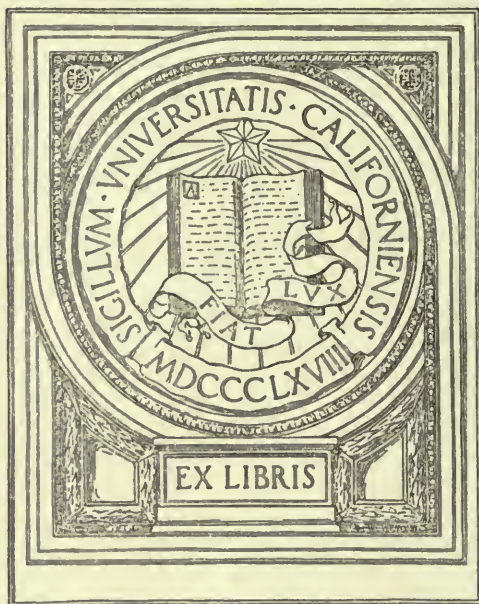


THIRTEENTH
Republican National Convention
CHICAGO
1904

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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTEENTH
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,

HELD IN THE CITY OF

Chicago, June 21, 22, 23,

1904

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York, for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

Reported by M. W. BLUMENBERG, Official Reporter.



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THE OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish a full and complete report of the official proceedings of this Convention, under the direction of the National Committee, co-operating with the local committee.

The following resolution was adopted at the National Convention held in Philadelphia in 1900:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the official proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON,
SECRETARY.

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OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—

HON. HENRY C. PAYNE,
OF WISCONSIN.

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—

HON. ELMER DOVER,
OF OHIO.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION—

HON. ELIHU ROOT,
OF NEW YORK.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION—

HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON,
OF ILLINOIS.

GENERAL SECRETARY—

CHARLES W. JOHNSON,
OF MINNESOTA.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS—

WILLIAM F. STONE,
OF MARYLAND.

U. C. BERKELEY
GEO. C. PARDEE GIFT 4/30

In Memoriam

The National Committee at its session prior to the meeting of the Convention adopted the following reports relative to the death of Senator Hanna and Senator Quay, former Chairmen of the National Committee. The Secretary of the Convention was directed to embody the same in the volume of Official Proceedings.

Senator PENROSE, of Pennsylvania, reported as follows:

Resolved, That the members of the Republican National Committee have learned with profound sorrow of the death of our late colleague, Matthew Stanley Quay. For many years he represented the great State of Pennsylvania in this Committee. In several campaigns he served as member of the Executive Committee. As Chairman of the Republican National Committee he achieved by his skill, sagacity, courage and ability, one of the most brilliant victories in the splendid history of the Republican party. He was ever found to be a genial friend and a sagacious counselor. His ripe political experience, matured and well-balanced judgment, and extraordinary knowledge concerning political affairs, will be greatly missed in the councils of the party.

In his death the country has lost one of the ablest and best equipped statesmen of his time. He was one of the most influential, trusted and forceful members of the Senate of the United States. His many and great public services to his party and his country are recognized and admitted by all.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to his family; to the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania; and that they be printed in the official proceedings of the Convention.

Senator PENROSE moved the adoption of the report.

Report adopted.



The Late HON. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, of Pennsylvania,
Former Chairman of the Republican National Committee (1888).
Died May 28, 1904.



Mr HERRICK, of Ohio, made the following report:

Resolved, That the members of this Republican National Committee bow their heads in profound sorrow over the loss of Marcus A. Hanna, distinguished throughout his active and honorable life by his devotion to principle, his personality, his splendid courage, his sound judgment, his quick sympathy and spirit of helpfulness, his masterful power of organization, and his noble qualities of mind and heart.

He touched society and government, labor and capital at every point. His success was won by industry, consistent purpose, economy and sacrifice, by loyalty to friends, and consideration of the rights of his fellowmen. In his great work on this Committee we learned to lean and rely on him, to trust him with great labors and responsibility; and he proved equal to every demand upon him.

In the Senate, in the ranks of labor, in the conferences of the masters of commerce, in the councils of political leaders of his country, he was wise, just and patriotic. He was a statesman in the true sense, an honorable man of affairs, a helper in the world's work, and we mourn his death at the very summit of his power and influence with a depth beyond the strength of any ordinary words of ours to express.

Resolved, That a copy of this tribute be sent to his family, to the Governor of the State of Ohio, and be printed in the Official Proceedings of the Convention.

Mr. HERRICK moved the adoption of the report.

Report adopted.



The Late HON. MARCUS A. HANNA, of Ohio,
Former Chairman of the Republican National Committee (1896-1900).
Died February 15, 1904.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, unanimously nominated for the Presidency by the National Republican Convention at Chicago on June 23, 1904, is without doubt, of all men living in the United States in these opening years of the twentieth century, the man best qualified by training and experience for the high duties of the office of Chief Executive. Training for great and varied responsibilities in life is of two kinds:—first, training in those qualities of mind, character, and personality that go to make up the man himself; and second, training in the subjects and the methods that relate to the business of the office in question. In both of these forms of preparation Theodore Roosevelt meets every test of fitness. Measured along the line of the first test, namely, that of personal qualities, the speakers at the Chicago convention were not wrong in the tributes they paid to Mr. Roosevelt as—to quote from ex-Governor Black—“the highest living type of the youth, the vigor, and the promise of the great country and a great age.” Senator Beveridge was right in characterizing Theodore Roosevelt as one “whose sympathies are as wide as the Republic; whose courage, honesty, and vision meet all the emergencies, and the sum of whose qualities makes him the type of twentieth century Americanism.” Mr. Knight, of California, eulogized President Roosevelt’s embodiment of American ideals, aspirations, and character, whose so-called “impulsiveness” is but the frank, decisive habit that comes to be the very essence of the character of a man in whose make-up “dishonesty, cowardice, and duplicity have no part.” Mr. Root closed his great speech as temporary chairman of the convention with a tribute to Mr. Roosevelt’s personal qualities, and these are the concluding sentences of that memorable address.

No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. Come what may here, come what may in November, God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood, shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power, to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt.

HIS CHARACTER NO TOPIC FOR DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

Theodore Roosevelt’s character is no topic for difference of opinion or for party controversy. It is without mystery or concealment. It has the primary qualities that in all ages have been admired and respected: physical prowess, great energy and vitality, straightforwardness, and moral

courage, promptness in action, talent for leadership. But besides exhibiting these bolder constituents of manhood that one finds in the best of Plutarch's men, and in the approved figures of all historic periods, Theodore Roosevelt has in his life of forty-six years,—a life lived openly and without any dark or hidden or regretted chapters, in the presence of a host of friends and fellow-citizens—remained constant and true in the possession and exercise of an added set of virtues, namely, those that the best American fathers and mothers must prize and desire for their own children. Thus Theodore Roosevelt, as a typical personality, has won the hearty confidence of the American people; and he has not shrunk from recognizing and using his influence as an advocate of the best standards of personal, domestic, and civic life in the country. He has made these things relating to life and conduct a favorite theme in speech and essay, and he has diligently practiced what he has constantly preached. Thus he has become a power for wholesomeness in every department of our life as a people.

A TRAINING FOR HIGH PUBLIC DUTIES.

But President Roosevelt is not merely the man of trained and mature personality,—with a physical and mental capacity for continuous work, with a power of concentration that never fails or flags, with a vitality that never needs artificial stimulant, and with a strength of will as well as of body that is equal to any emergency. Another man might have these splendid attributes of personal manhood, yet be lacking in the kinds of knowledge and experience demanded by the highest executive office in the gift of any nation. A locomotive engineer, a soldier, or the captain of a lake schooner—all men, by the way, whom Theodore Roosevelt cordially respects—might possess an equal measure of Theodore Roosevelt's physical and moral courage, his native intelligence and his tempered self-control, but might lack altogether the knowledge of public affairs that would be requisite for high political office. On the other hand, there are men whose information regarding American history, public policy, and statecraft might in some directions be even wider than President Roosevelt's, while lacking that rounded development of personal character that the people of this country earnestly wish to find in the man who occupies the White House and stands before the world as their foremost citizen and representative. Mr. Roosevelt is without question the highest authority in this country to-day upon the application of our laws and our system of government to the varied tasks of the Chief Executive.

He has been before the public for almost a quarter of a century, always destined to great influence. Yet he has never been a conscious climber up the ladder of public preferment. He has never used one office as if it were a stepping-stone on the way to another. He has never taken up any public task without putting his whole energy into its performance as if it afforded the supreme opportunity for usefulness to his fellow-citizens.

AS BOY AND MAN.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York October 27, 1858. His father was a greatly respected citizen of New York City, and his mother was from the State of Georgia. He graduated at Harvard University in 1880. His health had not been good as a boy, but systematic physical training through the school and college period brought him out strong and well. He was always interested in American history and politics, and entered almost immediately on leaving college upon the career which, without the slightest turning or deviation, he has pursued ever since. He found himself a Republican by inheritance and tradition, by association, and by his own independent study of the course of our country's affairs. He determined to work within that party, believing it to be an organization designed to promote the country's good, within which men might find sufficient freedom for the advocacy from time to time of their own convictions, as policies might develop and new questions might arise. His first public service was in the New York Legislature, to which he was elected in 1881, and where he served for three consecutive terms.

HIGH IDEALS IN REGARD TO PUBLIC SERVICE.

He attained, almost immediately, a leading position through his frankness and courage. He saw dawning upon the horizon of practical politics two new and essential reforms. One was the substitution in place of the spoils system of a business-like and efficient civil service, and the other, in view of the rapid growth of our town life, was the improvement of the methods and character of city government. With intelligence, courage, and conviction he threw himself into both of these lines of active reform work. Thus he wrote the original civil service law of the State of New York, and as a Republican carried it through the Legislature. He instituted an investigation into the conditions of municipal government in the metropolis of the country, and headed the committee that made the inquiry.

Young Republicans all over the United States took note of this resolute new leader in the great Empire State, and said to one another, if he shows staying power we shall some day make him President. In 1884, young as he was, he appeared at the National Republican Convention as one of the four delegates at large from his State. Some of his most trusted and respected friends in New York and Massachusetts who had been prominent in the cause of civil service reform did not concur in the Republican choice of Mr. Blaine for President, and launched an independent movement. Mr. Roosevelt, however, adhered to the Republican party and supported the ticket, although Mr. Edmunds, rather than Mr. Blaine, had been his convention preference; and he set forth his position in a statement so clear and final upon the obligations and duties of party allegiance, that he would not to-day alter a single word.

SOME DETAILS OF A BUSY LIFE.

In the twenty years from this conspicuous appearance of his at the convention of 1884 to the convention which nominated him in 1904 his position in the Republican party and in the country has been one of steady growth, until he has now become firmly established as the highest authority in the party and the foremost public man of the Nation. From his early days in College he had been a devoted student of the history, the geography, the development, and the life in all phases of this great country. While still a member of the New York Legislature he had acquired a ranch near the Montana line of North Dakota, where for several years he spent much of his time, participating actively in pioneer life, and gaining in practical ways an invaluable knowledge of the processes of evolution through which all American commonwealths have had to pass. His work as a student of books, meanwhile, was never dropped, even while he was most busily engaged in the affairs of current politics or in frontier activity. In 1886 he was the Republican nominee for mayor of New York City, but was defeated by Mr. Abram Hewitt as the Tammany Democratic nominee, around whom certain conservative interests rallied in the fear that otherwise the third candidate, Mr. Henry George, might be elected.

It was not until 1889 that Mr. Roosevelt again held an office; but he was meanwhile in more than one way an active and influential figure in the busy life of the American people. In 1882 he had published his work on the second war with Great Britain, entitled "The Naval Operations of the War Between Great Britain and the United States, 1812-1815." This at once gave him a place among writers on American history and also among students of naval strategy. His next book, which appeared in 1886, was called "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman." During the following three years, when he had no official duties, he gave his best energy to the study of the history and development of the United States, and embodied that study in a series of volumes. So industrious was he, indeed, that he brought out in the years 1886-1889 (inclusive) no fewer than seven volumes that will stand permanently to his credit. It was in this period that he entered upon those remarkable studies of the conquest and settlement of the Mississippi Valley which have taken form in his four-volume work entitled "The Winning of the West," of which the first two volumes were given to the public in 1889. He had meanwhile in 1887 and 1888 contributed two volumes to the "American Statesman" series, one a life of Thomas H. Benton, the other a life of Gouveneur Morris. In 1888, moreover, appeared his volume entitled "Essays on Practical Politics," which has more recently been brought out with additional essays in the volume called "American Ideals." His second book on frontier life also appeared in 1888 under the title "Ranch Life and Hunting Trail."

AS CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER.

Mr. Roosevelt had always been interested in our foreign relations, and was proposed for Assistant Secretary of State when President Harrison's administration began in 1889; but he was offered instead what seemed the less attractive position of civil service commissioner. He took the position cheerfully and held it for six years. During that period, serving under President Cleveland as well as President Harrison, he saw the methods of appointment in the United States almost completely transformed. His activity and energy in this great work of putting business-like method into the detail of the public services brought him into close contact with the machinery of government in all the departments, and into relationship with cabinet officers, senators, members of Congress, and the whole *personnel* of administration. For a young man capable of taking on training, there could have been no better school than this for subsequent personal direction of that great administrative machine. And when Roosevelt left the office Commission he had served his full apprenticeship and was fit for any public work, no matter what its responsibilities, that might be assigned to him.

AS POLICE COMMISSIONER OF NEW YORK.

He was in his thirty-seventh year when, early in 1895, Mayor Strong called him from Washington to take the presidency of the Police Board of New York City. He will be in his forty-seventh year when, early in 1905, the victor in the pending Presidential campaign will be inaugurated at Washington. In these ten years his career has led him upward and onward by swift bounds almost unprecedented in our political history; but the secret of his advancement is to be found in the thoroughness of his previous training. As New York Police Commissioner he was called upon to show great strength of character in the observance of his oath of office by enforcing unpopular laws. He left a permanent impress upon the administration of the great metropolis. He helped to solve some of the most difficult police problems for all the cities of the country.

AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

He was one of the first to foresee the inevitability of the war with Spain. He had done what he could for the Police Department of New York, and meanwhile a Republican administration was coming into power at Washington. He was appointed by Mr. McKinley as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Hon. John D. Long, of Massachusetts, being head of that department. We were wholly unprepared for war either on land or by sea. Of all men connected with the administration Roosevelt most clearly perceived the fact that although armies may be made ready after war breaks out, navies must be prepared in advance or be worse than useless. When he began to enforce the necessity of training in marksmanship upon the navy, our standing in that regard was below that of all the leading naval powers. In less than

two years, through the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt, our naval gunners led the world in skill and accuracy.

HIS SERVICE IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

When the war broke out Roosevelt felt that his place was at the front, and that there was no longer need of his services in the Navy Department. He enlisted as a volunteer, was commissioned with Dr. Leonard Wood to form the First Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, known as "the Rough Riders," won honor at Santiago, and with fresh laurels returned from Cuba in the summer of 1898 as a colonel, recommended by President McKinley for a brevet brigadier-generalship for gallantry on the field of action.

AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

The political pendulum was swinging strongly toward the Democratic side in the affairs of New York State. A large sum of money had been spent to deepen the Erie Canal without effective results, and public opinion had condemned the Republican party. In this emergency Roosevelt was the only man in sight who offered the Republicans any chance at all. He was nominated without conditions, promised the people to investigate the canal situation thoroughly and to expose and punish whatever wrong-doing he might find, and carried the State triumphantly because the people had faith in him. His administration as governor was noteworthy for its efficiency in managing the affairs of the Empire State, and for its promotion of several needed reforms. He appointed the charter commission which gave the metropolis its present revised system of government; he selected the tenement house commission which extended the housing reforms that he had begun as police commissioner; he undertook to unify the control of public educational work in the State; he secured the passage of the far-reaching franchise tax law; he presented to the Legislature the most statesmanlike messages upon the regulation of trusts and corporations and various taxing reforms that were produced in any State during that period,—and he had before him the certain prospect of a triumphant re-election as governor for a second term in the autumn of 1900.

AS VICE-PRESIDENT.

His victory of 1898, however, had everywhere attracted attention to his availability for the national ticket two years later. Mr. McKinley's renomination was conceded, and the Republicans of the country, especially in the West, were already talking of Theodore Roosevelt as their probable candidate for 1904. He appeared at the Philadelphia convention at the head of the New York delegation just as he had appeared sixteen years previously at Chicago. Not only was he the most popular personal figure in the convention, but he was regarded by a large proportion of the delegates, for a series of reasons, as the most desirable man to be associated with Mr. McKinley on the ticket. Hence the nomination which he sought to avoid, but

accepted when it came as the mandate of the party. He entered upon the work of the campaign with great enthusiasm, and his work as a speaker was more effective than that of any other member of his party. The campaign over, he quietly resumed his literary work (he had already written in 1898 his famous book, "The Rough Riders," and while governor wrote a characteristic life of Oliver Cromwell), visited the Rocky Mountains and wrote a remarkable description of the hunting of the cougar, and so—in place of his expected second term in the intense activities of the governorship of New York—he reconciled himself to the prospects of four years of quiet, self-repressed, observant, and studious life in the dignified office of Vice-President.

TAKING UP THE WORK LAID DOWN BY PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

A brief extra session had given him opportunity in his new official capacity to preside over the Senate. The first regular session of Congress was not to begin until December, 1901. In September, however, the bullet of the assassin made vacant the great office so ably and honorably filled by President McKinley, and on September 14, 1901, at Buffalo, Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States, informing the country that it was his purpose to take up the work as Mr. McKinley had laid it down. He has been unflinchingly true to that promise. No previous Vice-President ever came into power through the death of the President without almost immediately calling about him a new cabinet and adopting methods and policies of his own.

Mr. Roosevelt, with an individuality as strong as that of any other man of his day, was able to adjust himself at once to the personnel and to the policies of the McKinley administration, while sacrificing not one whit of his own personality, and while fixing in every direction the impress of his own distinctive methods. Mr. McKinley's cabinet remained with him to a man, one or two of them who had expected to retire—Mr. Gage, Mr. Long, and Mr. Smith, for example—keeping their places longer than they otherwise would have done. Mr. Root, Mr. Hay, and Mr. Knox had the same freedom of opportunity to carry on their great departments as under Mr. McKinley himself. Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. Wilson held steadily on their respective courses. There was unity in the cabinet, there was good-will between the Administration and both Houses of Congress, and there was harmony and enthusiasm in the party at large. Senator Hanna, as chairman of the National Committee and an influential figure in Congress, remained in close and confidential relations with the new President to the day of his lamented death.

HIS NOMINATION IN 1904 A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.

Under these circumstances, with the unshaken confidence of the masses of the people and with the enthusiastic support of the unofficial rank and file of the Republican voters, President Roosevelt's nomination at Chicago in

1904 was a foregone conclusion, even though it had never happened before that a President who had come into office to fill an unexpired term had been his party's choice for re-election.

SOME OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Under President Roosevelt's administration a series of great achievements can be named, and these will constitute a large part of the claim that the Republican party makes in this year's campaign for another lease of power.

CUBA.

President McKinley had undertaken to create a new and stable republic in the island of Cuba, having intimate relations with this country, for our own advantage and for the best welfare of the people of the island. President Roosevelt completed that task; insured the prosperity of Cuba by a mutually advantageous treaty of commercial reciprocity; established on the south coast of Cuba a great naval station commanding the Caribbean Sea, and thus put the stamp of completion upon one of the most brilliant and highly creditable chapters in the statesmanship of any nation. We had not gone to Cuba to make war, but to establish peace; and it has been Theodore Roosevelt's good fortune to play a leading part in the beginning and the ending of that proud episode.

THE PHILIPPINES.

Again, through Secretary Root, Judge Taft, and their associates and successors President Roosevelt has given permanence to the lines of humane and progressive policy for the Philippines, promoting education and self-government by every possible means, and working steadily towards the prosperity of the islands. His remarkable knowledge of army affairs enabled him to co-operate the more successfully with Secretary Root in the reorganization of our military system. His intimate knowledge of naval affairs has given the country as well as Congress a very general confidence in the policy of naval enlargement and efficiency that has been adhered to through his administration.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

No one understands so well as President Roosevelt the manner in which a strong navy insures peace for this country. It was the strength of our navy which made it comparatively easy for the President to prevail upon Germany and England to withdraw from their blockade of Venezuela and to submit all points in controversy to settlement by arbitration. In dealing with the various aspects of this Venezuela question the principles of the Monroe Doctrine were accepted and strengthened, and the prestige of the United States as a just and disinterested arbiter in Western Hemisphere affairs was advanced to a point never before reached. President Roosevelt

was besought to take upon himself the arbitration of certain phases of the Venezuela dispute, but he sent the case to The Hague, thereby contributing the greatest practical aid to the cause of a permanent tribunal. The settlement of the Alaska boundary on the basis of the findings of an Anglo-American commission was also a great triumph of statesmanship for which President Roosevelt is entitled to the highest credit.

THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

The Venezuela and Alaska situations exemplified talent of the highest order in the settlement of critical foreign questions. But, to many minds, the crowning achievement of Mr. Roosevelt and his administration has been the removal of all the series of vexatious obstacles that lay in the way of beginning the construction of the Isthmian Canal. No man in the United States has been more strongly impressed for many years than President Roosevelt himself with the necessity of keeping the Isthmian Canal under the political sovereignty and control of the United States Government. His views on this subject were frankly expressed and highly influential in the final shaping of the negotiations with England for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. When it seemed best to give up the Nicaragua route, President Roosevelt stood firmly for a proper measure of American jurisdiction over the Panama zone. At every step of the negotiations, first with Colombia and then with Panama, his course was marked by good faith in the highest degree and disinterested statesmanship without a flaw or stain. The final outcome, that of an independent republic at Panama closely allied with the United States, was the best solution, probably, that could have been found, whether for North America, South America, or the commercial nations of Europe; and the citizens of Colombia itself are already perceiving that this was the best solution for them, and that they are now certain to have all the benefits of a canal on the most favored terms, without any of the dangers, costs, or responsibilities. With his characteristic foresight and intelligence, the President has already provided for the thorough sanitation of the canal zone, has appointed a splendidly qualified board of commissioners to construct the canal, and has arranged for the effective policing and government of the ten-mile strip. If re-elected, he will astonish the world by the vigor, efficiency, and essential economy with which he will prosecute this greatest of all engineering tasks.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

In his proclamations enjoining neutrality in the war between Russia and Japan, President Roosevelt has shown great tact as well as a correct sense of our position under international law. His leadership in securing from all great powers, including the combatants themselves, the territorial restriction of the war, will go upon the record as one of the most beneficent services in the history of American diplomacy. His promptness in defending American rights, whether in Turkey, Morocco, Santo Domingo, or elsewhere, has

promoted peace and good-will rather than animosity. Under his administration our relations with all nations, foreign governments, and peoples have been advanced to the highest point of friendliness and mutual respect ever attained since the beginning of our national life.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

In the work of internal administration President Roosevelt has shown himself, on the one hand, thorough in routine and a master of detail; on the other hand, strong and constructive in policy. His whole training had made him pre-eminently fit for the direction of the machinery of the immense executive business of government. Under him the departments have reached their highest pitch of efficiency. Never before has the work of skilled and competent men been so much in demand or so heartily appreciated. Never before have the unworthy and the incompetent been so unsparingly shut out from the governmental services. In the Postoffice Department there had survived and developed in certain special parts of the vast organization some favoritism, some fraud, and some flagrant dishonesty as the bad fruitage of a spoils system for which both parties must share the blame. These evil conditions had escaped the vigilance of two or three Congressional investigations; but President Roosevelt has brought them to the light, sparing no culprit, however well connected or influentially surrounded. Thus the people know that in him they have an executive unequalled in the reduction of the public service to a basis of honesty, efficiency, and intelligent economy.

It is a great thing to be able to grasp details as well as to formulate principles; and to know how to select men as well as to understand the tasks to which they are assigned. But President Roosevelt, who excels in acting as Uncle Sam's foreman in running every branch of his great business, has also shown a remarkable talent for domestic statesmanship and for the initiating of new and better methods. Thus he has thrown himself into the task of improving Uncle Sam's physical domain, and as a result we have the new irrigation policy which is to add to the Nation's wealth, population, and contentment more than any man can now well estimate. We have also the new forestry policy, and many other matters of note belonging in particular to the departments of Secretary Wilson and Secretary Hitchcock, having to do with the country's material welfare and progress.

THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

One of the greatest constructive achievements of President Roosevelt's administration has been the setting up of a new cabinet department, that of Commerce and Labor. This department groups together in a convenient way a number of public services already existing, and in addition it enables the Government to utilize more effectively its constitutional power to regulate commerce between the States for the well-being of the people and, further,

to promote not only the country's prosperity in industry and commerce, but also its harmony in the relations between the different factors of production.

DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WELL SOLVED.

In everything let it be said that, wherein it has fallen to the President's lot to deal with problems affecting the relations of capital and labor, he has not failed to show the highest qualities of courage and the highest sense of justice, but he has at all times upheld the dignity and the supremacy of the national Government. The anthracite coal strike reached a point where it became a grave national emergency, and the President found a way to settle it which did not strain in the slightest degree his official prerogative, while it contributed greatly to the prestige of the Government, reassured the public, and fixed a noble precedent in favor of arbitration at a moment when the strain between labor and capital was the greatest ever known in this country.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST LAW.

The measures taken by the President through the Attorney-General's office for the enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law, however important they were as respects the particular matters in dispute, found their greatest importance, after all, in the assurance they gave that the law is still supreme in this land, that the President as Chief Magistrate will enforce the law against the greatest corporation as well as against the criminal who breaks open a letter-box, and that the highest courts, when entered under the President's instruction by an energetic Department of Justice, will interpret the laws without fear or favor.

UNFAILING IN HIS SENSE OF JUSTICE.

President Roosevelt has been unflinching in his sense of public dignity and justice. He has reposed the fullest confidence in his associates in executive office, and has gloried in their effective devotion to their work, relying upon them and leaving them unhampered, while himself always in the fullest sense the President and the leader. His has been an administration without fads, without favorites, and without scandals. In army and navy promotions, as well as in all appointments to civil office, he has performed his duty with sole regard to the country's welfare, and with a freedom from bias or mere personal leaning that has never been surpassed if ever before equalled in the administration of any American President.

HE KNOWS THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

He knows the country and all its interests and resources from North to South and from East to West. He knows the plain people, in person and in type, as well as he knows their leaders in industry and education, in church and state. He has no quarrels; he bears no grudges; he is willing and anxious to work with all men who will deal honorably and faithfully. He

knows the history of labor, recognizes the services that have been rendered by associations of working men for mutual benefit, and is so confident in his sense of good faith in all his dealing with the problems of labor and capital, that he has no fear of being misunderstood when he speaks with perfect frankness upon questions as they arise. He knows the Indians and sees that they have justice. He knows the difficulties that beset the race problem in the South, but he also holds that in ethics, as under the Constitution and laws of the United States, a man is a man, no matter what the color of his skin.

HE HOLDS THE MAN HIGHER THAN THE DOLLAR.

While believing that the rights of property must be regarded and conserved, he holds the man higher than the dollar. He sees that in a country like ours, the radical and the conservative alike must demand of their chief executive that he maintain the law as first and supreme over rich and poor alike.

AN EXAMPLE TO THE YOUNG MEN OF THE COUNTRY.

To the young men of the country, President Roosevelt sets an example of the value of a sound mind in a sound body. His career helps them to see the practical worth of industry, of system, of temperate living; and helps them to perceive that faith in the highest public and private ideals still holds sway in our places of highest honor and power.

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

BY JAMES P. HORNADAY.

Charles Warren Fairbanks, senior Senator from Indiana, comes from a long line of New England ancestry. About a dozen years after the town of Boston was settled a ship from England brought to the colony one Jonathan Fayerbanke, his wife, four sons and two daughters. They were Puritans and their ancestors for many generations had been farmers, a part of the yeomanry of England. In the struggle between the crown and the people the Fayerbankes' followed Cromwell.

They came to America like the other Puritans, in search of greater religious liberty than they had enjoyed in the mother country. Jonathan Fayerbanke was a type of the New England Puritan—of strong mind, strong prejudices and an iron determination. His name is identified with the foundation of the town of Dedham.

Nothing better illustrates the strong-willed character of this pioneer than an entry in the church record:

"Jonathan Fayerbanke, notwithstanding he has long stood off from ye church upon some scruples about publik p'fession of faith and ye covenant, yet after divers loving conferences with him, he made such a declaration of his faith and conversion to God and p'fession of subjection to ye ordinances of XT in this Xyt he was readily and gladly received by ye whole church 14d—6m.—1664."

The Fayerbanke family became well known in the early annals of the Massachusetts colony. The house in which Jonathan lived near Dedham was occupied by his descendants until a few years ago, when it became the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Charles Warren Fairbanks, senior Senator from Indiana, is eighth in descent from Jonathan Fayerbanke, who settled at Dedham, Mass., in 1636. The Senator's father, Loriston Monroe Fairbanks, was a native of Vermont, but before reaching manhood, emigrated to Massachusetts. At Ware, in the Bay State, he worked in the woolen mills, but later he learned the wagon-maker's trade, and when he emigrated from Massachusetts to Union county, Ohio, it was to set up in the wagon-making business and farming.

The Senator's mother, Mary Adelaide Fairbanks, came of a New York family, the Smiths, of Columbia county, New York. They were early emigrants to Union county, Ohio. Her brother, the late William Henry Smith, founded the Associated Press, and another brother, Charles W. Smith, now a resident of Pasadena, Cal., was a pioneer in railroad building.

Senator Fairbanks' earliest recollections date from the log cabin in which he was born May 11, 1852, which stood on the edge of a farm of 216 acres in Union county, Ohio. His father's neighbors were emigrants from New England and Pennsylvania, the latter, Pennsylvania Germans, predominating.

The log house in which the Senator was born was the scene of the first and only tragedy of his life, and came near ending him at the age of four. Workmen were engaged in building a new frame house, and were occupying the old log house as a workshop. The place was filled with shavings, and the future Senator strayed into the building in the absence of the workmen, and while replenishing the fire in the stove, he ignited the shavings on the floor. The flames cut off his retreat and his escape was almost a miracle.

The Senator's boyhood life was such as fell to the average farmer boy. He was early taught the value of industry and frugality. He worked at farm work and attended the country schools during the brief terms until he reached the age of fifteen, when he went to the Ohio Wesleyan College at Delaware, Ohio, a few miles away. He learned his earliest lessons in Republican party principles under inspiring conditions. His father was an intense anti-slavery man, and gave employment and food and shelter to fugitive slaves. Charles was only eight years old when the presidential campaign which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln occurred. A year later he witnessed the uprising of volunteers from among the farmers of the neighborhood in response to impassioned orations and the roll of the muster drum. With boyish wonder he saw the great panorama of war unfold. He heard the enthusiasm attending the enrollment of volunteers. He saw neighbor after neighbor step forward and subscribe his name to the scroll of immortal fame. He followed the crowd of enthusiastic advocates of the Union and haters of human slavery, as they marched to the railroad station, and he heard the last farewell shouts which inspired the raw volunteers as they climbed into box cars and were borne away to the battle fields of the republic.

The career of young Fairbanks at college was distinguished for sincere and diligent application to his studies. As a student he won and has since held the respect and confidence of classmates and faculty. Some of his closest friends to-day are of the alumni of the Ohio Wesleyan College. It was as a student there that he met Miss Cornelia Cole, daughter of Judge Cole, of Marysville, Ohio. They were co-editors of the college paper. The friendship thus formed ripened into love and as soon as Mr. Fairbanks had graduated from college and prepared himself for his profession, they were married.

In college Mr. Fairbanks enjoyed such meager advantages as a farmer in moderate circumstances could extend to his son. He and a fellow-student shared a room and did their own cooking. Economy and self-reliance were, in a measure, necessary, and had they not been, would have been encouraged by parents who knew the value of them as a foundation for character.

Young Fairbanks and his room-mate secured much of their supplies from their parents on the farm, who came Saturday, bringing baskets. They augmented their financial resources by working out of school hours. Young Fairbanks engaged to do carpenter work and roofing, and in that way secured a fair education in manual training and the use of carpenter's tools. With money saved from his earnings as a carpenter he purchased his first law books that were to serve him as a student of law after leaving college. The impression made upon his college mates by young Fairbanks was that of a typical country lad, six feet tall, a little awkward in his movements, slow of speech, very slim, sincerely devoted to the task of getting through college and becoming a lawyer, and ambitious. He took a serious view of life, was not given to college pranks and seldom joked. He graduated with the respect of all and his college life was free from moral blemish. It is not recorded that he distinguished himself specially in the matter of scholarship or prizes, but he was rated as a "good student." After leaving college, young Fairbanks went to Pittsburg, Pa., where for a time he acted as agent of the Associated Press, then in its infancy as a news collecting and distributing agency.

In the campaign of 1872 he reported the great Democratic and liberal Republican rally at Pittsburg, at which Horace Greeley made a remarkable speech.

After remaining in Pittsburg for a year or more, during which he applied himself assiduously to the study of law, he went to Cleveland, Ohio, completed his studies, and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of that State, after attending a term at the Cleveland Law School.

Having secured his admission to the bar, Mr. Fairbanks was married to Miss Cornelia Cole, the object of his college love, and decided to locate in Indianapolis for the practice of law. He hung out his shingle in 1874.

Prior to going to Indianapolis, it was suggested that he accept the nomination as member of the Ohio Legislature of his home county in Ohio, and enter politics. But young Fairbanks had no political ambitions at that time and elected to follow a professional career.

The early professional career of Charles W. Fairbanks was much the same as that of the average young lawyer. His first clients were some of his Ohio neighbors. He had no money except what came to him from his profession and it came slowly at first. He and his young wife began life in a boarding house. As the young lawyer's practice grew they furnished a modest home, and later moved into one of more pretentious architecture and costlier furnishings. Their present home, into which they moved about three years ago, is located at 1522 North Meridian street. It is a modest but comfortable two-story frame, with a porch extending along the south side, beautifully shaded and overlooking a large lawn which affords one of the handsomest building sites in Indianapolis. The Senator's nearest neighbors are ex-Minister Addison C. Harris and Governor Durbin.

The years from 1874, when he first commenced the practice in Indianapolis, until he was elected to the Senate, were devoted by Mr. Fairbanks to law. His law library grew with his practice until it became one of the most extensive, best selected and most used of any in the middle West. Mr. Fairbanks' clientage grew proportionately. It included some of the leading business men of Boston, New York and the large Eastern cities. His fees were unusually large for the lawyer of that day. Always a zealous Republican, Mr. Fairbanks found time from a busy professional career to take active part in every Republican campaign in Indiana. His counsel and assistance were sought by party leaders. Before he ever held office he had spoken in every county in Indiana, and was known personally to the voters throughout the State. He contributed freely of his time and money to the Republican cause. His speeches, like his other political services, were much in demand. Among the strong political friendships he made in his early career in Indiana and which continued unbroken, was that with the Hon. Walter Q. Gresham. Judge Gresham formed a strong liking for the young lawyer who frequently appeared in the federal court. He admired his ability, positive qualities and sincerity, and when in 1888 Judge Gresham's name was taken up by leading Republicans of the country for the Presidency, Mr. Fairbanks became one of the judge's enthusiastic advocates. Just prior to the Chicago convention of that year, Judge Gresham asked Mr. Fairbanks who was at the head of the Gresham forces in Indiana, to take charge of the Gresham candidacy during the convention and direct it.

Mr. Fairbanks returned to Indiana and at once actively entered into the campaign in behalf of the presidential nominee, General Harrison. The strong personal friendship with Judge Gresham remained up to the time of the latter's death as Secretary of State in President Cleveland's cabinet. The mutations of politics did not break or lessen it. Among the treasured possessions of Senator Fairbanks are portraits of his late friend, one of which adorns the walls of his home library, and the other a conspicuous place in his office.

