

Read the **WHOLE** Record

Review of the Kitchin Circular Entitled "READ THE RECORD."

THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT THOSE NINETEEN VOTES ON RECIPROCITY AND THE TARIFF.

North Carolina Democrats had a right to hope that the campaign for the Senatorship would be conducted on a high plane. That right was based on the fact that each of the candidates occupies a high office in the State and a high place in the party.

But, we regret to say, the Governor of the State has from the beginning disappointed that hope. He began his campaign with bitter attacks upon Senator Simmons. He has sought to maintain it by essaying the folly of 'rying to convince sensible people that Senator Simmons is "Republicanizing the State." And, what is more regrettable, he has pursued, and is pursuing, methods that are manifestly unfair, and that menace the welfare of the Democratic Party. He must realize that his most ardent supporters are disappointed in him.

What methods we refer to will appear upon a casual review of his speeches and his literature.

For example, when the State Convention endorsed Mr. Simmons' record, the Governor did not come out like a true Democrat and acquiesce in the decree of his Party, but, instead, in his Durham speech, he denounced the convention, and attempted to make light of its action. Evidently he thinks himself greater than his Party.

Again, when the National Democratic Convention failed to declare for free lumber, free raw material, and reciprocity with Canada, Governor Kitchin let go his opportunity to set himself right with his party, and attempted by sophistry to create the impression, in the face of the practical indorsement of Senator Simmons' course, that the platform was against the Senator. This was so obviously a piece of special pleading and of perversion that the Governor's best friends must recognize that he has proved himself neither candid nor frank. The party's platform is not a proper subject of jugglery. A bigger man would not have attempted to create an impression so contrary to the spirit and letter of his party's National platform. Our National platform was never meant to be put to such uses, and to undertake to do so cannot but lessen the respect in which the Party's declarations are held.

But by far the worst behavior of all the Governor's unhappy course is embodied in his circular entitled—

"Read the Record."

In that circular he seeks to make capital of the fact that Senator Simmons, sitting as a juror, voted against declaring Senator Lorimer's seat vacant on the ground of corruption. It is new doctrine in this country that political capital can be made of a juror's verdict. It is true that upon the discovery of new evidence the Lorimer case was reopened, and upon the

presentation of that new evidence Senator Simmons voted to declare Lorimer's seat vacant. But this does not justify Governor Kitchin's course in seeking to make political capital of a juror's vote. Nor is the Governor any the more satisfied than he was before.

Neither vote suits him. He seems bent on his course—joined to his idols.

In that circular he speaks of the vote for the South American ocean mail service as a subsidy. He knows that every Democrat in the United States Senate voted just as did Mr. Simmons, and that not one of them is more favorable to subsidies than is the Governor himself. And yet he singles out Senator Simmons as voting for a subsidy! Mr. Simmons has voted just as every other Democratic Senator voted on every bill about the merchant marine since he has been in the Senate, and has never voted for a subsidy. The Governor's criticism amounts to an attack upon the entire Democratic body in the Senate.

He criticises Mr. Simmons for arguing that the tariff benefits the farmer—as if that were a crime. So far as we know, it has always been known that the tariff may be a benefit to the farmer. The Wilson bill carried duties on the same agricultural products now on the dutiable list, though not so high. Here is a fair sample of what the Senator said on the subject of the Farmer and the Tariff:

"When I am asked to help in increasing the protection on the products of the two great trusts which are largely responsible for forcing the consuming millions to pay 65 per cent more for the meat and bread they eat than the farmer receives for the products out of which these necessaries are made; when I am asked to put the farmers' products on the free list in order to purchase a freer entrance into Canadian markets for the products of the Steel Trust, the Harvester Trust, the Automobile Trust, and the Coal Barons, and thereby increase their already enormous profits; when I am asked to support a measure which I firmly believe will give the farmer no relief, but which will greatly add to his burdens, while increasing the profits and strengthening the hold of these great trusts upon the people; when I am asked by legislation to ratify a treaty agreement negotiated on the part of this Government by a rank protectionist secretary, and which is sponsored by a President who in his pronouncement on the Payne-Aldrich bill declared it the best tariff law ever enacted; when I am asked to accept this measure without amendment, I feel compelled to both protest and withhold my support."

Let him rise or fall on that.

And then, in that "Read the Record" circular, the Governor declares that Senator Simmons was "for protection" on building material, quebracho, iron ore, coal, pineapples, carpenters'

tools, monazite sand and thorite, and for cotton-seed oil.

Senator Simmons never voted for a duty on cotton-seed oil, which was and is still on the free list.

He did not vote for a duty on monazite sand and thorite.

He voted to put the carpenter's tools on the free list.

He voted for tariff duties of 7 per cent on lumber.

He voted for tariff duties of 18 per cent on quebracho.

