

portunity to further the cause of tariff reform had been lost. The good book says: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The Master commended those who did the work of righteousness and not the Pharisee who said, "I thank Thee, Oh Lord, I am not like other men."

I am not running my campaign on promises. I am running it on my accomplishments.

#### He Will be Chairman if the Senate is Democratic.

In all these tariff measures in the last session I was the Democratic leader without objection from any Senator.

When it was announced in North Carolina, during the last session of Congress, that upon the retirement of Senator Bailey, who was the ranking minority member of the Finance Committee, I would become the ranking member of that great committee and be in charge of tariff legislation, my adversaries said that would never happen; and that the Democrats on the Finance Committee would never consent to my leadership in the management of tariff legislation.

Well, the thing happened! I became the leader and the undisputed leader and manager. The result was a success which nobody in Congress nor in the country had anticipated. The result was not only the passage of these bills through the Senate but the unification of the Democratic party upon this question, and to an extent that not a Democratic vote was lost except on one bill.

But despite all this, in order to discredit me, my detractors, who said my colleagues on the committee would never consent to my management of these tariff bills, are now saying that if the next Senate is Democratic I will not be appointed chairman of the Finance Committee; they are saying that these very men who on the committee—the men who consented to and did not dispute my leadership on these questions in the last Congress, and who loyally followed and helped me, will not vote for me as chairman of that committee.

The members of the Finance Committee are not appointed by that committee. They are appointed by the Steering Committee, and the Steering Committee is appointed by the caucus. Senator Martin is the chairman of the caucus and chairman of the Steering Committee. Before he was appointed to either of these positions he had been assailed from the very sources that I am now assailed, and for the very reason that I am now assailed, because he had voted just as I did in 1909.

I make this prediction here and now, that if the next Senate is Democratic, there will be no wrangling there—there will be no classification of Senate Democrats into progressives and conservatives—but it will be a united body of earnest Democrats seeking to carry out the platform promises of the party and to uphold the hands of our great leader and President, Woodrow Wilson. But to those who deny that I will be chairman of the Finance Committee, and I have only heard it denied in North Carolina, I want to say here and now, that I am so sure of my position, so sure of the estimate of my colleagues as to my information and knowledge upon these questions and of my loyalty to my party and its principles, that if I am re-elected to the Senate (and I guess I will be, and that body is Democratic, and I believe it will be, if I am not made chairman of the Finance Committee according to the unbroken precedent and usages of the Senate, I will within twenty-four hours after that indignity is put upon me resign my seat in that body.

#### No Interest Financing His Campaign.

It has been intimated, not charged, that the lumber people are financing my campaign. The suggestion is a slander, without a circumstance of fact to support it. The truth is my campaign is getting but little financing from any source. A few of my friends in North Carolina have sent small contributions to my manager. I do not know how much, nor who has sent these contributions; but the amounts contributed separately and in the aggregate have been small, and I want to say, here and now, that personally, I have never received anything from any lumber association or lumber men by way of campaign contribution or otherwise, this year or at any other time, and the intimation that I have I brand as utterly untrue and unfounded.

#### Has Never Traded Votes.

When my friends, early in this campaign, claimed credit for me on account of the appropriations I had secured from the government to help the people of this State develop, conserve and utilize their great natural resources, my success in this regard was stigmatized as a species of graft. It was characterized as "pulling the leg" of the government. It was denounced as useless waste and extravagance of the people's money, and I was branded as a "pork-barrel" statesman. When the voice of the people speaking through the press repudiated these suggestions, intimations and arguments, when they let it be plainly understood that they approved—yea, when the press made the pertinent inquiry whether by this kind of attack and this kind of literature it was meant that, if I was succeeded in the Senate by the friend and candidate of my accusers, his weight and influence would be thrown against these appropriations and against government aid in helping in the development of these natural resources—the character of these attacks were changed; and it was first hinted, and then openly proclaimed, that I had secured these things by unsavory dickers and unholy trafficking in votes. That suggestion I likewise brand as not only false, but unworthy of those who have published it.

The vote of a Senator is a sacred thing. It is the only way by which he executes the will of the people. I want to say that as your Senator I have never at any time traded or trafficked in votes. Whatever I have secured for North Carolina in the way of appropriations for rivers and harbors and for public buildings and other things, I have secured because North Carolina was entitled to them and by presenting, with energy it is true, but truthfully, her claim to what she has gotten; and I challenge any man to say that I have gotten one single dollar of public money for North Carolina that she is not entitled to, or by any method that was not honorable, open and above board.

In the Senate I have fought for the people of North Carolina with all my might, all my heart and all my soul—just as I fought for them in the State in the trying days of 1908 and 1900; and in the Senate I have fought openly and honorably as I did in the State, I have not there, as I have not here, in the past or in the present, resorted to doubtful or devious methods.

