CHAPTER XI

GOVERNOR AYCOCK'S LAST MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF HIS STATE

(Address Prepared for Delivery in Raleigh, April 12, 1912.)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I OUGHT to look my happiness to-night and not be reduced to the inadequacy of words with which to express my appreciation of your greeting. I come to talk to you as a simple Democrat, talking to fellow Democrats, for I am a plain and simple man, who loves his friend and has never been hated enough by any man to make him hate again in return. And I am a Democrat. I am not a conservative or a reactionary Democrat; I am not a progressive Democrat, for the word "Democrat" with me is a noun substantive of so fine and large import that it admits of no addition or diminution of any qualifying word or phrase.

WHAT IS A DEMOCRAT?

What is a Democrat? He is an individualist. He believes in the right of every man to be and to make of himself all that God has put into him. He is a man who believes and practises the doctrine of equal rights and the duty and obligation of seeing to it as far as he can that no man shall be denied the chances in life
which God intended for him to have. He is a man who
believes in the Declaration of Independence, and who
is filled with that spirit of equality which has made this
country of ours the refuge of the oppressed of all the
world and the hope of this age and of all ages to come.

It is this spirit of democracy and of equal opportunity
— for the terms are interchangeable and are equal to
each other—which has conquered America, causing the
three millions scattered along the coast at the end of the
Revolutionary War to swarm with mighty energy and
power over the Alleghanies, press across the Mississippi
Valley, to run with haste across the prairies, to climb
with energy the mighty Rocky Mountains, and never
to tire until they stood with unfagging energy and gazed
upon the rolling and majestic sweep of the mighty
Pacific.

One sometimes stops and asks himself why the restless
energy, the unceasing seeking after new land which
has characterized this American people? What is it
that has swept them from the Atlantic to the Pacific?
What is it that has made them give up the comfort
and ease of civilized homes to live in vast prairies and lonely
mountains, far from one another and from all the con
veniences of more thickly populated sections? The
answer can be found in the determination of every
American to find a larger freedom, and when this has
failed him in the crowded cities and thickly settled farm
districts, he has moved elsewhere to find it.

But the mountains and plains have been conquered.
The lands have all been settled. There is no other
place for men to seek and they must find this larger
liberty at home or forego it forever. The task, there-
fore, of securing liberty comes to us afresh. It is
longer possible for men to run away from op
and inequality. It is no longer within their power
to find this larger liberty elsewhere, and they must
make it out for themselves in the crowded cities and in
the thickly populated homesteads. This is the task of the
present hour.

THE PROBLEM OF THE HOUR

During the span of my life, now just a little
than half a century, I have seen this struggle
of the people for continued and enlarged freedom tirelessly
seeking to work itself out; I have seen the nation
in wealth and enormous fortunes piled up; I have
seen railroads built until every part of the country is in
reach with every other; I have seen the telegraph and tele
phone bringing all the ends of the nation together;
I have seen industry develop and grow and
and mighty, producing fabulous wealth and enormous
products; and I have seen the earth perform her duty
in the yield to the industry and science of man until her
products are enough to feed and cloth and house
humanity abundantly; I have heard the great
sectors declaim that with the coming of this wealth
there should come also a better age and a finer chance
for those who sweat and struggle and toil and make
wealth, and yet I have looked in vain for the coming of
that hour, and as I read the current history of the
times, I find strikes and lockouts and hunger and
and suffering greater than when Great Britain
acknowledged the independence of the Thirteen
Colonies!
already been solved and the solution has been forgotten by us. It was solved in the single phrase, “Equal opportunity to all and special privilege to none.” It found its correct exposition in the inaugural address of President Jefferson when he insisted that the Government should be economically conducted to the end that labor should be lightly burdened.

This latter is a simple sentence. It has not in it a single striking quality. It is so plain, it is so easy, that it is not like the solution of a difficult problem, and being easy and plain, we have forgotten and failed to apply it. We have ever since this utterance been going steadily away from it and seeking to find equality of opportunity in the extension of special privileges to some in the hope that out of their abundance they would make easier the condition of all. We have for all these years been supposing that it was possible to better the condition of the workingman by taxing him for the benefit of special industries so that these enriched industries might in turn play my Lord Bountiful to him, forgetful of the axiomatic principle underlying Jefferson’s phrase, that, after all, all taxation comes out of labor itself; for wealth is nothing but the accumulated product of labor translated into things of use.

I lay down this principle: No man who is not a creator of wealth pays any tax. Custom-house officers, the collector of internal revenue, the sheriff, the tax collector, may collect taxes out of him because he has in his possession wealth created by others, but he himself does not contribute to the support of his government in any degree. When he pays his so-called tax, he charges it to some one else, and usually makes the
other person pay interest and profit on the tax which he has ostensibly paid.

If this be true—and it is true, and no man can successfully dispute it—then there is no possibility of giving superior advantages to labor by any tax which has yet been devised by the ingenuity of man. And this brings us easily and naturally to some discussion of the method of taxation adopted by the national Government, and now in force under the legislation of the Republican party, and which has been in force, with some changes and modifications, with a tendency evident since 1860. There is not a tax law existing, there is not a special privilege enriching some at the expense of many now in force in the United States, which is not in force by reason of legislation passed by the Republican party. There is not a swollen fortune—which my stenographer properly wrote, stolen fortune—threatening the structure of our Government, the peace of the nation and the hope of the age, that is not the creation of Republican legislation; and the most of it is based upon the one question of taxation.

