

(PART 2)

"The Freeport Plan" of campaign received the UNQUALIFIED ENDORSEMENT of the NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION held at Saratoga Springs in July, 1918.



# The Freeport Plan

(Part 2)

*(FOR CIRCULATION ONLY AMONG DEMOCRATS  
THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES)*

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THE FREEPORT PLAN—A FOUR-YEAR NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, TO BE CONDUCTED THROUGH THE AGENCY OF AND AT THE EXPENSE OF SMALL DEMOCRATIC CLUBS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES, TO ENCOURAGE THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS AND ESPECIALLY, TO SPREAD THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SO-CALLED "PROTECTION," BY HIGH TARIFF RATES, AMOUNTS, IN ACTUAL PRACTICE, SIMPLY TO A LICENSE TO ROB THE MASS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THE BENEFIT OF A FAVORED FEW.

"THE FREEPORT PLAN" of campaign was initiated in November, 1916, received the unqualified endorsement of the New York Democratic

State Convention, held at Saratoga Springs, in July, 1918, and has met the cordial approval of a number of Democratic National Committeemen and Democratic State Chairmen and of some patriotic citizens of at least twenty-four states.

Have you read Part I of "The Freeport Plan"? The arguments contained therein are in complete accord with the principles that have been maintained by the Democratic party for more than 100 years.

Why not adopt "The Freeport Plan" of campaign in your district?

We are right upon the tariff issue. Therefore, let us be the aggressors. Let us choose the weapons. Let us press the issue.

Why hesitate and permit our adversaries to force the "protection" issue upon us (as they may) and thus place us on the defensive?

And, if the tariff issue should not be stressed during the campaign, our party will needlessly lose thousands of votes in many congressional districts because of the widespread misapprehension upon that subject.

Besides, women presumably have open minds in respect of the tariff issue; and they should be furnished with a convenient way to find out what principles our party stands for.

While it may be that the tariff question has not been the controlling issue in any election since 1892, when the late Grover Cleveland won the presidency solely upon that issue (Taussig's "Tariff History," p. 284), that issue, even though silent, has been an important factor in each succeeding national election and, no matter what other issue has arisen, a vast number, perhaps millions, have voted against our candidates solely because they still think there is some magic in "protection."

The tariff issue we have with us always:

During the 1916 national campaign our adversaries expended vast sums of money in the East in making false prophesies, by publishing cartoons and otherwise, in respect of the alleged devastating effect of the continued operation of the Democratic Tariff Act and in spreading the false notion that but for the European War a panic would have arisen in 1914 as the result of that tariff act.

A former national chairman of the opposition party once made the following untenable statement: "It was Republican protective tariff policies that made the wages of American laboring men the highest in the world." (New York Times Magazine, June 30, 1918.)

In February, 1917, Congressman Hicks' "Washington Letter," published in the rural newspapers throughout Long Island, N. Y., contained the following statement: "The opposition of the Republicans was due to their belief that a large part of the revenue required could be raised by a protective tariff without resort to the drastic provisions incorporated in the bill.

"It is estimated that a protective tariff on present imports would yield to the government annually at least \$100,000,000 more than is now received in custom receipts."

In 1918 Congressman **Fordney** said: "If we had the Payne rates of duty in effect today our imports would yield \$518,000,000 of revenue instead of \$168,000,000." (*New York World*, Friday, July 12, 1918, at p. 11.)

Congressman **Cannon**, formerly Speaker of the House, in an alleged interview published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, of September 14, 1918, entitled "Why Pay the Tax?" says at page 106: "That deficit could be lessened by the revival of higher customs duties such as we had in the Payne-Aldrich Law," and **craftily** suggesting that the foreign producers pay the taxes imposed by "protection" in this country, and referring to the soldiers who would return after the war, adds at page 109: "I am inclined to think that no men will see clearer the wisdom of again extending our Federal taxation to the products of other countries when they come here to find a market in competition with our production and labor, so that the foreign producers shall pay for that privilege just as do our domestic producers who are taxed for enjoying the home market."