While the personal friendship formed in the early political struggles in Indiana remained unbroken until Judge Gresham's death, the two friends had nothing in common in their political views during Judge Gresham's later years. Judge Gresham entertained certain political views which one of his independent spirit and sympathetic and candid nature found it impossible to conceal. Once they were known he found a door open and an hospitable welcome awaiting him in the Democratic party. Mr. Fairbanks shared none of these views. He was an ardent believer in maintaining the Republican policy of protection, being in hearty accord with William McKinley. He did more than any other one person to commit the Republican party in Indiana to the gold standard in its platform of 1896, preceding the St. Louis convention. In fact, it is generally understood that the money plank in the State platform was his work, and coming at a critical time, it had a strong

impression on Republican thought and in moulding a sentiment which led to the adoption of the sound money platform of 1896.

Major John M. Carson, dean of the Washington correspondents, and clerk to the ways and means committee when Major McKinley was chairman, wrote to the Philadelphia Public Ledger, under date of March 26, 1904, on this point:

"Fairbanks was placed at the head of the Indiana delegation to the St. Louis convention, and was made temporary chairman of that body, delivering a speech that attracted wide attention and contributed to fixing the status of the party on the money question. That convention declared against the free coinage of silver, and it was largely due to the persistent efforts of Mr. Fairbanks and a few other sagacious and conservative men that that declaration was made. It has been claimed that the action of the Indiana Republican State convention in 1896 had a very salutary influence on the Republican National convention of the same year in declaring for the gold standard."

Senator Fairbanks' entry as a positive force in national Republican politics may be said to date from the St. Louis Republican convention of 1896, and the events leading up to it. While he enjoyed a wide professional and business acquaintance from his legal career, having practiced in the leading courts of the country, and at the same time having enjoyed an acquaintance with national Republican leaders on account of his participation in the Republican national conventions of 1888 and 1892, his friends regard the stirring political events of 1896 as the real signal for the suspension of the professional and the beginning of the official political career.

Mr. Fairbanks and Major McKinley had been friends of many years' standing. Both were Ohio born, both ardent members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in exact accord in their political views. In temperament their mutual friends believe they were much alike.

Mr. Fairbanks had many clients in Ohio and knew the State and its Republican leaders and traditions appealed to him. It was most natural, therefore, that Mr. Fairbanks should attach himself to the fortunes of Major McKinley in the preliminary organization leading up to the campaign of 1896. He took charge of the work in Indiana and was influential in organizing the State. He impressed his personality upon the convention and its declaration of principles. He was chosen as a delegate-at-large to the St. Louis convention, and soon afterward it was announced that Major McKinley, whose nomination was then a foregone conclusion, had invited Mr. Fairbanks to be temporary chairman of the convention. His speech as temporary chairman attracted wide attention. It was a keynote for the approaching campaign, which was to be one of the most important in its results on the financial and industrial condition of the American people in the country's history.

Mr. Fairbanks' personality was everywhere in evidence in the St. Louis convention, and his counsel was eagerly sought. In the campaign that followed he was invited to speak in nearly all the Northern States, and responded as far as was consistent with his duty to his party in Indiana. In

that campaign and the national campaigns that have followed, he has accepted invitations to speak, and addressed audiences in nearly every Northern State from Maine to California. His speeches have always been much in demand, his audiences for the most part large and enthusiastic.

The State of Indiana which in recent years had developed great industrial activity, particularly in the natural gas belt, showed an interest in the restoration of the protective tariff. The State was the center, also, of a strong gold Democratic propaganda. "Sound money and protection" were the watch-words employed by the Republicans that year to wrest the State, which had a Democratic Governor and two Democratic United States Senators, from the Democratic party. In this fight, which was made on the basis of a thorough political organization of the State, Mr. Fairbanks was easily leader. He returned from the St. Louis convention with additional political prestige, if possible, and his friends began the work of organizing the State in behalf of his Senatorial candidacy. The Republicans carried Indiana on national and State tickets that year by about 20,000, a surprising victory in view of the alternating currents of political victory that had characterized Hoosier political performances for years previously. The Legislature was safely Republican. In the Republican caucus which followed in January, 1897, Mr. Fairbanks was nominated for United States Senator on the first ballot over a field of strong candidates.

Thus Mr. Fairbanks achieved, without serious struggle and with the best of party feeling, his first ambition to hold office. It was the third time his name had been before the party for office in Indiana. The first time his friends brought forward his name Governor Hovey was given the honor of the caucus nomination. The party was in the minority, and Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, destined to be defeated by Mr. Fairbanks six years later, was elected. The second time Senator Fairbanks' name was presented for the office he received the caucus nomination but was defeated by Senator Turpie, the Legislature being Democratic. At that time Mr. Fairbanks received the unanimous vote of his party in the joint assembly, as he did in the winter of 1897, which resulted in his election.

Few men have entered the United States Senate under more favorable conditions than those which attended Senator Fairbanks' advent, March 4, 1897. The day marked the restoration of the Republican party to power after four years of Democratic rule, accompanied by an industrial and financial blight that had prostrated American energy. In the White House sat a President who took his oath of office at the same hour with Senator Fairbanks, and between whom and the Senator had existed a friendship of many years' standing. The new Senator wore the distinction of having redeemed a Democratic State. He was destined by circumstances and ability to play a conspicuous part in the new administration which was to restore the protective tariff policy, place the country's finances on a sound basis, wage a successful war with the kingdom of Spain in the interest of humanity and play a part in administrative policies, connected with the accession of the United States to the foremost rank of world powers.

Mr. Fairbanks took a high rank in the Senate from the day he entered. He entered actively into the work of the extra session which passed the Dingley tariff bill, thus increasing the revenues, restoring the surplus and incidentally reinstating the gold reserve redemption fund, the steady diminution of which during the four years previous, had been of serious concern to the financial and business interests of the country. He was equally prominent in the legislation revising the currency laws which followed the Dingley bill as a restorative measure. He had been one of the first to raise his voice in behalf of maintaining the national credit inviolate, and to that end placing the currency of the country upon a single gold standard. His early views on the question are known and the important part he played in committing the Republican party to a sound money policy. His early zeal for the cause found expression later in speeches and wise counsel while currency legislation was being shaped.

Senator Fairbanks went at once to the head of the Senate committee on immigration. The subject was one which had interested him for years. He felt there could be no more profitable study than that which concerned the character of immigration yearly pouring into this country to enter into the national life and be assimilated with its customs and habits into the nation's citizenship. To the study of this subject he gave the most earnest consideration, visiting the immigration stations of the country, and putting himself in daily touch with the officers charged with the responsibility of administering the immigration laws. The results of his research and labors took the form of a speech which was widely read and commended.

Although Senator Fairbanks afterward took a step higher to the chairmanship of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, his interest in the immigration question has never abated. In the last Congress he was second on the Committee of Immigration.

In the agitation which preceded the declaration of war with Spain, aroused by reports of Spanish cruelty in Cuba, and brought to a crisis by the blowing up of the battleship *Maine*, Senator Fairbanks was one of the President's closest advisers. He was at the White House almost daily, participating, with other members of the administration, in conferences that lasted not infrequently far into the night, the purpose of which was, if possible, to devise some way to secure the amelioration of conditions in Cuba without bloodshed. The cloud of anxiety and care which hung like a pall over these deliberations was best expressed in President McKinley's words, uttered on one of these occasions:

"I do not care for the money that will be wasted, or the property destroyed, but the thought of the human agony and distress that must come to countless homes almost overwhelms me."

Through this period of popular unrest, which at one time even threatened to overwhelm Congress, Senator Fairbanks stood with the cool-headed conservatives in support of President McKinley's policy.

In May, 1897, he introduced a resolution, supposed to have had the sanction of the President, and submitted after careful consideration, as a solution of the trouble in Cuba. It requested the President to tender his good offices toward securing a cessation of hostilities in Cuba and an amelioration of the conditions there. Later, when all pacific measures failed, and the President, in a special message to Congress, called attention to his inability to bring about order through peaceful overtures, and asked Congress to act, Senator Fairbanks advocated a speedy prosecution of the war. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the President's policy throughout. The war over, he vigorously supported the peace measures and voted for the President's policies looking to peace and the holding of the Philippines.

Senator Fairbanks conceived the idea of extending aid to the stricken inhabitants of the island of Martinique after the volcanic eruption. As soon as the news of the disaster was confirmed, he prepared and introduced a bill authorizing the expenditure of \$100,000 for relief. The bill promptly passed the Senate without a reference to a committee. In the House there was mild opposition raised from the Democratic side, but the bill passed without serious delay. Senator Fairbanks was thanked by the French Government.

Senator Fairbanks was named by President McKinley as one of the American Commissioners of the United States and British Joint High Commission, and was Chairman of the American Commissioners. His services on that Commission is regarded by many as one of the most important and useful of his public acts. Lord Herschel was President of the British Canadian Joint High Commission. This Commission held one session at Quebec, and later a protracted session in Washington, D. C., and practically reached a conclusion on most of the questions before that Commission except the Alaska boundary question, which, within the last year, was referred to a special Commission, of which ex-Secretary of War Elihu Root, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, and ex-Senator George Turner, of Washington, were the Commission on behalf of the United States.

The principal questions before the United States and British Joint High Commission, aside from the Alaska boundary question, were the proposed abrogation of the Rush-Bagot treaty of 1817, which prohibited the building or maintaining of war vessels above a certain tonnage on the Great Lakes, the lake fisheries question and Canadian reciprocity. Since the death of Lord Herschel, Chairman of the British-Canadian Commission, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been the most active member.

Senator Fairbanks has been much in demand throughout the country as a public speaker. Aside from his political speeches, which have been a feature of every national and biennial congressional campaign since and including the campaign of 1896, he has spoken at numerous celebrations and anniversaries, and at college commencements, state fairs, and political clubs. His most notable addresses of this class were his speech to the graduates of Baker University, Kansas, the address before the monster Labor Day celebration at Kansas City, in 1902, an address at the Minnesota State Fair, in 1903, a

speech on the occasion of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the town of Lancaster, Mass., and his address on the 125th anniversary of the battle of Monmouth.

On account of his close friendship for the late President McKinley, he was invited to deliver the address at the unveiling of the McKinley monument at Toledo, Ohio, last year.

He has been the guest and has delivered addresses at the principal political clubs in New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, St. Louis, and all the other large cities of the country.

Senator Fairbanks was a delegate-at-large to the Philadelphia convention of 1900, and was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, which reported the national platform that year.

He has been chosen a delegate-at-large from Indiana to the convention of 1904 at Chicago. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1903, at the expiration of his first term, without opposition in his own party. He received in the joint assembly of the Indiana Legislature that year a larger majority than was ever given before to any Republican candidate for the United States Senate in the history of the State.

Senator Fairbanks was invited by President McKinley at one time to become a member of his cabinet.

From the time Mr. Fairbanks entered the Senate, in March, 1897, until the present time, he has refrained from engaging in any law practice. He has given his time absolutely and exclusively to the government service.

Senator and Mrs. Fairbanks have always retained a lively interest in the prosperity of their alma mater, and the Senator has been for a number of years one of the trustees. His eldest son and his only daughter are of the alumni of this institution. Senator and Mrs. Fairbanks are members of the Meridian Street M. E. Church, of Indianapolis, and the Senator is a Trustee in the Church.

The children, in the order of their ages, are, the daughter, Adelaide, wife of Ensign John W. Timmons, of the U. S. S. Kearsarge; Warren C., who recently married Miss Ethel Cassidy, of Pittsburg, and who is a director of the Oliver Typewriter Works, in Chicago; Frederick C., a graduate of Princeton University, Class of 1903, and who is now a student at the Columbian University Law School in Washington, D. C. The third son, Richard, is in the junior year at Yale College, and the fourth son, and youngest child, Robert, is a student at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., preparing for Princeton.

Senator Fairbanks' mother is still living, and is nearly seventy-five years of age. She spends her winters with the Senator's family in Washington, and the rest of the season is generally spent with her daughter, Mrs. M. L. Milligan, of Springfield, Ohio. The Senator's father died in the winter of 1900, and is buried at Springfield, Ohio. Senator Fairbanks' only sister is the wife of ex-Mayor M. L. Milligan, of Springfield, Ohio, President of the Springfield Foundry Company and other manufacturing plants. He has a

brother, Newton H. Fairbanks, who is also connected with the same companies. Another brother, W. D. Fairbanks, is President of the First National Bank of Mansfield, Illinois, and a wealthy landowner and farmer. Another brother, Luther M., is a capitalist and real estate dealer in Mansfield, Illinois.

He was called to be one of the Trustees of the McKinley Memorial Association, of which Associate Justice Day, of the Supreme Court, is President, and was made a member of the Executive Committee of the Trustees.

Senator Fairbanks is President of the Benjamin Harrison Monument Association of Indianapolis. This Association has raised about \$50,000, and proposes to erect a monument to General Harrison on the site of the new public building in course of construction in Indianapolis.

Senator Fairbanks' life in Washington is characterized by a generous but unostentatious hospitality. His family occupies the Van Wyck house, near Dupont Circle in the residence section of the city. The house is admirably adapted for entertaining.

Mrs. Fairbanks occupies a social leadership in Washington because of her charming qualities as hostess, and by virtue of her position as President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution.



HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU, of New York,
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Missouri	Representative	RICHARD BARTHOLDT, St. Louis.
Montana	Representative	JOSEPH M. DIXON, Missoula.
Nebraska	Representative	JOHN J. MCCARTHY, Ponca.
New Hampshire	Representative	CYRUS A. SULLOWAY, Manchester.
New Jersey	Representative	H. C. LOUDENSLAGER, Paulsboro.
New York	Representative	JAMES S. SHERMAN, Utica.
North Dakota	Representative	B. F. SPALDING, Fargo.
Ohio	Representative	NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, Cincinnati.
Oregon	Senator	J. H. MITCHELL, Portland.
Pennsylvania	Representative	WILLIAM CONNELL, Scranton.
Rhode Island	Representative	ADIN B. CAPRON, Stillwater.
South Dakota	Representative	CHARLES H. BURKE, Pierre.
Tennessee	Representative	H. R. GIBSON, Knoxville.
Utah	Representative	JOSEPH HOWELL, Logan.
Vermont	Representative	KITREDGE HASKINS, Brattleboro.
Virginia	Representative	CAMPBELL SLEMP, Big Stone Gap.
Washington	Representative	W. E. HUMPHREYS, Seattle.
West Virginia	Representative	B. B. DOVENOR, Wheeling.
Wisconsin	Representative	JOSEPH W. BABCOCK, Necedah.
Wyoming	Representative	FRANK W. MONDELL, Newcastle.
Hawaii	Delegate	J. K. KALANIANA'OLE, Honolulu.
New Mexico	Delegate	B. S. RODEY, Albuquerque.
Oklahoma	Delegate	BIRD S. MCGUIRE, Guthrie.

CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES OF REPUBLICAN STATE AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEES

Alabama	JOSEPH O. THOMPSON...	Birmingham.
	N. L. STEELE.....	Birmingham.
Arkansas	H. L. REMMEL.....	Little Rock.
	W. S. HOLT.....	Little Rock.
California	GEORGE STONE.....	Palace Hotel, San Francisco.
	E. F. WOODWARD.....	Palace Hotel, San Francisco.
Colorado	D. B. FAIRLEY.....	1625 Champa St., Denver.
	CHAS. W. COCHRAN.....	1625 Champa St., Denver.
Connecticut ...	MICHAEL KENEALY.....	Allyn House, Hartford.
	GEO. E. HINMAN.....	Allyn House, Hartford.
Delaware	J. FRANK ALLEE.....	716 Market St., Wilmington.
	WILLIAM D. DENNEY....	716 Market St., Wilmington.
Florida	HENRY S. CHUBB.....	Gainesville.
	JOSEPH E. LEE.....	Gainesville.
Georgia	W. H. JOHNSON.....	Columbus.
	J. H. DEVEAUX.....	Savannah.
Idaho	J. H. BRADY.....	Boise.
	ROBERT HAYES.....	Boise.
Illinois	ROY O. WEST.....	Great Northern Hotel, Chicago.
	J. A. WHEELER.....	Great Northern Hotel, Chicago.
Indiana	JAMES P. GOODRICH.....	English Hotel, Indianapolis.
	FRANK A. SIMS.....	English Hotel, Indianapolis.
Iowa	R. H. SPENCE.....	Observatory Bldg., Des Moines.
	GEO. R. ESTABROOK.....	Observatory Bldg., Des Moines.
Kansas	W. R. STUBBS.....	National Hotel, Topeka.
	CLYDE MILLER.....	National Hotel, Topeka.
Kentucky	RICHARD P. ERNST.....	317 Galt House, Louisville.
	THOS. L. WALKER.....	317 Galt House, Louisville.
Louisiana	F. B. WILLIAMS.....	117 St. Charles St., New Orleans.
	M. J. MCFARLANE.....	117 St. Charles St., New Orleans.
Maine	F. M. SIMPSON.....	Bangor.
	BYRON BOYD.....	Bangor.
Maryland	JOHN B. HANNA.....	622 N. Calvert St., Baltimore.
	JOHN C. SIMERING.....	622 N. Calvert St., Baltimore.
Massachusetts .	THOMAS TALBOT.....	194 Washington St., Boston.
	H. H. ATHERTON, JR....	194 Washington St., Boston.
Michigan	GERRIT J. DIEKEMA.....	1040 Majestic Bldg., Detroit.
	DENNIS E. ALWARD.....	1040 Majestic Bldg., Detroit.
Minnesota	CONDE HAMLIN.....	218 Manhattan Bldg., St. Paul.
	W. E. VERITY.....	218 Manhattan Bldg., St. Paul.
Mississippi	FREDERICK W. COLLINS.	Jackson.
	T. V. McALLISTER.....	Jackson.
Missouri	THOS. K. NIEDRINGHAUS.	Commercial Bldg., St. Louis.
Montana	LEE MANTLE.....	Butte.
	J. B. COLLINS.....	Butte.
Nebraska	H. C. M. BURGESS.....	Murray Hotel, Omaha.
	W. B. ALLEN.....	Murray Hotel, Omaha.
Nevada	GEO. T. MILLS.....	Musser St., Carson City.
	E. D. VANDERLIETH.....	Musser St., Carson City.
New Hampshire.	JACOB H. GALLINGER....	White's Opera House, Concord.
	THOMAS F. CLIFFORD....	White's Opera House, Concord.
New Jersey....	FRANK O. BRIGGS.....	144 W. State St., Trenton.
	J. HERBERT POTTS.....	144 W. State St., Trenton.
New York.....	WILLIAM BARNES, JR....	Fifth Ave. Hotel, New York City.
	REUBEN L. FOX.....	Fifth Ave. Hotel, New York City.

No. Carolina...	THOMAS S. ROLLINS.....	Benbow Hotel, Greensboro.
	ROBERT H. McNEILL.....	Benbow Hotel, Greensboro.
North Dakota..	L. B. HANNA.....	Grand Forks.
	M. H. JEWELL.....	Grand Forks.
Ohio	CHARLES DICK.....	Columbus.
	JOHN R. MALLOY.....	Columbus.
Oregon	FRANK C. BAKER.....	Hamilton Bldg., Portland.
	E. R. BRYSON.....	Hamilton Bldg., Portland.
Pennsylvania ..	BOIES PENROSE.....	1417 Locust St., Philadelphia.
	W. R. ANDREWS.....	1417 Locust St., Philadelphia.
Rhode Island...	FRANK E. HOLDEN.....	123 Westminster St., Providence.
	NATHAN M. WRIGHT.....	123 Westminster St., Providence.
So. Carolina....	E. H. DEAS.....	Darlington.
	J. H. JOHNSON.....	2029 Marlon St., Columbia.
South Dakota..	FRANK CRANE.....	Pierre.
	E. A. WARNER.....	Pierre.
Tennessee	J. C. R. McCALL.....	Maxwell House, Nashville.
	HARRY A. LUCK.....	Maxwell House, Nashville.
Texas	CECIL A. LYON.....	Sherman.
	R. L. HOFFMAN.....	Galveston.
Utah	WM. SPRY.....	City & County Bldg., Salt Lake City.
	TOM PITT.....	City & County Bldg., Salt Lake City.
Vermont	THAD M. CHAPMAN.....	Middlebury.
	ALFRED E. WATSON.....	Hartford.
Virginia	PARK AGNEW.....	Alexandria.
	ASA ROGERS.....	Petersburg.
Washington ...	E. B. PALMER.....	Seattle.
	J. W. LYSONS.....	Seattle.
West Virginia..	ELLIOTT NORTHCOTT....	Parkersburg.
	W. E. GLASSCOCK.....	Parkersburg.
Wisconsin	THEO. W. GOLDIN.....	Hotel Pfister, Milwaukee.
	F. R. BENTLEY.....	Hotel Pfister, Milwaukee.
Wyoming	J. A. VAN ORSDEL.....	Cheyenne.
	R. P. FULLER.....	Cheyenne.
Alaska	JOHN T. SPICKETT.....	Juneau.
	A. V. R. SNYDER.....	Wrangel.
Arizona	W. F. NICHOLS.....	Phoenix.
	GEORGE U. YOUNG.....	Phoenix.
Indian Terr....	CYRUS G. KEAN.....	Wynnewood.
	MIKE CONLAN.....	Atoka.
New Mexico....	F. A. HUBBELL.....	Albuquerque.
	J. J. SHERIDAN.....	Albuquerque.
Oklahoma	CHAS. H. FILSON.....	Guthrie.
	VERNON W. WHITING....	Enid.
Hawaii	CLARENCE L. CRABBE...	Honolulu.
	W. W. HOOGS.....	Honolulu.
Porto Rico.....	MANUEL F. ROSSY.....	San Juan.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR 1904

OFFICERS 1903-4

President—J. HAMPTON MOORE, Union Republican Club, Philadelphia.

Vice-President—JAMES JAY SHERIDAN, Hamilton Club, Chicago.

Secretary—ELBERT W. WEEKS, Guthrie Centre, Iowa.

Treasurer—SID. B. REDDING, Little Rock, Ark.

National League Conventions have been held as follows: December 15, 1887, New York City; February 28, 1889, Baltimore; March 4, 1890, Nashville; April 23, 1891, Cincinnati; September 16, 1892, Buffalo; May 10, 1893, Louisville; June 26, 1894, Denver; June 19, 1895, Cleveland; August 25, 1896, Milwaukee; July 15, 1897, Detroit; Omaha, Neb., July 13, 1898; St. Paul, Minn., July 16, 1900; Chicago, Ill., October 2-3, 1902.

Next Convention Indianapolis October, 1904



HON. F. E. COYNE, Postmaster of Chicago,
Chairman of the Local Committee.

THE LOCAL COMMITTEE AND ITS WORK

BY JOHN A. HOWLAND.

Chicago Republicans began early in December to lay plans to secure the National Convention. The preliminary work was done under the auspices of the Hamilton Club. It was decided early that Chicago's claims should be presented by a delegation made up of the leading members of this club, as well as by the Illinois Congressmen.

Graeme Stewart, Republican National Committeeman for Illinois, accompanied by Samuel B. Raymond and Fred W. Upham, left Chicago for Washington on December 8th to prepare the way for the Hamilton Club delegation, which followed next day. Among those who made up the Hamilton Club delegation which left for the National Convention on December the 10th, were:

F. E. COYNE,
E. S. CONWAY,
J. J. SHERIDAN,
H. C. LYTTON,
E. A. MUNGER,
W. F. ROLLA,
ELBRIDGE HANEY,
FRED M. BLOUNT,
J. M. SMYTH,
GALE BLOCKI,

JUDGE Z. R. CARTER,
JUDGE C. C. KOHLSAAT,
J. S. RUNNELLS,
VOLNEY W. FOSTER,
COL. J. H. STRONG,
ALD. YOUNG,
E. J. MURPHY,
A. H. JONES,
J. T. LENFESTY,
GEO. B. SWIFT,

JOHN B. PORTER.

Among other prominent men of the city and nation who had promised assistance were Judge Peter A. Grosscup, George R. Peck, Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw, Speaker Cannon and Senators Cullom and Hopkins.

Arriving at Washington the National Committee opened headquarters at the Arlington Hotel. On December the 10th the entire delegation headed by Graeme Stewart called upon President Roosevelt at the White House. James J. Sheridan, President of the Hamilton Club, addressed the President briefly, outlining the purpose of the Hamilton Club's visit to the National Capitol. He assured the President that he would be nominated, and that the convention would be held at Chicago.

President Roosevelt responded briefly, saying that as President of the United States he must of necessity maintain a neutral attitude but he added significantly: "I would be a poor American if I were not a good Chicagoan."

When the National Committee met on December 12th it was so certain

that Chicago would be chosen as the convention city that the National Committee booked headquarters at the Chicago hotels before the vote was taken.

Chicago's proposals for entertaining the convention were presented to the National Committee by Samuel B. Raymond. He stated that Chicago would guarantee the expenses of the convention, supply a convention hall with a seating capacity of 12,000, with eleven entrances. Chicago's hotel accommodations he guaranteed to be of the best.

St. Louis and Pittsburg delegations were on hand with proposals. National Committeeman Richard C. Kerens introduced ex-Mayor Walbridge of St. Louis who offered on behalf of St. Louis a bonus of \$40,000 in cash and to defray all the expenses of the convention. Ex-Mayor Walbridge resented the fact that Missouri had been referred to as hopelessly Democratic. There were, he said, 360,000 Republicans who wanted the label "hopeless" removed and "available" substituted.

Senator Boise Penrose of Pennsylvania, presented the claims of Pittsburg. He said that a committee of Pittsburg Republicans were outside with the cash to pay for the convention. "If \$100,000 is not enough," he said, "we will give \$500,000, and that would be but a small matter. I understand the Pittsburg delegation has the cash with them, but they have not taken me into their confidence to show it to me. They came by the way of Harrisburg, and I hope the fund is intact."

Only one ballot was necessary. Chicago received 43 votes, Pittsburg 7, and St. Louis 1.

The Chicago committee returned home and the Hamilton Club at once organized itself into a committee of the whole to perfect the plans for the convention.

Few difficulties presented themselves to the men who had guaranteed to meet all the requirements of the National Committee.

In the first place no effort was necessary to make any ostentatious canvass for funds. The members of the Hamilton Club knew where the money to make their pledges to the National Committee good was coming from. The funds were forthcoming. In the second place the convention hall, a massive structure of steel, brick and stone was standing ready. No building had to be transformed or evolved. The fact that the Chicago Coliseum was ready for the great National Convention simplified the problem.

Only two committees were appointed by the President of the Hamilton Club. The Political Action Committee was made up as follows:

MARQUIS EATON, Chairman.	A. W. BUCKLEY.
KEENE H. ADDINGTON.	FRANK G. GARDENER.
	CLARK S. REED.

The Entertainment Committee consisted of the following members of the Club:

E. C. WETTEN, Chairman.	GEORGE A. MASON.
J. HOWARD HOLBROOK.	GEORGE E. SHIPMAN.
	J. M. McCONAHEY.



HON. FRED. W. UPHAM, of Illinois,
Treasurer of the Local Committee.

Larger committees were not necessary for in reality the Hamilton Club, with its hundreds of members, many of them prominent in national life, and constituting as a whole one of the most influential Republican organizations in the country, constituted itself one great committee to see that the necessary funds were forthcoming, that the convention hall was ready, that every convention facility was supplied. Then too, the entire membership of the Hamilton Club constituted itself a reception and entertainment committee to welcome the party leaders and delegates and to see that their every want was supplied.

The work of preparing the convention hall for the sessions of the convention was begun early in May. Contracts were let for seats, railings, desks, decorations, and lights.

The plans for the convention hall included comfortable opera chairs with hat, cane and umbrella racks for delegates, alternates and spectators. The delegates were to occupy the space immediately in front of the speakers' stand. Back of them and separated by a polished rail, were the seats for the alternates, which in turn were separated from the spectators by another rail.

The press was cared for by seats and desks for 400 men, all on the speakers' rostrum. Immediately back of the press seats, in a large enclosed room was the telegraph room with facilities for 200 operators and from which the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies were radiated to every city and town in the United States.

Other features of the convention hall plans were hospital rooms in charge of physicians and trained nurses, police and fire headquarters, a telephone exchange with a dozen booths for long distance service.

Every seat in the building was to be numbered. The aisles were broad and the stairways leading to the galleries not only numerous but easy of ascent.

There was no delay in placing the convention hall in readiness. In fact, the great auditorium was practically ready for the decorators two weeks before the date fixed for the convention's opening.

The finishing touches on the convention hall were made on June 19th. On that date the building was ready and the convention could have been called to order on that day if it had been necessary.

The interior decorations of the great hall excited the admiration of every visitor.

Everywhere there was a harmony of color and design. The heroic likeness of Marcus Alonzo Hanna, draped in the national colors, hung above the speakers' platform. There was bunting, but this was not overdone. There were flags, a dozen groups on each side of the hall, and two larger groups on each end, just enough of bright color to give life to the yellow of the vaulted roof and the grey of the iron girders.

Looking down from the balcony, the effect was again pleasing. The crimson carpet of the speakers' platform stood out like a damask rose in a bunch of lilies, for all around it were groups, the desks and chairs of the

representatives of the press, and these were painted a light yellow. The contrast was startling and effective. Add to this the light green chairs of delegates and alternates, separated from each other and from the darker mahogany of the spectators' seats by yellow railings, and it was seen that the color effect was pleasing.

Up above the balconies were rows of live oak branches, which were also used effectively against the windows at the sides, and at each end of the hall. From the girders were suspended scores of hanging baskets containing huge sword plants, while the main floor was banked with palms. Not even in its greatest gala did Madison Square Garden ever present as beautiful a picture as did Chicago's Coliseum on the morning as it awaited the gathering hosts.

Members of the National Committee, Senators, Congressmen and many delegates paid the convention hall a visit on June 18th. They all united in pronouncing it the best arranged audience-room they had ever seen and unstinted in their praises of the Chicago Committee and S. B. Raymond, its Chairman, and of the work of Sergeant-at-Arms Stone.

Senator N. B. Scott of West Virginia, Chairman of the sub-committee on arrangements, who arrived in the city late the night before saw the big convention hall for the first time. He left the Auditorium Annex for the Coliseum shortly after two o'clock and was soon joined there by R. B. Schneider, National Committeeman from Nebraska, and Postmaster General Payne.

At the Coliseum the three men were met by the members of the local committee which had for weeks been working to make the convention hall the nearest perfect in arrangements of any in which a national convention was ever held.

As the members of the party left the Sergeant-at-Arms' room and entered the Republican National Committee room they expressed many favorable comments upon the delicate lemon-colored tinting of the room, upon its good light and cheerfulness. Hundreds of flags were placed in groups at the ends of the hall and among the beams by the decorators, who were completing the work the local committee had in hand.

"The hall is admirably arranged," declared Senator Scott. "Everything is ready for the convention. It could be held tomorrow. Sergeant-at-Arms Stone is the right man in the right place. The local committee has done its work most satisfactorily."

Secretary Dover said the convention hall was the best he had ever seen for the purpose.

"I don't believe a national convention was ever in a better arranged hall. The only criticism I have ever heard was that it is not large enough. The work has never been so far advanced, I am told, as it is in this hall. The convention might be held tomorrow, so far as the hall is concerned."



HON. SAMUEL B. RAYMOND, of Chicago,
Member Local Committee.

CHAIRMAN RAYMOND IS PROUD OF HIS WORK.

"It is the best hall in which a national convention has ever been held," he said. "Some people say it is too small, but I predict that in the future national conventions will be held nowhere else. Chicago will not have to ask them to come here. They'll come because we have the best convention hall in the country."

Members of the local and national sub-committees on arrangements were working together all day on the minor details of the hall. The party of local and visiting committeemen lingered about the hall until late in the afternoon inspecting the big structure which was to seat more than 8,000 Republicans the next week.

In the group of local committee members who were at the building were Samuel B. Raymond, chairman of the local committee; Volney W. Foster, sub-treasurer of the national committee, who has been active in raising funds to defray convention expenses; George R. Peck, a member of the local committee, and Graeme Stewart, a member of the Republican National Executive Committee.

All sweeping was ended early on June 19th; after the broom brigade had ended its work and the smoke of the affray had settled over chairs and railings in the form of fine dust, a second brigade was sent into action with damp cloths, and every spot within the walls of the huge structure was polished as though it were a ladies' drawing room. So it was that the Coliseum was not only beautiful as a picture, but it was immaculate as well, and this meant much to those ladies who wished to witness the gathering.

At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of June 20, Sergeant-at-Arms Stone gathered all the appointees in the delegates' section, 400 if there was a man, and gave them a short exhortation. He insisted that there must be nothing in their minds for the next few days but work.

The men were separated into divisions and were given heart-to-heart talks by Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms Owen. He explained in detail what was to be done by each set of men. He explained not only the routine work, but went into every possible contingency of fire, panic, and accident, urging each one to become thoroughly acquainted with the exits and hospital arrangements.

"Find a seat and sit down,—on the floor if you can't find any better place," said Owen. "Remember that everyone who stands in the aisle blocks the view of someone behind him. The hardest thing of all is to keep your patience. We will have but thirty policemen inside the building. The responsibility for making this a model convention rests on you."

Then he formed the men into columns of twos, marched them about the hall, and distributed them at their respective stations.

Inspector Lavin smiled when he was told that but thirty officers would be required within the Coliseum.

Sergeant-at-Arms Stone appointed seventy-five doorkeepers from applicants outside Chicago. The object in appointing out-of-Chicago men was to prevent Chicago people packing the convention through friendship with the doorkeepers. David C. Owen was Mr. Stone's chief assistant. He had charge of the doorkeepers.

Mr. Stone had 500 assistant sergeant-at-arms, 300 doorkeepers, ushers, messengers and pages, and 100 telegraph operators under his supervision. He had also made arrangements for a dozen physicians and two trained nurses to look after persons who may become ill or be injured in any way during the sessions of the convention. Dr. Frank B. Earle was in charge of the medical staff and hospital arrangements.

Chairman Raymond's friends on the local committee presented him with a handsome badge. It consisted of the conventional red, white and blue ribbon, with two chased silver bars at the top containing the words, "Chicago Committee of Arrangements," and "S. B. Raymond, Chairman." Suspended from the lower bar over the ribbon is an American eagle with outstretched wings in silver, and a shield of gold below, surrounded with a laurel wreath. On the shield are the words, "Republican National Convention, 1904."

The Chicago Committee on Arrangements wore badges consisting of the patriotic ribbon over a broader ribbon of white satin with gilt edges and a gilt fringe. A bronze medallion fastened to the smaller ribbon contains on a blue enamel center the words, "Republican National Convention, Chicago, June 21, 1904."



**The Late HON. HENRY C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin,
Vice-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Acting Chairman
after Senator Hanna's Death.
Died Oct. 4, 1904.**

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Republican National Convention
HELD IN
CHICAGO, ILL.
June 21st, 22d and 23d, 1904

THE FIRST DAY

OPENING EXERCISES—THE CALL—PRESENTATIONS—ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK, AND HIS ADDRESS—REVIEW OF THE M'KINLEY-ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION—TEMPORARY OFFICERS—STANDING COMMITTEES—LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

CONVENTION HALL

CHICAGO, ILL., Tuesday, June 21, 1904

Mr. HENRY C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin, Vice-Chairman of the Republican National Committee (at 12:14 o'clock p. m.).—The Convention will come to order. The proceedings will be begun by prayer by the Rev. Dr. Frost, of Evanston, Ill.

PRAYER OF REV. TIMOTHY PRESCOTT FROST, D. D.

Rev. TIMOTHY PRESCOTT FROST, D. D., of Evanston, Ill., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God,

“Our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,”

We thank Thee for Thy goodness to the people of this land.

Our sins have been many, but Thy mercies have been great. Thou hast poured out Thy gifts without measure.

The opening years of a new century have been freighted with wealth for hand, and mind, and heart. Best of all, Thou art giving Thyself in a perpetual offering of Thy life for the life of man.

We do not forget that in the hour of deep sorrow, when the heart of the nation was darkened by the murder of the nation's chief, there was no break in the march of Thy purpose, the orderly administration of our government, or the faith of the people in their God. Under the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit we were brought by our national woes nearer to Thee.

Surely Thou wilt never forsake this people.