#### Lumber Vote.

It has been charged that when I voted for a seven per cent duty on lumber I voted for protection. That is false. I voted for justice to next to the largest industry of my State against an outrageous sectional discrimination in favor of New England and the Prairie States. The duty on lumber for which I voted will not

more than recoup the lumberman for the heavy tariff charges imposed upon him by the Payne-Aldrich Bill, on the axe and the saw with which he fells the log, on the rails and the engine with which he hauls it to the mill, on the engine and machinery with which he converts it into boards, and the tin and iron sheet with which which he dries these boards. Upon every principle of justice in tariff taxation, as applied by both parties, he is entitled to this offset against these heavy tariff cost charges against his product. If in voting for seven per cent duty on lumber I was voting for protection, then the whole Democratic party—every Democrat in the Senate and in the House—in voting for an average duty of twenty-two per cent on iron and steel and the manufactures thereof—ploys, hoes, machinery, cutlery, & etc.—was also voting for protection. The truth is neither of these votes was a vote for protection. Both of them were revenue duties; but the duty I am criticised for voting for was a much lower revenue duty than the one we all voted for.

My accusers charge that when I voted against putting lumber on the free list, as did practically all of the Southern Democrats in the Senate, I was voting against the platform of 1908. That platform not only demanded the lumber be put on the free list, but it also demanded and in the same section, that trust-controlled products be put on the free list. If those declarations are to be taken literally, and not as I and other contend as a part of a general platform tariff program, then the whole Democratic party in the House and Senate in voting to put an average duty of twenty-two per cent on steel and iron and its manufacturers products admittedly controlled by a trust, chiefly by J. Pierpont Morgan's great billion dollar trust, also voted against the platform. From this conclusion there can be no escape. Neither were votes against the platform. Both were in accord with its proper interpretation.

#### Iron Ore.

I am charged also with voting for protection when I voted for a tariff of less than ten per cent on iron ore. Iron ore is the raw material of the trusts. Has anybody in this vast audience ever bought a pound of iron ore? The trusts and not the people buy iron ore. The things that the people buy are the things that the trusts make out of iron ore, such as cutlery and machinery and various other products of the trust. Upon these products of iron and steel which the people buy, in the Democratic metal bill which we have just passed, as I said before, we imposed an average tariff of twenty-two per cent. If the ten per cent duty which I voted for, when we were framing a bill under Republican auspices, applying the protective system, is a protective duty, then the twenty-two per cent duty which all we Democrats in Congress have just voted for, on the things which the trusts make and sell to the people, is not only a protective duty, but a protective duty more than twice as high as the one for which I voted.

The truth is neither of these duties was a protective duty. There were both revenue duties; but the one for which I voted and for which I am criticised was a lower revenue duty than the one for which we all voted.

#### Coal.

It is charged that I voted for a duty of fifteen per cent on coal. Every tariff tyro knows that the price of coal depends almost entirely upon the cost of transportation; that the only coal imported into this country is sold in New England, a little near

the Canadian border, and to a small strip of country on the Pacific Coast; that on account of freight charges, were coal absolutely free, no foreign coal could be sold in the South; and that any duty which we may place on coal, whether little or much, would not affect the price of coal in North Carolina.

I did not see, and do not see now, any reason why the New England manufacturers should have everything they buy free of duty while what they sell us is protected by the high Payne-Aldrich rates on their products.

#### Voted Only For Revenue Duties.

My adversaries cannot contemplate my votes for an average of about ten per cent on lumber, iron ore and coal without getting off their base. They denounce this average rate of about ten per cent as protection; and yet they can see nothing but revenue in the average duty of about thirty per cent which all the Senate and House Democrats have just voted for on manufacturers of iron and steel, of wool and woolsens, and of cotton goods and chemicals.

When denouncing me for casting this vote for a revenue duty on lumber, only about one-third as high as the revenue duties all we Democrats have voted for in the Democratic bills just passed, they foam at the mouth and show a disposition to lasso me and clothe me in stripes and put me behind the bars prepared four years ago for the trust humans.

#### Who Should Be Lassoed?

Let me suggest to these enterprising tariff reformers that while they are engaged in this work, they make a clean job of it. Let me suggest that they begin down in the first district by throwing their lasso around Congressman Small; let them go to the third district and lasso ex-Congressman Thomas; let them go over and lasso Congressman Godwin, and let them come a little further up and lasso Congressman Poir, and then a little higher up and lasso Congressman Webb, and put all of us behind the bars—we will make a very respectable company, and on this lumber question we are all in the same boat.

But they should not stop there if they want to get all of the offenders; they will have to throw their lasso around nearly all of the Democratic Senators from the South who were in Congress. If they go to the South of us they will have the lasso that grand old man of South Carolina, now tottering to the grave but still the idol of his people and animated by a love of country not surpassed by any man—I refer to Ben Tillman. He voted just as I did upon lumber, coal and iron ore; and he has just been triumphantly re-elected to the Senate. Let them go to our neighboring State of Georgia and throw their lasso around Georgia's great Senator, who is equal in logical power to any man in public life to-day—Senator Bacon—who voted as I did upon both lumber and iron ore—and who has just been re-elected to the Senate by a majority of 40,000.

To the north of us they will have to throw their lasso around the official leader of the Democratic party in the Senate—Virginia's accomplished, astute and sagacious senior Senator, who has just been re-elected to the Senate by a majority greater than his opponents received votes—I refer to Senator Martin, who voted as I did upon these questions.

And then there is one they cannot get, because he lies in his honored grave, his memory fresh and green in the hearts of his countrymen—Virginia's great orator and illustrious statesman, John D. Daniel, who voted just as I did upon all these ques-