§1110 A YEAR TARIFF TAX PAID BY EACH FAMILY

It is no wonder that our forefathers went to war upon this great question. It is no wonder that our early English forefathers won every step in the advancement of liberty around this single question. I am almost tempted to say that no battle has been fought and won in behalf of humanity, in favor of enlarged liberty and freedom of opportunity, that has not been fought around single question of taxation. The United States pays annually out of taxation on imports about $320,000,000; and for every dollar of this $320,000,000 that goes into the treasury, at least five other dollars go into the treasuries of the special interest. Add these sums together and they make $1,980,000,000, which is $22 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Assuming that there are five members in each family, this would be $110 to be paid by the head of each family, and this payment is a tax, and the worst feature of this tax is, that one sixth of the tax goes into the Treasury of the United States to secure for us a proper conduct of our Government, while five sixths of it go into the treasuries of great corporations upon the assumption that in their kindness and out of their ability they will increase the wages of labor.

We have at last reached a time in the discussion of the tariff when it is conceded that the tariff is a tax and that this tax is paid by the people of the country that imposes it. The tax is indirect and the amount paid by each individual is never considered by him when he goes to purchase his goods, and if he thinks of it at all, he never knows how much he is paying. But the average tax on all goods imported into the United States is something more than 40 per cent; and this additional tax, collected in the first instance by custom houses when the goods are brought into the country, is added to the cost of the goods by the importer, who adds his profit on the original cost of the goods and on the tax as well, when he sells to the wholesale merchant, and the wholesale merchant adds his profit on cost, including tax when he sells to the retailer; and the retailer must add his profit on the whole cost, including the tax when he sells to the consumer. So that instead of being
something over 40 per cent., as it appears when collected at the custom house, it becomes a great deal more before it reaches the consumer.

HOW THE PEOPLE ARE DECEIVED

The tax on sugar has been used by Professor Taussig as an apt and easy illustration of the operation of the tariff. The duty on sugar now amounts to about one and one half cents per pound on that imported to the United States. The treasury gets out of this tax $35,000,000, but on the sugar produced in the United States the treasury does not get a single cent, but $30,000,000 goes into the pockets of the producers or manufacturers of sugar, making a total of $110,000,000 paid by the American people on the single item of sugar in the course of a year, or at the rate of $7.25 for each family. In order to make it clear to us all exactly how this works, Professor Taussig suggests that instead of the Government collecting tax at custom houses, we assume that it collects the tax through the retail grocers. On this assumption, when you buy fourteen pounds of sugar for $1.02, the grocer would inform you that his charge was 80 cents, but that when you had paid this 80 cents there were some other items that must be paid before you could get your fourteen pounds of sugar. Thereupon you would pay 10 cents to the grocer for the use of the United States Government with which to help run the Government in paying salaries and pensions, in building battleships, in maintaining the army and other expenses of the Government, and having paid this 10 cents to the Government, you would thereupon be called upon for 12 cents more for the use of the sugar producers.

If this were the method actually in force for the collection of the tariff taxes, there never would be another tax levied for the sake of protection, and no Congressman would ever vote for any tariff tax except for the direct need of the Government, and he would always be able to show to his constituents that every dollar of it was needed by the Government when administered in the most economical fashion. If a tax be hidden from observation by being withdrawn from attention and when called to mind is covered with the pretense of being levied for the benefit of labor, it presents itself in a different aspect, and the American people have become this tax and have suffered themselves to be exploited by a continual raise in it, until the enormous accumulations of protected industries and the tremendous wealth of trusts growing up under this protection, have startled them into an examination of the whole subject of tariff taxation.

IMMORALITY AND INEQUALITY OF PROTECTION

This reexamination of the subject of tariff taxation is to-day being had. On one side we find the national Democratic party declaring that the tariff should be levied for revenue only with which to run the Government economically administered, while the Republicans, growing bolder as the years go on, have now put into their platform a declaration which they have dared to put there before—that is, that the tariff should be so levied as to cover the difference in the cost
production in the United States and abroad, with a reasonable profit to the manufacturer.

The coming campaign for the Presidency is to be fought out along the line marked by these two conflicting platforms. To be sure, some men who believe in a tariff for revenue only will vote the Republican ticket and some men who believe in a tariff for protection will vote the Democratic ticket, but in the main, the great body of the people voting the one ticket or the other will cast their votes in accordance with their convictions on this subject of taxation. On which side shall you and I vote and why? For my part I shall vote the Democratic ticket because I believe in a tariff levied for revenue only and do not believe in a tariff levied for the sake of protection.

I know, or think that I know, that all taxation, save the income tax alone, however levied and for whatever purpose, in its nature tends to monopoly, and this tendency to monopoly becomes greater the higher the tax. And I know that all taxes, save the income tax alone, are in the ultimate paid by the men who do the labor. It must be dug out of the ground. It must be harnessed into houses. It must be sweated out in the mines. For taxation cannot be raised out of idleness and is ever a burden upon industry. The men who work pay the taxes, and the men who idle eat them. You may tax some people rich by creating a monopoly by means of taxation, but you cannot tax all the people rich. You may create monopoly and special privileges out of which the few will wax strong and mighty while the many bear the burden, but you cannot by taxation, by burdening those who labor, make all of them richer.