May no dominance of greed, no riot of passion, no weakening of religious conviction or enthronement of matter over spirit, cause the people to forsake Thee.

May the heritage of honor coming to us from the fathers in memories of noble sacrifices and valiant deeds, be at once our glad possession and our sacred trust.

While we are grateful for the past, may we remember that today is better than yesterday, and so act that the morrow shall be greater than today.

Wherever our country's flag floats as the symbol of government, even unto the isles of the sea, may we cleave to the righteousness that exalteth a nation and cast out the sin that is a reproach to any people.

Save our nation, we beseech Thee, from all the evil things which defile the home, impair civil liberty, corrupt politics or undermine the integrity of commercial life.

Bring to naught the schemes of men who would debauch or oppress human life for the gratification of lust or for personal enrichment or power.

May exaltation come only to men who despise the gain of oppressions and shake the hands from holding of bribes.

May all sections and races, all sentiments and creeds, all occupations and interests become united through the Spirit of the Highest into a citizenship with a passion for righteousness, wherein each individual shall look up to God as the Father of all, and upon every man as a brother.

We pray Thee to overrule the deliberations, conclusions and issues of this convention for the good of the American people, and the welfare of mankind.

Bless Thy servant, the chief magistrate of our nation. May he and all others clothed with authority by the sovereign people, be protected by the powers of Thy Kingdom, and contribute to its ultimate triumph and consummation in all the earth.

All nations are Thy children. Guide and keep them by Thy gracious providence, and hasten the coming of the day when love shall have conquered hate, and wars shall have ceased, and all people shall dwell together in unity.

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever, Amen!

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL.

Mr. N. B. SCOTT, of West Virginia.—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Hon. Samuel B. Raymond and his associates of the local committee of Chicago, who have so ably and so willingly assisted your sub-committee in discharging its duties in preparing this hall for this convention, I present to you, as Vice-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, this gavel.

Mr. H. C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin.—Senator Scott, through you I wish, on behalf of the Republican National Committee, to congratulate Mr. Raymond and his associates on the very successful outcome of their labors, and beg you to convey to them my grateful appreciation of their courtesy in presenting this gavel.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION.

Mr. H. C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin.—Gentlemen, the call under which you are assembled will now be read by the Secretary of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. ELMER DOVER, of Ohio, secretary of the Republican National Committee, read the call for the convention, as follows:

OFFICIAL CALL FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,
JUNE 21, 1904.

To the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the National Convention of 1900, the National Republican Committee directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican party be held at the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President to be voted for at the Presidential election Tuesday, November 8, 1904, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said Convention shall assemble at 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday, the 21st day of June, 1904.

The Republican electors of the several States and Territories, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Indian Territory, and all other electors, without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican party and endorse its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Said National Convention shall consist of a number of delegates-at-large from each State, equal to double the number of United States Senators to which each State is entitled, and for each Representative-at-large in Congress, two delegates-at-large. From each Congressional district and the District of Columbia, two delegates. From each of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Hawaii and Indian Territory, six delegates. From Alaska, four delegates. For each delegate elected to said Convention an alternate delegate shall be elected to act in case of the absence of the delegate, such alternate delegate to be elected at the time and in the manner of electing the delegate.

All delegates shall be elected not less than thirty days before the meeting of the National Convention. Delegates-at-large shall be elected by popular State and Territorial Conventions, of which at least thirty days' notice shall have been published in some newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the respective States and Territories.

The Congressional district delegates shall be elected by conventions called by the Congressional Committee of each district, in the manner of nominating the candidate for Representative in Congress in said district, provided that in any Congressional district where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall appoint from among the Republican residents in such district, a committee for the purpose of calling a district convention to elect delegates to represent said district.

The election of delegates from the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction and supervision of an electoral board composed of Mr. Chapin Brown, Mr. George H. Harris and Mr. John F. Cook. Such board shall have authority to fix the date of such election and to arrange all details and regulations incident thereto, and shall provide for a registration of the votes as cast, such registration to include the name and residence of each voter.

The Territorial delegates shall be elected in the manner of nominating candidates for delegates in Congress, and delegates from Alaska and Indian Territory shall be elected by popular convention.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing, accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the grounds of contest, which shall be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention. Contests will be acted on by the National Convention in the order of the date of filing of notice and statement with the Secretary.

M. A. HANNA, Chairman.

PERRY S. HEATH, Secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1904.

(When Mr. Hanna's name was read, the assemblage burst into prolonged applause.—Ed.)

PRESENTATION OF TABLE.

Mr. S. R. VAN SANT, of Minnesota.—Mr. Chairman—

Mr. H. C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin.—I have the pleasure of introducing Gov. Van Sant, of Minnesota. (Applause.)

Mr. VAN SANT.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention: I have been delegated to present this historic table to the Convention. It was made by the manual training class of the South Minneapolis high school. Your acceptance will honor them and encourage industrial education throughout the United States. The table was first used in 1892 in Minneapolis, where Indiana's honored son and one of America's greatest statesmen, Ben-

jamin Harrison, was renominated for President of the United States. (Applause.)

In 1896 it was again used in connection with the nomination of that beloved President, whose election dispelled Democratic gloom and inaugurated Republican policies, which gave us the greatest era of prosperity our country has ever known. (Applause.) This will continue as long as the party of progress is in power.

Then at Philadelphia the same honor was conferred for a second time upon that distinguished citizen, soldier and statesman. There also this table was used. We ask you to use it now and make it more historic, for you will nominate, without a dissenting vote, that fearless, invincible leader, Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) Minnesota not only presents this table, but with an unbroken record will give her electoral votes to the nominees of this convention.

Mr. H. C. PAYNE of Wisconsin.—I take great pleasure in accepting, on behalf of the Convention, the table which is before me.

SELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. H. C. PAYNE, of Wisconsin.—The Republican National Committee has selected for your Temporary Chairman the Honorable Elihu Root, of New York (applause), and presents his name for your acceptance.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. ODELL, Jr., of New York.—I move that the action of the Republican National Committee in the selection of a temporary chairman be approved.

Mr. PAYNE.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from New York, that the action of the Republican National Committee in the selection of the Honorable Elihu Root, of New York, as Temporary Chairman, be approved by the convention.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. PAYNE.—Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor to present the Honorable Elihu Root, your Temporary Chairman. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Mr. Elihu Root, of New York)—I am deeply grateful, my brethren of the Republican party, for the honor you do me. I esteem it most highly, and I thank you from my heart.

The responsibility of government rests upon the Republican party. The complicated machinery through which the 80,000,000 people of the United States govern themselves, answers to no single will. The composite government devised by the framers of the Constitution to meet the conditions of national life, more than a century ago, requires the willing co-operation of many minds, the combination of many independent factors, in every forward step for the general welfare.

The President at Washington with his Cabinet, the 90 Senators representing 45 sovereign States, the 386 Representatives in Congress,—are re-

quired to reach concurrent action upon a multitude of questions involving varied and conflicting interests and requiring investigation, information, discussion and reconciliation of views. From all our vast territory with its varieties of climate and industry, from all our great population active in production and commerce and social progress and intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people, difficult problems press upon the National Government.

Within the past five years more than sixty-six thousand bills have been introduced in Congress. Some method of selection must be followed. There must be some preliminary process to ascertain the general tenor of public judgment upon the principles to be applied in government, and some organization and recognition of leadership which shall bring a legislative majority and the executive into accord in the practical application of those principles; or effective government becomes impossible.

The practical governing instinct of our people has adapted the machinery devised in the 18th to the conditions of the 20th century by the organization of national political parties. In them men join for the promotion of a few cardinal principles upon which they agree. For the sake of those principles they lay aside their differences upon less important questions. To represent those principles and to carry on the government in accordance with them, they present to the people candidates whose competency and loyalty they approve. The people by their choice of candidates indicate the principles and methods which they wish followed in the conduct of their government. They do not merely choose between men; they choose between parties—between the principles they profess, the methods they follow, the trustworthiness of their professions, the inferences to be drawn from the records of their past, the general weight of character of the body of men who will be brought into participation in government by their ascendancy.

When the course of the next administration is but half done the Republican party will have completed the first half century of its national life. Of the eleven administrations since the first election of Abraham Lincoln, nine—covering a period of thirty-six years—have been under Republican presidents. For the greater part of that time, the majority in each House of Congress has been Republican. History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the common opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection of property and security for the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of Republican control. (Applause.)

With the platform and the candidates of this Convention, we are about to ask a renewed expression of popular confidence in the Republican party.



HON. ELIHU ROOT, of New York,
Who was Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

We shall ask it because the principles to which we declare our adherence are right, and the best interests of our country require that they should be followed in its government.

We shall ask it because the unbroken record of the Republican party in the past is an assurance of the sincerity of our declarations and the fidelity with which we shall give them effect. Because we have been constant in principle, loyal to our beliefs and faithful to our promises, we are entitled to be believed and trusted now.

We shall ask it because the character of the party gives assurance of good government. A great political organization, competent to govern, is not a chance collection of individuals brought together for the moment as the shifting sands are piled up by wind and sea, to be swept away, to be formed and re-formed again. It is a growth. Traditions and sentiments reaching down through struggles of years gone, and the stress and heat of old conflicts, and the influence of leaders passed away, and the ingrained habit of applying fixed rules of interpretation and of thought, all give to a political party known and inalienable qualities from which must follow, in its deliberate judgment and ultimate action, like results for good or bad government. We do not deny that other parties have in their membership men of morality and patriotism; but we assert with confidence that above all others, by the influences which gave it birth and have maintained its life, by the causes for which it has striven, the ideals which it has followed, the Republican party as a party has acquired a character which makes its ascendancy the best guarantee of a government loyal to principle and effective in execution. (Applause.) Through it more than any other political organization the moral sentiment of America finds expression. It cannot depart from the direction of its tendencies. From what it has been may be known certainly what it must be. Not all of us rise to its standard; not all of us are worthy of its glorious history; but as a whole this great political organization—the party of Lincoln and McKinley—cannot fail to work in the spirit of its past and in loyalty to great ideals.

We shall ask the continued confidence of the people because the candidates whom we present are of proved competency and patriotism, fitted to fill the offices for which they are nominated, to the credit and honor of our country.

We shall ask it because the present policies of our government are beneficial and ought not to be set aside; and the people's business is being well done, and ought not to be interfered with.

Have not the American people reason for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of their government since the election of 1900, when they rendered their judgment of approval upon the first administration of President McKinley? Have we not had an honest government? Have not the men selected for office been men of good reputation who by their past lives had given evidence that they were honest and competent? Can any private business be pointed out in which lapses from honesty have been so few and so

trifling proportionately, as in the public service of the United States? And when they have occurred, have not the offenders been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished without regard to political or personal relations?

Have we not had an effective government? Have not the laws been enforced? Has not the slow process of legislative discussion upon many serious questions been brought to practical conclusions embodied in beneficial statutes? and has not the Executive proceeded without vacillation or weakness to give these effect? Are not the laws of the United States obeyed at home? and does not our government command respect and honor throughout the world?

Have we not had a safe and conservative government? Has not property been protected? Are not the fruits of enterprise and industry secure? What safeguard of the constitution for vested right or individual freedom has not been scrupulously observed? When has any American administration ever dealt more considerately and wisely with questions which might have been the cause of conflict with foreign powers? When have more just settlements been reached by peaceful means? When has any administration wielded a more powerful influence for peace? and when have we rested more secure in friendship with all mankind?

Four years ago the business of the country was loaded with burdensome internal taxes, imposed during the war with Spain. By the Acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1902, the country has been wholly relieved of that annual burden of over one hundred million dollars; and the further accumulation of a surplus which was constantly withdrawing the money of the country from circulation has been prevented by the reduction of taxation. (Applause.)

Between the 30th of June, 1900, and the 1st of June, 1904, our Treasury Department collected in revenues the enormous sum of \$2,203,000,000 and expended \$2,028,000,000, leaving us with a surplus of over \$170,000,000 after paying the \$50,000,000 for the Panama canal and loaning \$4,600,000 to the St. Louis Exposition. Excluding those two extraordinary payments, which are investments from past surplus and not expenditures of current income, the surplus for this year will be the reasonable amount of about \$12,000,000.

The vast and complicated transactions of the Treasury, which for the last fiscal year show actual cash receipts of \$4,250,290,262 and disbursements of \$4,113,199,414, have been conducted with perfect accuracy and fidelity and without the loss of a dollar. Under wise management the Financial Act of March 14, 1900, which embodied the sound financial principles of the Republican party and provided for the maintenance of our currency on the stable basis of the gold standard, has wrought out beneficent results. On the 1st of November, 1899, the interest-bearing debt of the United States was \$1,046,049,020. On the 1st of May last the amount of that debt was \$895,157,440, a reduction of \$150,891,580. By refunding, the annual interest has been still more rapidly reduced from \$40,347,884 on the 1st of November, 1899, to \$24,176,745 on the 1st of June, 1904, an annual saving of over \$16,000,000.

When the Financial Act was passed the thinly settled portions of our country were suffering for lack of banking facilities because the banks were in the large towns, and none could be organized with a capital of less than \$50,000. Under the provisions of that Act, there were organized down to the 1st of May last, 1,296 small banks of \$25,000 capital, furnishing, under all the safeguards of the National Banking system, facilities to the small communities of the West and South. The facilities made possible by that Act have increased the circulation of national banks from \$254,402,730 on the 14th of March, 1900, to \$445,988,565 on the 1st of June, 1904. The money of the country in circulation has not only increased in amount with our growth in business, but it has steadily gained in the stability of the basis on which it rests. On the 1st of March, 1897, when the first administration of McKinley began, we had in the country, including bullion in the Treasury, \$1,806,272,076. This was \$23.14 *per capita* for our population, and of this 38.893 per cent was gold. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the second administration of McKinley began, the money in the country was \$2,467,295,228. This was \$28.34 *per capita*, and of this 45.273 per cent was gold. On the 1st of May last the money in the country was \$2,814,985,446, which was \$31.02 *per capita*, and of it 48.028 per cent was gold. This great increase of currency has been arranged in such a way that the large government notes in circulation are gold certificates while the silver certificates and greenbacks are of small denominations. As the large gold certificates represent gold actually on deposit, their presentation at the Treasury in exchange for gold can never infringe upon the gold reserve. As the small silver certificates and greenbacks are always in active circulation, no large amount of them can be accumulated for the purpose of drawing on the gold reserve; and thus, while every man can get a gold dollar for every dollar of the government's currency, the endless chain which we were once taught to fear so much, has been effectively put out of business. The Secretary of the Treasury has shown himself mindful of the needs of business and has so managed our finances as himself to expand and contract our currency as occasion has required. When in the fall of 1902 the demand for funds to move the crops caused extraordinary money stringency, the Secretary exercised his lawful right to accept state and municipal bonds as security for public deposits, thus liberating United States bonds which were used for additional circulation. When the crops were moved and the stringency was over he called for a withdrawal of the state and municipal securities, and thus contracted the currency. Again, in 1903, under similar conditions, he produced similar results. The payment of the \$50,000,000 for the Panama canal made last month without causing the slightest disturbance in finance, showed good judgment and a careful consideration of the interests of business upon which our people may confidently rely. (Applause.)

Four years ago the regulation by law of the great corporate combinations called "trusts" stood substantially where it was when the Sherman Anti-

Trust Act of 1890 was passed. President Cleveland, in his last message of December, 1896, had said:

"Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed."

At every election, the regulation of trusts had been the football of campaign oratory and the subject of many insincere declarations.

Our Republican administration has taken up the subject in a practical, sensible way as a business rather than a political question, saying what it really meant, and doing what lay at its hand to be done to accomplish effective regulation. (Applause.) The principles upon which the government proceeded were stated by the President in his message of December, 1902. He said:

"A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property; but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the misuse of these powers. * * *

"We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we fix clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in them. We are not hostile to them; we are merely determined that they shall be so handled as to subserve the public good. We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth. * * *

"In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the streets and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. * * *

"I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent over-capitalization, and other evils in trust organizations and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of the Congress to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States' through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein."

After long consideration, Congress passed three practical statutes: on the 11th of February, 1903, an act to expedite hearings in suits in enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act; on the 14th of February, 1903, the act creating

a new Department of Commerce and Labor with a Bureau of Corporations, having authority to secure systematic information regarding the organization and operation of corporations engaged in the interstate commerce; and on the 19th of February, 1903, an act enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the courts, to deal with secret rebates in transportation charges, which are the chief means by which the trusts crush out their smaller competitors.

The Attorney General has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, but to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation. In separate suits fourteen of the great railroads of the country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who by means of them were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and meat business of the country. The beef trust was put under injunction. (Applause.) The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton carrying pool, affecting all that great industry of the South, were indicted and have abandoned their combination. The Northern Securities Company which undertook by combining in one ownership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads to end traffic competition in the Northwest, has been destroyed by a vigorous prosecution expedited and brought to a speedy and effective conclusion in the Supreme Court under the act of February 11th, 1903. (Applause.) The Attorney General says:

"Here, then, are four phases of the attack on the combinations in restraint of trade and commerce—the railroad injunction suits, the cotton pool cases, the beef trust cases, and the Northern Securities case. The first relates to the monopoly produced by secret and preferential rates for railroad transportation; the second to railroad traffic pooling; the third to a combination of independent corporations to fix and maintain extortionate prices for meats; and the fourth to a corporation organized to merge into itself the control of parallel and competing lines of railroad and to eliminate competition in their rates of transportation."

The right of the Interstate Commerce Commission to compel the production of books and papers has been established by the judgment of the Supreme court in a suit against the coal carrying roads. Other suits have been brought and other indictments have been found and other trusts have been driven back within legal bounds. No investment in lawful business has been jeopardized, no fair and honest enterprise has been injured; but it is certain that whenever the constitutional power of the national government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds as they never have been before, and the men of small capital are finding in the efficiency and skill of the national Department of Justice a protection they never had before against the crushing effect of unlawful combinations. (Applause.)

We have at last reached a point where the public wealth of farm land which has seemed so inexhaustible is nearly gone, and the problem of utiliz-

ing the remainder for the building of new homes has become of vital importance.

The present administration has dealt with this problem vigorously and effectively. Great areas had been unlawfully fenced in by men of large means, and the home-builder had been excluded. Many of these unlawful aggressors have been compelled to relinquish their booty, and more than 2,000,000 acres of land have been restored to the public. (Applause.) Extensive frauds in procuring grants of land, not for homesteads but for speculation, have been investigated and stopped, and perpetrators have been indicted and are being actively prosecuted. A competent commission has been constituted to examine into the defective working of the existing laws and to suggest practical legislation to prevent further abuse. That commission has reported, and bills adequate to accomplish the purpose have been framed and are before Congress. The further denudation of forest areas, producing alternate floods and dryness in our river valleys, has been checked by the extension of forest reserves, which have been brought to aggregate more than 63,000,000 acres of land. The reclamation by irrigation of the vast arid regions forming the chief part of our remaining public domain, has been provided for by the National Reclamation Law of June 17th, 1903. The execution of this law, without taxation and by the application of the proceeds of public land sales alone, through the construction of storage reservoirs for water, will make many millions of acres of fertile lands available for settlement. Over \$20,000,000 from these sources have been already received to the credit of the reclamation fund. Over 33,000,000 acres of public lands in fourteen States and Territories have been embraced in the sixty-seven projects which have been devised and are under examination, and on eight of these work of actual construction has begun. (Applause.)

The Postal service has been extended and improved. Its revenues have increased from \$76,000,000 in 1895 to \$95,000,000 in 1899, and \$144,000,000 in 1904. In dealing with these vast sums, a few cases of peculation, trifling in amount and by subordinate officers, have occurred there as they occur in every business. Neither fear nor favor, nor political or personal influence has availed to protect the wrong-doers. Their acts have been detected, investigated, laid bare; they have been dismissed from their places, prosecuted criminally, indicted, many of them tried, and many of them convicted. The abuses in the carriage of second-class mail matter have been remedied. The Rural Free Delivery has been widely extended. It is wholly the creation of Republican administration. The last Democratic Postmaster General declared it impracticable. The first administration of McKinley proved the contrary. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1899 there were about 200 routes in operation. There are now more than 25,000 routes, bringing a daily mail service to more than 12,000,000 of our people in rural communities, enlarging the circulation of the newspaper and the magazine, increasing communication, and relieving the isolation of life on the farm.

The Department of Agriculture has been brought to a point of efficiency and practical benefit never before known. The Oleomargarine Act of May 9, 1902, now sustained in the Supreme Court, and the Act of July 1, 1902, to prevent the false branding of food and dairy products—protect farmers against fraudulent imitations. The Act of February 2, 1903, enables the Secretary of Agriculture to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases of live stock. Rigid inspection has protected our cattle against infection from abroad, and has established the highest credit for our meat products in the markets of the world. The earth has been searched for weapons with which to fight the enemies that destroy the growing crops. An insect brought from near the Great Wall of China has checked the San Jose scale which was destroying our orchards; a parasitic fly brought from South Africa is exterminating the black scale in the lemon and orange groves of California; and an ant from Guatemala is about offering battle to the boll weevil. Broad science has been brought to the aid of limited experience. (Applause.) Study of the relations between plant life and climate and soil has been followed, by the introduction of special crops suited to our varied conditions. The introduction of just the right kind of seed has enabled the Gulf States to increase our rice crop from 115,000,000 pounds in 1898 to 400,000,000 pounds in 1903, and to supply the entire American demand, with a surplus for export. The right kind of sugar beet has increased our annual production of beet sugar by over 200,000 tons. Seed brought from countries of little rain fall is producing millions of bushels of grain on lands which a few years ago were deemed a hopeless part of the arid belt.

The systematic collection and publication of information regarding the magnitude and conditions of our crops is mitigating the injury done by speculation to the farmer's market.

To increase the profit of the farmer's toil, to protect the farmer's product and extend his market, and to improve the conditions of the farmer's life; to advance the time when America shall raise within her own limits every product of the soil consumed by her people, as she makes within her own limits every necessary product of manufacture,—these have been cardinal objects of Republican administration; and we show a record of practical things done toward the accomplishment of these objects never before approached. (Applause.)

Four years ago we held the Island of Cuba by military occupation. The opposition charged, and the people of Cuba believed, that we did not intend to keep the pledge of April 20, 1898; that when the pacification of Cuba was accomplished we should leave the government and control of the Islands to its people. The new policy towards Cuba which should follow the fulfillment of that pledge was unformed. During the four years it has been worked out in detail and has received effect. It was communicated by executive order to the Military Governor. It was embodied in the Act of Congress known as the Platt Amendment. It was accepted by the Cuban Constitutional Convention on the 12th of October, 1901. It secured to Cuba her liberty and her independence, but it required her to maintain them. It for-

bade her ever to use the freedom we had earned for her by so great a sacrifice of blood and treasure, to give the island to any other power; it required her to maintain a government adequate for the protection of life and property and liberty, and should she fail, it gave us the right to intervene for the maintenance of such a government. And it gave us the right to naval stations upon her coast for the protection and defense alike of Cuba and the United States. (Applause.)

On the 20th of May, 1902, under a constitution which embodied these stipulations, the government and control of Cuba were surrendered to the President and Congress elected by her people, and the American army sailed away. The new Republic began its existence with an administration of Cubans completely organized in all its branches and trained to effective service by American officers. The administration of President Palma has been wise and efficient. Peace and order have prevailed. The people of Cuba are prosperous and happy. Her finances have been honestly administered, and her credit is high. The naval stations have been located and bounded at Guantanamo and Bahia Honda, and are in the possession of our navy. The Platt Amendment is the sheet anchor of Cuban independence and of Cuban credit. (Applause.) No such revolutions as have afflicted Central and South Africa are possible there, because it is known to all men that an attempt to overturn the foundations of that government will be confronted by the overwhelming power of the United States. The treaty of reciprocity and the Act of Congress of December 6, 1903, which confirmed it, completed the expression of our policy towards Cuba; which with a far view to the future aims to bind to us by ties of benefit and protection, of mutual interest and genuine friendship, that island which guards the Caribbean and the highway to the Isthmus, and must always be, if hostile, an outpost of attack, and, if friendly, an outpost of defense for the United States. Rich as we are, the American people have no more valuable possession than the sentiment expressed in the dispatch which I will now read:

"Havana, May 20, 1902.

Theodore Roosevelt,
President, Washington.

The government of the Island having been just transferred, I, as Chief Magistrate of the Republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiment of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship, with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

T. Estrada Palma."

When the last National Convention met the Philippines also were under military rule. The insurrectos from the mountains spread terror among the peaceful people by midnight foray and secret assassination. Aguinaldo bided his time in a secret retreat. Over seventy thousand American soldiers from more than five hundred stations, held a still vigorous enemy in check. The Philippine Commission had not yet begun its work.

The last vestige of insurrection has been swept away. (Applause.) With their work accomplished, over 55,000 American troops have been brought back across the Pacific. Civil government has been established throughout the Archipelago. Peace and order and justice prevail. The Philippine Commission, guided at first by executive order and then by the wise legislation of Congress in the Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902, have established and conducted a government which has been a credit to their country and a blessing to the people of the islands. The body of laws which they have enacted upon careful and intelligent study of the needs of the country challenges comparison with the statutes of any country. The personnel of civil government has been brought together under an advanced and comprehensive civil service law, which has been rigidly enforced. A complete census has been taken, designed to be there, as it was in Cuba, the basis for representative government; and the people of the islands will soon proceed under provisions already made by Congress to the election of a representative assembly, in which for the first time in their history they may have a voice in the making of their own laws. In the meantime the local and provincial governments are in the hands of officers elected by the Filipinos; and in the great central offices, in the Commission, on the Bench, in the executive departments, the most distinguished men of the Filipino race are taking their part in the government of their people. A free school system has been established and hundreds of thousands of children are learning lessons which will help fit them for self-government. The seeds of religious strife existing in the bitter controversy between the people and the religious orders have been deprived of potency for harm by the purchase of the Friars' lands, and their practical withdrawal. By the Act of Congress of March 2, 1903, a gold standard has been established to take the place of the fluctuating silver currency. The unit of value is made exactly one-half the value of the American gold dollar, so that American money is practically part of their currency system. To enable the Philippine government to issue this new currency, \$6,000,000 was borrowed by them in 1903 in the city of New York; and it was borrowed at a net interest charge of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. The trade of the islands has increased, notwithstanding adverse conditions. During the last five years' of peace under Spanish rule, the average total trade of the islands was less than \$36,000,000. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, the trade of the islands was over \$66,000,000. There is but one point of disturbance, and that is in the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where there is an occasional fitful savage outbreak against the enforcement of the law recently made to provide for adequate supervision and control to put an end to the practice of human slavery.

When Governor Taft sailed from Manila in December last to fill the higher office where he will still guard the destinies of the people for whom he has done such great and noble service, he was followed to the shore by a mighty throng, not of repressed and sullen subjects, but of free and peaceful people, whose tears and prayers of affectionate farewell showed that

they had already begun to learn that "our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores." (Applause.)

None can foretell the future; but there seems no reasonable cause to doubt, that under the policy already effectively inaugurated, the institutions already implanted, and the processes already begun, in the Philippine Islands, if these be not repressed and interrupted, the Philippine people will follow in the footsteps of the people of Cuba; that more slowly indeed, because they are not as advanced, yet as surely, they will grow in capacity for self-government, and receiving power as they grow in capacity, will come to bear substantially such relations to the people of the United States as do now the people of Cuba, differing in details as conditions and needs differ, but the same in principle and the same in beneficent results. (Applause.)

In 1900 the project of an isthmian canal stood where it was left by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. For half a century it had halted, with Great Britain resting upon a joint right of control, and the great undertaking of de Lesseps struggling against the doom of failure imposed by extravagance and corruption. On the 18th of November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain relieved the enterprise of the right of British control and left that right exclusively in the United States. Then followed swiftly the negotiations and protocols with Nicaragua; the Isthmian Canal Act of June 28, 1902; the just agreement with the French Canal Company to pay them the value of the work they had done; the negotiation and ratification of the treaty with Colombia; the rejection of that treaty by Colombia in violation of our rights and the world's right to the passage of the isthmus; the seizure by Panama of the opportunity to renew her oft-repeated effort to throw off the hateful and oppressive yoke of Colombia and resume the independence which once had been hers and of which she had been deprived by fraud and force; the success of the revolution; our recognition of the new republic, followed by recognition from substantially all the civilized powers of the world; the treaty with Panama recognizing and confirming our right to construct the canal; the ratification of the treaty by the Senate; confirmatory legislation by Congress; the payment of the \$50,000,000 to the French Company and to Panama; the appointment of the Canal Commission in accordance with law; and its organization to begin the work.

The action of the United States at every step has been in accordance with the law of nations, consistent with the principles of justice and honor, in discharge of the trust to build the canal we long since assumed, by denying the right of every other power to build it, dictated by a high and unselfish purpose, for the common benefit of all mankind. (Applause.) That action was wise, considerate, prompt, vigorous and effective; and now the greatest of constructive nations stands ready and competent to begin and to accomplish the great enterprise which shall realize the dreams of past ages, bind together our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and open a new highway for that commerce of the Orient whose course has controlled the rise and fall of civilizations. Success in that enterprise greatly concerns the credit and honor of the American people, and it is for them to say whether the build-

ing of the canal shall be in charge of the men who made its building possible, or of the weaklings whose incredulous objections would have postponed it for another generation. (Applause.)

Throughout the world the diplomacy of the present administration has made for peace and justice among nations. Clear-sighted to perceive and prompt to maintain American interests, it has been sagacious and simple and direct in its methods, and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

Within the month after the last National Convention met, Secretary Hay's circular note of July 3, 1900, to the Great Powers of Europe had declared the policy of the United States

"to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve China's territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

The express adherence of the Powers of Europe to this declaration was secured. The open recognition of the rule of right conduct imposed its limitations upon the conduct of the Powers in the Orient. It was made the test of defensible action. Carefully guarded by the wise statesman who had secured its acceptance, it brought a moral force of recognized value to protect peaceful and helpless China from dismemberment and spoliation, and to preserve the Open Door in the Orient for the commerce of the world. Under the influence of this effective friendship, a new commercial treaty with China, proclaimed on the 8th of October last, has enlarged our opportunities for trade, opened new ports to our commerce, and abolished internal duties on goods in transit within the Empire. There were indeed other nations which agreed with this policy of American diplomacy, but no other nation was free from suspicion of selfish aims. None other had won confidence in the sincerity of its purpose, and none other but America could render the service which we have rendered to humanity in China during the past four years. High evidence of that enviable position of our country is furnished by the fact that when all Europe was in apprehension lest the field of war between Russia and Japan should so spread as to involve China's ruin and a universal conflict, it was to the American government that the able and far-sighted German Emperor appealed, to take the lead again in bringing about an agreement for the limitation of the field of action, and the preservation of the administrative entity of China outside of Manchuria; and that was accomplished.

Upon our own continent a dispute with Canada over the boundary of Alaska had been growing more acute for thirty years. A multitude of miners, swift to defend their own rights by force, were locating mining claims under the laws of both countries in the disputed territory. At any moment a fatal affray between Canadian and American miners was liable to begin a conflict in which all British Columbia would be arrayed on one side and all our Northwest upon the other. Agreement was impossible. But the Alas-

kan Boundary Treaty of January 24, 1903, provided a tribunal for the decision of the controversy; and upon legal proofs and reasoned argument, an appeal has been had from prejudice and passion to judicial judgment; and under the lead of a great Chief Justice of England, who held the sacred obligations of his judicial office above all other considerations, the dispute has been settled forever and substantially, in accordance with the American contention. (Applause.)

In 1900 the first administration of McKinley had played a great part in establishing The Hague Tribunal for international arbitration. The prevailing opinion of Europe was incredulous as to the practical utility of the provision, and anticipated a paper tribunal unsought by litigants. It was the example of the United States which set at naught this opinion. The first international case taken to The Hague Tribunal was under our protocol with Mexico of May 22, 1902, submitting our contention for the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in California to a share of the church moneys held by the Mexican Government before the cession, and known as the Pious Fund; and the first decision of the Tribunal was an award in our favor upon that question. (Applause.)

When in 1903 the failure of Venezuela to pay her just debts led England, Germany and Italy to warlike measures for the collection of their claims, an appeal by Venezuela to our government resulted in agreements upon arbitration in place of the war, and in a request that our President should act as arbitrator. Again he promoted the authority and prestige of The Hague Tribunal, and was able to lead all the powers to submit the crucial question in controversy to the determination of that court. It is due greatly to support by the American government that this agency for peace has disappointed the expectations of its detractors, and by demonstrations of practical usefulness has begun a career fraught with possibilities of incalculable benefit to mankind.

On the 11th of April, 1903, was proclaimed another convention between all the Great Powers agreeing upon more humane rules for the conduct of war; and these in substance incorporated and gave the sanction of the civilized world to the rules drafted by Francis Lieber and approved by Abraham Lincoln for the conduct of the armies of the United States in the field.

All Americans who desire safe and conservative administration which shall avoid cause of quarrel, all who abhor war, all who long for the perfect sway of the principles of that religion which we all profess, should rejoice that under this Republican administration their country has attained a potent leadership among the nations in the cause of peace and international justice. (Applause.)

The respect and moral power thus gained has been exercised in the interests of humanity, where the rules of diplomatic intercourse have made formal intervention impossible. When the Roumanian outrages and when the appalling massacre at Kishineff, shocked civilization, and filled thousands of our own people with mourning, the protest of America was heard through

the voice of its government, with full observance of diplomatic rules, but with moral power and effect. (Applause.)

We have advanced the authority of the Monroe Doctrine. Our adherence to the convention which established The Hague Tribunal was accepted by the other powers, with a formal declaration that nothing therein contained should be construed to imply the relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions. The armed demonstration by the European powers against Venezuela was made the occasion for disclaimers to the United States of any intention to seize the territory of Venezuela, recognizing in the most unmistakable way the rights of the United States expressed in the declaration of that traditional policy.

In the meantime, mindful that moral powers unsupported by physical strength do not always avail against selfishness and aggression, we have been augmenting the forces which command respect. (Applause.)

We have brought our navy to a high state of efficiency and have exercised both army and navy in the methods of seacoast defense. The joint Army and Navy Board has been bringing the two services together in good understanding and the common study of the strategy, the preparation and the co-operation which will make them effective in time of need. Our ships have been exercised in fleet and squadron movements, have been improved in marksmanship and mobility, and have been constantly tested by use. Since the last National Convention met we have completed and added to our navy 5 battleships, 4 cruisers, 4 monitors, 34 torpedo destroyers and torpedo boats; while we have put under construction 13 battleships and 13 cruisers.

Four years ago our army numbered over 100,000 men—regulars and volunteers—75 per cent of them in the Philippines and China. Under the operation of statutes limiting the period of service, it was about to lapse back into its old and insufficient number of 27,000, and its old and insufficient organization under the practical control of permanent staff departments at Washington, with the same divisions of counsel and lack of co-ordinating and directing power at the head, that led to confusion and scandal in the war with Spain. During the past four years the lessons taught by that war have received practical effect. The teachings of Sherman and of Upton have been recalled and respected. Congress has fixed a maximum of the army at 100,000, and a minimum at 60,000, so that maintaining only the minimum in peace, as we now do, when war threatens the President may begin preparation by filling the ranks to the maximum, without waiting until after war has begun, as he had to wait in 1898. Permanent staff appointments have been changed to details from the line, with compulsory returns at fixed intervals to service with troops, so that the requirements of the field and the camp rather than the requirements of the office desk shall control the departments of administration and supply. A corps organization has been provided for our artillery, with a chief of artillery at the head, so that there may be intelligent use of our costly seacoast defenses. Under the Act of February 14, 1903, a general staff has been established, organized to suit

American conditions and requirements and adequate for the performance of the long-neglected but all-important duties of directing military education and training, and applying the most advanced principles of military science to that necessary preparation for war which is the surest safeguard of peace. The command of the army now rests where it is placed by the Constitution—in the President. His power is exercised through a military chief of staff, pledged by the conditions and tenure of his office to confidence and loyalty to his commander. Thus civilian control of the military arm, upon which we must always insist, is reconciled with that military efficiency which can be obtained only under the direction of the trained military expert.