He voted for tariff duties of 10 per cent on iron ore, between 15 and 20 per cent on coal, 32 per cent on pineapples (less 20 per cent on pineapples from Cuba).

The average rate that Mr. Simmons voted for on the articles named is only about one-third the average rate carried in Democratic Revenue Tariff bills.

Read these percentages carefully. Every one of them indicates a revenue—not a protective—tariff. Every one is below the 38 per cent on manufactures of steel and iron, including cutlery, knives, scissors, etc., and below the 35 per cent tariff on wool and woolens, and below the 30 per cent on cotton goods carried in the bills passed by the Democratic House and being the revenue tariff standard set by the present Democratic House.

The protective tariff ranges about 50 per cent. Governor Kitchin knows this. Yet, he deliberately declares that the small duties voted for by Senator Simmons above stated are "for protection."

The question arises, if they are protective rates, what would be a revenue rate? And again, if the rates were made lower on these articles, how high would they have to be made on other articles—high above the 50 per cent protective average—to raise the revenue required by our Government?

It is perfectly clear that the Governor is juggling with the intricate tariff question in order to create an impression that he knows is unjust. For example, the Governor must know that the Democratic House bill carried an average duty of 38 per cent on knives, razors, kitchen utensils, etc. It is conceded to be a revenue measure. Yet in no instance in Kitchin's "Read the Record" circular is a duty as high as 38 per cent to be found.

The Crowning Instance of Misrepresentation.

But the crowning example of Governor Kitchin's specious, unfair, and underhanded course is to be found further on in this "Read the Record" circular:

Governor Kitchin undertakes to show that in nineteen instances out of forty-three roll-calls on Reciprocity and Tariff bills during the Congress of 1911 (extra session) Senator Simmons voted "out of harmony with his party," and for protection. And the Governor names the page in the Congressional Record in each instance.

Having done that much, why did he not name the subject voted on? In the same Senate Document, No. 275, from which he quotes the record page of these votes is explained what each vote was about. This information he omits.

Was it frank and square, was it informing, to withhold the subject-matter of the vote?

Was the Governor afraid of the whole truth? He, too, must "read the record."

It was Tennyson who said:

"A truth that is half a lie
Is ever the worst of lies."

Let us have the whole truth. Let us read the record.

What were these nineteen votes on?

One was against the Reciprocity bill—Taft's Reciprocity bill, which the farmers of the United States have repudiated. That bill proposed to let down the bars of Canada, so far as our products went, putting our farmers on a basis of free trade (open competition) with Canada *when selling*, but when *buying* it left our farmers paying for hoes, leather, plows, machinery, etc., protective tariff tribute. This was manifestly unfair.

Senator Simmons proposed either of two courses: The first was to make the Reciprocity bill fair, and then vote for it. Failing to make it fair, he proposed to vote against it. In his effort to make the Reciprocity measure fair he offered or voted for amendments proposing to put in this bill certain articles purchased by farmers along with the articles sold by farmers.

It is on Mr. Simmons' votes for these amendments in the interest of fair play, even-handed justice, and a square deal for the farmers of America that Governor Kitchin finds sixteen of his nineteen votes "out of harmony with his party"! (The other two votes were in regard to the date when the cotton schedule bill should be considered in the Senate, Senators Overman and Simmons proposing to allow some days for the North Carolina cotton manufacturers to appear before the committee and be heard.)

The main question is, Did Senator Simmons, in standing up for fair play for the farmer, vote right? He is content to stand on his record. Here it is:

Among those sixteen votes Senator Simmons voted to so amend the Reciprocity pact that if the farmer's products were put on the free list, then the things he buys should be put on the free list also. Carrying out this idea of fair play to the farmers, he voted for—

Free trade with Canada on
Cotton bagging and ties;
Wire fencing, baling wire, etc.;
Agricultural implements — hoes, plows, etc.;
Agricultural machinery, threshing machines;
Portable engines, traction engines, etc.;
Flour, meal; boots, shoes, harness, etc.;

To reduce duties on structural steel, cutlery, etc.;

To reduce duties on wool and woolen goods, etc.

(The amendments put some of these things, such as bagging and ties, on the free list, whether imported from Canada or elsewhere.)

Taft's Reciprocity measure called for free trade with Canada in live stock, hogs, etc. Mr. Simmons demanded that it feed the packer out of the same spoon and let salted and cured meats in on the same terms.

Taft's Reciprocity measure proposed to let wheat in free from Canada. Senator Simmons demanded that the makers of flour be fed out of the same spoon—and sell their flour in the open market.

It is in Senator Simmons' work in these matters that Governor Kitchin finds his chief grounds of accusation. We may infer, therefore, that had Governor Kitchin been Senator he would have voted for free lumber, free coal, and free iron ore. If so, he must need pile high the tariff on other articles to raise the National revenue. And he would have striven for free trade in these articles—not for revenue tariff.