How Protection Breeds Trusts

Taxation may be used, as it has been used, in such fashion as to change wealth from one to another, enriching some while impoverishing others, and this is particularly the case with tariff taxation, for tariff taxation is a tax upon consumption and all the people are consumers, and they are consumers not in proportion to their ability to buy but in proportion to their necessities. I am necessitated to eat and wear as much as John D. Rockefeller, and if he does eat and wear more than I it is because of his desire and from no necessity. If he lives on what I am compelled to live on, he pays more tax toward running the United States Government than I pay, and the tax which would be a burden to me and lessen my ability for service is no burden to him. But by keeping other people out of business by the want of adequate capital, he makes stronger his grip and monopoly over his own business.

The first effect of the tariff tax is to increase the price of all articles upon which it is levied and to produce the taxed articles in the country get the benefit of this tax in their ability to sell their product at a higher price. This higher price means for those who are successful; in many instances it means enormous wealth and means tremendous fortunes. But as the people who are in the protected industry prosper, turn to this industry and begin business and make money at it, swift and sure and fast, and others do the same until the business is crowded and overdone and production—which has been made at a greater cost than in foreign countries by reason of the higher
of everything that enters into it — has become excessive and cannot be consumed in the home market. And then the process of elimination sets in, the strong taking hold of the weakest, and the strong taking hold of the weakest, until all the weak have been eliminated and the strongest has become one. And this is the result of your trust, of your monopoly, created, fostered, made an absolute fact by the tariff law, and with this monopoly comes the inevitable raise in prices, higher and higher and higher until they have set the country to wondering what is the cause of the high price of living and why is it that American manufacturers are selling abroad cheaper than they are at home: for that they do sell abroad cheaper than in America is no longer disputed. The farmer can buy his agricultural implements, the mechanic his tools, the manufacturer his machinery, the railroad builder his materials, the woman her sewing machine, all cheaper abroad than they can at home, and this when all the goods are made in America.

PROTECTION A SOURCE OF CORRUPTION AND MORAL CONTAGION

Not only does the tariff tax have the effect of increasing the cost of living and concentrating wealth in the hands of the few, but it corrupts the entire body politic and makes the tariff issue a moral question which the American people must face and face now if they propose to save for their children the vital principles of equity and righteousness handed down to them by their forebears. If it be conceded to be the duty of govern-
THE LIFE AND SPEECHES

The statute passed to protect the people against these findings by the courts involve a finding of one of the directors of these great corporations of a crime against the United States. It may be pleasing to some thoughtless Americans that our millionaires and multimillionaires are guilty of penitentiary offenses and there may be in their hearts the hope that they will ultimately reap the fruits of their sowing, but one who is studying his country and its development, with the hope of finding in it the prospect of betterment, cannot but feel a sense of humiliation to learn that the great captains of industry, those whom we have exploited and paraded and honored and glorified and worshipped, should, as a matter of fact, belong to the criminal classes. Rockefeller and Carnegie and Morgan and Duke and thousands of others—leading men, great financiers, known throughout the world, parading as representative Americans, envied of us—today occupy the position of being and belonging to the class of men who violate law and are subject to wear prison stripes. And this result is the outcome, the inevitable, certain and unavoidable outcome of the doctrine of protection! If the Government does owe these men a living, if it does owe them a profit, if the Senators and Representatives in Congress are under obligations to legislate for them, if they have a right to have the laws so framed as to take money out of our pockets and transfer it to theirs, is it any wonder that they, with the years, become more and more exacting, and more hungry, and more anxious, and more determined to press on with certainty, and with rapidity, and with the Government and all its functions as belonging to them.

DEPERSONALIZATION WROUGHT BY GOVERNING FOR THE BENEFIT OF SPECIAL INTERESTS

In connection with this matter we should not overlook the fact that the United States Government is busy prosecuting in equity and in law the various trusts of the United States, numbering several hundred, and step by step and day by day the courts are declaring these trusts have been organized, conducted and administered in violation of law and in contempt of the
and its laws to be disregarded by them whenever these laws stand in the way of rapid wealth? We have fed and clothed and pampered and paid them until they held us in that contempt which ever precedes the violation of the law on the part of the strong. And it is that feeling which made actual thieves out of the sugar trust and put them into the contemptible business of feeding their balances so as to under-weigh the sugar imported into this country and thereby to avoid the payment of the very tax which in some degree was levied for this trust’s own benefit.

**Justice to All, Not Special Favors, is the Laborer’s Hope**

Government cannot make it possible for the few to make millions of dollars by the operation of its tax laws and not corrupt these few. The millions which they can make if the tax laws suit them will be used in part to secure Representatives and Senators who will pass such laws as the favorites may want, and when so used the protected magnates and the representatives of the people have both become corrupt, and, in turn, in order to shield themselves, to quiet the people and to make their evil acts appear good, they have often subsidized the press, misled public opinion and crucified the honest advocates of public virtue upon the cross of contempt. And all of this for all these years has been going on and has been accomplished in the name of protection to the American workingman!