Four years ago we were living under an obsolete militia law more than a century old, which Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and almost every president since their time, had declared to be worthless. We presented the curious spectacle of a people depending upon a citizen soldiery for protection against aggression, and making practically no provision whatever for training its citizens in the use of warlike weapons or in the elementary duties of the soldier. The mandate of the Constitution which required Congress to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia had been left unexecuted. In default of national provisions, bodies of state troops, created for local purposes and supported at local expense, had grown up throughout the Union. Their feelings towards the regular army were rather of distrust and dislike than of comradeship. Their arms, equipment, discipline, organization, and methods of obtaining and accounting for supplies were varied and inconsistent. They were unsuited to become a part of any homogeneous force, and their relations to the army of the United States were undefined and conjectural. By the Militia Act of January 20, 1903, Congress performed its duty under the Constitution. Leaving these bodies still to perform their duties to the States, it made them the organized militia of the United States. It provided for their conformity in armament, organization and discipline to the army of the United States; it provided the ways in which, either strictly as militia or as volunteers, they should become an active part of the army when called upon; it provided for their training, instruction and exercise conjointly with the regular army; it imposed upon the regular army the duty of promoting their efficiency in many ways. In recognition of the service to the nation which these citizen soldiers would be competent to render, the nation assumed its share of the burden of their armament, their supply and their training. The workings of this system have already demonstrated, not only that we can have citizens outside of the regular army trained for duty in war, but that we can have a body of volunteer officers ready for service, between whom and the officers of the regular army have been created by intimate association and mutual helpfulness, those relations of confidence and esteem without which no army can be effective. (Applause.)

The first administration of McKinley fought and won the war with Spain, put down the insurrection in the Philippines, annexed Hawaii, rescued the legations in Peking, brought Porto Rico into our commercial system, enacted

a protective tariff, and established our national currency on the firm foundations of the gold standard by the financial legislation of the 56th Congress. (Applause.)

The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the militia system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands, given civil government to the Philippines, established the Republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude of commercial interest and of common defense, swung open the closed gateway of the Isthmus, strengthened the Monroe Doctrine, ended the Alaskan boundary dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of trade, advanced the principle of arbitration, and promoted peace among the nations. (Applause.)

We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution and in administration.

The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wrought out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently receive revision, and if so, should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long-neglected country; our flag floats on the Isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerate firmness backed by strength are still needful in diplomacy.

The American people have now to say, whether policies shall be reversed or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

No dividing line can be drawn athwart the course of this successful administration. The fatal 14th of September, 1901, marked no change of policy, no lower level of achievement. The bullet of the assassin robbed us of the friend we loved; it took away from the people the President of their choice; it deprived civilization of a potent force making always for righteousness and for humanity. But the fabric of free institutions remained unshaken. The government of the people went on. The great party that William McKinley led, wrought still in the spirit of his example. His true and loyal successor has been equal to the burden cast upon him. Widely different in temperament and methods, he has approved himself of the same elemental virtues—the same fundamental beliefs. With faithful and revering memory, he has executed the purposes and continued unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country. And he has met all new occasions with strength and resolution and far-sighted wisdom. (Applause.)

As we gather in this convention, our hearts go back to the friend—the never to be forgotten friend—whom when last we met we acclaimed with one accord as our universal choice to bear a second time the highest honor

in the nation's gift; and back still, memory goes through many a year of leadership and loyalty.

How wise and how skillful he was! how modest and self-effacing! how deep his insight into the human heart! how swift the intuitions of his sympathy! how compelling the charm of his gracious presence! He was so unselfish, so thoughtful of the happiness of others, so genuine a lover of his country and his kind. And he was the kindest and tenderest friend who ever grasped another's hand. Alas, that his virtues did plead in vain against cruel fate!

Yet we may rejoice, that while he lived he was crowned with honor; that the rancor of party strife had ceased; that success in his great tasks, the restoration of peace, the approval of his countrymen, the affection of his friends,—gave the last quiet months in his home at Canton repose and contentment.

And with McKinley we remember Hanna with affection and sorrow—his great lieutenant. (Applause.) They are together again.

But we turn as they would have us turn, to the duties of the hour, the hopes of the future; we turn as they would have us turn, to prepare ourselves for struggle under the same standard borne in other hands by right of true inheritance. Honor, truth, courage, purity of life, domestic virtue, love of country, loyalty to high ideals—all these combined with active intelligence, with learning, with experience in affairs, with the conclusive proof of competency afforded by wise and conservative administration, by great things already done and great results already achieved,—all these we bring to the people with another candidate. Shall not these have honor in our land? Truth, sincerity, courage! these underlie the fabric of our institutions. Upon hypocrisy and sham, upon cunning and false pretense, upon weakness and cowardice, upon the arts of the demagogue and the devices of the mere politician,—no government can stand. No system of popular government can endure in which the people do not believe and trust. Our President has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve, he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is no campaign of sounding words and specious pretenses, for our President has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound Republican doctrine. No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. (Applause.) Come what may here—come what may in November, God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better



HON. GRAEME STEWART, of Illinois,
Member of the Executive Committee.

than wealth, or office, or power, to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL.

Mr. GRAEME STEWART, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, at the request of the local committee, it is my pleasure to present to you, on behalf of the city of Chicago, this symbol of authority, which I hope you will use during the sessions of this convention.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair thanks the local committee for its kindness.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention: By direction of the Republican National Committee, the Chair submits to the convention a list of temporary officers proposed by the committee, which the clerk will read.

Mr. JOHN R. MALLOY, of Ohio, read as follows:

General Secretary, Charles W. Johnson, Minnesota.

Chief Assistant Secretary, John R. Malloy, Ohio.

Assistant Secretaries: James G. Cannon, New York; Thomas F. Clifford, New Hampshire; Lucien Grey, Illinois; Willet M. Spooner, Wisconsin; T. Larry Eyre, Pennsylvania; J. T. Wilson, Kentucky; Rome C. Stephenson, Indiana; John H. King, South Dakota; T. St. John Gaffney, New York; Walter S. Melick, California; Edgar O. Silver, Vermont; Frank D. Waterman, New York; George W. Armstrong, Minnesota; James H. Paddock, Illinois; Franklin Murphy, Jr., New Jersey; Edwin W. Sims, Illinois.

Reading Clerks: W. H. Harrison, Nebraska; Dennis E. Alward, Michigan; E. L. Lampson, Ohio; T. W. B. Duckwall, West Virginia.

Clerk at President's Desk, Asher C. Hinds, Maine.

Official Reporter, Milton W. Blumenberg, Illinois.

Tally Clerks: Fred B. Whitney, Illinois; John W. Dixon, Nebraska; Lucien Swift, Jr., Minnesota.

Messenger to Secretary, Henry F. Daniels, Wisconsin.

Messenger to Chairman, Gurley Brewer, Indiana.

Sergeant-at-Arms, William F. Stone, Maryland.

First Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, David C. Owen, Wisconsin.

Chief of Doorkeepers, Charles S. Montell, Maryland.

Mr. CHARLES DICK, of Ohio.—I move that the recommendations of the National Committee as submitted, be approved by the convention.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio that the recommendations of the National Committee as submitted be approved by the convention.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

RULES.

Mr. T. H. CARTER, of Montana.—In the interest of the orderly procedure of business, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Montana submits a resolution which will be read.

The resolution was read and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That until a permanent organization is affected this convention be governed by the rules of the last Republican National Convention.

COMMITTEES.

Mr. L. E. McCOMAS, of Maryland.—Mr. Chairman, I submit for present consideration the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Maryland offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be now called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows: Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, Credentials, Resolutions; And further, that the chairman of each delegation send to the Secretary's desk in writing the names of the persons selected from his delegation to serve on the aforesaid committees.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the gentleman from Maryland.

The resolution was agreed to.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention, before directing the call of the roll the Chair wishes the instruction of the convention upon the question which he will now state. The National Committee has recommended placing upon the roll and has placed upon the temporary roll the names of delegates from Porto Rico and the Philippines. (Applause.) The Chair does not feel authorized to direct the calling of those names upon the roll without the instruction of the convention. Will the convention take action upon the question?

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—I move that the action of the National Committee in making the direction which has just been stated by the Chair, be approved by the convention.

Mr. W. B. HEYBURN, of Idaho.—I second the motion.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) moves, and that motion is seconded by the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. Heyburn), that the recommendation of the National Committee be approved by the convention. That recommendation means that two delegates from Porto Rico and two delegates from the Philippine Islands shall have seats in this convention, with the power of voting. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. L. E. McCOMAS, of Maryland.—Pardon me, Mr. Chairman; there will be six delegates from the Philippines, with two votes.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will restate the proposition. It means two delegates from Porto Rico, with two votes, and six delegates from the Philippines, with two votes. Gentlemen, are you ready for the question, which is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio, that the recommendation of the National Committee be approved by this convention?

The motion was agreed to.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will call the roll in accordance with the resolution offered by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. McComas).

Mr. OSCAR R. HUNDLEY, of Alabama.—I should like to ask what committee is being called for, or does it embrace all the committees named?

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will again read, for the information of the convention, the resolution submitted by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. McComas).

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved. That the roll of States and Territories be now called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows: Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, Credentials, Resolutions; And further, that the chairman of each delegation send to the Secretary's desk in writing the names of the persons selected from his delegation to serve on the aforesaid committees.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The roll-call will be proceeded with.

The CLERK proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois.—I ask unanimous consent that as the States, Territories, etc., are called, the Chairmen of the respective delegations send the list to the desk without reading them, and they can be tabulated later.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that as the States are called, the list of names be sent by the Chairmen of the delegations to the desk without reading. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that course will be pursued.

The committees as constituted are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama.....	G. B. DEANS
Arkansas.....	FERD HAVIS
California.....	C. E. CLINCH
Colorado.....	S. S. DOWNER
Connecticut.....	MICHAEL KENEALY
Delaware.....	FRANCIS S. BRADLEY
Florida.....	WILLIAM H. NORTHUP
Georgia.....	W. H. MATTHEWS
Idaho.....	DREW M. STANDROD
Illinois.....	WILLIAM A. COLEMAN
Indiana.....	FINLEY C. CARSON
Iowa.....	J. H. HENDERSON
Kansas.....	H. B. MILLER
Kentucky.....	BRUTUS J. CLAY
Louisiana.....	GIRRAULT FARRAR
Maine.....	VORAMUS L. COFFIN
Maryland.....	WILLIAM S. BOOZE
Massachusetts.....	A. H. GOETTING
Michigan.....	C. C. VAUGHN
Minnesota.....	L. O. THORPE
Mississippi.....	THOMAS RICHARDSON
Missouri.....	C. W. CLERKE
Montana.....	JAMES W. FREEMAN
Nebraska.....	W. P. MILES
Nevada.....	P. L. FLANIGAN
New Hampshire.....	SUMNER WALLACE
New Jersey.....	WILLIAM M. JOHNSON
New York.....	GEORGE W. ALDRIDGE
North Carolina.....	T. T. HICKS
North Dakota.....	HUGH H. PEOPLES
Ohio.....	THEODORE E. BURTON
Oregon.....	N. C. RICHARDS
Pennsylvania.....	JAMES A. DALE
Rhode Island.....	FRANK W. TILLINGHAST
South Carolina.....	A. A. GATES
South Dakota.....	C. E. WARNER
Tennessee.....	L. W. DUTRO
Texas.....	C. M. FERGUSON
Utah.....	JAMES H. ANDERSON
Vermont.....	H. W. ALLEN
Virginia.....	J. M. McLAUGHLIN
Washington.....	CHARLES M. SWEENEY
West Virginia.....	VIRGIL L. HIGHLAND
Wisconsin.....	J. W. COCHRAN
Wyoming.....	J. G. OLIVER
District of Columbia.....	JOHN F. COOK
Alaska.....	OSCAR FOOTE
Arizona.....	F. L. WRIGHT
Indian Territory.....	CHARLES W. RAYMOND
New Mexico.....	W. G. SARGENT
Oklahoma.....	W. C. TETRICK
Hawaii.....	GEORGE R. CARTER
Philippine Islands.....	J. S. STANLEY
Porto Rico.....	R. H. TODD

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Alabama.....	J. W. DAVIDSON
Arkansas.....	OSCAR DAVIS
California.....	A. RUEF
Colorado.....	E. L. SMITH
Connecticut.....	JOHN T. ROBINSON
Delaware.....	G. LAYTON GRIER
Florida.....	MARK S. WHITE
Georgia.....	S. S. HUMBERT
Idaho.....	JAMES M. STEVENS
Illinois.....	CHARLES E. PERKINS
Indiana.....	CAREY E. COWGILL
Iowa.....	W. S. ELLIS
Kansas.....	W. S. FITZPATRICK
Kentucky.....	JOHN M. BOWLING
Louisiana.....	M. G. BOBE
Maine.....	WOODBURY K. DANA
Maryland.....	RENO S. HARP
Massachusetts.....	JOHN L. HOBSON
Michigan.....	F. A. ROETHLISBERGER
Minnesota.....	GUSTA F. WYDELL
Mississippi.....	E. H. MCKISSICK
Missouri.....	H. A. SMITH
Montana.....	W. F. MEYER
Nebraska.....	F. I. FOSS
Nevada.....	H. B. MAXON
New Hampshire.....	WINSTON CHURCHILL
New Jersey.....	MARK FAGAN
New York.....	S. FRED NIXON
North Carolina.....	J. Y. HAMRICK
North Dakota.....	H. M. WHEELER
Ohio.....	H. M. DAUGHERTY
Oregon.....	IRA B. SMITH
Pennsylvania.....	H. H. BINGHAM
Rhode Island.....	ALBERT B. CRAFTS
South Carolina.....	J. W. TOLBERT
South Dakota.....	F. H. DAVIS
Tennessee.....	H. S. CHAMBERLAIN
Texas.....	E. H. TERRELL
Utah.....	L. W. SHURLIFF
Vermont.....	HENRY S. BINGHAM
Virginia.....	ASA ROGERS
Washington.....	A. W. PERLEY
West Virginia.....	GEO. W. ATKINSON
Wisconsin.....	J. W. BABCOCK
Wyoming.....	J. E. COSGRIFF
District of Columbia.....	ROBERT REYBURN
Alaska.....	J. G. HEID
Arizona.....	E. W. CHILDS
Indian Territory.....	VICTOR M. LOCKE, JR.
New Mexico.....	W. E. DAME
Oklahoma.....	A. H. JACKSON
Hawaii.....	WM. T. ROBINSON
Philippine Islands.....	CHARLES A. WILLARD
Porto Rico.....	

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Alabama.....	N. H. ALEXANDER
Arkansas.....	SID B. REDDING
California.....	GEO. W. REED
Colorado.....	JOHN W. SPRINGER
Connecticut.....	GEORGE L. CHENEY
Delaware.....	J. FRANK ALLEE
Florida.....	HENRY S. CHUBB
Georgia.....	CHAS. ADAMSON
Idaho.....	WILLIAM E. BORAH
Illinois.....	GRAEME STEWART
Indiana.....	WINFIELD J. DURBIN
Iowa.....	J. P. DOLLIVER
Kansas.....	S. H. HAMILTON
Kentucky.....	JOHN W. LEWIS
Louisiana.....	WALTER L. COHEN
Maine.....	SANFORD L. FOGG
Maryland.....	LOUIS E. MCOMAS
Massachusetts.....	EVERETT C. BENTON
Michigan.....	ANDREW B. DAUGHERTY
Minnesota.....	C. H. MARCH
Mississippi.....	WESLEY CRAYTON
Missouri.....	B. F. RUSSEL
Montana.....	JOSEPH M. DIXON
Nebraska.....	C. B. DEMPSTER
Nevada.....	B. H. REYMERS
New Hampshire.....	DANIEL C. REMICK
New Jersey.....	JOHN J. GARDNER
New York.....	GEORGE R. MALBY
North Carolina.....	W. S. O. B. ROBINSON
North Dakota.....	ALEXANDER MCKENZIE
Ohio.....	CHARLES B. DICK
Oregon.....	J. M. KEENE
Pennsylvania.....	A. S. L. SHIELDS
Rhode Island.....	ALPHONSE GAULIN
South Carolina.....	J. F. ENSOR
South Dakota.....	R. H. DRISCOLL
Tennessee.....	F. A. RAHT
Texas.....	R. B. HAWLEY
Utah.....	WILLARD F. SNYDER
Vermont.....	W. SEWARD WEBB
Virginia.....	PARK AGNEW
Washington.....	C. E. BINGHAM
West Virginia.....	W. L. ARMSTRONG
Wisconsin.....	S. S. BARNEY
Wyoming.....	M. C. NICHOLS
District of Columbia.....	JNO. F. COOK
Alaska.....	C. S. JOHNSON
Arizona.....	A. O. BRODIE
Indian Territory.....	EUGENE E. MORRIS
New Mexico.....	W. H. H. LLEWELLYN
Oklahoma.....	SEYMOUR FOOSE
Hawaii.....	W. H. HOOGS
Philippine Islands.....	THEO. C. REISER
Porto Rico.....	JOSE GORNEZ BRIOSO

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama.....	A. N. JOHNSON
Arkansas.....	CHAS. T. DUKE
California.....	FRANK H. SHORT
Colorado.....	CLYDE C. DAWSON
Connecticut.....	EDWIN W. HIGGINS
Delaware.....	CALEB R. LAYTON
Florida.....	
Georgia.....	H. L. JOHNSON
Idaho.....	WELDON B. HEYBURN
Illinois.....	ALBERT J. HOPKINS
Indiana.....	ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
Iowa.....	J. W. BLYTHE
Kansas.....	
Kentucky.....	GEORGE W. LONG
Louisiana.....	J. MADISON VANCE
Maine.....	ELMER P. SPOFFORD
Maryland.....	PHILLIPS L. GOLDSBOROUGH
Massachusetts.....	HENRY CABOT LODGE
Michigan.....	RALPH LOVELAND
Minnesota.....	KNUTE NELSON
Mississippi.....	W. E. MOLLISON
Missouri.....	BOYD DUDLEY
Montana.....	THOS. H. CARTER
Nebraska.....	FRANK WILLIAMS
Nevada.....	E. S. FARINGTON
New Hampshire.....	JACOB H. GALLINGER
New Jersey.....	JOHN F. DRYDEN
New York.....	EDWARD LAUTERBACH
North Carolina.....	
North Dakota.....	H. C. HANSBROUGH
Ohio.....	J. B. FORAKER
Oregon.....	J. U. CAMPBELL
Pennsylvania.....	JOHN DALZELL
Rhode Island.....	WILLIAM L. HODGMAN
South Carolina.....	E. J. DICKERSON
South Dakota.....	N. L. FINCH
Tennessee.....	DANA HARMON
Texas.....	A. J. ROSENTHAL
Utah.....	GEO. SUTHERLAND
Vermont.....	W. P. DILLINGHAM
Virginia.....	D. LAWRENCE GRONER
Washington.....	J. S. McMILLAN
West Virginia.....	
Wisconsin.....	JOHN C. SPOONER
Wyoming.....	C. D. CLARK
District of Columbia.....	ROBERT REYBURN
Alaska.....	J. W. IVEY
Arizona.....	
Indian Territory.....	WILLIAM H. BARROUGH
New Mexico.....	H. O. BURSON
Oklahoma.....	
Hawaii.....	JONAH K. KALANIANAOLI
Philippine Islands.....	JOHN M. SWITZER
Porto Rico.....	

PETITIONS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. CHARLES W. THOMAS, of Illinois.—I present a resolution which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be received and referred as indicated.

Mr. WILLIAM E. MASON, of Illinois.—I have been requested to present a petition, which I do, and I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. ROBERT REYBURN, of the District of Columbia.—I submit a resolution, which I ask may follow the course of the resolutions heretofore presented—that it may be referred without debate.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution presented by the gentleman from the District of Columbia will be received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

Mr. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York.—The Louisiana Purchase Exposition has sent an invitation to visit the exposition, and I call for its reading.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will read as requested.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

To the Republican National Convention,

Gentlemen:—The Louisiana Purchase Exposition respectfully invites the delegates and alternates to the Republican National Convention now assembled, and the representatives of the Press attending, to visit the World's Fair, now in progress in St. Louis, when the deliberations of the convention shall have ended. Transportation and admission to the World's Fair Grounds will be provided.

The participation of the States and Territories and possessions of the United States, and of over fifty foreign countries, contribute to make this Exposition thoroughly representative of the progress of civilization and the development of the human race.

The exhibit of the United States and that of the Philippine Islands are, of themselves, well worth the visit. The aid extended by the general government, through two Congresses, and the interest manifested in the enterprise by President McKinley and President Roosevelt, establish its National character. It is held to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase, the acquisition of an Empire by peaceful negotiations, and to enlighten the people in the progress and advancement of the world.

Very respectfully,

DAVID R. FRANCIS,

President Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Mr. DEPEW, of New York.—I offer the resolution I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New York submits a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be extended to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company for their invitation; and that the Chair appoint a committee of five to ascertain and report at the next session of the Convention arrangements for going to St. Louis and return.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, you have heard the resolution. Are there any remarks to be made upon it?

Mr. DEPEW.—Mr. Chairman, I do not think any remarks are necessary. The invitation itself is eloquent. Nor do I think any remarks are in order at the present time, when we are still under the spell of one of the few great orations that we are permitted to listen to in a life time.

Still, as the United States has invested twenty-five million dollars in this exposition, has invited all the other countries of the world, and they have come, I think the convention should accept the invitation. It is certainly a graceful as well as a gracious privilege which is extended to us by the Exposition Company.

I know that the educational, the religious, the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the scientific interests are all going to St. Louis to see what has been accomplished up to the present time in their several departments; and we can go there and see what has been done in the development of the United States during this period and what share Republican policies had in bringing it about. (Applause.)

I am quite sure a similar invitation will be extended to the Democratic convention when it meets next month. Its members will accept, because they will be in St. Louis anyway, and they will go there having the only gratification they have had for half a century, in saying "through Thomas Jefferson we bought the land." (Laughter.) But it will be our privilege to say "we cultivated the soil; we ploughed it; we planted the seed; and the harvest which makes the United States what it is today is ours as well as yours." (Applause.)

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the gentleman from New York.

The resolution was agreed to.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN appointed as the committee under the resolution Mr. Depew, of New York; Mr. Carter, of Montana; Mr. Foraker, of Ohio; Mr. Van Sant, of Minnesota, and Mr. Parker, of Missouri.

Mr. RICHARD P. ERNST, of Kentucky.—I move that the convention adjourn until 12 o'clock tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the convention adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, June 22, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

THE SECOND DAY

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS—THE WISCONSIN CASE—OTHER CONTESTED CASES—THE ROLL OF THE CONVENTION—LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION—PETER JOSEPH OSTERHAUS—REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION AND OTHER COMMITTEES—HAWAIIAN REPRESENTATION.

CONVENTION HALL

THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, ILL., Wednesday, June 22, 1904.

The convention was called to order at 12:25 o'clock p. m., by Hon. Elihu Root, Temporary Chairman, who said:

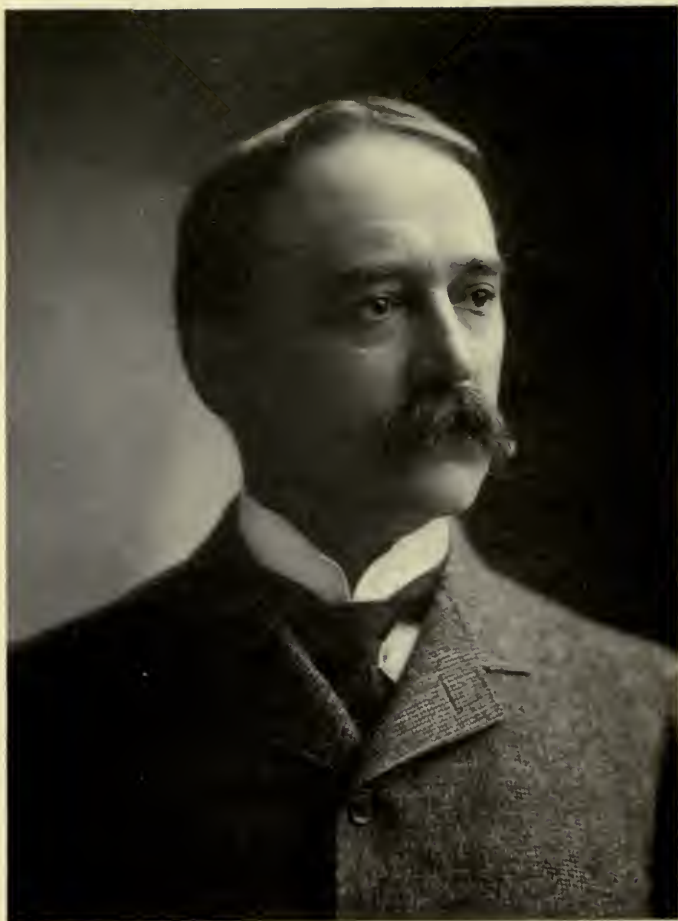
The proceedings of this day will be begun by prayer by the Rev. Thomas E. Cox, of Chicago, Ill.

PRAYER OF REV. THOMAS E. COX.

Rev. THOMAS E. COX, of Chicago, offered the following prayer:

Our Father Who art in Heaven, we thank Thee for the opportunities of this day. In all humility we adore Thy sovereign majesty. To Thee we look for grace and guidance. In Thy hands are the destinies of nations. Thy Providence enters into the careers of men. There is no just power but from Thee. Thy will is the sole source of law and good government.

Bless the deliberations of this Convention. Let us not forget those who have bequeathed to us a glorious history. Give us wisdom and understanding. Drive far from us all self-seeking. Fill us with a love of country, of peace, of forbearance and of justice. For "Justice exalteth a nation, but when the wicked bear rule peoples perish." Hasten the day when it shall be said: "The kingdom of this world is become our Lord's and His Christ's, and He shall reign for ever and ever." Amen.



HON. LOUIS E. McCOMAS, of Maryland,
Who was Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

THE CONTESTED CASES.

[Pursuant to the usual practice, the National Committee, prior to the day of meeting of the convention considered all questions of contest submitted within the rule embodied in the call, and made up the Temporary Roll of delegates to the convention.

A formal report of the proceedings and findings of the National Committee respecting contests was submitted to the Committee on Credentials.

The Committee on Credentials appointed a subcommittee consisting of Winfield T. Durbin, J. J. Gardner and E. C. Benton, to examine and report on the Wisconsin case.

The report of this subcommittee was duly made, and embodied in the report of the Committee on Credentials and subsequently reported with other recommendations to the convention, and adopted by the convention. These several reports as made, appear in their proper order below.—Ed.]

 REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Is the Committee on Credentials ready to report?

MR. L. E. MCCOMAS, of Maryland.—The Committee on Credentials have instructed me to submit their report:

June 22, 1904.

Your Committee on Credentials submit the following report in the matter of the seating of the contested delegations:

They met immediately after the adjournment of the session of the Convention on Tuesday, June 21, 1904, and organized by the selection of the officers of the committee. Since that time they have, day and night, almost continuously considered the cases before them until they completed the roll of membership. In the contests in the Fourth District of Alabama, respecting the delegates and their alternates, in the contest respecting all the delegates and alternates from the State of Delaware, in the Second District of Georgia, the Third District of Mississippi, the First District of South Carolina, the Thirty-third District of New York, the Second District of Virginia, the delegates-at-large and their alternates from Texas, the Second and Seventh Districts of Texas, in the Twenty-first District of Illinois, the Fourth, Sixth and Twentieth Districts in Ohio, this committee recommend that the action of the National Committee in making a temporary roll shall be the action of the Convention.

In the matter respecting the delegates-at-large and delegates from all of the seven Congressional districts of Louisiana, your committee recommend

that the delegates-at-large of the contestants and the contestees with their alternates be admitted to seats in the convention, and that in each of the seven districts of Louisiana, the delegates of the contestants and contestees with their respective alternates be also admitted to seats in the convention, and that each delegate when seated shall have one-half of a vote. And your committee, therefore, recommend that the aforementioned delegates from Louisiana with their alternates be placed on the permanent roll of the convention.

In the Fifth District of Missouri your committee recommend that the delegates, Joseph H. Harris and Wallace Love, and the alternates, Joseph P. Fontron and W. H. Waggoner, be placed on the permanent roll.

In the case of the contest for delegates-at-large from the State of Wisconsin your committee unanimously concur with the National Committee in its unanimous action and recommend that the sitting delegates, John C. Spooner, J. V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch, with their alternates, be placed on the permanent roll of this convention.

Your committee consider it unnecessary to recite the reasons for the decisions in the several cases before mentioned. In the Wisconsin case, however, your committee believe some additional statement is appropriate. To the contest over the delegates-at-large and their alternates from Wisconsin, unusual consideration has been given.

The said contest was patiently heard by the National Committee for six hours, being argued on behalf of both sides by counsel before said committee. The books and printed arguments being supplied by both sides to the individual members of that committee, and at the end of such presentation that committee being fully advised as to the material facts and the merits of the controversy, unanimously voted to place on the temporary roll as delegates-at-large John C. Spooner, J. V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch, and M. G. Jeffris, D. E. Riordan, Richard Meyer and John Kehler, alternates.

Your committee after completing its organization took a recess until 4 o'clock and gave notice to the various contestants to appear at that hour. Soon thereafter your committee decided to take up the Wisconsin contest over the delegates-at-large from that State. Thereupon Mr. Gilbert E. Roe, who had submitted to the National Committee an elaborate argument on behalf of Isaac Stephenson, Robert M. La Follette, J. H. Stout and W. D. Connor and their alternates, appeared before your committee and submitted a communication from the contesting delegation, represented in part by him. This communication is appended to the report of your committee. Your committee, resenting the false imputation which said communication placed upon the entire National Committee and upon your committee by its impeachment of the good faith of said committees, and upon the National Convention of the Republican party by its assumption that said contesting delegation could not secure a fair and impartial hearing and a determination according to the truth and right of the case from your committee or by appeal to this convention, proceeded, notwithstanding the withdrawal of said

contest by said communication upon the grounds therein stated, in justice to itself after notice to both sides to appear, to investigate thoroughly the facts of said case. By its sub-committee during yesterday, last night and today, and by the full committee yesterday and today, it investigated the facts of said case as disclosed by the proofs, documents and briefs of both sides, availing itself of the proofs, documents and briefs presented by both sides before the National Committee, and heard also oral arguments by the counsel of the contestees, to the end that the facts might be fully ascertained and a just decision reached in said case; and, having fully considered the same, your committee report it to be their final judgment that the convention which elected said John C. Spooner, J. V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch as delegates at large and their alternates to this convention from the State of Wisconsin, was the regular convention of the Republican party in Wisconsin, and that the delegates elected by it are the regularly elected delegates at large from the State of Wisconsin to the Republican National Convention, and as such are entitled to seats in this convention. The report of the sub-committee, which was unanimously approved by your committee, is appended to and made part of this report.

A copy of the roll of delegates and alternates adopted by your committee making the permanent roll of this convention, is herewith submitted as part of their report, and the adoption of the report is recommended.

Respectfully submitted,

L. E. McCOMAS, Chairman.

SID B. REDDING, Secretary.

CONTESTS AS DECIDED BY THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

ALABAMA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

W. F. Aldrich.
W. A. Cook.

W. F. Tebbetts.
F. O. Dudley.

DELAWARE.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

J. Edward Addicks.
J. Frank Allee.
John Hunn.
Caleb R. Layton.
Francis S. Bradley.
G. Layton Grier.

John E. Taylor.
George W. Marshall.
Walter Hoffecker.
Joseph E. Cahall.
Abram E. Frantz.
John C. Townsend.

GEORGIA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

SECOND DISTRICT.

J. C. Styles.
C. G. Ward.

J. L. Reddick.
E. B. Brown.

ILLINOIS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Theodore Koch.
H. N. Schuyler.John R. Challacombe.
Charles E. Selby.

LOUISIANA.

(Each delegate given a half vote.)

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Walter L. Cohen.
Emile Kuntz.
Girrault Farrar.
H. B. N. Brown.
Pearl Wight.
H. C. Warmouth.
W. J. Behan.
L. F. Suthon.James E. Porter.
P. H. Segura.
D. A. Lines.
John Marks.
J. W. Porch.
S. A. Knapp.
Andrew Hero.
Gus Lehmann.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Joseph Fabacher.
J. Madison Vance.
Hugh S. Suthon.
Felix Berhel.C. W. Boothby.
I. G. Wynn.
A. B. Kennedy.
F. R. Tenneret.

SECOND DISTRICT.

H. W. Robinson.
M. G. Bobe.
Charles W. Godchaux.
W. J. Waguespack.A. C. Fowler.
E. F. R. Augustus.
E. J. Thilborger.
W. P. Luck.

THIRD DISTRICT.

J. M. Haggerty.
A. J. Jones
F. B. Williams.
Jules Godchaux.Mayer Cahen.
John Tregle.
Jules Dreyfus.
Honore Dugas.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

A. H. Leonard.
S. P. Brown.
B. F. Oneal.
C. J. Green.J. W. Walker.
J. B. Green.
S. Herold.
W. J. Tatum.

FIFTH DISTRICT.

J. W. Cook.
S. W. Green.
W. T. Insley.
H. B. Tallafarro.George W. Stewart.
John W. Robinson.
Henry E. Hardtner.
Leopold Elgutter.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

L. J. Souer.
B. V. Baranco.
H. W. Robinson.
F. J. WebbGeorge J. Duffy.
John Brown.
George J. Relley.
J. B. Churchill.

LOUISIANA—Continued.

Delegates. SEVENTH DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

C. C. Duson.	J. S. Thomas.
J. A. Spencer.	Henry Erlich.
G. L. Lasalle.	Joseph A. Block.
W. R. Wright.	H. Dupuy.

MISSISSIPPI.

(Each delegate given a half vote.)

Delegates. THIRD DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

R. A. Simmons.	L. T. Marcus.
Charles Banks.	R. L. Flagg.
Louis Waldauer.	N. L. Lackey.
D. W. Gary.	G. A. Lee.

MISSOURI.

Delegates. FIFTH DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

Joseph H. Harris.	Joseph P. Fontron.
Wallace Love.	W. H. Waggoner.

NEW YORK.

Delegates. THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

J. Sloat Fassett	William H. Prangen.
Arthur E. Valois.	William H. Nichols.

OHIO.

Delegates. FOURTH DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

O. E. Harrison.	David Oldham.
W. L. Russell.	Julius Boesel.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

George W. McMurchy.	H. M. Brown.
Frank M. Couden.	Walter Remley.

TWENTIETH DISTRICT.

J. B. Zerbe.	D. C. True.
A. T. Spitzer.	George Steele.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Delegates. FIRST DISTRICT. *Alternates.*

A. P. Prioleau.	Samuel B. Butler.
William F. Myers.	A. Collins.

TEXAS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Cecil A. Lyon.
R. B. Hawley.
C. M. Ferguson.
N. M. Rodgers.

R. A. Hannay.
Thomas Hall.
H. G. Goree.
David Abner.

SECOND DISTRICT.

J. H. Kurth.
B. F. Wallace.

Fred Deremus.
J. M. Moore.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

A. J. Rosenthal.
H. L. Price.

C. W. Ellis.
Waldo Mathews.

VIRGINIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

SECOND DISTRICT.

George E. Bowden.
A. H. Martin.

A. Aronheim.
Fred Read.

WISCONSIN.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John C. Spooner.
J. V. Quarles.
Joseph W. Babcock.
Emil Baensch.

M. G. Jeffris.
D. E. Riordan.
Richard Meyer.
John Kehler.

ALASKA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John G. Heid.
Oscar Foote.
C. S. Jackson.
W. T. Perkins.
W. D. Grant.
J. W. Ivey.

G. M. Irwin.
John W. Steadman.
Albert Fink.
G. B. Baldwin.
P. C. McCormick.
Frank J. Kinghorn.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John T. McDonough.
Charles A. Willard.
Grant T. Trent.
John S. Stanley.
J. M. Switzer.
E. C. McCullough.