Rural newspapers throughout the country are constantly boosting "protection," not only as a means of raising revenue, but as an alleged guarantee of prosperity, and from time to time publish false statements that low tariff rates have been responsible for panics and business depressions in the past and will result in the closing of factories throughout the country. (See Part 1 pamphlet, subds. II, IV and VII.)

"Protection" is even preached by teachers in public schools.

The suggestion that the object of "protection" is to raise revenue is due either to **insincerity** or to ignorance (see **Hayne's** speech, on the reduction of tariff duties, in reply to Clay; *Niles Register*, January 28, 1832, vol. 41, pp. 396-408; *Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress*, Part I, of vol. VIII, pp. 78-103); and the proposition that the foreigner pays the tax is as **dishonest** as it is absurd (see Part 1 pamphlet, subds. I, II and III).

The **subtlety** and the **power** of "ORGANIZED GREED" are tremendous:

Has it not contrived to instill into the minds of the people the **unfounded** belief that prosperity is caused by "protection" and business depression and panics by low tariff rates? (see Part 1 pamphlet, subds. IV and VII).

Has it not **deceived** a vast number of voters into thinking that "protection" raises wages and is beneficial to the American laboring man? (see Part 1, pamphlet, subd. V.).

Has it not time and again **duped** the farmers of our country by artfully including in tariff acts duties on farm products, which would never in any event be affected by foreign competition, while at the same time robbing them by "protecting" the owners of the sources of the supplies they must have? (see Part 1 pamphlet, subds. VI., I. and III.).

Does it not in each successive campaign **intimidate** the voters by false prophecies and hypocritical threats?

Does not each of its branches **influence** its employees to vote in a manner contrary to justice and even against their own interests upon the alleged ground that the "business needs protection?" (see Part 1 pamphlet, subds. VIII., VII., X., I. and III.).

Does it not constantly carry on, through the Press, a campaign of abuse, misrepresentation and insidious suggestion designed to poison the minds of the people against the Democratic party, its policies, its elected and appointed officers and its candidates.

Was it not the Civil War debt that once enabled it to fasten "protection" upon us? (Tariff History, 5th ed., 193, 188: Lybarger, 248, 261-263).

Has it not recently made the large national debt an excuse again to satisfy its avarice?

Is it not even now scheming to create the impression that "protection" is a desirable method of raising revenue?

For over fifty years similar tactics have been pursued so relentlessly through the press and otherwise by the advocates of special privilege that the majority of the American people have been rendered incapable of thinking logically upon the subject of "protection" and entertain the most grotesque notions in regard to its effect.

So long as a voter labors under the delusion (1) that there is some magic in "protection," (2) that it operates to his own benefit or to the national advantage, (3) that it brings about higher wages or better living conditions for the American laboring man, (4) that it aids the farmer, (5) that it is a desirable method of raising revenue, or (6) that it results in prosperity and the absence of it in business depression, he simply will not vote for a Democratic candidate, whether for a local, state or federal office.

We know that "protection," in actual practice, operates as a license to the few to plunder the many. The question is: How can the widespread misapprehension of the people upon the subject be corrected and the truth made clear to them?

Campaign speeches and editorials in Democratic newspapers are not sufficient. The man or woman whose vote our party seeks and is entitled to receive neither listens to the one nor reads the other.

The only way to reach such a voter is by personal contact and that can only be accomplished through the agency of each enrolled Democrat in the election districts throughout the United States, who will undertake to interest his neighbor in the tariff question and to persuade him to investigate the subject for himself.

Every voter who insists upon right and justice should deem it a privilege to aid in a campaign to wrest the ownership of the government from the advocates of special privilege, who, when in power, enact laws which, under the guise of so-called "protection," enable a favored few unjustly to enrich themselves by impoverishing the mass of the people.

Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan" was prepared so as to answer whatever point any voter might make in favor of "protection" and cites pages of the authorities to support the arguments therein set forth, so that one who doubts may go to a library and check the accuracy of any statement therein contained.

Before Part 1 of the plan was printed the text thereof was examined and approved by tariff experts of the (tariff) Reform Club, of New York. Consequently, campaign speakers may safely rely upon its contents.