I want to say here and now, and I want it remembered, that the poor men who labor, the men who have not the means of creating public opinion, of exercising government favoritism, can never secure justice through advocacy of special privilege. Every detail of this dishonest wealth is the result of the sweat of the laboring men of the United States and has been appropriated by these few men by the operation of laws fastened upon the country under the false and postposterous plea that it would eventuate in justice to the needy. Favoritism is always extended to those who do not need it. Special privilege always belongs to the few, and in the nature of the case cannot belong to the many. One of the old Latin poets, more than one thousand years ago, animadverted to the fact that apples are always given to those who have an advantage and human nature has not changed from that day to this. No worker, no toiler, no man who sweats out his daily bread, can ever hope to secure justice through governmental favoritism. His only hope for equality is in the everlasting cry for justice, “Equal rights to all, special privilege to none.” There are among us those who seek to remedy the admitted evils of the present by securing special favors for the weak, but every favor which we gain for the weak, whether to persons in States or to sections, will have to be paid for by further favors and greater favors to those who are already strong. We shall never win righteousness by joining in the cry of Senator Tillman, wrung from him by his strong sense of the hot injustice being perpetrated by the United States under the form of law, “If you steal give me my share,” but everywhere and always in season and out of season, let us change this cry of despair into a shout of heroic virtue, “We
laborer does produce this profit for his employer and above any wage paid to him, and if he did not the employer could not continue in business.

Moreover, the doctrine of universal education has become an accepted fact throughout the civilized world. This doctrine carries with it the education of the hand as well as of the mind. It develops initiative and inventive skill and efficiency. Higher wages tend directly to the increased education of each succeeding generation, and, therefore, to the increased skill and efficiency of each succeeding generation of workers. It is a fact also that men who are well fed, well clothed, and well housed are more capable and efficient workers than those inadequately fed, clothed and housed, since wages are essential to good living they increase thereby the efficiency of the men who enjoy them.

LABOR OWES NOTHING TO PROTECTION

To say that the American workingman produces less in proportion to his wage than the foreigner is an outrageous assault upon his capacity, his fitness, his training, and it is not the truth. It has been invented by the Republican party in order to hide behind the pretense of kindliness toward the workingman and from this hidden and cowardly retreat to levy blackmail upon every consumer. The American workingman asks no favor. He insists upon no special privilege but given a legal opportunity and a fair chance in life, he will work out his own destiny and thank no man for charity or patronage. For my part I am tired of the assumption of the protected industries in the United
States that they are secomosynary institutions created by the Government for the purpose of collecting from willing consumers tribute to be paid by them to workingmen for labor which the manufacturer insists that the workingman does not perform as efficiently as it is done elsewhere. If the workingman is as efficient as elsewhere and more efficient, then he earns his higher wage and is entitled to it as a matter of right and owes no obligation to any protected industry or to the Government of the United States for the blessings which come out of his skill and efficiency.

I want to see the industries of North Carolina developed, I want to see them multiplied in number. I want to see competition among employers for labor and I want to see labor trained, educated, developed, made more efficient, and with increased efficiency I want to see increased wages, and above all I want to see every feeling himself a free and independent citizen, owning his own soul and realizing that he is earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, and is not thankful to any one for alleged favors done in his behalf. Let us break off the fetters of commerce and give her a free opportunity to grow; let us be done with the foolishness of Republican apprehension that with lower tariff taxes our country will be flooded with cheap foreign goods. The very moment that our imports increase our exports will increase. If more goods are brought into the country they will be paid for by more goods shipped out of the country. If we are flooded with foreign goods we will flood foreign countries with our goods.

The Solution of the South's Cotton Problem

I have read during the past fall and winter the appeals of Southern Governors, the chambers of commerce, of agricultural societies and farmers' unions, of bankers and business men, urging the farmers of the South to lessen the production of cotton; and side by side with these appeals I have read in the papers of the terrible suffering of men throughout the world for the want of adequate clothing. I have known and all of us have known despite our increased production of cotton that the world is not yet adequately clad. Thousands of people die annually for want of the very raw material to be made out of cotton, the production of which we are seeking to lessen. I have realized that we must indeed lessen our production of cotton or impoverish ourselves in cultivation under existing conditions, and this has brought me to the knowledge that these conditions are wrong, for God has given to each of us the instinct to make two bales of cotton grow where one grew before, and we are educating our farmer boys with this aim in view, that they shall produce more and more each year than their fathers produced before them. But how can they work out this God-given instinct and how shall we teaching be other than a failure if we shut our country within the borders of the United States by building up a tariff wall against the products of other countries? Foreign trade is but an exchange of products and gold and cannot be paid for in gold. The cotton crop would take for its purchase all the gold in the world in a very few years. No, my countrymen, let us not be folly. Let us break down these high walls of
built around us for the sake of monopoly; let us turn in the foreign goods of which our Republican brethren are much afraid. Then we will see a demand for high prices and for more cotton than you can possibly produce, and the God-planted instinct of every man to create more and more will find its full play and our agricultural education will cease to be a humbug and a farce. Why shall we teach how to grow more and then combine to prevent the growth of more? I admit our present need along this line. I admit the absolute wisdom at this moment of lessening the cotton production, but I deny the sense, the morality, of continuing the conditions which have forced this necessity upon us.