John S. Leech.
D. W. Smith.
J. L. Pierce.
T. C. Reiser.
W. W. Lewis.
M. W. Creach.



HON. NATHAN B. SCOTT, of West Virginia,
Who was Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Convention.

REPORT ON CONTESTS BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Chicago, Illinois, June 17, 1904.

Chairman, Committee on Credentials,

Republican National Convention, Chicago, Illinois.

My Dear Sir:—In the matter of the contest for seats in the Republican National Convention, the National Committee, at its meeting in Chicago, June 16th and 17th, decided to place upon the temporary roll the following:

DELAWARE.

Delegates.

J. Edward Addicks.
J. Frank Allee.
John Hunn.
Caleb R. Layton.
Francis S. Bradley.
G. Layton Grier.

Alternates.

John E. Taylor.
Geo. W. Marshall.
Walter Hoffecker.
Joseph E. Cahall.
Abram E. Frantz.
John G. Townsend.

ALABAMA.

Delegates.

W. F. Aldrich.
W. A. Cook.

Alternates.

FOURTH DISTRICT.
W. F. Tebbetts.
F. O. Dudley.

GEORGIA.

Delegates.

J. C. Styles.
C. G. Ward.

Alternates.

SECOND DISTRICT.
J. L. Reddick.
E. B. Brown.

LOUISIANA.

Delegates.

Walter L. Cohen.
Emil Kuntz.
Girrault Farrar.
H. B. N. Brown.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

James E. Porter.
P. E. Segura.
D. A. Lines.
John Marks.

Joseph Fabacher.
J. Madison Vance.

FIRST DISTRICT.
C. W. Boothby.
I. G. Wynn.

H. W. Robinson.
M. G. Bobe.

SECOND DISTRICT.
A. C. Fowler.
E. F. R. Augustus.

J. H. Haggerty.
A. G. Jones.

THIRD DISTRICT.
John Stregle.
Mayer Chane.

A. H. Leonard.
S. P. Brown.

FOURTH DISTRICT.
W. J. Walker.
J. B. Green.

John W. Cook.
S. W. Green.

FIFTH DISTRICT.
George W. Stewart.
John W. Robinson.

L. J. Souer.
B. V. Baranco.

SIXTH DISTRICT.
Geo. Duffey.
John Brown.

C. C. Duson.
S. A. Spencer.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.
H. C. Edwards.
Henry Erlick.

MISSISSIPPI.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

THIRD DISTRICT.

R. A. Simmons.
 Chas. Banks.
 Louis Waldauer.
 D. W. Gary.

L. T. Marcus,
 R. L. Flagg.
 N. L. Lackey.
 G. A. Lee.

(Each delegate given a half vote.)

SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

FIRST DISTRICT.

A. P. Prioleau.
 Wm. F. Myers.

Samuel B. Butler.
 A. Collins.

NEW YORK.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT.

J. Sloat Fassett.
 Arthur E. Valois.

Wm. H. Prangen.
 Wm. H. Nichols.

VIRGINIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

SECOND DISTRICT.

George E. Bowden.
 A. H. Martin.

A. Aronheim.
 Fred. Read.

WISCONSIN.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John C. Spooner.
 J. V. Quarles.
 Joseph W. Babcock.
 Emil Baensch.

M. G. Jeffris.
 D. E. Riordan.
 Richard Meyer.
 John Kehler.

TEXAS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Cecil A. Lyon.
 R. B. Hawley.
 C. M. Ferguson.
 N. M. Rodgers.

R. A. Hannay.
 Thomas Hall.
 H. G. Goree.
 David Abner.

SECOND DISTRICT.

J. H. Kurth.
 B. F. Wallace.

Fred Deremus.
 J. M. Moore.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

A. J. Rosenthal.
 H. L. Price.

C. W. Ellis.
 Waldo Mathews.

ILLINOIS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Theodore Koch.
 H. N. Schuyler.

John R. Challacombe.
 Chas. E. Selby.

MISSOURI.

Delegates.

Alternates.

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Jos. H. Harris.
Wallace Love.
A. C. Kinneard.
J. A. McLane.

Jos. P. Fontron,
W. H. Waggoner.
Geo. J. Baer.
Jos. Reed.

(Each delegate given a half vote.)

OHIO.

Delegates.

Alternates.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

O. E. Harrison.
W. L. Russell.

David Oldham.
Julius Boesel.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Geo. W. McMurchy.
Frank M. Couden.

H. M. Brown.
Walter Remley.

TWENTIETH DISTRICT.

J. N. Zerbe,
A. T. Spltzer.

D. C. True.
Geo. Steele.

Very truly yours,

H. C. PAYNE,

Chairman Republican National Committee.

ELMER DOVER,

Secretary Republican National Committee.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS ON THE WISCONSIN CASE.

To the Committee on Credentials:

Your sub-committee to whom was referred the Wisconsin case respectfully report that after listening to statements made by counsel for John C. Spooner, Joseph V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch before the Committee on Credentials, reviewing the printed arguments made by counsel for Isaac Stephenson, Robert M. LaFollette, James H. Stout and W. D. Connor and the other papers filed in the case, find John C. Spooner, Joseph V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch were the regularly elected delegates at large for the State of Wisconsin and are entitled to seats in the Convention as such.

WINFIELD T. DURBIN,
J. J. GARDNER,
E. C. BENTON.

Mr. L. E. McCOMAS, of Maryland.—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Maryland that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted.

The report was agreed to.

Roll of Delegates and Alternates.

The roll of delegates and alternates referred to in the report is as follows:

ALABAMA.	
<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
AT LARGE.	
Oscar R. Hundley.....Huntsville	F. H. Lathrop.....Birmingham
Leander J. Bryan.....Montgomery	Rivers CarterBirmingham
T. H. Aldrich.....Birmingham	Henry F. Irwin.....Montgomery
A. N. Johnson.....Mobile	S. S. H. Washington.....Montgomery

DISTRICTS.	
1—James T. Peterson.....Mobile	G. H. Wilkerson.....Mobile
G. B. Deans.....Mobile	A. N. McEwen.....Mobile
2—Chas. H. Scott.....Montgomery	W. S. Reese.....Montgomery
Nathan H. Alexander..Montgomery	A. J. Collier.....Brundidge
3—S. M. Murphy.....Eufaula	A. C. Walters.....Eufaula
M. W. Carden (Alt.).....Opelika	
4—W. F. Aldrich.....Aldrich	W. F. Tebbets.....Anniston
W. A. Cook.....Nottingham	F. O. Dudley.....Clanton
5—Joseph O. Thompson,	Joseph C. Manning,
John W. Jones.	W. V. Chambliss,
6—Daniel N. Cooper.....Birmingham	J. D. Fowler.....Bankston
Pope M. Long.....Cordova	C. C. Beverly.....Greensboro
7—H. G. Ashley.....Asheville	J. F. Sloan.....Cedarbluff
Geo. L. Malone.....Fort Payne	R. R. McClesky.....Boaz
8—H. V. Cashin.....Decatur	J. H. McWilliams.....Athens
Wm. T. Hutchens.....Huntsville	Seaborn E. York.....Athens
9—James W. Hughes, Sr.,	Joseph H. Montgomery.
J. W. Davidson,	N. L. Wilson.

ARKANSAS.	
<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
AT LARGE.	
H. L. Rimmel.....Little Rock	G. A. A. Deane.....Little Rock
Sid B. Redding.....Little Rock	E. J. Mason.....Portia
Charles N. Rlx.....Hot Springs	J. B. Page.....Hot Springs
M. W. Gibbs.....Little Rock	A. M. Middlebrooks.....Pine Bluff

DISTRICTS.	
1—T. O. Fitzpatrick.....Colt	Henry McPhersonParagould
Jacob ShaulMarianna	C. B. Brown.....Marianna
2—Chas. F. Cole.....Batesville	J. E. Ford.....Mammoth Springs
James W. Grubbs.....Newport	E. C. Kinney.....Judsonia
3—J. F. Henley.....Marshall	E. F. Paine.....Yellville
F. S. Baker.....Eureka Springs	A. M. Cole.....Winslow
4—E. A. Schlcker.....Texarkana	George LegateMena
Louis Friedman.....Fort Smith	J. A. Foster.....Harris
5—Oscar Davis.....Little Rock	W. A. Singfield.....Little Rock
John W. White.....Russellville	David G. Hill.....Little Rock
6—Charles T. Duke.....Monticello	R. C. Thompson.....Pine Bluff
Ferd HavisPine Bluff	Henry ThaneArkansas City
7—A. A. Tufts.....Camden	Jeff RussellHope
W. E. Yaeger.....Beirne	Morris HolmesCamden

CALIFORNIA.

<i>Delegates.</i>		AT LARGE.	<i>Alternates.</i>
George C. Pardee.....	Oakland	E. A. Forbes.....	Marysville
John D. Spreckels.....	San Francisco	Abraham Ruef.....	San Francisco
J. W. McKinley.....	Los Angeles	F. K. Rule.....	Los Angeles
George A. Knight.....	San Francisco	W. R. Porter.....	Watsonville
DISTRICTS.			
1—John C. Bull, Jr.....	Eureka	D. D. Dodson.....	Tehama
C. E. Clinch.....	Nevada City	F. P. Tuttle.....	Auburn
2—Joseph Steffens.....	Sacramento	C. C. Donovan.....	Santa Rosa
W. P. Hammon.....	Oroville	William Van Allen.....	Ukiah
3—George W. Reed.....	Oakland	T. Olmstead.....	Oakland
W. L. Crooks.....	Benicia	J. P. Stow.....	Walnut Creek
4—M. A. Gunst.....	San Francisco	D. D. Sullivan.....	San Francisco
A. D. Porter.....	San Francisco	H. G. W. Dinkelspiel.....	San Francisco
5—Mitchell Phillips.....	San Jose	C. B. Braslan.....	San Jose
R. H. Countryman.....	San Francisco	J. H. Soper.....	San Francisco
6—Frank H. Short.....	Fresno	J. H. Fox.....	Kings
J. G. Priestly.....	Lockford	A. W. Wyman.....	Santa Cruz
7—Oscar Lawlor.....	Los Angeles	Willis Booth.....	Los Angeles
J. H. Norton.....	Los Angeles	G. K. Woodword.....	Los Angeles
8—D. F. Hunt.....	Santa Barbara	D. W. Hasson.....	Buena Park
E. D. Roberts.....	San Bernardino	A. P. Johnson.....	Riverside

COLORADO.

<i>Delegates.</i>		AT LARGE.	<i>Alternates.</i>
E. O. Wolcott.....	Walhurst	Daniel M. Sullivan.....	Cripple Creek
James H. Peabody.....	Canon City	George L. Hodges.....	Denver
Archie M. Stevenson.....	Denver	Mrs. O. E. Le Fevre.....	Denver
Thomas F. Walsh.....	Ouray	Spencer Penrose.....	Colorado Springs
N. Walter Dixon.....	Pueblo	Mrs. C. A. Eldridge.....	Colorado Springs
Sylvester S. Downer.....	Boulder	William B. Gobin.....	Rocky Ford
DISTRICTS.			
1—John W. Springer.....	Denver	R. W. Wright, Jr.....	Denver
W. B. Minor.....	Fort Collins	E. L. Smith.....	Greeley
2—Charles F. Caswell.....	Grand Junction	James M. Downing.....	Aspen
Clyde C. Dawson.....	Canon City	Percy S. Ryder.....	Rico

CONNECTICUT.

<i>Delegates.</i>		AT LARGE.	<i>Alternates.</i>
Charles F. Brooker.....	Ansonia	Charles M. Jarvis.....	Berlin
John T. Robinson.....	Hartford	John W. Atwood.....	Plainfield
Francis T. Maxwell.....	Rockville	Charles A. Thompson.....	Melrose
Frederick De Peyster.....	Portland	William H. Lyons.....	Meriden
Frank B. Brandegee.....	New London	Fayette L. Wright.....	Pomfret
Michael Kenealy.....	Stamford	James A. Doughty.....	Torrington
DISTRICTS.			
1—Charles C. Bissell.....	Suffield	Adgar F. Burndam.....	Hartford
W. H. Hall.....	Willington	Fred O. Vinton.....	Mansfield
2—Charles S. Mellen.....	New Haven	William J. Leavensworth.....	Wallingford
George L. Cheney.....	Essex	B. E. Harwood.....	Chester
3—Edwin W. Higgins.....	Norwich	Angus Park.....	Hanover
Edwin Milner.....	Moosup	George A. Hammond.....	Putnam
4—George L. Rockwell.....	Ridgefield	Matthew H. Rogers.....	Bridgeport
Donald T. Warner.....	Salisbury	Charles M. Beach.....	New Milford

DELAWARE.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

J. Edward Addicks.
 J. Frank Allee.
 John Hunn.
 Caleb R. Layton.
 Francis S. Bradley.
 G. Layton Grier.

John E. Taylor.
 Geo. W. Marshall.
 Walter O. Hoffecker.
 Joseph H. Cahall.
 Abram E. Frantz.
 John G. Townsend.

FLORIDA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

James N. Coombs.....Apalachicola
 Joseph E. Lee.....Jacksonville
 Henry S. Chubb.....Winter Park
 Mark S. White.....Pensacola

William H. Lucas.....Jacksonville
 Edward Livingston.....Marianna
 William H. Northup.....Pensacola
 William A. Fleming.....St. Augustine

DISTRICTS.

1—George W. Allen.....Key West
 Henry W. Chandler.....Ocala
 2—W. G. Robinson.....Gainesville
 Thomas S. Harris.....Live Oak
 3—Charles F. Buffum.....Apalachicola
 W. H. Northup.....Pensacola

M. G. Gibbons.
 George R. McFarlane.....Tampa
 John W. Howell.....Fernandina
 J. C. Willie.....Green Cove Springs
 A. B. Osgood.....Madison
 P. A. Davidson.....Pensacola

GEORGIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

W. H. Johnson.....Atlanta
 J. W. Lyons.....Augusta
 H. S. Edwards.....Macon
 H. L. Johnson.....Atlanta

N. H. Swayne.....Cedartown
 A. Akerman.....Macon
 H. M. Porter.....Augusta
 B. J. Davis.....Dawson

DISTRICTS.

1—John H. Deveaux.....Savannah
 Henry Blun, Jr.....Savannah
 2—J. C. Styles.....Dawson
 C. G. Ward.....Hartsfield
 3—S. S. Humbert.....Montezuma
 F. P. Mitchell.....Americus
 4—J. S. Garrett.....Columbus
 Payton A. Allen.....Newnan
 5—E. F. Blodgett.....Atlanta
 H. A. Rucker.....Atlanta
 6—R. L. Williams.....Griffin
 P. S. Arnold.....Fayetteville
 7—Charles Adamson.....Cedartown
 A. Maxwell.....Marietta
 8—M. B. Morton.....Athens
 J. E. Porche.....Washington
 9—William H. C. Tate.....Dahlonega
 A. J. Spence.....Nelson
 10—A. W. Wimberly.....Augusta
 E. C. May.....Sandersville
 11—W. H. Mathews.....Brunswick
 S. S. Mincey.....Alley

S. Schwarzweiss.....Waynesboro
 W. H. Styles.....Thebes
 J. L. Reddick.....Shellman
 E. B. Brown.....Tifton
 G. W. Humphrey.....Perry
 S. H. Hulin.....Cordele
 A. A. Douglas.....Talbotton
 E. J. Hinton.....Woodbury
 W. E. Hyatt.....Douglasville
 Thomas Austin.....Jonesboro
 G. L. Braswell.....Clinton
 J. A. Smith.....Forsythe
 D. C. Cole.....Marietta
 J. F. Leigh.....Cedartown
 J. E. Tate.....Elberton
 George Cunningham.....Lexington
 J. R. Smith.....Winder
 William Wilson.....Blueridge
 E. D. Smythe.....Augusta
 C. A. Culpepper.....Warrenton
 W. C. Terrell.....Ocilla
 H. Brunner.....Fitzgerald

IDAHO.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Weldon B. Heyburn.....Wallace	A. A. Crane.....Harrison
Drew M. Standrod.....Pocatello	George C. Parkinson.....Preston
James M. Stevens.....Blackfoot	M. M. McPherson.....Salmon
W. E. Borah.....Boise	B. L. Steeves.....Weiser
C. J. Hall.....Grangeville	Mrs. J. B. West.....Lewiston
Frank R. Gooding.....Shoshone	William T. Riley.....Holley

ILLINOIS.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

S. M. Cullom.....Springfield	W. A. Northcott.....Greenville
Albert J. Hopkins.....Aurora	Asa C. Mathews.....Pittsfield
Joseph G. Cannon.....Danville	Paul Morton.....Chicago
Richard Yates.....Springfield	Samuel Insull.....Chicago

DISTRICTS.

1—Frank O. Lowden.....Chicago	Edward E. Wilson.....Chicago
Thos. J. Dixon.....Chicago	Frank X. Cloldt.....Chicago
2—Wm. A. Coleman.....Chicago	John Hales.....Chicago
D. A. Pierce.....Chicago	John S. Hair.....Chicago
3—William H. Webber....Blue Island	George C. Flanner....Chicago Heights
Edgar F. Olson.....Chicago	Alfred Anderson.....Chicago
4—Thomas J. Finucane.....Chicago	David E. Shanahan.....Chicago
M. G. Walsh.....Chicago	Peter J. Wendling.....Chicago
5—John C. Righlemer.....Chicago	A. W. Miller.....Chicago
John A. Cook.....Chicago	Jas. D. Banks.....Chicago
6—Fred M. Blount.....Chicago	William H. Baker.....Chicago
William Lorimer.....Chicago	W. H. Bennett.....Chicago
7—James Reddick.....Chicago	Henry J. Slevert.....Chicago
William E. Mason.....Chicago	Frederick Lundin.....Chicago
8—Isidore H. Himes.....Chicago	Albert W. Lange.....Chicago
Frederick Midgely.....Chicago	Adolph Herman.....Chicago
9—Graeme Stewart.....Chicago	Charles Catlin.....Chicago
John M. Smythe.....Chicago	John C. Updegrove.....Chicago
10—James Pease.....Chicago	Amos Pettibone.....Chicago
James A. Patten.....Evanston	William F. Lipps.....Chicago
11—Geo. W. Brown.....Wheaton	H. T. Rockwell.....St. Charles
C. H. Smith.....Aurora	W. E. Hall.....Harvard
12—Walter Reeves.....Streator	Frank N. Enrietto.
Isaac L. Ellwood.....De Kalb	Lars M. Noting.
13—	
14—Chas. H. Deere.....Moline	Wm. M. Graham.....Aledo
J. D. Diffenbaugh.....Monmouth	T. C. Allen.....Oquawka
15—Theodore Becker.....Geneseo	F. R. Jelliff.....Galesburg
L. A. Jarman.....Rushville	G. L. Miller.....Canton
16—	
17—Chas. E. Perkins.....Lincoln	Arthur J. Scrogin.....Lexington
Isaac Hammers.....El Paso	H. J. Clarke.....Pontiac
18—Chas. C. Hitch.....Paris	
Fenton W. Booth.....Marshall	

THIRTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

Delegates.

Alternates.

Franc Bacon.....Oregon	E. W. Montgomery.....Galena
A. G. Harris.....Dixon	W. W. Gillespie.....Savanna

SIXTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

Delegates.

Alternates.

C. A. Pervier.....Sheffield	J. B. Thornton.....Magnolia
E. I. Monser.....Wenona	Frank Liggett.....Bradford

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

19—Vespasian Warner	Clinton	Wiley DeWeese	Deland
Howland J. Hamlin.....	Shelbyville	W. J. Cochran.....	Sullivan
20—Marlon Stauffer	Barry	Andrew Russell	Jacksonville
E. E. Caldwell.....	Havana	Frank Rowden	Fielden
21—Theodore Koch	Carlinsville	John R. Challacombe.....	Hillsboro
H. N. Schuyler.....	Hanna	Chas. E. Selby.....	Springfield
22—Chas. W. Thomas.....	Belleville	W. W. Lewis.....	Greenville
H. F. Reuter.....	Nashville	Edward Schoening	Columbia
23—Charles L. Wade.....	Vandalia	George G. Gilbert.....	Mt. Vernon
Geo. L. Pittinger.....	Centralla	James B. Jack.....	Robinson
24—Thos. W. Scott.....	Fairfield	Ross Graham	Carmi
Asa Pixley	West Salem	W. C. Thompson.....	Golconda
25—C. O. Patler.....	Carlo	George A. Bell.....	Cobden
W. O. Potter.....	Marion	C. R. Davis.....	Pinckneyville

INDIANA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Chas. W. Fairbanks.....	Indianapolis	Eph. Marsh	Greenfield
Albert J. Beveridge.....	Indianapolis	Erastus P. McClure.....	Marion
Winfield T. Durbin.....	Anderson	Howard Maxwell	Rockville
James P. Goodrich.....	Winchester	J. L. C. McAdams.....	Red Key

DISTRICTS.

1—John H. Osborne.....	Evansville	W. B. Anderson.....	Velpen
Joseph Hudspeth	Boonville	George Walters	Poseyville
2—Joseph Voris	Bedford	Joseph H. Campbell.....	Bloomington
Harve E. Cushman.....	Linton	Milton S. Hastings.....	Washington
3—Samuel H. Wulfman.....	Huntingburg	John W. Martin.....	Scottsburg
Harry McCrain	Corydon	John A. Lingle.....	Peoli
4—Jacob M. Bauer.....	Lawrenceburg	Thomas Wood	Franklin
Otis W. Olcott.....	Patriot	Lewis Tracy	Whiteland
5—W. R. McKeen.....	Terre Haute	William Dorsey	Terre Haute
H. C. Robinson.....	Martinsville	Benjamin F. Davis.....	North Salem
6—John J. Wingate.....	Shelbyville	Benjamin F. Koons.....	New Castle
Francis T. Roots.....	Connersville	John C. Shirk.....	Brooksville
7—John B. Cockrum.....	Indianapolis	Marshall Pugh	Indianapolis
William Kothe	Indianapolis	James E. Twiname.....	Indianapolis
8—S. E. Clark.....	Elwood	R. K. Allison.....	Decatur
L. C. Davenport.....	Bluffton	Ora Williamson.....	Red Key
9—George T. Dinwiddie.....	Frankfort	Rankin C. Walkup.....	Crawfordsville
William H. Marker.....	Tipton	Chas. W. Pigman.....	Delphi
10—Finley C. Carson.....	Michigan City	Harry A. Strohm.....	Kentland
William C. Vanatta.....	Fowler	Fremont Goodwine	Williamsport
11—Carey E. Cowgill.....	Wabash	Edmund M. Wasmuth.....	Roanoke
Hood Loveland	Peru	B. G. Shinn.....	Hartford City
12—Isaac Strauss	Ligonier	E. C. Rurode.....	Fort Wayne
John W. Orndorf.....	Churubusco	Norman T. Jackman.....	Auburn
13—D. C. Knott.....	Plymouth	Chas. J. Danielson.....	Knox
Elmer W. Smith.....	Winamac	F. H. Wurzer.....	South Bend



HON. R. B. SCHNEIDER, of Nebraska,
Treasurer of the Executive Committee.

IOWA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

W. B. Allison.....Dubuque	D. H. Bowen.....Waukon
J. P. Dolliver.....Ft. Dodge	C. W. Crim.....Estherville
A. B. Cummins.....Des Moines	F. R. Crocker.....Chariton
J. W. Blythe.....Burlington	F. W. Simmons.....Ottumwa

DISTRICTS.

1—M. W. Bailey.....Washington	E. H. Skinner.....Keosauqua
C. A. Carpenter.....Columbus J'ction	C. W. Payne.....Mt. Pleasant
2—G. W. French.....Davenport	G. M. Titus.....Muscatine
George M. Curtis.....Clinton	M. A. Raney.....Marengo
3—E. S. Ellsworth.....Iowa Falls	Berton R. Sweet.....Waverly
O. M. Gillett.....Independence	I. L. Stuart.....Hampton
4—A. H. Gale.....Mason City	William Smythe.....Rockford
Harry Green.....Decorah	J. A. Kepler.....North Wood
5—J. W. Doxsee.....Monticello	S. S. Sweet.....Belle Plaine
E. E. Clark.....Cedar Rapids	E. G. Penrose.....Tama
6—H. L. Waterman.....Ottumwa	John T. Brooks.....Hedrick
John A. De Muth.....Melrose	Ham W. Robinson.....Colfax
7—John H. Henderson.....Indianola	J. H. Wintrobe.....Winterset
John I. Hostetter.....Colo	T. J. Caldwell.....Adel
8—W. M. Peatman.....Centerville	C. T. Hardinger.....Osceola
H. F. Jaqua.....Bedford	J. D. Brown.....Leon
9—George S. Wright.....Council Bluffs	M. McDonald.....Guthrie Center
W. S. Ellis.....Red Oak	L. F. Potter.....Harlan
10—M. Head.....Jefferson	A. J. Cole.....Britt
E. K. Winne.....Humboldt	S. L. Moore.....Boone
11—R. L. Cleaves.....Cherokee	R. Lipton.....Ida Grove
A. Van der Melde.....Orange City	J. W. Crum.....Sheldon

KANSAS.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

M. A. Low.....Topeka	Albert Sarbach.....Holton
Joseph H. Richards.....Ft. Scott	Richard W. Blue.....Columbus
W. S. Fitzpatrick.....Sedan	B. J. Britton.....Piedmont
Hiram B. Miller.....Osage City	Harry E. Richter.....Council Grove
William H. Mitchell.....Beloit	William Mackey, Jr.....Junction City
Fred D. Smith.....Kinsley	Carr W. Taylor.....Hutchinson

DISTRICTS.

1—W. T. F. Donald.....Atchison	W. E. McCandless.....Horton
J. W. Fleming.....Soldier	D. A. Hook.....Leavenworth
2—Samuel J. Stewart.....Humbolt	John Francis.
Frank R. Ogg.....Olathe	Joe Eddy.
3—George D. Boon.....Chetopa	William H. Kramer.....Neodesha
Thomas Scurr, Jr.....Coffeyville	W. A. Elstun.....Moline
4—J. W. Johnson.....Hamilton	J. B. Carlisle.
William Martindale.....Emporia	H. J. Floersch.
5—S. H. Hamilton.....Clifton	Gomer Davies.....Concordia
B. Rockwell.....Junction City	L. B. McChesney.....Clay Center
6—Charles E. Hall.....Russell	G. W. Cross.....Ellis
Elmer E. Ames.....Norton	N. A. Turner.....Colby
7—W. J. Fitzgerald.....Dodge City	A. C. Jordan.....Lyons
O. Z. Smith.....Wichita	Thomas Jackson.....Newton

KENTUCKY.

*Delegates,**Alternates,*

AT LARGE.

William O. Bradley.....	Louisville	John P. Haswell, Jr.....	Hardinsburg
George W. Long.....	Letchfield	Henry L. Howard.....	Harlan
Richard P. Ernst.....	Covington	James M. DeWeese.....	Hartford
Edward E. Underwood.....	Frankfort	W. H. Parker.....	Beattyville

DISTRICTS.

1—Phillip H. Darby.....	Princeton	R. R. Morgan.....	Princeton
J. C. Spelght.....	Mayfield	D. L. Redden.....	Murray
2—James Breathitt.....	Hopkinsville	J. M. Peters.....	Owensboro
Elijah G. Sebree.....	Henderson	Wilbur Cromwell.....	Morganfield
3—T. J. Sparks.....	Central City	Earl Huntsman.....	Scottsville
Walter Wilkins.....	Elkton	J. T. Doores.....	Bowling Green
4—John W. Lewis.....	Springfield	John W. Downard.....	West Point
H. F. Troutman.....	Shepardsville	W. T. Hawkins.....	Lebanon
5—Augustus E. Wilson.....	Louisville	B. Bernhelm.....	Louisville
Henry L. Stone.....	Louisville	J. Wheeler McGee.....	Louisville
6—William H. Dyer.....	Newport	M. C. Ridgeway.....	Falmouth
Henry Scheurman.....	Carrollton	R. H. Lucky.....	Williamstown
7—Leslie Combs.....	Lexington	Thomas J. Hardin.....	Monterey
W. L. Cannon.....	Midway	Miles J. Williams.....	Eminence
8—Brutus J. Clay.....	Richmond	G. M. Ballard.....	Mt. Vernon
George W. Welsh.....	Danville	Frank P. James.....	Harrodsburg
9—Charles F. Weaver.....	Ashland	John D. Littlejohn.....	Grayson
W. G. Dearing.....	Flemingsburg	H. C. Metcalfe.....	Brooksville
10—H. Green Garrett.....	Winchester	John H. Hardwick.....	Stanton
John M. Bowling.....	Pikesville	James P. Adams.....	Slayersville
11—James Denton.....	Somerset	R. W. Cole.....	Barbourville
J. G. Forrester.....	Harlan	W. T. Davis.....	Pineville

LOUISIANA.

*Delegates,**Alternates,*

AT LARGE.

ONE-HALF VOTE EACH.

Walter L. Cohen.	James E. Porter.
Emile Kuntz.	P. H. Segura.
Girrault Farrar.	D. A. Lines.
H. B. N. Brown.	John Marks.
Pearl Wight.	J. W. Porch.
H. C. Warmouth.	S. A. Knapp.
W. J. Behan.	Andrew Hero.
L. F. Suthon.	Gus Lehmann.

DISTRICTS.

ONE-HALF VOTE EACH.

1—Joseph Fabacher.	C. W. Boothby.
J. Madison Vance.	I. G. Wynn.
Hugh S. Suthon.	A. B. Kennedy.
Felix Berhel.	F. R. Tenneret.
2—H. W. Robinson.	A. C. Fowler.
M. G. Bobe.	E. F. R. Augustus.
Charles W. Godchaux.	E. J. Thilborger.
W. J. Waguespack.	W. P. Luck.
3—J. M. Haggerty.	Mayer Cahen.
A. J. Jones.	John Tregle.
F. B. Williams.	Jules Dreyfus.
Jules Godchaux.	Honore Dugas.

LOUISIANA—Continued.

Delegates. DISTRICTS. *Alternates.*

ONE-HALF VOTE EACH.

4—A. H. Leonard.	J. W. Walker.
S. P. Brown.	J. B. Green.
B. F. Oneal.	S. Herold.
C. J. Green.	W. J. Tatum.
5—J. W. Cook.	George W. Stewart.
S. W. Green.	John W. Robinson.
W. T. Insley.	Henry E. Hardtner.
H. B. Tallafarro.	Leopold Elgutter.
6—L. J. Souer.	George J. Duffy.
B. V. Baranco.	John Brown.
H. W. Robinson.	George J. Relley.
F. J. Webb.	J. B. Churchlll.
7—C. C. Duson.	J. S. Thomas.
J. A. Spencer.	Henry Erlich.
G. L. Lasalle.	Joseph A. Block.
W. R. Wright.	H. Dupuy.

MAINE.

Delegates. AT LARGE. *Alternates.*

F. E. Boothby.....	Portland	Wm. Dobson	Pittsfield
Edwin Riley	Livermore	E. J. Mayo.....	Foxcroft
John F. Hill.....	Augusta	Henry H. Chamberlain.....	Bristol
F. M. Simpson.....	Bangor	Richard Webb	Portland

DISTRICTS.

1—Ernest M. Goodall.....	Sanford	Henry P. Cox.....	Portland
Woodbury K. Dana.....	Westbrook	James O. Bradbury.....	Saco
2—Sanford L. Fogg.....	Bath	A. G. Staples.....	Auburn
Harry B. Austin.....	Phillips	A. H. Shaw.....	Bath
3—A. G. Blunt.....	Skowhegan	Byron Boyd	Augusta
Elmer P. Spofford.....	Deer Isle	Wm. H. Davis.....	Bar Harbor
4—V. L. Coffin.....	Harrington	N. M. Jones.....	Bangor
Albert A. Burleigh.....	Houlton	H. W. Blanchard.....	Eastport

MARYLAND.

Delegates. AT LARGE. *Alternates.*

L. E. McComas.....	Hagerstown	Gist Blair	Silver Spring
Stevenson A. Willlams.....	Bel Air	William B. Baker.....	Aberdeen
William H. Jackson.....	Salisbury	James H. Baker.....	Pamona
Fellx Angus	Baltimore	Martin M. Mulhall.....	Baltimore

DISTRICTS.

1—Henry M. McCullough.....	Elkton	William J. Vannort.	
Phillips L. Goldsborough.	Cambridge	William A. Day.	
2—Jas. E. Ingraham, Jr.....	Pikesville	Thomas V. Richardson.....	Phoenix
Chas. C. Gorsuch.....	Westminster	E. E. Reindollar.....	Westminster
3—D. W. Jones.		Caleb F. Bond.	
William S. Booze.		John Kronmiller.	
4—William H. Green.		William T. Conn.	
Harry S. Cummings.		Alexander Williams.	
5—Albert A. Blakeney.....	Savage	Richard N. Ryan.....	Upper Marlboro
Thos. Parran	Annapolis	C. B. Henken.....	Annapolis
6—Thos. C. Noyes.....	Tacoma Park	W. M. Nihlser.	
Reno S. Harp.....	Frederick	John R. Rouzer.	

MASSACHUSETTS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

H. C. Lodge.....Nahant	Grafton D. Cushing.....Boston
W. Murray Crane.....Dalton	Arthur B. Daniels.....Adams
John D. Long.....Hingham	Frank B. Stevens.....Newton
Everett C. Benton.....Boston	Walter B. Hopkinson....Newberryport

DISTRICTS.

1—James W. Toole.....Holyoke	John H. C. Church..Great Barrington
William A. Gallup.....North Adams	Clifton L. Field.....Greenfield
2—A. H. Goetting.....Springfield	Wilson H. Fairbank.....Warren
Henry P. Field.....Northampton	John W. Wheeler.....Orange
3—Charles G. Washburn....Worcester	John P. Munroe.....Worcester
Samuel E. Hull.....Millbury	Joseph G. E. Page.....Southbridge
4—L. Dewart Apsley.....Hudson	Ellsha M. Whitney.....Winchendon
George R. Wallace.....Fitchburg	Wellington E. Parkhurst.....Clinton
5—Frank E. Dunbar.....Lowell	Charles H. Nowell.....Reading
Geo. E. Kunhardt..North Andover	Walter E. Parker.....Lawrence
6—John L. Hobson.....Haverhill	Walter H. Trumbull.....Salem
James F. Shaw.....Manchester	James E. Tolman.....Gloucester
7—William Shepherd.....Lynn	Frank A. Bayrd.....Malden
Edward C. Mead.....Everett	Joseph T. Wilson.....Nahant
8—Hans L. Carstein.....Cambridge	Jacob Bitzer.....Arlington
William B. Lawrence.....Medford	Fred. L. Ripley.....Winchester
9—John Marno.....Boston	John R. Neal.....Winthrop
A. G. Ratskesky.....Boston	Edward B. Newton.....Winthrop
10—Robert G. Proctor.....Quincy	William L. Terhune.....Boston
Harrison H. Atwood.....Boston	Frederick W. Bliss.....Boston
11—William W. Davis.....Boston	Jacob H. Mock.....Boston
James N. Thompson.....Boston	George W. Phipps.....Boston
12—William M. Flanders.....Newton	Cornellus R. Day.....Blackstone
Leslie C. Wead.....Brookline	Albert Totten.....North Attleboro
13—David L. Parker.....New Bedford	William A. Andrew.....Marion
Robert T. Davis.....Fall River	Herbert A. Dean.....Berkeley
14—David G. Pratt.....Middleborough	John S. Kent.....Brockton
Sidney O. Bigney.....Attleboro	Robert A. Hammond.....Sandwich

MICHIGAN.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Dexter M. Ferry.....Detroit	James O. Murfin.....Detroit
Thomas J. O'Brien.....Grand Rapids	E. T. Rowley.....Bay City
Ralph Loveland.....Saginaw	D. B. K. Van Raalte.....Holland
Thomas Walters.....Ishpeming	Whitney Watkins.....Jackson

DISTRICTS.