In order to win, team work is required. The tariff issue is our strongest weapon, and the local Democratic candidate or committee is helping himself, as well as his party, when he aids in a campaign upon that issue; for the great majority cast their votes according to their views upon that question alone.

Under "The Freeport Plan" each campaign is of four years' duration and starts anew the day after each presidential election. The objective is ultimately to engage the co-operation of millions of the American people throughout the United States in a determined effort to let the mass of the people know what "protection," in actual practice, really means. When the voters find how, under the guise of "protection," they have been and are plundered, in order that a few, including foreign investors, may be enriched, there will be no place in American politics for the political party that preaches or practices "protection."

## SUGGESTIONS TO ORGANIZERS OF SMALL DEMOCRATIC CLUBS

1. Send to each state committeeman, to the chairman of each county committee and to each Democratic candidate a reprinted copy of Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan" and a copy of this paper, requesting that the county committeemen (or election district captains) be called together to consider the adoption of "The Freeport Plan" of campaign. Let each state committeeman and each candidate address county committee meetings. The most effective campaign is that which fires the zeal of party workers who are in close touch with the voters. Let the county committee consider passing the two resolutions printed near the end of this paper and the publication thereof in local newspapers.

2. Let several election districts be combined for the organization of each respective club; and let the executive committee of each club be composed of the president of the club and the county committeemen from the election districts thus combined for the establishment of a club. The essential and distinguishing feature of a club formed upon "The Freeport Plan" is that it must always be controlled by the regular Democratic organization of the district.

3. The voters in any district are more apt to read the Part 1 pamphlet if the name of a local democratic club be "rubber stamped" thereon. Therefore, form a club even if at first it consists of only a few county committeemen. Let each club consider passing resolutions like those printed near the end of this paper and the advisability of stating its objects in the language set forth near the end of Part 1 of the plan. Arrange to have an account of the club's action published in local newspapers. If possible, fix the initiation fee at two dollars and the monthly dues at ten cents. The local benefit to be derived from a small Democratic club in any locality will justify the club in paying the small cost of obtaining reprinted copies of the pamphlets (see note at end of this paper).

4. Let the several county committeemen forming a club, mail a reprinted copy of the two pamphlets to each enrolled Democrat in their dis-

tricts, with a notice calling a meeting of Democrats and inviting their co-operation.

5. Let the county committeeman and his lieutenants in each election district visit each enrolled Democrat, invite him to join the club and see to it that he reads the Part 1 pamphlet, or at least the part thereof that is printed in bold faced type, and understands its purpose.

6. If left to themselves not even Democrats are apt to read the pamphlets. Therefore, in order to secure their co-operation, read aloud portions of the pamphlets and point out a few instances of the outrageous injustice and of the unconscionable extortions practiced under so-called "protection" prior to 1913.

7. Let each county committeeman (and other party officials) realize that by accepting his office he has assumed a sacred trust to do what he can to perpetuate the principles of his party.

8. Let reprinted copies of the Part 1 pamphlet be placed on sale at news-stands in each election district.

9. Let each club purchase a few books upon the tariff question, obtain a copy of the Report of Congressional Tariff Hearings and copies of the Congressional Record, urge public libraries to do likewise and encourage the reading of such books as well as authorities upon other public questions.

10. Let one or more copies of the Part 1 pamphlet be placed on file in the reading room of each public library and college library in any election district.

11. Let each advocate of just government undertake for himself "to spread the knowledge" by handing a copy of the Part 1 pamphlet to any friend or acquaintance, of whatever party and of whatever occupation, who will promise to read the same and to return it or hand it to a neighbor who will make a similar promise, and by attempting to induce all citizens of good will to make a study of the tariff as well as of other public questions. Whenever a voter's interest has been engaged, request him or her to consider joining the local democratic club and enrolling as a Democrat.

12. "The Freeport Plan" of campaign should, as far as possible, be conducted by personal contact with each voter. Let the responsibility of engaging the interest of certain of their neighbors be placed upon individual Democrats in each election district. The more one does, the more he will be willing to do; and he will be content in the conviction that he is rendering a public service of the first importance. A house to house canvass is the best method; but, if a personal interview with each voter be impracticable, mail a copy of the Part 1 pamphlet to each voter of whatever party.