A TARIFF PLATFORM

I conclude my observations on the tariff with the succinct statement of my view as to how the matter should be dealt with:

1. I am in favor of a tariff for revenue only.
2. Such tariff to be levied
   (a) On luxuries.
   (b) On comforts.
   (c) And only as a last resort on necessaries.
3. Such tariff to bear equally upon all productive energy, whether engaged in agriculture, mining, or manufacturing.
4. Such tariff to bear equally upon every section of the country. And under this head I would observe that I do not believe in protection for New England and free trade for North Carolina, but a tariff for revenue only, applicable alike to both sections. I would not be guilty of the quixotic folly of compelling my own people to bear an unequal proportion of the burdens of the maintenance of government, nor would I on the other hand exact one cent of tribute from any other section of the country in order that my own State and the South, which I love with my whole heart, should prosper at the expense of others.

5. I agree with Gov. Woodrow Wilson that we must to act upon the general principle of the Democratic party, not free trade, but tariff for revenue, and approach that by such avenues, such steps, and a pace as will be consistent with the stability and safety of the business of the country. And I agree with him again when he says: "The tariff is the one central of the coming campaign. It is at the head of every other economic question we have to deal with, until we have adjusted that properly we can nothing in a way that will be lasting and satisfactory." Similarly, Gov. Judson Harmon has well said, "The tariff is the dominating issue before the people. Mr. Oscar Underwood, "There is no other issue before the American people of so vast importance."

For this reason I would not create division in the Democratic party upon questions like the initial referendum and recall, valuable as these agents are regarded by so many people as the means of securing adequate expression of the real will of the people. Believing, as I do, that the tariff is the vital issue of the coming campaign, and that, in order to work the political redemption, the economic advancement and the moral revolution of the American people, it is essential to restore our tax laws to a constitutional basis.
I cannot join in any assault upon any man who has heretofore professed to be a Democrat and who will, during the pending campaign for righteousness, abide by the declarations of the Democratic party upon this great and overwhelming question. We have not too many Democrats, but too few, and, for my part, I am willing to allow much divergence of opinion on many subjects in order to have this great party to which you and I belong united on this one vital and everlasting issue: The right of the people to be freed from exploitation by means of tax laws by special interests.

WHY MONOPOLIES MUST BE BROKEN UP

While I am on the subject of trusts and monopoly, let me say that there are many men as earnestly desirous as we are of correcting the inequalities and injustices of life, and of breaking down the instrumentalties which have brought about these inequalities and injustices, who honestly believe that the trust is a public benefit and needs only to be restrained by law and made to conform to the necessities of the public and not destroyed. They have arrived at this conclusion by reason of the very general feeling that great establishments are more efficient and can produce more economically than small ones, and are, therefore, capable of paying higher prices for raw material at a less cost. This belief has been so general and so strong that it has given the American people pause in dealing with this question. If it were true, as is generally believed, that efficiency and therefore economy of production is attained by volume of business, there would be much ground for hesitancy about the destruction of the trusts.

But fortunately at this juncture, Mr. Brandegee of Boston, in his evidence before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate has demonstrated beyond peradventure that at this very point the trust instead of succeeds. The highest efficiency in production and the greatest economy attainable are found not in the gigantic plants, but in the small ones. Efficiency is due to the cooperation of every man engaged in the production, and this cooperation is largely dependent upon the esprit de corps which is developed, so that each worker in his department is necessary to every worker in every department, and when the heads of these departments are in direct contact with all the men, and each man feels that the business is his own. When the business grows beyond this point and the men become instead of individuals and are counted by numbers instead of by names, inefficiency creeps in and increase in the various departments. The only way to secure the highest efficiency and the greatest economy is by a large number of plants under separate and independent conduct, each one striving to the utmost with the power of every individual in its employment to outdo the others.

TRUST PRODUCTION IS UNECONOMIC

This fact when laid before the public is so patent, and can be shown to be true by so many illustrations, that it is wonderful it should not have been known before. Senator Clapp, who has given much study to this subject, in a recent interview in the Saturday Evening Post, elaborates this view and illustrates it with
power of expression well worth the attention of every thoughtful man. The trusts and monopolies of the country, therefore, are not to be regulated, but are to be divided into their constituent parts and compelled to remain separate and competitive forces in the economic world before we can attain to the highest development. With the destruction of the trusts and the upbuilding of numbers of smaller corporations, the demand for raw material will be increased, the efficiency of the workers multiplied, and the selling price of goods reduced. Instead of the few great controlling, dominating, overwhelming manufacturing plants, we shall have a great number of separate, independent, active, live, competing organizations, and with the coming of this day the old-fashioned loyalty, which was the charm of service in the former days, will be restored.