1—Allen H. Frazer.....Detroit	Charles F. Bielman.
E. W. Haas.....Detroit	Paul F. Bagley.
2—Charles Lewis.....Jackson	R. L. Warren.
George D. Jones.....Wyandotte	E. C. Dienzer.
3—L. M. Wing.....Coldwater	S. S. French.....Battle Creek
F. A. Roethlisberger.....Hillsdale	Otto Ihling.....Kalamazoo
4—Charles E. Sweet.....Dowagiac	R. T. French.
A. O. Duncombe.....Paw Paw	Charles Davidson.

MICHIGAN—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

5—William Judson.....Grand Rapids	F. P. Hicks	Lowell
H. F. Harbeck.....Grand Haven	Brenton F. Hall.....	Belding
6—F. P. Sayre.....Flushing	O. C. Trask.....	Williamston
W. C. Huntington.....Howell	Alfred Rice	Dearborn
7—William B. Williams.....Lapeer	William Dawson	Sanilac
Dwight N. Lowell.....Macomb	John Maywood	Huron
8—Coleman C. Vaughn.....St. Johns	Charles T. Reynick.	
Alonzo B. Markham.....Caro	George T. Campbell.	
9—Thomas Monroe.....Muskegon	Gardner T. Sands.....	Pentwater
Calvin A. Palmer.....Manistee	Frank P. Dunwell.....	Ludington
10—Lemeul G. Defoe.....Alpena	A. L. Deuel.....	Harbor Springs
William Reardon.....Midland	Benjamin Bennett	West Branch
11—Theodore Schmidt	Reed City	David Holmes.....
Andrew B. Dougherty..Elk Rapids	J. H. Gibbs.....	Edmore
12—John H. MacLean.....Ironwood	William J. Galbraith.....	Calumet
John W. Wells.....Menominee	Thomas B. White.....	Escanaba

MINNESOTA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Knute Nelson	Alexandria	E. J. Herringer.....	Ada
Moses E. Clapp.....	St. Paul	Frank T. White.....	Elk River
S. R. Van Sant.....	St. Paul	A. R. McGill.....	St. Paul
Thomas Lowry.....	Minneapolis	T. W. Hugo.....	Duluth

DISTRICTS.

1—E. B. Collester.....	Waseca	A. S. Campbell.....	Austin
John M. Rowley.....	Rochester	S. A. Langum.....	Preston
2—Gustav F. Widell.....	Mankato	E. T. Smith.....	Lakefield
H. C. Grass.....	Slayton	F. L. Humlston.....	Worthington
3—W. W. Silvrigh.....	Hutchinson	G. A. McKensie.....	Gaylord
J. A. Gates.....	Kenyon	Wm. Hodgson	Hastings
4—F. B. Kellogg.....	St. Paul	P. H. Stoiberg.....	Paris
E. G. Rogers.....	St. Paul	Frank J. Lake.....	Stillwater
5—W. W. Heffelfinger....	Minneapolis	Stewart Gamble.....	Minneapolis
C. A. Smith.....	Minneapolis	T. E. Burns.....	Minneapolis
6—Frank C. Rtee.....	Park Rapids	S. L. Frazier.....	Verndale
C. H. Marsh.....	Litchfield	George Hanscom.....	Foley
7—V. B. Seaward.....	Marshall	H. Thorson.....	Elbow Lake
L. O. Thorpe.....	Willmer	C. H. Colyer	Wheaton
8—Joseph B. Cotton.....	Duluth	J. E. Lynds	Cloquet
Charles P. DeLaittre.....	Aitkin	W. R. Gillis.....	Anoka
9—A. D. Stephens.....	Crookston	N. M. Watson.....	Red Lake Falls
Amos Marckel.....	Perham	Geo. E. Perley.....	Moorehead

MISSISSIPPI.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

L. B. Moseley.....	Jackson	E. P. Jones.....	Vicksburg
F. W. Collins.....	Summit	B. F. Lacey.....	Shilo
Wesley Crayton.....	Vicksburg	W. F. Elgin.....	Corinth
G. C. Granberry.....	Raymond	J. C. Hill.....	Meridian

MISSISSIPPI—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

1—J. T. Wood.....Columbus	F. H. Powers.....Starkville
M. A. Blanchard.....Muldrow	D. W. Sherrod.....Macon
2—S. M. Howry.....Oxford	J. O. Askew.....Sardis
E. H. McKissick.....Holly Springs	J. W. Avant.....Oxford
3—R. A. Simmons.	L. T. Marcus.
Charles Banks.	R. L. Flagg.
Lewis Waldauer.	N. L. Lackey.
D. W. Gary.	G. A. Lee.
4—J. W. Bell.....Pontotoc	W. H. Jernagin.....Jackson
C. A. Buchanan.....West Point	Dudley Johnson.....Carrollton
5—W. J. Price.....Meridian	J. W. Smith.....Meridian
J. W. Holmes.....Meridian	T. J. Wilson.....Meridian
6—W. A. Collins.....Hattiesburg	J. C. Tyler.....Biloxi
L. J. Piernas.....Bay St. Louis	E. D. Howell.....Hattiesburg
7—W. O. Ligon.....Gloster	J. M. Tyler.....Bogue Chitto
Thomas Richardson...Port Gibson	James S. McCusker.....Macomb
8—W. E. Mollison.....Vicksburg	E. W. Jones.....Jackson
J. B. Yellowly.....Ridgeland	E. W. Barnes.....Canton

One-half vote each.

One-half vote each.

MISSOURI.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

L. F. Parker.....St. Louis	J. C. Moore.....Arbella
Robert C. Day.....St. Louis	Walter F. Farmer.....St. Louis
W. C. Pierce.....Marysville	A. L. Thomas.....California
C. W. Clarke.....Kansas City	Nelson Crews.....Kansas City

DISTRICTS.

1—Lee T. Roblson.....Unionville	John S. Newlan.....Lewistown
Ed. S. Brown.....Edina	J. S. Baker.....Lancaster
2—Ed. F. Daly.....Chillicothe	G. D. Viles.....Norborne
Forrest G. Ferris.....Moberly	W. E. Flanders.....Paris
3—Boyd Dudley.....Gallatin	J. L. Tilton.....Grant City
B. P. Selgler.....Bethany	Fred W. Coon.....Princeton
4—E. M. Birkes.....St. Joseph	George R. Jones.....Phelps City
Ed. F. Smith.....Savannah	W. T. Clements.
5—Joseph H. Harris.....Kansas City	Joseph Fontron.....Kansas City
Wallace Love.....Kansas City	W. H. Waggoner.....Independence
6—J. R. Hales.....Rich Hill	Charles Boisseau.....Greenfield
O. L. Houts.....Warrensburg	C. W. Hight.....Harrisonville
7—D. A. Murphy.....Humansville	C. S. Blackmar.....New Franklin
S. P. Houston.....Malta Bend	W. H. Carter.....Sedalia
8—Sid C. Roach.	Walter Harris.
Alfred G. Baker.	George G. Sullivan.
9—Taylor Frier.....Louisiana	Theodore Heege.....Clayton
A. Kramolowski.....Union	Fred H. Smith.....St. Louis
10—Louis P. Aloe.....St. Louis	Hy. Pins, Jr.....St. Louis
Fred Essen.....Clayton	E. W. Moeller.....St. Louis
11—Charles H. Witthoefft...St. Louis	W. H. Ludwig.
Thomas K. Neidgringhaus.St. Louis	Clarence T. Case.
12—George C. R. Wagoner.	
A. L. Shapleigh.	

MISSOURI—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

13—V. V. Ing.....Greenville	Leo Yount	Frederickstown
John H. Reppey.....Hillsboro	R. W. Gay.....	Ironton
14—H. A. Smith.....West Plains	C. G. Shepard.....	Caruthersville
H. D. Williams.....Poplar Bluff	G. W. Peck.....	Malden
15—W. J. Sewall.....Carthage	G. W. Smith.....	South West City
J. W. Coleman.....Marionville	C. W. Curtis.....	Neosho
16—Ben F. Russell.....Steeleville	William H. Lynch.....	Salem
James T. Moore.....Lebanon	Charles H. Covert.....	Houston

MONTANA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Joseph M. Dixon.....Missoula	Nelson Story, Jr.
Lee Mantle.	W. F. Meyer.
James W. Freeman.	Charles M. Pray.
Thomas H. Carter.	W. J. Brennen.
Conrad Kohrs.	W. P. Baker.
J. E. Edwards.	B. E. Calkins.

NEBRASKA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

John F. Piper.....Lyons	Shelby Hastings.
Harry C. Brome.....Omaha	I. M. Raymond.
E. F. Lefang.....Lexington	C. E. Adams.
C. B. Dempster.....Beatrice	E. K. Valentine.

DISTRICTS.

1—Frank Helvey	Nebraska	Jesse L. Root.
W. J. Crandall.....	Firth	Chas. H. Halstedt.
2—G. W. Wattles.....	Omaha	S. K. Spaulding.
Herman Aye	Blair	E. A. Benson.
3—Frank Williams	Albion	Homer Hansen
Frank Nelson.....	Nebraska	Willam P. Warner.....
4—F. I. Foss.....	Crete	Dakota City
Harry M. Childs.....	York	William Cook.
5—Alexander Campbell.....	McCook	O. P. Baker.
Adam Breede.....	Hastings	R. L. Keester
6—W. P. Miles.....	Sidney	Alma
E. C. Harris.....	Chadron	N. C. Rogers.....
		Minden
		Harvel J. Ellis.....
		Alliance
		Thomas Wright
		Ansley

NEVADA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

P. L. Flannigan.	L. J. Cohn.....	Reno
E. S. Farington.	O. J. Smith.....	Reno
S. L. Lee.	H. A. Springmeyer.....	Gardnerville
Barney Reymers.	M. L. Roeder.....	Hawthorn
F. R. McNamee.	H. B. Maxson.....	Reno
R. S. Meacham.	H. Burrell	Elko

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Jacob H. Gallinger.....Concord	James M. Lavin.....Berlin
Henry E. Burnham.....Manchester	Eugene QuirinManchester
Sumner WallaceRochester	Lycurgus PitmanConway
Daniel C. Remich.....Littleton	Seth M. Richards.....Newport

DISTRICTS.

1—Edwin C. Bean.....Belmont	William R. Clough.....Alton
Rosecrans W. Pillsbury.....Derry	Thomas H. Dearborn.....Dover
2—Bertram Ellis.....Keene	Lester F. Thurber.....Nashua
Winston ChurchillCornish	Charles H. Long.....Claremont

NEW JERSEY.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Franklin MurphyNewark	Samuel D. Dickinson.....Hoboken
John KeanElizabeth	Wood McKeePaterson
John F. Dryden.....Newark	C. E. Breckenridge.....Maywood
David BairdCamden	Griffith W. Lewis.

DISTRICTS.

1—J. A. Van Sant.....Camden	Frank B. Ridgeway.....Woodbury
William Plummer, Jr.	Wm. H. Chew.....Salem
2—John J. Gardner.....Egg Harbor	L. N. Cresse.....Ocean City
Bloomfield H. Minch.....Millville	Howard BurrPemberton
3—Andrew Church,	S. S. Taylor.....Lakewood
Edmund Wilson.....Red Bank	B. S. Crosby.....Tuckerton
4—James B. Duke,	John A. Shields.....Flemington
C. Edward Murray,	Harry A. Garfield.....Princeton
5—James H. McGraw.....Madison	Alex. GilbertPlainfield
A. Blair Kelsey.	Frank H. Davis.....Elizabeth
6—William M. Johnson...Hackensack	Peter QuackenbushPaterson
William BarbourPaterson	Jas. P. T. Tonking..Franklin Furnace
7—Henry M. Doremus.....Newark	Benj. GrahamMontclair
Thomas D. Webb.....Orange	John B. WoodNewark
8—Leslie D. Ward.....Newark	H. C. H. Herold.....Newark
Ira D. Kipp.....South Orange	Chas. StarrEast Orange
9—W. G. Nelson.....Jersey City	T. M. Tenbroeck.....Bayonne
William J. Davis.....Harrison	Fred'k Dieffenbach.....Jersey City
10—Aaron F. Baldwin.....Hoboken	Herman WalkerGuttenburg
Mark Fagan.....Jersey City	Phillip J. Dandt.....Jersey City

NEW YORK.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Thomas C. Platt.....Owego	Jacob S. Fassett.....Elmira
Chauncey M. Depew....New York City	Louis Stern.....New York City
Benjamin B. Odell, Jr....Newburgh	Erastus C. Knight.....Buffalo
Frank S. Black.....Troy	Henry C. Brewster.....Rochester

DISTRICTS.

1—John J. Bartlett.....Greenport	George M. Vail.....Riverhead
Fred P. Morris.....Flushing	Henry WillettsJamaica
2—Philip T. Williams.....Brooklyn	Wm. E. F. Behrens.....Brooklyn
George A. Owens.....Brooklyn	George H. Nason.....Brooklyn



HON. HARRY S. NEW, of Indiana,
Member of the Executive Committee.

NEW YORK—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

3—Alfred T. Hobley.....Brooklyn	Wm. H. Caldwell.....Brooklyn
John Wirth.....Brooklyn	Isaac Meserlitz.....Brooklyn
4—John K. Neal.....Brooklyn	George Wolf.....Brooklyn
Wm. C. Rosenkranz.....Brooklyn	Jacob D. Remsen.....Brooklyn
5—Robert A. Sharkey.....Brooklyn	Richard M. Bennett.....Brooklyn
Fred'k J. H. Kracke....Brooklyn	John J. Barrett.....Brooklyn
6—Timothy L. Woodruff...Brooklyn	Alexander Robb.....Brooklyn
William Berri.....Brooklyn	John F. Geis.....Brooklyn
7—Michael J. Dady.....Brooklyn	D. H. Ralston.....Brooklyn
Jacob Brenner.....Brooklyn	Wm. J. Beattie.....Brooklyn
8—James G. Timolat..New York City	Michael Hines.....New York City
William Halpin...New York City	Louis J. Hoenninger...New York City
9—Charles H. Murray.New York City	Otto A. Rosalsky.....New York City
Edward Lauterbach New York City	Jacob A. Newstead....New York City
10—Thos. Rothmann, Sr.New York City	Fred L. Marshall.....New York City
Thos. L. Hamilton New York City	Max Hahn.....New York City
11—John P. Windolph..New York City	Joseph T. Hackett....New York City
Charles B. Page....New York City	George W. Wannmaker..New York City
12—C. N. Bliss.....New York City	Jacob Kahn.....New York City
F. Norton Goddard.New York City	Harry E. Bedell.....New York City
13—Elihu Root.....New York City	George B. Agnew.....New York City
Nicholas Murray Butler.N. Y. City	James Stewart.....New York City
14—Ambrose O. Neal..New York City	Jastrow Alexander....New York City
John W. Bennett.Long Island City	William H. Williams, Jr....N. Y. City
15—Lemuel E. Quigg...New York City	John Reisenweber.....New York City
Alexander T. Mason...N. Y. City	William J. Rogers, Jr..New York City
16—Nathaniel A. Elsberg..N. Y. City	Isaac Newman.....New York City
William N. Cohen..New York City	Seabury C. Mastick....New York City
17—Julius M. Mayer...New York City	James Y. Watkins.....New York City
William M. K. Olcott....N. Y. City	Ernest F. Eilert.....New York City
18—William H. Ten Eyck..N. Y. City	Thomas W. Whittle....New York City
Edward H. Healy..New York City	George T. Adee.....New York City
19—Wm. L. Ward.....Port Chester	John E. Andrus.....Yonkers
Wm. Archer.....Mt. Vernon	John J. Brown.....White Plains
20—John P. Roosa.....Monticello	John D. Wilson.....Newburgh
Edward H. Harriman.....Arden	Arthur S. Tompkins.....Nyack
21—Louis F. Payn.....Chatham	George M. Hine.....Poughkeepsie
John R. Yale.....Brewster	Samuel K. Phillips.....Matteawan
22—C. V. Collins.....Troy	Alba M. Ide.....Troy
James S. Parker.....Salem	John B. Davis.....Granville
23—Wm. Barnes, Jr.....Albany	Henry M. Sage.....Albany
John N. Parker.....Schenectady	Thomas W. Winne.....Niskayuna
24—George I. Wilber.....Oneonta	E. Reed Ford.....Oneonta
G. D. B. Hasbrouck....Kingston	Martin Cauline.....Kingston
25—E. T. Brackett...Saratoga Springs	Jacob Snell.....Fonda
L. N. Littauer.....Gloversville	L. W. Emerson.....Warrensburg
26—George R. Malby.....Ogdensburg	Royal Newton.....Parishville
H. Wallace Knapp.....Mooers	Ben. L. Orcutt.....Dickinson
27—Wm. E. Lewis.....Utica	Van R. Weaver.....Utica
J. J. Gilbert.....Little Falls	Chas. J. Palmer.....Little Falls
28—Patrick W. Cullinan.....Oswego	James A. Outterson.....Carthage
Elon R. Brown.....Watertown	John S. Koster.....Port Leyden

NEW YORK—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

29—Francis Hendricks	Syracuse	O. W. Burhyte	Brookfield
Henry B. Coman.....	Morrisville	Howard Newton	Norwich
30—John W. Dwight.....	Dryden	Wm. A. Smyth.....	Owego
George W. Dunn.....	Binghamton	Jean L. Burnett.....	Canandaigua
31—S. E. Payne.....	Auburn	Morris F. Sheppard.....	Penn Yan
John Raines.....	Canandaigua	James L. Hotchkiss.....	Rochester
32—George W. Aldridge.....	Rochester	Selden S. Brown.....	Rochester
James Breck Perkins....	Rochester	Wm. H. Pranger.....	Hornellsville
33—J. Sloat Fassett.....	Elmira	Wm. H. Nichols.....	Bath
Arthur E. Valois.....	Valois	Francis T. Miller.	
34—James W. Wadsworth....	Genesee	Stanislaus P. Franchot.	
Fred C. Stevens.		Charles F. Susdorf.....	Buffalo
35—John Grimms, Jr.....	Buffalo	Nicholas J. Mock.....	Buffalo
Charles Mosler.....	Buffalo	John G. Wallenmeler....	Tonawanda
36—William C. Warren.....	Buffalo	Horace F. Hunt.....	Hamburg
Clark H. Timerman.....	Buffalo	Julius Lincoln	Jamestown
37—S. Fred Nixon.....	Westfield	Frank Utter	Friendship
N. V. V. Franchot.....	Olean		

NORTH CAROLINA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Thomas S. Rollins.....	Asheville	Mark W. Brown.....	Asheville
E. Spencer Blackburn.....	Raleigh	Robert H. McNeill.....	Jefferson
B. F. Mebane.....	Shray	Claudius Dockery.....	Raleigh
E. C. Duncan.....	Raleigh	Louis N. Grant.....	Goldsboro

DISTRICTS.

1—Harry Skinner	Greenville	I. Q. A. Wood.....	Elizabeth City
1 M. Meekins.....	Elizabeth City	T. G. Stillely.....	Washington
2—H. P. Cheatham.		S. G. Newsome.	
S. H. Vick.....	Wilson	M. F. Thornton.	
3—W. S. O'B. Robinson....	Goldsboro	C. B. Hill.....	Newbern
George E. Butler.....	Clinton	Charles C. Vann.	
4—Thomas T. Hicks.....	Henderson	J. A. Giles.....	Pittsboro
C. T. Bailey.....	Raleigh	J. J. Reynolds.	
5—W. T. O'Brien.....	Durham	R. J. Petree.	
R. D. Douglas.....	Breensboro	C. D. Turner.....	Hillsboro
6—A. H. Slocomb.....	Fayetteville	Fred Rice	Wilmington
W. M. King.		J. B. Holland	Dunn
7—D. M. Kimbrough.....	Mocksville	A. M. Clarke.....	Southern Pines
John P. Cameron....	Rockingham	W. S. Bouges.	
8—Clint Wagoner.....	Slatesville	Geo. L. Patterson.....	Concord
C. H. Cowles.....	Wilkesboro	W. S. Miller.....	Jefferson
9—J. Y. Hamrick.....	Shelby	T. F. Roland.....	Burnsville
C. B. Mashburn... ..	Marshall	J. J. George.....	Cherryville
10—V. S. Lusk.....	Asheville	James J. Britt.....	Asheville
Thomas Settle	Asheville	James A. Logan.....	Asheville

NORTH DAKOTA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

H. C. Hansbrough.....Devils' Lake	J. S. Metcalf.....Lakota
P. J. McCumber.....Wahpeton	C. F. Wagner.....Rolla
Alexander McKenzie.....Bismarck	Alvin Schmidt.....Hillsboro
H. M. Wheeler.....Grand Forks	Andrew Sandager.....Lisbon
L. B. Hanna.....Fargo	A. H. Gray.....Valley City
H. Peoples.....New Rockford	S. M. Ferris.....Medora
B. Prom.....Milton	J. F. Mager.....Pembina
V. B. Noble.....Bottineau	P. P. Lee.....Minot

OHIO.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Myron T. Herrick.....Cleveland	Chas. H. Grosvenor.....Athens
George B. Cox.....Cincinnati	Warren G. Harding.....Marion
Charles Dick.....Akron	John B. Cllngerman.....Springfield
Joseph B. Foraker.....Cincinnati	H. T. Eubanks.....Cleveland

DISTRICTS.

1—August Herrman.....Cincinnati	R. K. Hynicka.....Cincinnati
Julius Fleischmann.....Cincinnati	Louis Kruckemeyer.....Cincinnati
2—Louis Schwab.....Cincinnati	Peter W. Durr.....Cincinnati
Henry W. Hamman.....Cincinnati	Christian Bardes.....Cincinnati
3—J. E. Lowes.....Dayton	W. B. Marsh.
Isaac Hale.....Middletown	James L. Saylor.
4—E. O. Harrison.....Greenville	David Oldham.....Sidney
W. L. Russell.....Lima	Jullus Boesel.....New Bremen
5—William Kirtley, Jr.....Defiance	J. D. Hill.....Montpellier
N. E. Mathews.....Ottawa	W. C. Lawrence.....Van Wert
6—Geo. W. McMurchy.....New Richmond	H. M. Brown.....Hillsboro
Frank M. Couden.....Morrow	Walter Ramley.....Mt. Orab
7—H. M. Daugherty.....Washington C. H.	M. L. Williams.....Springfield
Chas. H. May.....Circleville	J. W. Means.....Troy
8—W. R. Warnock.....Urbana	Howard D. Manington.....Urbana
Arthur H. Jones.....Delaware	H. W. Jewell.....Delaware
9—George P. Waldorf.....Toledo	Chas. L. Allen.....Fayette
M. L. Case.....Bowling Green	Ellsworth Dolph.
10—S. L. Patterson.....Waverly	Ira A. Sternberger.....Jackson
H. A. Marting.....Ironton	C. W. Henkin.....Gallipolis
11—A. I. Vorys.....Lancaster	Edward D. Ricketts.....Laurelville
J. P. Bradbury.....Pomeroy	John Ozler.....McArthur
12—E. O. Randall.....Columbus	Frank R. Shinn.....Columbus
Chas. B. Burr.....Columbus	James Miller.....Marble Cliff
13—J. C. F. Hull.....Bucyrus	Henry Graefe.....Sandusky
Robert Carey.....Upper Sandusky	J. D. Bemis.....Fremont
14—J. F. Laning.....Norwalk	A. B. Beaverstock.....Mansfield
John G. Russell.....Mt. Gilead	Prof. Andrews.....Ashland
15—W. D. Gullbert.....Caldwell	N. H. Barber.....Cambridge
James Joyce.....Cambridge	Chas. S. Dana.....Marietta
16—Henry Gregg.....Steubenville	G. A. Colpritts.....Barnesville
D. O. Rutan.....Carrollton	J. F. McMath.
17—M. L. Smyser.....Wooster	H. B. Bertolette.....Shreve
S. M. Snyder.....Coshocton	J. J. Rose.....Coshocton

OHIO—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

18—J. W. McClymonds.....	Massillon	W. C. Watson.....	East Liverpool
J. S. McNutt.....	Salem	John Stanbaugh.....	Youngstown
19—H. T. Sheldon.....	Windham	W. I. Metcalf.....	Chardon
L. E. Sisler.....	Akron	C. M. Wilkins.....	Warren
20—J. B. Zerbe.....	Euclid	D. C. True.....	Lakewood
A. T. Spitzer.....	Medina	George Steele.....	Painesville
21—Theo. E. Burton.....	Cleveland	Louis Smithnight.....	Cleveland
E. Bayard.....	Cleveland	Joseph Carabell.....	Cleveland

OREGON.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Chas. H. Carey.....	Portland	H. W. Coe.....	Portland
H. W. Scott.....	Portland	Geo. F. Heusner.....	Portland
W. B. Ayer.....	Portland	Slg Sichel.....	Portland
Ira B. Smith.....	Vale	H. W. Goode.....	Portland

DISTRICTS.

1—N. C. Richards.....	Sumpter	E. F. Riley.....	Portland
J. M. Keene.....	Medford	Leslie Scott.....	Portland
2—J. U. Campbell.....	Oregon City	W. E. Thomas.....	Portland
S. J. Kline.....	Corvallis	C. W. Hodson.....	Portland

PENNSYLVANIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Samuel W. Pennypacker...	Harrisburg	O. S. Hershman.....	Pittsburg
James Elverson.....	Philadelphia	D. H. Thomas.....	Hokendauqua
Francis L. Robbins.....	Pittsburg	Jesse L. Hartman.....	Holidaysburg
O. D. Bleakley.....	Franklin	Samuel B. Dick.....	Meadville

DISTRICTS.

1—Israel W. Durham....	Philadelphia	George A. Vare.....	Philadelphia
Henry H. Bingham....	Philadelphia	Wm. J. Milligan.....	Philadelphia
2—Boise Penrose.....	Philadelphia	James L. Miles.....	Philadelphia
David H. Lane.....	Philadelphia	John K. Myers.....	Philadelphia
3—John C. Bell.....	Philadelphia	Joseph H. Klemmer....	Philadelphia
David Martin.....	Philadelphia	Samuel G. Maloney.....	Philadelphia
4—John Weaver.....	Philadelphia	George Steer, Jr.....	Philadelphia
A. Lincoln Acker.....	Philadelphia	Peter E. Smith.....	Philadelphia
5—John M. Mack.....	Torresdale	Peter E. Costello.....	Philadelphia
Horatio B. Hackett...	Philadelphia	John B. Lukens.....	Philadelphia
6—A. S. L. Shields.....	Philadelphia	E. W. Paton.....	Philadelphia
Frank Caven.....	Philadelphia	Joseph M. Adams.....	Philadelphia
7—Wm. L. Mathues.....	Media	Fred T. Chandler.....	Lansdowne
P. J. Lynch.....	West Grove	Richard Darlington....	West Chester
8—Jonas S. Harley.....	Quakertown	John T. Fish.....	Fallsington
J. Elwood Lee.....	Conshohocken	Israel H. Supplee.....	Bryn Mawr
9—J. Gust Zook.....	Lancaster	J. F. Mentzer.....	Ephrata
W. W. Griest.....	Lancaster	H. S. Stauffer.....	Columbia
10—Reese A. Phillips.....	Scranton	John F. Reynolds.....	Carbonale
W. L. Connell.....	Scranton	Frank Hummler.....	Scranton
11—H. W. Palmer.....	Wilkesbarre	W. S. Tompkins.....	West Pittston
A. C. Lelsenring....	Upper Lehigh	L. N. Hammerling.....	Wilkesbarre

PENNSYLVANIA—*Continued.*

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

12—George R. Patterson.....Ashland	David R. James.....Shenandoah
Helster S. Albright....Orwigsburg	August KnechtPottsville
13—A. M. High.....Reading	Charles W. Pottelger.....Reading
Harry C. Trexler.....Allentown	Alexander N. Ulrich.....Catasauqua
14—E. B. Hardenbergh.....Honesdale	D. W. Sturdevant.....Laceyville
C. F. Wright.....Susquehanna	M. E. Simmons.....Honesdale
15—A. C. Hopkins.....Lockhaven	Elias DeemerWilliamsport
Robert K. Young.....Wellsboro	John OrmerodCoudersport
16—E. E. White.....Mt. Carmel	Fred P. Vincent.....Laporte
James FosterDanville	C. M. Clement.....Sunbury
17—David McClayChambersburg	Robert K. Moore.....McAllisterville
Horace E. Shelby..New Bloomfield	John C. Taylor.....Shade Gap
18—Chas. H. Mullin..Mt. Holly Springs	Frank E. Hollar.....Shippensburg
G. Dawson Coleman.....Lebanon	Chas. Z. Weiss.....Avon
19—A. G. Morris.....Tyrone	John G. Anderson.....Tyrone
Thos. Edward Murphy..Johnstown	Jesse E. Dale.....Patton
20—James A. Dale.....York	Samuel S. LewisYork
Solomon D. Mehring..Littlestown	Charles E. Deatrick.....Hunterstown
21—Americus H. Woodward..Clearfield	James P. Coburn.....Bellefonte
Wilbur F. Reeder.....Bellefonte	George PatonBradford
22—Wm. H. Lusk.....Butler	Porter W. Lowry.....Butler
John M. Jamison.....Greenburg	Harry S. Denny.....Ligonier
23—Frank M. Fuller.....Uniontown	Samuel A. Kendall.....Myersdale
Thos. S. Crago.....Waynesburg	N. B. Critchfield.....Critchfield
24—M. S. Quay.....Beaver	J. J. Zimmerman.....Rochester
George W. Johnson....New Castle	J. B. Donaldson.....Washington
25—Clark OldsErle	Frank L. Bliss.....Corry
John J. Carter.....Titusville	A. W. McCoy.....Meadville
26—Frank Reeder.....Easton	Thos. M. Whllden.....Lansford
A. R. Brittain..East Stroudsburg	W. A. H. Mitchell.....Milford
27—N. E. Graham.....East Brady	Ira J. Campbell.....Punxsutawney
M. C. Watson.....Indiana	James G. MitchellHamilton
28—W. E. Rice.....Warren	George Lewis.....Oil City
Alexander McDowell.....Sharon	Leon Watson.....Kellestville
29—Charles F. Kirschler...Allegheny	George A. Chalfant.....Etna
James H. Willock.....Sewickley	Robert K. Cochran.....Allegheny
30—John DalzellBraddock	Thos. W. Patch.....Wilmerding
Samuel Harden Church..Pittsburg	R. W. Cummins.....Wilksburg
31—Wm. FlinnPittsburg	Ernest F. Ruesch.....Pittsburg
D. L. Gillespie.....Pittsburg	A. M. Barr.....Pittsburg
32—John A. Bell.....Pittsburg	John F. Cox.....Homestead
George T. Oliver.....Pittsburg	George F. Murray.....Pittsburg

RHODE ISLAND.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Charles Alexander.....Barrington	George Batchelor.....Woonsocket
H. Martin Brown.....Providence	Fred W. Allen.....Providence
Frank W. Tillinghast.....Johnston	George L. Pierce.....Providence
Alphonse Gaulin, Jr.....Woonsocket	J. Fred Gibson.....Providence

RHODE ISLAND—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1—Samuel L. Peck.....Warren | John J. Watson, Jr.....Jamestown |
| Charles H. Child.....Providence | Nathan M. Wright.....Providence |
| 2—Albert B. Crafts.....Westerly | Henry B. Kane.....Narragansett |
| Wm. L. Hodgman.....Warwick | M. J. E. Legris.....Warwick |

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| E. H. Deas.....Darlington | Robert Smalls. |
| John G. Capers.....Charleston | R. R. Tolbert. |
| L. W. C. Blalock.....Goldville | George W. Murray. |
| W. D. Crum.....Charleston | Wm. T. Smith. |

DISTRICTS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1—A. P. Prioleau.....Prioleau P. O. | Samuel B. Butler. |
| Wm. F. Myers.....Walterboro | A. Collins. |
| 2—E. J. Dickerson.....Aiken | G. G. Butler.....Barnwell |
| W. S. Dixson.....Barnwell | J. M. Jones.....Saluda |
| 3—Ernest F. Cochran.....Anderson | R. K. Moon.....Pickens |
| Joseph W. Tolbert.....Greenwood | J. W. Lee.....Abbeville |
| 4—A. A. Gates.....Greenville | |
| P. S. Suber.....Laurens | F. R. Massey.....Lancaster |
| 5—W. E. Boykin.....Camden | John F. Jones.....Blacksburg |
| J. C. Atkinson.....Lowerville | P. S. Moseley.....Henry |
| 6—J. R. Levy.....Florence | G. W. Johnson.....Marvin |
| J. A. Baxter.....Georgetown | M. J. Frederic.....Sumter |
| 7—A. D. Webster.....Orangeburg | Green Jackson.....Columbia |
| J. F. Ensor.....Columbia | |

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| R. H. Driscoll. | John L. Jolly. |
| G. E. Andrews. | A. J. Lockhart. |
| A. O. Ringsrud. | E. C. Essenhuth. |
| C. E. Warner. | T. W. Delicate. |
| F. H. Davis. | Ira S. Blewett. |
| N. L. Finch. | C. W. Lane. |
| John R. Hughes. | Henry C. Smith. |
| Henry Goddard. | W. S. Hamilton. |

TENNESSEE.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| W. J. Brownlow.....Jonesboro | D. C. Shwab.....Hartranft |
| H. C. Evans.....Chattanooga | William Rule.....Knoxville |
| F. A. Raht.....Tullahoma | John W. Grant.....Nashville |
| L. W. Dutro.....Memphis | J. T. Settle.....Memphis |

DISTRICTS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1—Dana Harmon.....Greenville | S. H. Gault.....Rogersville |
| George E. Boren.....Bristol | W. B. Bachman.....Bluff City |
| 2—N. W. Hale.....Knoxville | F. W. Galbraith.....Jefferson City |
| Harvey M. La Follette.....La Follette | J. E. Cassidy.....Loudon |

TENNESSEE—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

3—F. L. Mansfield.....Athens	R. M. Copeland.....Benton
H. S. Chamberlain....Chattanooga	Gus GateCleveland
4—B. W. Burford.....Lebanon	John Hall.....Wartburg
John E. Oliver.....Cookeville	A. N. Derossett.....Cumberland
5—Robert H. Hayes.....Lewisburg	R. H. Davenport.....Woodbury
Ernest CaldwellShelbyville	J. M. Eakin.....Fayetteville
6—J. C. Napier.....Nashville	S. A. Dabney.....Clarksville
John T. Lattin.....Nashville	Joe Stewart.....Dover
7—James C. Hickman.....Lynnville	J. S. Beasley.....Centerville
William K. Sheddan....Columbia	D. W. Starnes.....Lawrenceburg
8—T. A. Lancaster.....Lexington	J. Samuel Johnson.....Huntingdon
A. A. Watson.....Savannah	Abernathy TerrySelmer
9—A. A. Hornsby.....Martin	Rives Giles.....Brownsville
H. E. Austin.....Alamo	F. W. E. Flowers.....Rutherford
10—S. B. Anderson.....Memphis	Charles Wilson.....Memphis
C. H. Trimble.....Memphis	John W. Boyd.....Mason

TEXAS.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Cecil A. LyonSherman	R. A. Hannay.
R. B. Hawley.....Galveston	Thos. Hall.
C. M. Ferguson.	H. G. Goree.
M. M. Rodgers,	David Abner.

DISTRICTS.