13. No embarrassment need be felt in approaching any voter of whatever party upon this subject; for, though many vote for our adversaries because they have been deceived as to the effect of so-called "protection" and into the belief that it is essential to our national welfare, all, save a selfish view, are as patriotic as ourselves and desire as earnestly to render justice to the mass of the American people.

14. Let each county committeeman keep a card index, showing whether



or not each voter in his district has read or promised to read the Part 1 pamphlet and the attitude of each upon the tariff question and stating the point upon which any opponent still clings to the theory of "protection." The facts should be tabulated and submitted to the party leaders, candidates and campaign speakers.

15. Encourage voters in each election district to write from time to time to Congressmen and Senators of whatever party, expressing their opinions in regard to public questions and pending legislation.

16. Always fight upon principle for right and justice. Let there be no trading with the enemy for the sake of a few loaves and fishes.

17. Impress upon the minds of each individual the fact that the survival of the principles of the Democratic party is of far more importance than the success or humiliation of any man or group of men.

18. Forgive the conduct of any Democrat, who, in the past, has contributed to the defeat of the party in a national, state or local election.

19. In future, fight out all differences among the factions of the party in the party primaries and, even if defeated, vote for the party's candidates and continue to work for the perpetuation of the principles of the party.

20. The large importance of winning local and state elections lies in preventing our adversaries from building up a political machine founded upon patronage and plunder. The Democrat, who fails to support our party's candidates, even at a local or state election, assumes a very grave moral responsibility, for thereby he helps toward enabling the opposition to become entrenched at Washington, where, when in power, the special interests write "protective" tariff schedules, which are so detrimental to the national welfare and so unjust to the mass of our people (see Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan").

21. "The Freeport Plan" concerns principles, not persons, and is nation wide in its scope. The organization that it is designed to construct is one based upon the devotion of the people to the principles of the Democratic party, and therefore, one that it will be impossible to defeat.

22. Whenever possible, let each county committeeman become personally acquainted with each voter in his election district. Each county committeeman (and each of his lieutenants) should devote his every ounce of energy to his work. If he find that he has not sufficient time so to do, he should advise the leading Democrats in his election district and request that a worthy successor be selected. Urge each county committeeman to secure as large an enrollment and registration as possible and to see to it that all who are qualified vote at the primaries and at elections. Careful instruction should be given in advance as to the legal method of voting for each Democratic candidate. Although voting for the head of a ticket at a recent election, over 100,000 men failed to express a choice as to candidates for justice of the Supreme Court in the Second Judicial District of New York.

23. If the party officials in any district fail to co-operate, let a club be established by earnest Democrats and, at the next party primary, elect

party officials who are devoted to the principles of the Democratic Party without regard to personal profit.

24. Establish a club for the study and discussion of public questions, even if there seems to be no immediate prospect of securing more than three members. Let each club hold regular meetings, and, if possible, maintain a club room where members, their friends and acquaintances may gather during any evening. Invite prominent Democrats, from time to time, to address public meetings, to which all citizens should be invited; and, if no other method be available, have the Part 1 pamphlet or excerpts from books upon the tariff question read aloud and discussed at club meetings. Take such other measures as will tend to engage the interest and co-operation of the residents of any given locality.

25. As an example to other Democrats throughout his state, let the **chairman** of the state committee, or his nominee, become president of a small Democratic club in his district. Let the **state committeeman** and the **county chairman** likewise become the president of a club in their respective districts.

26. Let each club in any county make a report on **February 1** and **May 1**, in each year, to the **state committeeman**, showing the number of its members and the number of enrolled Democrats residing in the respective election districts from which its membership is drawn, the methods of campaign employed by the club and such other information as the state chairman may direct.

27. Let each state committeeman make a report on **May 15** in each year to the **chairman of the state committee**, showing the progress of club organizations throughout their respective counties, giving a list of the clubs therein and describing the activities of the several clubs in the county.