This is not only true theoretically, but our past experience has proved it to be true. The great trusts are not selling their products as cheap as they were sold by the independent organizations which the trusts have succeeded, and the trusts are not producing the products either as cheaply or making them as good as they were before. This fact can be demonstrated by a simple exchange of dollars across the counter of your retailer for the goods he will deliver to you, and then comparing them with what you would have paid for the same quality of goods before the advent of the trusts. So I conclude on this subject that the trusts are not to be regulated but destroyed and supplanted by the old-time organization, willing to fight, to work, to struggle, to invent, to discover, and to initiate, willing and able to compete and actually competing for the

business of the world, asking no favor, paying no special privilege, and eternally opposed to conferring special benefits upon others.

INCOME TAX FAVORED

Again, I am in favor of an income tax. One of the great curses of this hour is the extravagance of the national Government. Extravagance is like a contagious disease — it spreads outward from the source of infection. As the government is, so are the people. A wasteful, reckless and extravagant government always creates a wasteful, reckless and extravagant people. This Government of ours has become the most extravagant upon earth. It has more than doubled its own expenditures since the administration of Grover Cleveland. The per capita expenditures have gone up from about $7 to about $12. It now costs about 30 per household to run the United States Government. No scheme is too wild, no expenditure too great, to rally around it the support of the United States Congress. The taxes collected are indirect, the people taking no note as they pay them of the fact or of the amount, and since the great bulk of these taxes come out of the multitude and a very few of them come out of the few who have vast incomes, those who have the wealth have less loss in the amount of taxes which they pay than they have proportionate expenditures of the Government. The rich are on the side of extravagance. They do not see how much the Government spends. They are always in favor of more offices and higher salaries. You can rig
upon them confidently to advocate every new scheme of the Government and to insist upon the righteousness of every national enterprise leading to larger expenditures. They know that their part in the burden is small, and their opportunity of gaining other wealth by reason of the tax laws is great, and the rich and strong are always closer to government than the poor and weak. The laborer on the farm, the worker in the factory, the mechanic in his shop, the clerk in the store, the workers in the banks, do not go to Washington. Their acquaintance with Senators and Congressmen is limited. Their influence, if united, might be great, but they are never united: they are too busy with their own problems of bread and meat. But the strong, the rich, the powerful, the magnates, the captains of industry, the mighty men of the nation, these can be found at all seasons of the year in and around Washington when Congress is in session. They know every Senator and every Representative. They know by what majority he was elected and they know the apprehensions which each has about his ability to get back, and they are in position to help or hinder him. Whatever enterprises they want set afoot, whatever enormous expenditures they want made, are presented to the representatives of the people in Washington in the most glowing terms; the benefits are pointed out in a fashion captivating, overwhelming, convincing. The burdens are to be met by some small change in the tax laws, reaching the many, but reaching them in such a fashion that they will take no notice of it. Thus, one after another, the Government takes up new schemes, new enterprises, and increases year by year the annual expendi-

ture out of all proportion to the increase in population and wealth.

HOW THE INCOME TAX WILL PROMOTE ECONOMY AND JUSTICE

And this will always be true until the rich are made to bear their part of the burden of increased expenditures. Wherever we shall have passed and put into operation an income tax taking from those of large incomes a reasonable sum for the expenditures of the Government, the rich will then become burden-bearers for the Government, and, at the same instant, they will become intense, active, effective advocates of economy. They can compel economy, and whenever they realize that extravagance is to be met by an increase in their income tax, they will compel it. The simplest and most direct way to make a rich man an advocate of economy in government is to make him feel that extravagance costs him some money, and when he realizes this you will hear from him, through the press in magazines and in books. You will hear him deploring not only the high cost of living, but the cost of high living. He will be clamoring for a return to the ways of the fathers. He will be insistent for economy — and his voice is so potent that it will be heard throughout the nation.

I am in favor of an income tax, not only for the reasons just set out, but for the further reason that the tariff tax, and, indeed, our internal revenue taxes upon consumption and therefore fall unequally upon the rich and the poor, bearing most heavily upon the poor. As a compensation for this inequity a
would have an income tax reaching the rich alone, and thereby shift to their shoulders some of the weight that for all these years has borne so mercilessly upon the shoulders of those least able to bear it.

UNFAIR FREIGHT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NORTH CAROLINA

While on the subject of equality, it is certainly appropriate that I should make some mention of the gross injustice done by the interstate commerce railroads in their freight rates to and from North Carolina. The difference between the rates to cities in Virginia and cities in North Carolina is so gross and outrageous as to challenge the attention and arouse the indignation of every fair-minded man to whom they are represented, and we can never change these conditions by seeking favors. We are too few in numbers and too poor in commerce ever to hope that we shall gain the grace and good will of the interstate railroads. The only ground upon which we can hope for a redress of our grievances is upon the everlasting insistence of the justice of our cause. We should perpetually assault this outrageous inequality and never cease to demand rightful treatment until our clamor shall have aroused a recognition in the nation which will compel justice. A small population and a small commerce can never hope to prevail with the entrenched power and unfairness of the railroads and of the cities benefited by their injustice, but even small numbers and a small commerce can by insistence upon justice add to their weakness the power of the God who declared that He is no respecter of persons, and in this combination there can be no defeat. I promise the people of North Carolina if elected to the United States Senate — and I believe I shall be — to spend so much of my time as may be necessary during the six years of my incumbency of office in bringing about a change in this condition, either by seeing that the law as it stands is enforced, or if the law is inadequate, by securing the enactment of one which will compel us the righteousness in which we are entitled and of which we have been denied through all these years.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE

I am in favor of the election of United States Senators by the people, and when I say by the people I mean by the people and not by money, not by organization, nor by machinery. In a recent issue of the Charlotte Observer the editor declared that in the coming Senatorial contest, while my fitness for the place was acknowledged and the love of the people for me recognized, I could not be elected for the reason that I am without money, without organization, and without machinery. This prediction, when it first appeared, startled and frightened many of my friends. It had no such effect upon me. I did not want to be elected to the United States Senate by money, by machinery, and by organization. If I were elected to the United States Senate by money, by machinery, and by organization — if I were elected by these means, I should glorify and honor the means which elected me. My father taught me that the rungs of the ladder on which I rise should be honored by me. If I rise on the rungs of wealth, organization and machinery, I know myself
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well enough to realize that I should count my obligation to the Senate to these things. But if I go to the Senate as the untrammeled choice of the people of North Carolina, to them I shall owe the honor and to them shall be dedicated all the service of my heart and mind and body, under God, to the perfection of our Government and to the betterment of the conditions of mankind.

The Charlotte Observer is mistaken. It may be true in some of the Northern and Western States that a man must be rich before he can go to the Senate. It may be true in Pennsylvania that he cannot go without the consent of the machine. It may be true in New York that organization is essential to the success of any candidate for office. But in North Carolina the people, who have been clamoring for the right to elect their Senators, will not dishonor their own demand by suffering an election to turn upon false and corrupting things.

THE MENACE OF MONEY IN POLITICS

Apart from any personal interest which I feel in this matter, I want to say to all North Carolinians that the cost of the benefit of popular election of United States Senators is to be found in the power of the people to elect their own Senators without cost and without delegation from machinery or organization. I regard this as of so great moment that I now deliberately declare that not only shall I not use money in this campaign beyond the very limited sum necessary, but I do not want my friends to use money in my behalf. I expect them to give their time and service to the proper presentation of my candidacy to the people, a task which I have always gladly rendered to those whom I supported as freely as I breathed the air. It will be my wish for this good State of ours when the people of the Charlotte Observer shall have become the history of the State. The great curse of this hour is the scramble after wealth, corrupting, destroying, undermining the morals of the country, and if to the which wealth can purchase shall be added the honesty which the people alone ought to bestow, the scramble after wealth will become a carnival of crime. A recent writer has truly said: "Historians know that the critical hour for every Carthage and Ephesus, every Athens and Rome, every Berlin and Paris, every London and New York, comes when avarice of money and business interests select the legislatures that make laws, the judges who interpret laws, and the rulers who execute laws, conceived in selfishness and interpreted by cupidity. The decline of every nation and every city has begun with avarice and commercial interests administering the government for the powerful and avaricious few."

Yes, I am without power and without wealth, without organization and without machinery, but I am poor and I am not helpless. I am rich in the love of North Carolinians and strong in their belief that my purpose now, as it ever has been in the past, is to serve them as a whole without being under obligation to any special man or set of men. I would not leave this hall supposing that I intend to impeach what I have said that the other candidates disagree with me in this respect. I do not insinuate. I do no it. I merely reply to a suggestion from a leading
Carolina paper giving expression to what I have heard so often and from so many sources since I announced my candidacy.

GOVERNOR AYCOCK'S POLITICAL RECORD

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I am about to do what I have never done before. I am about to announce in a public speech my candidacy for an office before my party has chosen me as its standard bearer. I have hesitated long before deciding to do this thing. It was my purpose not to enter this campaign at all, so far as the presentation of my candidacy was concerned, but the constant assertion on the part of the advocates of other candidates that I was not in the race, that I had entered it for ulterior purposes, has made it incumbent upon me in justice to my own character and in fairness to the men who are supporting me, to announce in a public speech that I am a candidate for the United States Senate and expect to remain one until chosen or defeated by the untrammeled will of the Democratic voters of North Carolina.

I have given more than a quarter of a century of the best years of my life and my hardest work to the service of the Democratic party in this State. I have confined my labors almost exclusively in that behalf to this State because it is the State of my birth and in her soil my body will rest when I shall have crossed over the river, and I love her beyond any part of this great American Union. I have not always served her wisely, but I can look the entire body of her people in the face to-night and I can declare that I have ever served her seriously and with no thought of the possible effect of my course upon my own career. I have held the highest office and under God I assert to-night that I never said a word or did a deed during the entire four years of my term of office with any view to my personal aggrandizement. I never sought to build up a personal or factional machine and I never endeavored to tie men to me by any sense of obligation by reason of favors done by me for them, for I did no man any favor as Governor, but I earnestly sought to do every man the right of equal and exact justice.

If the people believe this of me and want me to serve them further, I shall be glad. If they think that either of my opponents is wiser, better or more loyal to their interests, I shall bow with humility to their registered will and come out of the contest rejoicing in the hope that Government will be wiser, more economical and more in favor of the many than it has ever been heretofore, and anxious still, as I always have been, to do my little part, whether in public or private station, for the advancement of the cause of liberty upon the earth and the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.