1—G. M. Guest.....Harris	W. T. Hughes.....Clarksville
Will E. Singleton.....Jefferson	R. A. Caldwell.....Newsom
2—J. H. Kurth.....Keltys	Fred Deremus.
B. F. Wallace.	J. M. Moore.
3—William M. McDonald.....Terrell	J. C. Henderson.
R. H. Mitchell.....Tyler	S. W. Younger.
4—C. A. Gray.....Bonham	W. S. Smith.....Greenville
Frank Johnson.....Sherman	Joe Thompson.....Denison
5—Ammon S. Wells.....Dallas	R. S. Jenkins.....Dallas
J. J. Cypert.....Itasca	A. M. Morrison.....Ennis
6—J. Allen Meyers.....Bryan	C. J. Hostrasser.....Hearns
G. W. Sledge.....Cameron	L. K. Waggoner.....Groesbeck
7—A. J. Rosenthal.....Galveston	C. W. Ellis.
H. L. Price.	Waldow Mathews.
8—Max UrwitzHouston	W. C. Rollins.....Prairie View
F. S. Benson.....Hempstead	U. W. Allen.....Huntsville
9—O. S. York.....Edna	S. C. Autrey.....Hallettsville
N. I. Henderson.....Galveston	Theodore BaughmanVictoria
10—Webster FlanaganAustin	C. H. Turney.....Smithville
John Cain.....Brenham	John Hickey.....Giddings
11—Charles A. Boynton.....Waco	A. Wurts.....Evant
Jesse WashingtonMorlin	R. E. L. Hoiland.....Temple
12—L. M. Barkley.....Fort Worth	C. S. Taylor.....Arlington
C. Dickson.....Cleburne	C. A. Dickson.....Cleburne
13—W. S. Simpson.....Bovine	J. L. Hickson.....Gainesville
R. S. Houssells.....Childress	J. E. Lutz.....Vernon
14—Edwin H. Terrell.....San Antonio	Henry Terrell.....San Antonio
G. N. Harrison.....Brownwood	George G. Clifford.....San Antonio
15—Eugene NolteSaguin	G. W. Smith.....Kingsbury
C. G. Brewster.....Laredo	Ed. HuntFloresville
16—James G. Lowdon.....Abilene	Major SmithHaskell
James A. Smith.....El Paso	D. G. Hunt.....Eastland

UTAH.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

James H. Anderson.....Salt Lake City	Mrs. Jennie B. Nelson.....Ogden
George Sutherland.....Salt Lake City	E. D. Woolley.....Kanab
Willard F. Snyder.....Salt Lake City	Frank W. Fishburn.....Brigham City
C. E. Loose.....Provo	George Austin.....Lehi
L. W. Shurtliff.....Ogden	John W. Seeley.....Mt. Pleasant
H. Bullen, Jr.....Logan	W. P. Colthorpe.....Vernal

VERMONT.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

W. P. Dillingham.....Waterbury	H. C. Whitehill.....Waterbury
W. Seward Webb.....Shelburne	Thomas Mack.....Vergennes
Hiram N. Turner.....St. Johnsbury	Harley E. Folsom.....Lyndonville
Henry S. Bingham.....Bennington	Frank L. Greene.....St. Albans

DISTRICTS.

1—Heman W. Allen.....Burlington	Edward S. Fleury.....Isle La Motte
James F. Manning.....Rutland	Roger W. Hulburd.....Hyde Park
2—Charles Downer.....Sharon	George F. Leland.....Springfield
James Flisk Hooker.....Brattleboro	Frank E. Miles.....Newport

VIRGINIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Park Agnew.....Alexandria	J. B. Stovall.....Danville
S. Brown Allen.....Staunton	A. C. Peachy.....Newport News
D. Lawrence Groner.....Norfolk	C. N. Keezle.....Harrisonburg
Campbell Slemp.....Big Stone Gap	Stuart F. Lindsey.....Bristol

DISTRICTS.

1—C. G. Smithers.....Cape Charles	R. S. Bristow.
Josephus Trader.....Fittchetts	A. S. West.
2—G. E. Bowden.....Norfolk	A. Aronhelm.....Norfolk
A. H. Martin.....Berkley	Fred. Read.....Newport News
3—Morgan Treat.....West Point	M. J. Enright.....Sabot
James H. Hayes.....Richmond	J. R. Pollard.....Richmond
4—Asa Rogers.....Petersburg	George Richardson.
A. W. Harris.....Dinwiddie	John W. Smith.
5—John R. Brown.....Martinsville	M. O. Cornett.
S. A. Reynolds.....Vashti	John B. Anglin.
6—James M. McLaughlin.....Lynchburg	R. I. Roop.
W. Lee Brand.....Salem	Adolphus Humbles.....Lynchburg
7—John Acker.....Edom	H. L. Lyman.
Charles T. Holtzman.....Luray	A. C. Brown.
8—M. K. Lowry.....Brooke	Joseph L. Crupper.....Alexandria
W. H. Eggborn.....Eggbornville	F. M. Brooks.....Swetnan
9—James S. Browning.....Pocahontas	John Eckman.....Pulaski
J. D. Honaker.....Rocky Gap	M. F. Bowers.....Bristol
10—J. H. Buhrman.....Gale	R. A. Fulwiler.....Staunton
William H. Goodwin.....Avon	H. L. Garrett.

WASHINGTON.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Charles M. Sweeney.....Spokane
 James M. Ashton.....Tacoma
 John G. Lewis.....Montesano
 George Donald.....North Yakima
 A. B. Eastham.....Vancouver
 Chas. E. Brigham.....Mt. Vernon
 Levi Ankeny.....Walla Walla
 Erastus Brainard.....Seattle
 W. A. Pruder.....Colfax
 John S. McMillan.....Roche Harbor
 A. W. Perley.

George B. Kandle.....Tacoma
 F. C. Harper.....Seattle
 C. F. Miller.....Dayton
 Alonzo S. Taylor.....Everett
 E. G. Ames.....Port Ludlow
 J. R. Welty.....Chehalis
 Philip Hiltz.....Olympia
 Geo. W. Dilling.....Seattle
 J. M. Hart.....Seattle
 R. F. Johnson.....Seattle

WEST VIRGINIA

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

A. L. Mallory.....Parkersburg
 A. N. Prichard.....Manington
 J. L. Caldwell.....Huntington
 George W. Atkinson.....Charleston

Byrd Phlllerman.....Charleston
 R. L. Gordon.....Fayetteville
 S. W. Willey.....Hinton
 S. M. Steele.....Moundsville

DISTRICTS.

1—John Bodley.....Wheeling
 Virgil L. Highland.....Clarksburg
 2—F. S. Landstreet.....Davis
 Charles Lamar.....Martinsburg
 3—Enoch Carver.....Charleston
 Samuel Dixon.....Macdonald
 4—C. H. Shattuck.....Parkersburg
 W. L. Armstrong.....Sistersville
 5—G. W. Atkinson.....Bluefield
 T. E. Houston.....Welch

S. C. Gist.....Wellsburg
 Chas. B. Goodwin.....Weston
 O. A. Hood.....Keyser
 Nell J. Fortney.....Kingwood
 Phil Waters.....Charleston
 S. C. Dice.....Lewisburg
 G. B. Gibbens.....Parkersburg
 Porter Stout.....West Union
 C. V. White.....Logan
 Chas. M. Buck.....Huntington

WISCONSIN.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

John C. Spooner.
 J. V. Quarles.
 J. W. Babcock.
 Emil Baensch.

M. G. Jeffris.
 D. E. Riordan.
 Richard Meyer, Jr.
 John M. Kehler.

DISTRICTS.

1—Ogden H. Fethers.....Janesville
 George A. Yule.....Kenosha
 2—W. D. Hoard.....Ft. Atkinson
 Frank Hall.....Madison
 3—John G. Clark.....Lancaster
 R. P. Perry.....Reedsburg
 4—C. F. Pfister.....Milwaukee
 E. L. Phillips.....Milwaukee
 5—A. W. James.....Waukesha
 W. I. Greene.....Milwaukee
 6—G. A. Knapp.....Fond du Lac
 Samuel S. Barney.....West Bend

Dwight B. Barnes.....Delavan
 Nathaniel B. Treat.....Monroe
 W. E. Moore.....Doylestown
 G. W. Bingham.....Friendship
 John Knight.....Mineral Point
 W. R. Graves.....Prairie du Chien
 J. E. Wildish.....Milwaukee
 F. C. Winkler.....Milwaukee
 Curtis Schafer.....Oconomowoc
 Henry Hinkamp.....Milwaukee
 W. E. Talmadge.
 D. B. Doty.

WISCONSIN—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

7—W. T. Sarles.		Geo. B. Parker.
E. J. Foster.		John O. Melby.
8—Wm. Rahr	Manitowoc	J. G. Griem.....
G. A. Whiting.....	Neenah	W. B. Angelo.....
9—Frank S. Bradford.....	Appleton	William Larson.....
H. P. Bird.....	Wausaukee	George Washburn.....
10—J. W. Cochran.....	Ashland	M. J. Walrich.....
L. N. Anson.....	Merrill	J. W. Malloy.
11—A. W. McLeod.....	Washburn	J. C. Saxton.....
D. C. Coolidge.....	Downing	B. J. Price.....

WYOMING.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

F. E. Warren.....	Cheyenne	E. W. Stone.....
C. D. Clark.....	Evanston	F. H. Smith.....
Frank W. Mondell.....	New Castle	Melvin Nichols.....
James E. Cosgriff.....	Rawlins	C. H. King.....
N. K. Boswell.....	Laramie	E. W. Burke.....
J. G. Oliver.....	Buffalo	Thos. G. Smith.....

ALASKA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John G. Heid.....	Juneau	G. M. Irwin.....
Oscar Foote	Juneau	John W. Steadman.....
C. S. Johnson.....	Nome	Albert Fink
W. T. Perkins.....	Nome	G. B. Baldwin.....
W. D. Grant.....	Wrangel	P. C. McCormick.....
J. W. Ivey.....	Kyack	Frank J. Kinghorn.....

ARIZONA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Alex. O. Brodie.....	Phoenix	J. S. Van Gorder.....
W. H. Brophy.....	Bisbee	John T. Hogue.....
Jos. H. Kibbey.....	Phoenix	E. W. Childs.....
H. B. Tenney.....	Tucson	Ben Daniels
J. X. Woods.....	Winslow	W. S. Head.....
Frank L. Wright.....	Prescott	J. W. Dorrington.....

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Robert Reyburn	Washington	E. G. Wescott.....
John F. Cook.....	Washington	James L. Turner.....

*HAWAII.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

George R. Carter.		Stephen L. Desha.
Jonah K. Kalaniana'oli.		Robert W. Breckons.
Wm. H. Hoogs.		J. K. Nahale.
Alex. G. M. Robertson.		Lincoln L. McCandless.
Wm. T. Robinson.		C. H. Dickey.
Eric A. Knudsen.		H. H. Brodie.

* Six delegates for this convention only.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Delegates.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

P. L. Soper.....	Vinita	D. H. Shawnee.....	Wewoka
W. H. Darrough.....	Vinita	E. L. Cookson.....	Cookson
C. W. Raymond.....	Muskogee	J. A. Roper.....	Okmulgee
V. M. Locke, Jr.....	Hamden	Wm. Busby.....	South McAlester
Eugene E. Morris.....	Ryan	J. H. Leatherman.....	Pauls Valley
George W. Bigham.....	Miami	Wm. Mayse.....	Peoria

NEW MEXICO.

Delegates.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

Miguel A. Otero.	W. H. Greer.
W. G. Sargent.	Geo. W. Armigo.
W. E. Dame.	Clark M. Carr.
D. J. Leahy.	J. Van Houten.
W. H. H. Llewellyn.	W. H. Newcomb.
H. O. Burson.	H. J. Hagerman.

OKLAHOMA.

Delegates.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

John H. Cotteral.....	Guthrie	J. B. Dudley	Norman
W. D. Fossett.....	Guthrie	O. K. Benedict.....	Hobart
R. A. Lowry.....	Stillwater	Geo. Carr	Stone
W. C. Tetrick.....	Blackwell	J. L. Hoover.....	Elk City
Seymour Foose	Watonga	O. P. Elliott.....	Mangum
A. H. Jackson.....	El Reno	E. N. Yates.....	Pawhuska

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Delegates.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

John T. McDonough.	John S. Leech.
Charles A. Willard.	D. W. Smith.
Grant T. Trent.	J. L. Pierce.
John S. Stanley.	T. C. Riser.
J. M. Switzer.	W. W. Leurs.
E. L. McCullough.	M. W. Creach.

PORTO RICO.

Delegates.

AT LARGE.

Alternates.

Jose Gomez Brioso.	Santiago Veve.
R. H. Todd.	Pedro J. Besosa.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

Mr. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York.—On behalf of the committee appointed in reference to the invitation of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, I submit the report which I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The report submitted by the gentleman from New York will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the invitation of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to delegates and alternates and members of the press to visit the Exposition, respectfully reports that no formal action by the

convention is necessary in the premises, the invitation having been extended to delegates, alternates and members of the press.

For the information of those accepting the invitation, the committee has ascertained and reports the following:

The Chicago & Alton, the Illinois Central and the Wabash Railroads tender the courtesies of special trains from Chicago to the Union Station at St. Louis, carrying delegates and alternates of the Republican National Convention and representatives of the press attending.

These trains will leave at 9 o'clock Thursday night, and arrive in St. Louis at 6 o'clock Friday morning. The cars direct to the World's Fair Grounds can be taken at the Union Station, St. Louis.

The Chairman or Secretary of each delegation is requested to report Thursday morning, the names of those delegates and alternates who desire transportation, in accordance with the following assignment:

Illinois Central—H. J. Phelps, City Passenger and Ticket Agent, 99 Adams street: Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee.

Chicago & Alton—R. Somerville, General Agent, 101 Adams street: Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming.

Wabash Railway—H. Keeran, City Passenger and Ticket Agent, 97 Adams street: Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsin.

Sleeping-car accommodations can be purchased at the respective ticket offices up to 6 p. m. Thursday, and after that at the respective stations. Reclining-chair cars will be furnished to those not desiring to purchase berths.

Delegates and alternates will be identified at the station by the respective Chairman or Secretary of the delegation immediately previous to departure of special trains, and transportation to St. Louis will be furnished those who have not such transportation.

Those finding it necessary to return to Chicago from St. Louis, in order to use their transportation to their homes, will be provided such transportation to Chicago on application to C. L. Hilleary, Traffic Manager of the Exposition, office: Administration Building, World's Fair Grounds.

Members of the press, credited to the Press Section of the Convention, will be furnished transportation on presentation of their credentials to Robert Sommerville General Agent, Chicago & Alton Railway, 101 Adams street.

Delegates, alternates and members of the press requiring further information, are requested to call at the Missouri Headquarters, Auditorium Hotel.

Admission to World's Fair Grounds will be furnished on arrival of trains at St. Louis.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The report of the committee will be placed on file.

GENERAL PETER JOSEPH OSTERHAUS.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, I have a note informing me that General Osterhaus is at the main entrance to the convention hall, and that he would be pleased to attend this session of the convention.

I need not tell the convention who General Osterhaus is, for all know that he was one of the most distinguished, gallant and heroic German soldiers of the Union Army during the Civil War. (Applause.)

On one occasion when General Sherman directed him to make a movement with his division for the purpose of dislodging the enemy, he made himself famous by answering and making good his answer, "I will undertake the execution of your order, and if I find the enemy I will make him hell-smell." (Laughter.) Since the war General Osterhaus has resided abroad. He is now about eighty years of age, but his love of this country is as strong as ever. I move that he be invited to a seat on the stage.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio, that General Osterhaus be invited to a seat on the platform.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will appoint Senator Foraker, of Ohio, and General Bingham, of Pennsylvania, a committee to escort General Osterhaus to the platform.

General Osterhaus was escorted to the platform by the committee appointed for that purpose.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor and the pleasure to present to you Major General Osterhaus, Corps Commander of Sherman. (Applause.)

Mr. PETER J. OSTERHAUS.—Gentlemen of the convention, allow me to thank you most heartily for the honor conferred upon me in giving me permission to appear before you. Having voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and again in 1864, at the moment when Sherman's Army was preparing for the march to the sea, I can have no other wish than the greatest success of your assembly, and the continuance, as the result of your nomination, of that eminent, able and righteous course which the present President of the United States has pursued. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Is the committee ready to report?

Mr. WILLIAM M. JOHNSON, of New Jersey.—On behalf of the Committee on Permanent Organization, I have the honor to present the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

To the HON. ELIHU ROOT, Temporary Chairman:

The Committee on Permanent Organization begs leave to report the following, for the permanent officers of the convention:

Permanent Chairman, Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Illinois, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

General Secretary, Colonel Charles W. Johnson, Minnesota.

Chief Assistant Secretary, John R. Malloy, Ohio.

Assistant Secretaries, James G. Cannon, New York.

Thomas F. Clifford, New Hampshire.

Lucien Grey, Illinois.

Willet M. Spooner, Wisconsin.

T. Larry Eyre, Pennsylvania.

J. T. Wilson, Kentucky.

Rome C. Stephenson, Indiana.

John H. King, South Dakota.

T. St. John Gaffney, New York.

Walter S. Melck, California.

Edgar O. Silver, Vermont.

Frank D. Waterman, New York.

George W. Armstrong, Minnesota.

James H. Paddock, Illinois.

Franklin Murphy, Jr., New Jersey.

Edward C. Simms, Illinois.

Reading Clerks,

W. H. Harrison, Nebraska.

Dennis E. Alward, Michigan.

E. L. Lampson, Ohio.

T. W. B. Duckwall, West Virginia.

Clerk at President's Desk, Asher C. Hinds, Maine.

Official Reporter, Milton W. Blumenberg, Illinois.

Tally Clerks, Fred B. Whitney, Illinois.

John W. Dixon, Nebraska.

Lucien Swift, Jr., Minnesota.

Messenger to Secretary, Henry F. Daniels, Wisconsin.

Messenger to Chairman, Curley Brewer, Indiana.

Sergeant-at-Arms, William F. Stone, Maryland.

First Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, David C. Owen, Wisconsin.

Second Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Chas. H. Henning, West Virginia.

Third Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Eugene F. Cummings, Indiana.

Fourth Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, T. H. Matters, Nebraska.

Fifth Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Albert Ferguson, New York.

Chief Doorkeeper, C. S. Montell, Maryland.

Chief Clerk, L. G. Hechinger, Maryland.

We also recommend as honorary Vice-Presidents for each State, the following, as selected by the delegations thereof:

Alabama.....	J. W. HUGHES
Arkansas.....	CHAS. W. RIX
California.....	E. D. ROBERTS
Colorado.....	JAMES H. PEABODY
Connecticut.....	DONALD T. WARNER
Delaware.....	JOHN HUNN
Florida.....	WALTER G. ROBINSON
Georgia.....	J. S. GANETT
Idaho.....	C. J. HALL
Illinois.....	CHARLES H. DEERE



HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois,
Who was Permanent Chairman of the Convention.

Indiana.....	ISAAC STRAUSS
Iowa.....	A. B. CUMMINS
Kansas.....	J. H. RICHARDS
Kentucky.....	HENRY L. STONE
Louisiana.....	B. V. BARANCO
Maine.....	ALBERT A. BURLEIGH
Maryland.....	STEVENSON A. WILLIAMS
Massachusetts.....	JOHN D. LONG
Michigan.....	DEXTER M. FERRY
Minnesota.....	C. A. SMITH
Mississippi.....	F. W. COLLINS
Missouri.....	WILLIAM WARNER
Montana.....	LEE MANTLE
Nebraska.....	FRANK E. HELVEY
Nevada.....	R. S. MEACHAM
New Hampshire.....	BERTRAM ELLIS
New Jersey.....	DAVID BAIRD
New York.....	JOHN RAINES
North Carolina.....	T. S. ROLLINS
North Dakota.....	L. D. HANNA
Ohio.....	J. E. LOWES
Oregon.....	C. W. HODSON
Pennsylvania.....	W. M. GRIEST
Rhode Island.....	CHARLES H. CHILD
South Carolina.....	L. W. C. BLALOCK
South Dakota.....	J. R. HUGHES
Tennessee.....	N. W. HALE
Texas.....	WEBSTER FLANNAGAN
Utah.....	HERSCHEL BULLER, JR.
Vermont.....	HIRAM N. TURNER
Virginia.....	JOHN ACKER
Washington.....	GEORGE DONALD
West Virginia.....	C. H. SHATTUCK
Wisconsin.....	EMIL BAENSCH
Wyoming.....	N. K. BOSWELL
District of Columbia.....	JOHN F. COOK
Alaska.....	W. D. GRANT
Arizona.....	W. H. BROPHY
Indian Territory.....	WILLIAM M. MELLETTE
New Mexico.....	FRANK A. HUBBELL
Oklahoma.....	JOHN H. COTTERAL
Hawaii.....	W. H. HOOGS
Philippines.....	J. S. STANLEY
Porto Rico.....	JOSE GOMEZ BRIOSO

Respectfully submitted this 22d day of June, 1904.

G. R. CARTER, Secretary. WILLIAM M. JOHNSON, Chairman.

I move the adoption of the report.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois.—I take great pleasure, sir, in seconding the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey, who submitted the report, that it be now adopted.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, you have heard the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. The question is on agreeing to the report.

The report was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair appoints the Hon. John D. Long, of Massachusetts; the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, and the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, a committee to escort the Permanent Chairman to the platform.

The committee appointed by the Temporary Chairman escorted Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, to the platform.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, I present to you as your Permanent Chairman, the man who holds the gavel of the great popular legislative body of America with a grip so firm, directs it with a brain so clear and a heart so sound and fair that he will wield it for many and many a year to come. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois).—Gentlemen of the convention, for the first time in my life I put in black and white to say to you enough sentences to contain twenty-five hundred words. I have tried to memorize it (laughter), but I cannot. I have given it out through the usual channels to the great audience, and now I must either beg to be excused entirely or I must do like we do in the House of Representatives under the five-minute rule,—make a few feeble remarks. (Cries of "Go on!") But that no man shall say that I have not made a great speech, I will say that from beginning to end I heartily endorse every statement of fact and every sentiment given you yesterday by the Temporary Presiding Officer in the greatest speech I ever heard delivered at a convention. (Applause.)

Now let me go on and ramble (laughter). And first it is said that there is no enthusiasm in this convention. Gentlemen, the great river which has its thirty feet of water, rising in the mountains and growing in depth and breadth as it flows down to the ocean, bears upon its bosom the commerce of that section of the land which it drains; and it bears it out to the world. It is a silent river, and yet the brawling river that is like unto the River Platte out in Nebraska, which is fourteen miles wide and four inches deep, can make more noise than all the rivers in the world. (Applause.)

Enthusiasm! When we were young folks, twenty years ago (laughter), and went to see our best girl, one of us was awfully enthusiastic if she would give us the glance of the eye, the nod of the head, or the "trip-away-catch me if you can" (laughter), to enter upon the chase. That was awfully strenuous and awfully enthusiastic. (Laughter.) But, when she said "yes," then good relations were established, and we went on evenly throughout the balance of our lives. (Laughter and applause.)

It is a contest which makes enthusiasm. In 1904, as in 1900, everybody has known for twelve months past who is to be our standard-bearer in this campaign. (Applause.) We are ready for business. (Laughter.) I wonder if our friends, the enemy, would not be glad of a little of our kind of enthusiasm. (Applause.)



HON. WILLIAM F. STONE, of Maryland,
Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention and of the National Committee.

I might illustrate it further, although I do not know that it is necessary. I see before me some of my farmer friends—my colleague, Col. Lowden, and various others—as well as some New York agriculturists. (Laughter.) Now there is not one of you who raises chickens as I do who does not understand that when the hen comes off the nest with one chicken, she does more scratching and makes more noise than the motherly hen which is blessed with twenty-three. (Laughter.) Our friends, the enemy, will have the enthusiasm; we will take the votes in November. (Applause.)

Let us be serious for a moment. Ours is a government through parties and through organizations. You once in a while find people who do not want any parties. But so long as you have eighty million people competent for self-government, they will organize and will call the organization a party.

The Republican party, born of the declaration that slavery is sectional and freedom national (applause), achieved its first success in 1860 with Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) Then followed secession; the war for the Union. You older men recollect it well. We have one of the survivors here, and I was glad to see this body give him the courtesies of the convention. He helped to make it possible for us to have this convention. (Applause.)

Forty-four years ago just about now; today, 1904. What a contrast! A divided country; a bankrupt treasury; no credit. The Republican party had power, and under its great leadership wrote revenue legislation upon the statute books. It went back to the principles of Washington and Hamilton, and wrote legislation that would yield revenue, fixing duties upon imports which were so adjusted as to encourage every American citizen to take part in the diversification of the industries and the development of the resources of the country.

Will you bear with me for five minutes while I make a comparison of the facts then with the condition today? In 1860 we had been substantially dominated for many years by the free trade party. We were insignificant in manufactures, great in agriculture. Under our policy, which, with the exception of four years, has been followed from that time to this, the United States remains first in agriculture, but by leaps and bounds it has diversified and increased its industrial enterprises, until today we are the greatest manufacturing country on God's foot-stool. (Applause.) Today one-third of all the world's products that come from the factory are made in the United States, by the operation and co-operation of American capital and American labor and skill. (Applause.)

Let me make one other statement. Our manufactured product every year is greater than the entire combined manufactured product of Great Britain, of Germany and of France. Where do we get the market for it? Ninety-seven per cent of this great product, which constitutes one-third of the world's product, finds a market amongst ourselves in the United States. And yet, of this manufactured product we last year sold to foreign countries over \$400,000,000 worth, twenty-nine per cent of our total exports; and our

total exports made and make us the greatest exporting nation on earth. (Applause.)

Made by labor? Yes. Made by labor that works less hours than any other labor on earth. Made by labor that, conservatively stated, receives one dollar and three-quarters as against the average for the competitive labor in the world of one dollar. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, a few rich men do not make markets. Nay, nay. It is the multiplied millions on farm, in mine and in factory, that work today and consume tomorrow, who with steady employment and good wage, give us, with eighty millions of people, a market equal to two hundred millions of consuming people anywhere else on earth. The farmer buys the artisan's product. The artisan, being employed, buys the farmer's product. The wheels go round. You cannot strike one great branch of labor in the Republic without the blow reacting on all producers.

Are you satisfied with the comparison from the manufacturing standpoint? If not, let me give you another illustration which perhaps will go home to the minds of men more quickly than the illustration I have given.

Take the Postoffice Department, which reaches all of the people and for the support of which no man is taxed a penny. It is voluntary taxation. In the year ended March, 1861, the year Lincoln came into power, the total revenues of the Postoffice Department in all the United States were eight and a half million dollars. Keep that in your minds—eight and a half million dollars. How much do you suppose it cost to run the service? Nineteen million! It took all the revenue and as much more, and nearly one-quarter as much more from the Treasury to pay for that postal service. Gentlemen, the city postoffice of Chicago last year collected more revenues by almost one million of dollars than was collected by the whole department of the United States in 1860. (Applause.)

How is it now? We have on the average reduced postage over one-half since 1860. Last year the postal revenues were \$134,000,000 as against eight and a half millions in 1860. Keep that in your minds—\$134,000,000. And the whole service cost only \$138,000,000. We had a deficit of four million—three per cent—and we would not have had that deficit had it not been that the Republican party, looking out for the welfare of all the people and conducting the government from a business standpoint, under the lead of McKinley, followed by Roosevelt, established rural free delivery which cost \$10,000,000. (Applause.) Great Heavens! The Republican party as it has done from 1860 until this moment, moves forward and does what good common business sense dictates, and the country grows to it. I will now drop that department.

The Republican party is a national party and believes in the further diversification of our industries and in the protection of American capital and American labor as against cheaper labor elsewhere on earth. (Applause.)

What do the other people believe in? For sixty years went out the cry, "free trade throughout the world, and free ships upon the sea." On other

occasions, "a tariff for revenue only." First one and then the other. It has always denounced as robbery the Republican policy of protection, and whenever clothed with power, whatever its pretences, it has thrust the dagger into the very heart of protection.

Are they not going to change? Let us see. Just before the close of the last session of Congress, New York's eloquent son, Bourke Cochran, a member of the House of Representatives, got the floor and preached an old-fashioned Democratic sermon—free trade and all that kind of thing—and he did it well; and there came from the minority side of that House, without exception, such cheering and crying and hurraing and applauding as I never witnessed before in the House of Representatives, because at last they had the pure Democratic faith delivered to them. (Laughter.)

They were all winter trying, under the lead of Gorman in the Senate and Williams in the House, to draw together people from Nebraska and New England and New York and the South and the rest of the country, and to impress them with the notion that the Democracy should be given power in this country. They were trying to give the country Dovers powders.

"Oh," said my distinguished colleague in the House, the minority leader, following the astute Senator Gorman, "if we come into power, while protection is robbery, and while we will journey in the direction of free trade when you clothe us with power, we will not destroy your industries over night." Great God! Think of it! They will not kill you outright, but they will starve you to death day by day. (Laughter and applause.) They want to be put on guard to protect the people who are dwelling in peace and prosperity under Republican policies.

It reminds me of a fable of Aesop. You know he records in one of his fables that the wolves said to the sheep, "discharge the dogs"—(who were their natural protectors)—"and employ us, and we will take care of you." (Laughter.) Does the capital of this country and the labor of this country want to go under the care of the wolf Gorman and Williams and their fellows? I think not.

What a country it is! And Republicans, we have to outline the policy and lead the people in caring for it. We are like the women. We not only have to take care of ourselves, but as one very bright woman said, "we have to take care of the men at the same time." (Laughter and applause.) The Republican party not only has to care for itself, but it has to care for the minority by wise policies.

How has it been doing it? We preserved the Union under the policy and leadership of this party. Do you recollect that the opposition party, on a demand for an armistice and negotiations and compromise, nominated McClellan in 1864 and moved heaven and earth to defeat Lincoln? Do you recollect that when the amendments were adopted they said "nay," "nay," and even after they were ratified, when the Democrats came into power temporarily in Indiana and Ohio, they passed acts taking back the assent of the States? When, in the seventies, the first battle was fought against green-

back or fiat money, whatever the Democrats were on the Atlantic coast they were fiatists out in the Middle West. Step by step through all these forty-four years, during which if you measure time by events, we have lived two centuries as compared with any other period of the world's history, they have pulled back and pulled back; and when we accomplished an end—and it is necessary to march forward and try to accomplish other objects—they have moved into our old quarters and squatted down and made faces and said, "You are going to send the country to hell." (Applause.) But we do not mind it. We move on. (Applause.)

Why multiply words about ancient or recent conditions? Take the country under the administration of Grover Cleveland, and compare it to the country under the administration of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) If a man who will consider conditions and dwell in recollection for a moment and make a fair comparison, does not endorse the policies of the Republican party, he would not "be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." (Laughter.) McKinley; Roosevelt; the passage of the Dingley act which restored us economic prosperity; the gold standard act that settled for all time the matter of sound currency; the short triumphant war with Spain; the Philippines and Porto Rico coming under our flag, with freedom to Cuba, constitute a record that will stand in the future second only to the record made by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

When imported anarchy struck down our great President at a time when partisan strife had almost ceased, the world paused in wonder and in indignation, not in fear, because, as life went from our great leader and our great President, there was a young, active, honest, courageous man standing by the bed-side, who, under the Constitution, was his successor, and he there said: "I am to be President, to carry out the policies of the Republican party, and I will journey in the footsteps of William McKinley;" and the country believed him. (Applause.)

Becoming President, great things have happened in the last three years. In the old world a single great policy in a generation is the exception. We have more than that in our progressive country. I have given you the great achievements under McKinley, his worthy and great predecessor. We had the consummation of freedom to Cuba wrought out by superior statesmanship. Imperialism that was talked about under McKinley has disappeared as a cry from the face of the earth, with growing civil government and peace in the Philippines. Did I say from the face of the earth? I will stick to it, because the doctrinaire here and the doctrinaire there, whether it be in New York or in Boston, draws his toga about him and says, "I am wiser than thou," and after this great question is settled by the consciences and the intelligence of all the people, he still cries "Wolf, wolf." Well, under the Constitution of the United States he has a right to. (Laughter.) Let them cry. (Applause.)

Greatly bothered, they asked, "What is going to become of the Philippines?" At last we have peace; at last we have growing civil government,

and as our eighty millions in this twentieth century shall increase from eighty to two hundred and fifty millions, as we shall go out with production and commerce, in the fullness of time that territory will be useful to the United States, whereas in the meantime we will be like a benediction to them. (Applause.)

The United States is great in production and in wealth. How great in wealth? In 1850, three hundred dollars in round numbers was the per capita wealth. In 1900 twelve hundred and thirty-five dollars was the per capita wealth. In 1860 the wealth was measured by sixteen billion dollars; in 1900, ninety-four billions; now a hundred billions, whereas Great Britain has an aggregate wealth of only sixty billions, and she has been living and gathering it for the last five hundred years, while in a generation we spring from sixteen billions to one hundred billions. The world's wealth is four hundred billion dollars. The United States has one-fourth of it.

But our friends, the enemy, some of whom are little politicians, vex the air crying "trusts," "trusts," "trusts." Oh, they come out strong with good lungs as trust-busters. They have been at it ever since 1890. Did they ever do any busting? (Laughter.) Oh, no. There is no Jericho now, and if there were, it would never happen again that they would march about its walls blowing rams' horns seven times until the walls fell down. That is what the Democrats seem to have been trying to do. (Laughter.)

Trusts? Yes. Great combinations of capital against public policy? Yes. But the Republican party, always true to the people and its traditions, made haste to provide under the Constitution legislation that would prohibit these combinations.

The "Do-Something" party! It slept under Cleveland. Under McKinley we had the war with Spain and the restoration of prosperity, and the young, enthusiastic, true man who succeeded McKinley took the oath to see to it that the laws were executed; and he has executed the law. By the decisions of the courts such trusts are unlawful, and they are being dissolved. That is the difference between the two parties. One busts by wind, and the other busts by law. (Laughter and applause.)

But that is not all. There is no country on earth that has so much wealth as ours, while interest rates are cheapening and cheapening until today the credit of the United States commands money at a premium at two per cent, which is one per cent lower than any other nation on earth can command it.

Forming combinations? Yes. But all the while, with this great wealth in individual hands desiring favorable investment, month by month and year by year enterprising citizens desiring gain establish additional industries. Take the census of 1900. It is a great thing to have the figures correctly tabulated. According to the facts, and the census of 1900 shows it, only fourteen per cent of the factory product came from the establishments of the so-called trusts in the United States, while eighty-six per cent of the factory product came from their competitors in individual and smaller ownership. And it is bound to be that way, as you will see if you will stop

and think. There are eighty million of our people. If some man conceives the idea that when he dies wisdom will have departed, and that he can corner the air and the water and the sun light, he will find eighty million people, who compose our civilization, who will not only make the law go into force, but by competition and enterprise will demonstrate that the declaration of the enemy is a falsehood.

Can you prove it? Yes. Just a minute. In the last two years the wind and the water that came from over-capitalization in forming the so-called trusts have been squeezed out. There are people who make "mouthbets" about the price of the securities of watered companies and companies that have gas on top of the water, made by the printing press, who stand around and say, "it is the most extraordinary shrinkage in values that was ever known." "How much?" "Oh, a good many hundreds of millions." The Wall Street Journal says over a billion six hundred million. And yet every dollar of property, every particle of property that was represented by this over-capitalization two years ago is still with us. (Applause.) The fools who bet the stock to go down and the fools who bet it to go up can fight it out. It does not make one particle of difference to the eighty million people who live in the sweat of their faces and do a legitimate business. (Applause.) They move right on.

Gentlemen, we have the protection that comes from the law, from a sound and healthful public opinion, from an active and righteous public sentiment, and we have the protection growing out of the desire of our people to invest in enterprises in which a dollar of securities represents a dollar of investment or a dollar of capital; and when such a factory comes into competition with one which has cost a hundred cents, and is burdened with another hundred cents common, and another hundred cents gas, and another hundred cents moonshine, we know the inevitable result looked at from the inexorable laws of trade and commerce. (Applause.) It is working out. It is all right.

But says our enemy, "My God; look at the strikes you are having in this country." That is their strong suit—strikes; strikes. (Laughter.) Now, what is a strike? There is first an effort by the employer and the employee to agree how the profit shall be divided. If the employee does not get as much as he thinks he ought to get, after arbitration has been tried he strikes. They quarrel about something or the division of something. It is absolutely necessary, in order to have a strike, that there should be a profit. Great God, how many strikes were there under Cleveland when the Democrats had the running of the country? (Laughter and applause.) Not many, because the profits were scarce. There is the whole story.

"But," say our enemies, "outrageous things are done by the employer when he oppresses the laborer, and outrageous things are done by some laborers when they go on a strike." Yes, outrageous things are done in some of our best governed churches, as well as amongst those who do not belong to any church.