28. Let the chairman of each state committee make a report on **June 1** in each year to the **chairman of the Democratic National Committee**, showing the progress of club organizations throughout his state, the methods employed by the various clubs to interest the people and the names and addresses of the clubs throughout his state.

29. Let the **state chairman** of any state committee communicate to the chairman of the state committee of each doubtful state and to the chairman of the national committee all improved methods of engaging the interest of the people that may have come to his attention.

30. Whenever an opportunity is afforded by any statement in any newspaper in favor of so-called "protection" let some member selected by each club write a letter to the editor (of whatever party) of each newspaper in his district and, particularly, to the editor of those published in rural communities, controverting any such assertion (a) by quoting the appropriate proposition announced in Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan," and (b) by fortifying such proposition by mentioning the books and authors referred to in the same circular, to the end that the people may be induced to investigate the tariff issue and to think for themselves.

31. Let clubs, committees and conventions (county, state, congressional and national) adopt a resolution like that passed on July 24, 1918, by the **NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION** unquali-



fiedly endorsing "The Freeport Plan" of campaign and see to it that the local newspapers of whatever party are given an opportunity of publishing the form of resolution and any other item of news that will help keep before the people the tariff issue and the activities of any club or committee. Wherever possible, let local newspaper articles contain the definition of "The Freeport Plan" as printed in bold faced type near the beginning of this paper.

32. Each county committeeman should be furnished with copies of the Part I pamphlet equal in number to the aggregate of enrolled voters (of all parties) in his election district and with at least ten copies of this paper.

33. The following legends (properly paragraphed upon slides costing about 75 cents each) have been exhibited from time to time over the name of the South Side Democratic Club, Freeport, N. Y., upon the screens of motion picture theatres in Freeport and neighboring villages:

(1) "The Freeport Plan,"—a four year national campaign to be conducted by small clubs throughout the United States. Our neighbors of whatever party are invited to join with us in the study and discussion of public questions." (2) "Have you read 'The Freeport Plan?' Each of us is under a patriotic duty to find out what principle he votes to uphold: Let no man vote with any given party merely because his father did so or because such, in his opinion, tends toward his social, financial or political advancement." (3) "Have you read 'The Freeport Plan?' A four year national campaign to encourage the study and discussion of public questions and, especially, to spread the knowledge that so-called 'protection,' by high tariff rates, amounts, in actual practice, but to a license to rob the mass of the American people," and (4) "Have you read 'The Freeport Plan.' If, by our lethargy, we, the people, permit the 'ownership' of the government to revert, in 1920, to the special interests, we shall each be guilty of moral treason. The public's sole protection against 'protection' is the power of its combined votes."

34. It is suggested that the letter-head of any club have printed thereon a statement that it has adopted "The Freeport Plan" of campaign initiated in November, 1916, by South Side Democratic Club, of Freeport, N. Y., and the definition of that plan as above printed in bold faced type.

35. Encourage Democrats at colleges and universities to organize clubs and to adopt such of the foregoing suggestions as may suit their own conditions.

36. Encourage each Democratic club already established to adopt "The Freeport Plan" of campaign in order to increase its usefulness to the party.

37. If the carrying out of these suggestions seem troublesome to any one, please bear in mind that similar methods are to be taken throughout the great state of New York, and possibly throughout each of the thirty-six states, and that each one of us should deem it a privilege to do his or her share toward perpetuating the principles of the Democratic Party. If given the tools wherewith to work, it will be found that nearly every Democrat will be willing to help. Remember, too, that the campaign is to be conducted until election day in 1924 and during each succeeding four years

thereafter, to the end that the merits of any issue may be readily presented to the people.

JOHN M. HARRINGTON, President,  
South Side Democratic Club.

Dated, Freeport, N. Y., October, 1922 (Originally dated, September, 1918).