A TRIBUTE TO HIS OPPONENTS

If any of you have come here to-night expecting to say aught against the other candidates, you leave unsatisfied. I cannot do it. For more than thirty years I have been battling in behalf of Democracy against Republicanism. I have been in the midst of the conflict; sometimes in the lead, more often the private soldier, but always with my guns trained on the common enemy and not inflicting wounds...
those of the household of faith. If I were to attempt to assail Senator Simmons, my memory would awaken and I should recall the stirring days of 1898 and 1900, when as the captain of the mighty hosts of Democracy he led us to single, convincing, and final victory. Should I attempt to say aught against Governor Kitchin, my mind would at once revert to the dark days of 1896 when he flesched his maiden sword in the blood of the gallant leader of the cohorts of Republicanism and went to Washington the lone Democratic Congressman, winning his great victory over the heretofore invincible Thomas Settle. If I should seek to assail Chief Justice Clark, I could but recall the many years of his eminence service on the bench and I could but reflect that during all these years I have been steadily voting for him and proclaiming to the people of North Carolina that he was in every way fit for the highest judicial office in this State. These are the things which I have said of them when I did not seek office. These are the things which I shall be called upon to say of them again, if in the wisdom of Democracy they are chosen for office again. I cannot bring myself in my own personal struggle for advancement to say things of them now which would be out of harmony with what I have heretofore said and what I stand ready to say once more. That I do not agree with them in all things is certain. That I would have acted differently in their places on many occasions I am confident. But that they are Democrats and worthy men I shall not attempt to gainsay. We are about to enter upon the most tremendous conflict of the ages — a fight against entrenched power, fortified by wealth so great that he who enters into the fight in earnest must be willing to risk his all. In such a contest as this I shall recognize no enemy save those who align themselves under the banner of Republicanism. While we are seeking to overturn the power and authority of the cohorts of the plunderers I shall not turn my sword upon any man who is willing to bear a gun on our side.

Have you forgotten the story of "Lorna Doone" — how the Doones, men of high family, who had taken under the displeasure of the Government, had betaken themselves to the Doone Valley, surrounded on all sides by precipitous mountains, and from this strongly fortified position levied their blackmail upon the surrounding country, killing and robbing and outraging the people of the land until the citizens were aroused and determined to extirpate them? Do you recall how the men of the eastern county gathered together on the mountain, and the men from the western county gathered on the western mountain, with their arms and cannon ready to fall upon the Doones and destroy them, when by some untoward accident a cannon from the western ranks was trained across the valley and shot into the ranks of the men of the east, being inflamed by this accident, the men on the east trained their guns across the valley into the ranks of the west, and while these foolish people were slaying one another, the Doones saluted forth and put the counties to flight and continued to rob and kill and rage for years to come.

Let us heed the lesson, my countrymen. Let me say to Governor Kitchin and Senator Simmons and Chief Justice Clark: The Doones are in the
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valley. I pray you, gentlemen, train your guns a little lower.

We must drive out the plunderers. We must conquer the common enemy. We must hold North Carolina in the Democratic column. We must secure for our children the blessings of education. We must together work out better conditions for our labor and for those who toil. We must in conjunction with the national Government make our public roads both the cause and evidence of our civilization. We must safeguard the suffrage and see that it remains where we put it in 1900, on a basis of intelligence.

THE THINGS IN WHICH NORTH CAROLINA IS MAKING PROGRESS

We have indeed gone far in North Carolina. A recent writer has declared that the progress of a State may be determined by the things which are now done as a matter of course which used to be the subject of debate. Tested by this standard North Carolina has advanced rapidly under Democratic rule. The right of every child to a public school education is no longer a subject of controversy but is acknowledged by everybody. The duty and wisdom of adequate, excellent public roads is not only acknowledged by everybody but has recently been emphasized by the mud through which we have slowly dragged ourselves to the markets of the State. The right of children to be safeguarded in the time of their growth and development against overwork in factories is a right which no one now disputes. The duty of caring for the afflicted, whether due to age or infirmity, has been translated into so beautiful an application and has been performed with such steadfastness as to render one who would now deny it contemptible in the sight of all the people. The holy obligation of unstopping the ears of the deaf and making the blind to see, of making easy for the old soldiers and their widows their descent on the other side of the hill that leads to the overflowing river, has become the common heritage of us all. The paramount object of the State to obtain peace and quiet and good order to the end that men may quietly work out their own destinies has been rendered emphatic by performance. And no more does any one, whatever may be his view about the efficacy of prohibition, even expect to see again the dominance of the barroom and whiskey still in the civic and political life of this great State of ours.

AYCOCK'S FAREWELL TO HIS PEOPLE

We stand a-tiptoe on the misty mountain height and see the morning sun make purple the glories of the east. We are entering upon a new day, the day of equality of opportunity, the hour when every man shall be free to work mightily for himself until his soul, filled with satisfaction, shall overflow with a common benefit in kind, owing no tribute to any one and bound only to love his fellow man and serve his God as to him seem best.

"May these things be!"
Sighing she spoke;
"I fear they will not.
Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives,
And this proud watchword rest,
Of equal."
Equal! That is the word! On that word I plant myself and my party — the equal right of every child born on earth to have the opportunity “to burgeon out all that there is within him.”

THE END