the blood of our ancestors.

Township Committeemen should divide
their Townships into five sub-districts, one
of which shall be assigned to one
Committeeman, who will associate
two other good men with him to
assist in the district.



Campaign Speech
of Edward L. Carr
1892