P. S.—The following resolution was adopted on July 24, 1918, by the New York Democratic State Convention:

“WHEREAS, we are mindful that the expense due to the Civil War was the primary circumstance that enabled the selfish interests to fasten upon our country the incubus of ‘protection’ with which the American people were burdened for about fifty years; and

“WHEREAS, we realize that the fact that enormous sums of money will have to be raised to meet the expenses of the national government, makes it imperative to demonstrate to the people before the approaching congressional election and before the next presidential election that the raising of revenue by high tariff rates is the most iniquitous method of taxation that has yet been devised; and

“WHEREAS, we recognize that if, by our lethargy, we permit the ‘ownership’ of the national government to revert, in 1920, to the advocates of special privilege and thus enable them, under the guise of so-called ‘protection,’ again to plunder the great mass of the American people for the benefit of a favored few, we shall each be guilty of moral treason; now, therefore, be it

“RESOLVED, that ‘THE FREEPORT PLAN’ (announced in November, 1916, by the South Side Democratic Club of Freeport, N. Y.) of a four year national campaign, to be conducted through the agency of and at the expense of small Democratic clubs throughout the United States, ‘to encourage the study and discussion of public questions and, especially, to spread the knowledge that so-called ‘protection,’ by high tariff rates, amounts, in actual practice, but to a license to rob the mass of the American people’ be and the same hereby is HEARTILY APPROVED and UNQUALIFIEDLY ENDORSED.

“RESOLVED FURTHER, that a copy of this resolution be sent to Democratic candidates for member of congress, as well as to the Democratic national committeemen and to the state chairman in each doubtful state.”

Democratic clubs, committees and conventions (county, state, congressional and national), even in democratic states and in hopeless districts, are requested to consider the adoption of a similar resolution. Democratic candidates for member of congress and for the United States Senate are requested to consider the advisability of using “The Freeport Plan” during the approaching campaign.

P. P. S.—On September 18, 1918, the Democratic County Committee of Nassau County passed the above resolution and the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, the Democratic State Convention, recently held at Saratoga Springs, adopted, without a dissenting voice, a resolution whereby 'The Freeport Plan' of campaign was heartily approved and unqualifiedly endorsed; be it:

"RESOLVED, that 'The Freeport Plan' of campaign, initiated in November, 1916, by South Side Democratic Club, of Freeport, N. Y., be and the same hereby is adopted by the Democratic County Committee, of Nassau County, New York;

"RESOLVED FURTHER that small Democratic clubs be formed throughout Nassau County by combining several election districts from which the membership of each club is to be drawn, that each enrolled Democrat be invited to join one of the small Democratic clubs thus formed, that each club adopt the same objects as those adopted in the constitution of the South Side Democratic Club of Freeport, N. Y., that the constitution of each club provide that the executive committee thereof shall be composed of the president of the club and the county committeeman from each election district furnishing 15 members to the club and that the prosecution of 'The Freeport Plan' of campaign be proceeded with throughout Nassau County, each club providing itself with the necessary number of copies of the second edition of the 4-page circular descriptive of 'The Freeport Plan' and with the necessary number of copies of the 2-page circular designated as Part II of 'The Freeport Plan' (for the use of party workers) either by having the same reprinted or by obtaining copies through E. A. Rice, treasurer of South Side Democratic Club, Freeport, N. Y.;

"RESOLVED FURTHER that each county committeeman in Nassau County be furnished with a copy of this resolution."

Democratic state committees and Democratic county committees throughout each of the thirty-six doubtful states will please consider passing a similar resolution.

(Part 1 of the plan was originally printed as a 4-page circular and Part 2 as a 2-page circular.)

Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan" in itself contains sufficient so to arouse the just indignation of the people against so-called "protection" by high tariff rates as to cause them by their votes to wrest the ownership of the government from the advocates of special privilege.

Part 2 of the plan sets forth practical methods for carrying home the truth to the people.

Note: Any Democrat in the United States may have this pamphlet reprinted locally or may purchase copies from the printer.

Prices: Per copy, 10c, by mail, postage prepaid; while type remains set up, express collect: 200 copies, \$11; 500, \$18; 1,000, \$31; 2,000, \$58; 5,000, \$140; \$10,000, \$270, from **McConnell Press, Inc.**, 52 Duane Street, New York.

Reprinted copies of Part 1 of "The Freeport Plan" may be obtained from the printer at the same prices.

**DO NOT DESTROY; READ; ACT; and then hand this paper to any DEMOCRAT or to a democratic COUNTY COMMITTEEMAN.**

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