Once in a while a citizen commits larceny. Once in a while a man commits arson. Once in a while a man is guilty of homicide. The law is made to protect society against the man who will not obey the law and who makes war on his neighbors. (Applause.) That is what it is for. Yes, there are law breaking and disorder—law breaking in the formation of trusts; law breaking at times in the organizations of labor when they go on strike. But the great body of the American people who own the wealth are not for the trusts, and the great body of labor, honest men who live in the sweat of their faces, are not for law breaking in strikes. (Applause.) The law, the sheet anchor of civilization, is strong enough to pull down the strongest and strong enough to curb the weaker and the vicious. It is strong enough, like the grace of God, to throw its arms about the weakest and the poorest and bring him under its protection. (Applause.) All must obey the law under Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) He has seen and is seeing and will continue to see that without favor or affection the law shall be supreme and universal within our borders.

A few more words and I shall have concluded. Our government is of the people. It is divided into co-ordinate branches—the courts, the judges of which hold office for life or during good behavior; the executive; the Congress, which consists of two co-ordinate branches, the House and the Senate, great legislative bodies. They could not be otherwise, born as they are of eighty million people who are competent for self government. (Applause.) In the Senate the tenure is for six years. The great popular body, near to the people, that reflects the sentiment of the people, is chosen every two years.

You know that under our form of government the party in power is held responsible. The function of the minority is to put the majority on good behavior by being ever ready to appeal to the people. Let me tell you something. If our government has a fault, it is that, at times, after an election, a party is only partially placed in power; in other words, it is in power on only on leg—in only one or at most two departments of the government. It may have the Senate; it may have the Presidency; or it may have the House. It goes along on crutches. Yet you want to hold it responsible to public sentiment. If I had the power I would so change our Constitution that at every quadrennial election the party that received the popular approval would go fully into power and let the public have a government according to the sentiment expressed at the ballot box. (Applause.) But we have not got it arranged quite that way.

What is the next best thing? You like Theodore Roosevelt? Yes. Stronger than his party, he will be triumphantly elected. (Applause.) You like the Senate of the United States? Yes. It is a great body. It will be Republican for two years more. It cannot be changed short of that time. The people could change it at the end of four years, electing a third of the body every two years. You like the policies of the great popular body, three hundred and eighty-six strong, coming with warrants of attorney from the people to cast their votes for them.

If you approve of Roosevelt, if you approve of the Republican policies, you are short-sighted if you refuse a working Republican majority in the House of Representatives, because you cannot keep Republican house without it.

I am done. I have already detained you longer than I expected. In conclusion, let me again say that we are proud of the present; we are hopeful of the future. The twentieth century is to bring more of good or evil to the human race than the nineteenth century brought. Under what party banner will you enlist? Under that of the reactionists? Under that of the people who will sit still or tear down? Or will you take service with the party of Lincoln, and Grant, and Garfield, and Harrison, and McKinley, and Roosevelt, and help us march on? (Applause.)

Speaking to the living in the presence of the dead, tears for them and admiration for the great things that they accomplished, the glory of our race and of our civilization is that each generation works out its own salvation and marches forward to success and the betterment of the condition of mankind, and as they drop into the grave, their successors move on to the stage of action, holding fast all that the past has given us and going in turn a generation's march further on for the benefit of the race and of civilization. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL.

Mr. VOLNEY W. FOSTER, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, the pleasant duty has been assigned me to present to you this emblem of authority. The firmness of its wood and the purity of the imposed metal are symbols of the characteristics which you possess in such an eminent degree. I hope you may live long and that your life may be devoted to the best uses of the Republic.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I accept the gavel with thanks, and appreciate the kindly sentiment expressed toward me by the citizens of my own State.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Is the committee ready to report?

Mr. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—I am directed by your Committee on Rules and Order of Business to submit their unanimous report for the approval of the convention.

In 1888 the rules that had governed the preceding conventions of the party were gone over with great care and thoroughness. The convention of that year adopted a set of rules, and from that day to this, the body of the order of procedure has been changed but in a limited number of its rules or provisions. Your committee has followed the action of like committees in preceding conventions, but several changes are made in the rules because of the inclusion of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, and there has been inserted a rule recommended by the Secretary of the National Committee.



COLONEL CHARLES W. JOHNSON, of Minnesota,
General Secretary Republican National Conventions of 1892, 1896, 1900 and
1904.

in order that in making up the roll of delegates and alternates and contested seats, a better submission may be made than has heretofore been made in the absence of any rule.

In full recognition of the fairness and familiarity of your Presiding Officer today, in order that he may feel perfectly at home in this convention, as he always does in the Speaker's chair in the House, we have adopted the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-eighth Congress, when not inconsistent with the rules submitted for this convention.

If I can invoke the generous patience of this convention—I understand that copies of the rules have been distributed for the convenience of delegates—I will proceed to read the report of the committee.

Mr. BINGHAM proceeded to read the report.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a suggestion. Copies of the report which my friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, is reading are in the hands of the whole convention, and I suggest whether it is necessary for the gentleman to proceed further with its reading.

Mr. BINGHAM.—If the further reading of the report can be dispensed with, it will be very agreeable to me.

Mr. CULLOM.—I ask unanimous consent that that course may be pursued.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent of the convention, the gentleman from Pennsylvania yielding for that purpose, that the further reading of the report be dispensed with. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report in full is as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business have attended to the duties assigned them, and respectfully report the following rules:

Rule I. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of each Senator and Representative in Congress; six delegates each from the Territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma; six from Alaska, two from the District of Columbia, two from Hawaii,* two from Porto Rico, and two from the Philippine Islands; provided, that during this convention only the order already made as to the aforesaid delegates from the Philippine Islands, giving them six seats with two votes, shall continue.

Rule II. The rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-eighth Congress shall be the rules of the Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules:

Rule III. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand is seconded by two or more States, and the call is sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with, and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

*For this convention only was, by special vote, allowed six delegates. See page 129.

Rule IV. A motion to suspend the rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of the delegates from any State, and seconded by a majority of the delegates from not less than two other States.

Rule V. It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure, and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it, or prejudice such measure.

Rule VI. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order and next the Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands.

Rule VII. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of a candidate for President and Vice-President.

Rule VIII. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands in the order heretofore established.

Rule IX. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll-call that any candidate has received the majority of votes to which the Convention is entitled, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidate shall have received such majority, the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any State has announced its votes it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule X. In the record of the votes, the vote of each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall be announced by the Chairman, and in case the vote of any State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico or the Philippine Islands shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes for any candidate, or for or against any proposition, but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the vote individually given.

Rule XI. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of the names of candidates.

Rule XII. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as member of said committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention within sixty days at least before the time fixed for said meeting, and each Congressional District in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a member for Congress is made in said District, and in Territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of a delegate to Congress is made, and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode of selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the

absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as a delegate is elected. Delegates-at-large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States. Twenty days before the day set for the meeting of the National Convention the credentials of each delegate and alternate shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the National Committee, for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention. Notices of contests shall be forwarded in the same manner and within the same limits of time. And when the Convention shall have assembled and the Committee on Credentials shall have been appointed, the Secretary of the National Committee shall deliver to the said Committee on Credentials all credentials and other papers forwarded under this rule.

Rule XIII. The Republican National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an executive committee to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the National Committee.

Rule XIV. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Rule XV. No person except members of the several delegations and officers of the Convention shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule XVI. The Convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

First. Report of the Committee on Credentials.

Second. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Third. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Fourth. Naming members of the National Committee.

Fifth. Presentation of names of Candidates for President.

Sixth. Balloting.

Seventh. Presentation of names of Candidates for Vice-President.

Eighth. Balloting.

Ninth. Call of the roll of States, Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, for names of delegates to serve respectively on Committees, to notify the nominees for President and Vice-President of their selection for said offices.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

HENRY H. BINGHAM (Pa.), Chairman.

H. B. MAXSON (Nev.), Secretary.

RENO S. HARP (Maryland)

J. M. STEVENS (Idaho)

Assistant Secretaries.

Mr. BINGHAM.—I move you, sir, the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves the adoption of the report.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—For what purpose does the gentleman from Ohio rise?

Mr. FORAKER.—To offer an amendment to the report.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman will send the amendment to the desk.

Mr. FORAKER.—I offer it at the request of the delegation from Hawaii.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The amendment, which is in the form of a resolution, will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved. That the report of the Committee on Rules be amended so as to allow the six delegates from Hawaii six votes, in conformity with her sister Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Alaska.

Mr. FORAKER.—In support of the amendment I call attention to the fact that Hawaii is a Territory, made so by legislative enactment, and is entitled to the same treatment that is accorded every other Territory. Each of the other Territories is given six delegates. In the call of the National Committee Hawaii as a Territory was asked to send six delegates, and Alaska, which is not a Territory, but only a district, was asked to send four delegates. This committee has reported that Alaska shall have six delegates, and Hawaii, which is a Territory, shall have only two delegates, and that every other Territory shall have six delegates. We do not object to Alaska having six delegates if the committee see fit so to provide, but that Hawaii should be discriminated against is what is complained of on the part of the Hawaiian delegation, and I think justly.

Governor Carter, who represents that delegation, is on the platform, and I would be glad to have the convention hear him. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE R. CARTER, of Hawaii.—Gentlemen of the convention of the Republican party, there seems to be an impression in some quarters that Hawaii is not a Territory. I rise to assure you that Hawaii is on the map of the United States and among the Territories of America, and not in the list of its possessions. (Applause.) Twelve good, stalwart Republicans have traveled five thousand miles to show our allegiance to this party. (Applause.) We are too good American citizens to sit still in the face of discrimination, and too loyal Republicans to see this convention take action which will injure it even in the isles beyond the sea; those emerald isles, the paradise of the Pacific. (Applause.) God grant that it may not occur, but in the struggle of the future if there should arise a contest on the Pacific Ocean, Hawaii will be necessary to America, and the people of Hawaii will not be found wanting. (Applause.)

Mr. A. J. HOPKINS, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, I trust that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio will not be adopted by this convention, and that the enthusiasm which was displayed by the delegate from the Hawaiian Islands will not carry the members of this convention away from what is just and proper in determining the personnel of a great national convention. I do not yield even to the delegate from Hawaii in my admiration for those islands, and in my zeal to support any legislation that will benefit the people of the islands.

It was my province and my pleasure by my vote to assist in making the Hawaiian Islands a part of the United States, and ever since that time I have voted always for legislation that would benefit their people. But when we come to a great national convention, we should not treat the people of the islands any better than we treat the people in a congressional district in the State of Illinois, or in the Empire State of New York.

Under the rules which have been proposed here by this committee, the great congressional district in Illinois that the Speaker of the House of

Representatives represents, having a population of two hundred thousand people, is entitled to only two delegates in this convention. The Islands of Hawaii have a population of only one hundred and fifty thousand. I wish to know whether we are prepared now to give one hundred and fifty thousand people in that little Territory, greater privileges in this convention than we give a congressional district in the State of Illinois, or in the State of New York, or any of the other great States that form this mighty Republic?

The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) has stated that Hawaii is a Territory, but I do not recognize that she is entitled, simply by reason of that fact, to the same representation that we would give a million people in the Territory of Oklahoma, or that we would give two hundred thousand people in one of the congressional districts in the State which he so ably represents in part in the Senate of the United States. If it be a question of Territory, then I should be in favor of cutting down the representation from the Territories rather than to give the one hundred and fifty thousand people in the Hawaiian Islands a representation of six delegates in a national convention.

You must remember, gentlemen, that we are establishing a precedent here today. We have only one candidate now, and the net result will be the same whether we have two delegates or six delegates from the Hawaiian Islands. But if we once establish the precedent, the time may come when the six delegates representing the one hundred and fifty thousand people of the Hawaiian Islands may determine who our standard-bearer shall be. (Applause.) And that is one of the reasons why I am opposed today to the increase of the representation from Hawaii. You must remember that this is an act of grace upon our part. When the campaign comes upon us, when we are fighting the common enemy, and seeking to carry to triumphant success Republican principles, to elect a Republican President, these people in the Territories and the Hawaiian Islands cannot give us any aid. They may by their votes give us a candidate who would imperil an electoral ticket in one of the great States of the Republic. Hence, without taking up your time further, I trust the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio will be voted down. (Applause.)

Mr. WILLIAM M. K. OLCOTT, of New York.—How about the six votes from Alaska?

Mr. HOPKINS.—I said I should be willing to cut down that representation rather than to increase this.

Mr. J. W. BABCOCK, of Wisconsin, obtained the floor.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio, addressed the Chair.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Babcock) is recognized. If he does not press recognition at this time—

Mr. BABCOCK.—I will withhold for the present.

Mr. J. W. MCKINLEY, of California.—California desires to press for recognition.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Wisconsin was first recognized; does he withdraw his request?

Mr. BABCOCK.—Yes, sir.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under the rules, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) having spoken once, he cannot speak again, although the Chair will submit a request for unanimous consent in his behalf, if desired.

Mr. A. J. HOPKINS, of Illinois.—I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio be heard.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? The Chair hears none.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the convention, there is much in what was said by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hopkins) with which we all sympathize, and when the proper time comes for making another precedent, we will all listen to his reasoning. But I submit that it is too late to raise the objection which in this case has been made.

I call attention again to the fact that Hawaii is a Territory of the United States. (Applause.) She has been given a territorial government, and that action of the Congress of the United States was in accordance with the provisions of the law annexing Hawaii. Hawaii, therefore, stands before us when it comes to the matter of representation, in precisely the same light that every other Territory stands before us. (Applause.)

New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma and the Indian Territory were all by the call of the National Committee allowed six delegates. I think they might perhaps have lessened that representation without giving cause to anybody to make just complaint, but they did not do it. They gave each six delegates, and recognizing that Alaska is not a Territory, but only a district, they provided that Alaska should have four delegates.

The population of Hawaii is as great as the population of Alaska, and greater. The population of Hawaii is as great as the population of Arizona, and greater. The population of Hawaii is almost as great as the population of New Mexico. There is not, therefore, I submit, any just reason for saying now, after Hawaii has sent here at great expense six delegates all the way from the Islands to represent her in response to our call, that we will draw the line and cut her down to two.

The committee has given, and the convention will be giving, if it approves the action of the committee, six delegates to Alaska, a district, when only four were authorized; and six delegates to New Mexico and Arizona, each, when Hawaii, a Territory with substantially equal population, is to get but two. That is a discrimination against which we complain. What we want is that all shall be treated alike, and when the next call is issued the matter can be considered, and if it shall then be deemed wise to make a change in representation, it can be made at that time on some basis just to all. But we ought not to make it now, as an act of discrimination, after Hawaii, in response to our invitation, has sent six delegates all the way from Hawaii. We should not now exclude four and admit only two of the six. (Applause.)

Mr. J. W. BABCOCK, of Wisconsin.—Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Rules I wish to say that the delegates from Hawaii have already been seated in this convention and occupy seats on this floor at the present time. The National Committee and the Committee on Rules reported identically the same, that the six delegates should cast two votes. The Committee on Rules desires to deal equitably as far as possible, and in this case gave Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia two votes each.

I appeal to the delegates of this convention, and call their attention to the character of the population in the respective political subdivisions. The District of Columbia with three hundred thousand intelligent American people has but two delegates. The gentleman has stated that Hawaii has one hundred and fifty thousand people. The records show that but a short time ago Hawaii had more than two hundred thousand; that the population decreased to about one hundred and twenty-five thousand, and today is probably one hundred and forty thousand, according to the best information we can get.

Mr. Chairman, as has been well stated by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hopkins), are we to give territory, far distant from the shores of our mainland, which was not a part of the Louisiana purchase, as much representation as other Territories which form a part of the mainland here? Are we to give a population of one hundred and twenty-five thousand in those islands the same representation as a Territory in the United States? I do not wish, gentlemen, to make any criticism of the character of the population of the respective localities, but I suggest that gentlemen make a mental comparison of the population of the islands, to which it is asked that we give six delegates, with three Representative districts in the great State of New York, which would be entitled to an equal number of delegates—districts inhabited by strong, intelligent American citizens. And yet this amendment proposes to give those islands the same representation in the great national convention; that their delegates are to come here, representing one hundred and twenty-five thousand people, with the same voice that six hundred thousand people in the great State of New York have.

Mr. Chairman, if the convention purposes seriously to consider this amendment, I want to add another political subdivision. I want the District of Columbia to have six representatives; I want the State of Wisconsin, in which I reside, to have seventy-eight. We have just as good Republicans there as in any other State in the Union, and I can not see, Mr. Chairman, why we are not entitled to the same representation as any other equal area of territory. (Applause.)

Mr. J. W. MCKINLEY, of California.—Mr. Chairman, those who are seeking the adoption of this amendment have not complained of any bad faith or unfairness on the part of the committee, but they do say that the theories upon which the committee have acted are not in accordance with those upon which representation is to be determined according to the precedents and according to the other portions of this report.

The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Babcock) raises the question not only as to population, but also as to the character of that population. Both of those matters as to representation from the Territories are false quantities because, as far as the population is concerned, they are not applicable to the rules under which the representation of Territories is determined. Character of population has no bearing whatever upon the representation of either States or Territories. (Applause.) Time after time the Republican party has turned down the proposition to determine anything with reference to representation upon the basis of the character of the population. They have recognized the fact that in the Southern States the numbers that largely go to make up the population belong to a party which is not to be represented in the halls of a Republican gathering. They have laid down the proposition that Republicans wherever they are are entitled to adequate representation, and that the character of the population is not to be considered and is not a proper element for consideration in this matter.

The State of California, which I represent, standing at the gateway through which come the Hawaiian representatives, recognizing the importance of the extension of our interests throughout the Orient, recognizing the fact that the Republican party in determining representation from the Territories looks to the future as well as to the present, believes that, in recognition of our great policy, we should extend our hands to the Hawaiians coming here from their homes over five thousand miles distant, nearly three thousand of which are across the sea. We believe they should have such representation as will enable them to go home to their people and say that from a Republican convention they received a welcome and a God-speed which encourages them to feel that in the future, as in the past, the great Republican party extends its protecting power to the islands of the sea and to all people, whatever their character may be. (Applause.)

Mr. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the action of your Committee on Rules, I will state that the matter of the increase of representation from Hawaii was considered by your committee, and it was determined that they should have the same representation in this convention, as well as in the future, as they have had in the past. We increased the representation of Alaska from four to six. Alaska has been on the roll of national conventions for many years, and her original increase was from two to four, and for the last sixteen years her representation has been four. Alaska has poured into the industries and treasury of the country millions upon millions of dollars, and in recognition of that industry and tribute to the Republic, we increased the representation from four to six. (Applause.)

Now further, it must not be forgotten that perhaps in the future the contests may be closer in determination than they are in this convention, where it seems to be an easy line of expression to determine who shall be our standard bearers. Had the Territories in the convention in Cincinnati which nominated President Hayes had the representation that they have in

this convention, they could have changed and perhaps would have changed the determination of that convention.

There are now from the Territories, from Oklahoma, Porto Rico, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, etc., all told, thirty-eight representatives in this convention; they have nine members of the National Committee; and in defense of your Committee on Rules, I submit that we were acting in perfect fairness when we continued, as we did, the rule giving two as the representation from Hawaii.

Now a word as to the action of the National Committee. In their call for this convention they called for six delegates and alternates from Hawaii. The National Committee went beyond their authority. The authority under which the National Committee in the organization of the next convention will operate is the rules adopted by this convention. The National Committee in existence a few days ago operated under the rules of the convention of 1900 at Philadelphia. That convention determined that Hawaii should have two delegates.

Now, with full recognition of the patriotic and the party sentiment that has brought here this representation thousands of miles from Hawaii, and in consonance with the action of the convention yesterday in giving representation to the Philippines, I offer to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) and would ask his acceptance of a substitute, which I think will cover future policy as well as meet the sentiment expressed with reference to the creditable performance on the part of the delegates from Hawaii in journeying to this convention. The substitute, which I will now read, follows the action of the convention yesterday with reference to the Philippine Islands:

"That the representation of Hawaii shall be two delegates; provided, that this shall not impair the rights and privileges of the six delegates already seated in this convention."

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves an amendment, by way of substitute, to the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio. The substitute will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

"That the representation of Hawaii shall be two delegates; provided, that this shall not impair the rights and privileges of the six delegates already seated in this convention."

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—I wish to say in answer to the question propounded to me by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Bingham) that I do not see why, if this substitute is to be now adopted, it should not be made to apply to Alaska, Arizona and New Mexico as well, because they have no greater population, and neither New Mexico nor Arizona has any advantage over Hawaii, all being Territories alike.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Bingham) for the amendment submitted by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker). (Putting the question.): The "ayes" seem to have it.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—A division.

Mr. M. G. WALSH, of Illinois.—A roll call.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under the rule a roll call can be ordered on the demand of two States. Does any State demand a roll call?

Mr. J. W. MCKINLEY, of California.—California demands a roll call.

Mr. H. C. HANSBROUGH, of North Dakota.—North Dakota seconds the demand.

The demand was also seconded by Mr. J. B. Foraker on behalf of Ohio and by Mr. John W. Springer on behalf of Colorado.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will call the roll of States, and the chairman of each delegation will report the yeas and nays.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—It is requested that the substitute be again read. Some delegates wish to hear it again.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the absence of objection, the Clerk will again read the substitute.

Mr. FORAKER.—If it is not too late, I move to amend the substitute by including Alaska, Arizona and New Mexico.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—That can not be done, as the roll call has been ordered.

It has been requested that the substitute be again read. The Clerk will read it.

The READING CLERK again read the substitute.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will call the roll on the question of agreeing to the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Bingham) for the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Foraker).

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois (when Illinois was called).—I ask the convention to allow Illinois to be passed for the moment.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the absence of objection, Illinois will be passed for the time being.

Mr. GEORGE R. CARTER, of Hawaii (when Hawaii was called).—Hawaii does not vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois.—Illinois is now prepared to vote. She casts 34 yeas and 20 nays.

Mr. M. G. WALSH, of Illinois.—I challenge the vote of Illinois, and call for a poll of the delegation.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The vote of Illinois is challenged. Upon what ground does the gentleman challenge the vote?

Mr. EDGAR F. OLSON, of Illinois.—Upon the ground that I do not think the poll of the delegation has been completed.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, the report made to the chairman of the delegation was as I stated it to be. If there is any mistake about it—

Mr. M. G. WALSH, of Illinois.—I withdraw the challenge.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Illinois withdraws his challenge, and the vote will stand as recorded.

The result was announced, Yeas 495, Nays 490, as follows:

States or Territories.	Whole Number Delegates.	Yeas.	Nays.
Alabama	22	4	18
Arkansas	18	1	17
California	20	..	20
Colorado	10	..	10
Connecticut	14	..	14
Delaware	6	1	5
Florida	10	..	8
Georgia	26	..	26
Idaho	6	..	6
Illinois	54	34	20
Indiana	30	28	2
Iowa	26	..	26
Kansas	20	20	..
Kentucky	26	18	8
Louisiana	18	9	9
Maine	12	4	8
Maryland	16	16	..
Massachusetts	32	32	..
Michigan	28	14	14
Minnesota	22	..	22
Mississippi	20	..	20
Missouri	36	14	22
Montana	6	4	2
Nebraska	16	14	2
Nevada	6	6	..
New Hampshire	8	2	5
New Jersey	24	10	14
New York	78	71	7
North Carolina	24	12	12
North Dakota	8	..	8
Ohio	46	2	44
Oregon	8	..	8
Pennsylvania	68	68	..
Rhode Island	8	8	..
South Carolina	18	9	9
South Dakota	8	..	8
Tennessee	24	17	7
Texas	36	1	35
Utah	6	1	5
Vermont	8	8	..
Virginia	24	24	..
Washington	10	..	10
West Virginia	14	14	..
Wisconsin	26	26	..
Wyoming	6	1	5
District of Columbia	2	..	2
Alaska	6	..	6
Arizona	6	..	6
Indian Territory	6	..	6
New Mexico	6	..	6
Oklahoma	6	2	4
*Hawaii	*6
Philippine Islands	2	..	2
Porto Rico	2	..	2
Totals	994	495	490

*This Convention only.

So Mr. Bingham's substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. Foraker was agreed to.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is upon agreeing to the amendment as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—I call for a vote on the adoption of the report.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business as amended.

The report as amended was agreed to.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is the committee ready to report?

Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, rose.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman, I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions, by a unanimous vote, to make the following report:

Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence dedicated among other purposes to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years. This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of Civil War.

We then found the country after four years of Democratic rule in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, and standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint and confidence was gone.



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts,
Who was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff; and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

We firmly established the gold standard which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish war had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the government.

The public credit which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and protection of our honor and our interests.

Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered, the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress.

In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and, therefore, rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity: a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Re-

publican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages and heavy subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and watch over our commerce, is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was

assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike, which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of winter in 1902.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful.

The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route, but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made, and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage, but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law; that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

(The reading of the report was received with great applause.)

Mr. LODGE.—Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions which I have just read.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The report was unanimously agreed to.

ION PERDICARIS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—With the consent of the convention the Chair will direct the Clerk to read a dispatch from Washington, which has been verified, received through the courtesy of the Scripps-McRae Newspaper Association.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

“The following message was sent in consequence of a dispatch received from Admiral Chadwick, which intimated very strongly that the Moroccan government was not acting in good faith. The exact hitch in the negotiation has not been made public.

“Bulletin.

“Washington, June 22.

“Secretary of State Hay has sent instructions to Consul General Samuel R. Gummer, as follows:

“We want either Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead.” (Applause.)

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next order of business is the calling of the roll by States for the presentation of names of persons chosen members of the Republican National Committee, and also for the presentation of names of persons chosen honorary Vice-Presidents. The Chair is informed that the Secretary has a full report as to both of these rolls, and if there be no objection he will read the same, and if they are not proper, corrections can be made as they are read.

The Reading Clerk proceeded to read the list of names presented by the various delegations for members of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. H. W. ROBINSON, of Louisiana (when the nomination of Louisiana was read).—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I rise to make a correction for Louisiana.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ROBINSON.—We ask permission to withdraw the nomination already made by us, and that Louisiana be passed until tomorrow morning.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Is such the request of the delegation? If so, in the absence of objection, it is so ordered.

The Reading Clerk concluded the reading of the list, which, as finally made up, is as follows:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

GEORGE B. CORTELYOU, New York,
Chairman.

ELMER DOVER, Ohio,
Secretary.

CORNELIUS BLISS, New York,
Treasurer.

WILLIAM F. STONE, Maryland,
Sergeant-at-Arms.

State.	Name.
Alabama.....	CHAS. H. SCOTT
Arkansas.....	POWELL CLAYTON
California.....	GEORGE A. KNIGHT
Colorado.....	A. M. STEVENSON
Connecticut.....	CHAS. F. BROOKER
Delaware.....	JOHN EDWARD ADDICKS
Florida.....	J. N. COOMBS
Georgia.....	JUDSON W. LYONS
Idaho.....	W. B. HEYBURN
Illinois.....	FRANK O. LOWDEN
Indiana.....	HARRY S. NEW
Iowa.....	ERNEST E. HART
Kansas.....	DAVID W. MULVANE
Kentucky.....	JOHN W. YERKES
Louisiana.....	
Maine.....	JOHN F. HILL
Maryland.....	LOUIS E. McCOMAS
Massachusetts.....	W. MURRAY CRANE
Michigan.....	JOHN W. BLODGETT
Minnesota.....	FRANK D. KELLOGG
Mississippi.....	L. B. MOSELEY
Missouri.....	THOMAS J. AKIN
Montana.....	JOHN D. WAITE
Nebraska.....	CHAS. H. MORRILL
Nevada.....	PATRICK L. FLANIGAN
New Hampshire.....	FRANK S. STREETER
New Jersey.....	FRANKLIN MURPHY
New York.....	WM. L. WARD
North Carolina.....	E. C. DUNCAN
North Dakota.....	ALEXANDER MCKENZIE
Ohio.....	MYRON T. HERRICK
Oregon.....	CHAS. H. CAREY
Pennsylvania.....	BOIES PENROSE
Rhode Island.....	CHAS. R. BRAYTON
South Carolina.....	JOHN G. CAPERS
South Dakota.....	J. M. GREENE
Tennessee.....	WALTER P. BROWNLOW
Texas.....	CECIL A. LYON
Utah.....	C. E. LOOSE
Vermont.....	JAMES. W. BROCK
Virginia.....	GEORGE E. BOWDEN
Washington.....	LEVI ANKENY
West Virginia.....	N. B. SCOTT
Wisconsin.....	HENRY C. PAYNE
Wyoming.....	GEORGE E. PEXTON

TERRITORIES, ETC.

Alaska.....	JOHN G. HEID
Arizona.....	W. S. STURGES
New Mexico.....	SOLOMON LUNA
Oklahoma.....	C. M. CADE
Indian Territory.....	P. L. SOPER
District of Columbia.....	ROBERT REYBURN
Hawaii.....	A. G. M. ROBERTSON
Porto Rico.....	R. H. TODD
Philippine Islands.....	HENRY B. MCCOY

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will now read the list of honorary Vice-Presidents.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

States or Territories—	Name.
Alabama.....	J. W. HUGHES, SR.
Arkansas.....	CHAS. N. RIX
California.....	E. D. ROBERTS
Colorado.....	JAMES H. PEABODY
Connecticut.....	DONALD T. WARNER
Delaware.....	JOHN HUNN
Florida.....	WALTER G. ROBINSON
Georgia.....	J. S. GARRETT
Idaho.....	C. J. HALL
Illinois.....	CHARLES H. DEERE
Indiana.....	ISAAC STRAUSS
Iowa.....	A. B. CUMMINS
Kansas.....	J. H. RICHARDS
Kentucky.....	HENRY L. STONE
Louisiana.....	B. V. BARANCO
Maine.....	ALBERT A. BURLEIGH
Maryland.....	STEVENSON A. WILLIAMS
Massachusetts.....	JOHN D. LONG
Michigan.....	DEXTER M. FERRY
Minnesota.....	C. A. SMITH
Mississippi.....	F. W. COLLINS
Missouri.....	WM. WARNER
Montana.....	LEE MANTLE
Nebraska.....	FRANK HELVEY
Nevada.....	R. S. MEACHAM
New Hampshire.....	BERTRAM ELLIS
New Jersey.....	DAVID BAIRD
New York.....	JOHN RAINES
North Carolina.....	T. S. ROLLINS
North Dakota.....	L. B. HANNA
Ohio.....	J. E. LOWES
Oregon.....	C. W. HODSON
Pennsylvania.....	W. W. GRIEST
Rhode Island.....	CHARLES ALEXANDER
South Carolina.....	L. W. C. BLALOCK
South Dakota.....	J. R. HUGHES
Tennessee.....	N. W. HALE
Texas.....	WEBSTER FLANAGAN
Utah.....	HERSCHEL BULLEN, JR.

States or Territories—	Name.
Vermont.....	HIRAM N. TURNER
Virginia.....	JOHN ACKER
Washington.....	GEO. DONALD
West Virginia.....	C. H. SHATTUCK
Wisconsin.....	EMIL BAENSCH
Wyoming.....	N. K. BOSWELL
District of Columbia.....	JOHN F. COOK
Alaska.....	W. D. GRANT
Arizona.....	W. H. BROPHY
Indian Territory.....	WILLIAM M. MELLETTE
New Mexico.....	FRANK A. HUBBELL
Oklahoma.....	JOHN H. COTTERAL
Hawaii.....	W. H. HOGS
Philippine Islands.....	J. S. STANLEY
Porto Rico.....

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. H. GALLINGER, of New Hampshire.—Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution for the consideration of the convention.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New Hampshire submits a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

“Resolved, That the Republican National Committee be, and it is hereby, empowered to fill all vacancies in its membership.”

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the resolution presented by the gentleman from New Hampshire.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. JOHN KEAN, of New Jersey.—I move, Mr. Chairman, that the convention adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. GRAEME STEWART, of Illinois.—I second the motion.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey, which the gentleman from Illinois seconds, that the convention adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the convention adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, June 23, 1904, at 10 o'clock a. m.

THIRD DAY

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANK S. BLACK, NOMINATING THEODORE ROOSEVELT FOR PRESIDENT—SECONDDING SPEECH BY HON. A. J. BEVERIDGE—HISTORIC FLAG—OTHER ADDRESSES BY HON. GEO. A. KNIGHT, HON. H. S. EDWARDS, HON. WM. O. BRADLEY, HON. JOSEPH B. COTTON, HON. HARRY S. CUMMINGS—ROOSEVELT UNANIMOUSLY NOMINATED—ADDRESS OF HON. J. P. DOLLIVER NOMINATING CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS FOR VICE PRESIDENT—SECONDDING SPEECH BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW—OTHER ADDRESSES BY HON. J. B. FORAKER, HON. S. W. PENNYPACKER, HON. THOMAS H. CARTER—FAIRBANKS UNANIMOUSLY NOMINATED FOR VICE PRESIDENT—NOTIFICATION COMMITTEES—RESOLUTIONS—ADJOURNMENT.

CONVENTION HALL

THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, ILL., Thursday, June 23, 1904.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (at 10 o'clock and 30 minutes a. m.)—The convention will be opened with prayer by Rev. Thaddeus A. Snively.

PRAYER OF REV. THADDEUS A. SNIVELY.

Rev. THADDEUS A. SNIVELY, of Chicago, Ill., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Infinite and Eternal, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, with profound reverence we acknowledge Thee as the source of life and strength, the Giver of every good and perfect gift. Blessed Lord, we pray Thee for our country, the dear land for which our fathers fought in the long strife for human liberty. Thou hast made it the land of the free and the home of the brave. We pray so to guide us by Thy power and wisdom that our liberty may never degenerate into license, and that our people may be brave, not simply with brute courage to face force and violence, but with the higher moral power which makes us strong to battle for truth and honor and noble principle.

We beseech Thee to give to our whole nation the strong desire and purpose to uphold law and order and to seek noble character and true integrity as the most sublime achievements of the race. Grant, we pray Thee, that

the benumbing touch of material possessions, or the lust of power, may never blind us to the true greatness and glory of moral advancement. Help us ever to remember that the fathers of this government were patriots of never-dying fame because they believed that poverty and defeat with unsullied honor are far better than vast wealth and world-wide influence purchased at the cost of shame. We beseech Thee, O Thou God of love and peace, to keep from us all those who would overthrow the old standards of peace and harmony and brotherhood; and grant that the sense of true brotherly love and mutual respect may prevail among all classes and conditions of our people; that peace and justice may be our aim and ambition both within and beyond our borders.

In this seedtime of the year, we pray to bless the harvest. May abundant crops be the reward of the husbandmen, whose labors make possible the feeding of the vast multitudes of Thy children—abundant increase of grain and fruits to keep in busy movement the mighty engines of commerce and the looms and machines of human industry—that thus hunger and idleness and want may be kept far away from our people and prosperity dwell within our country.

Our Heavenly Father, we pray Thee to send Thy blessing upon all our country and all our people, and especially upon all those in authority, upon the President of the United States, upon the Governors of all the States, upon the Congress of the Nation, and upon the Legislatures of the different Commonwealths, and upon all who occupy places of trust and responsibility; that they, knowing whose ministers they are, may above all things seek Thy honor and glory.

Upon this great multitude here gathered, we ask Thy blessing. Keep before us, we pray Thee, high motive and lofty aim, and grant, in Thy infinite goodness, that this convention may have its part in holding aloft the highest ideals and most glorious standards of true citizenship. Wilt Thou so direct their deliberations that the best results for our dear country may be advanced by their work, that thus they may do their part in helping to the ordering and settling of all things upon the surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations.

Finally we pray for all the people of this land, that Thou wouldst direct us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favor and further us with Thy continual help; that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy Holy Name, and finally, by Thy mercy, obtain everlasting life, through Him who hast taught us to say—

Our Father, Who art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.



HON. FRANK S. BLACK, of New York,
Who Made the Address Placing Theodore Roosevelt in Nomination for the
Presidency.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will read an announcement.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

"On the 6th day of July at Jackson, Mich., will be celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party, the time and place where it received its name. Secretary Hay will deliver the principal address and Senator Fairbanks and others will be present and speak. A cordial invitation is extended to all."

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the calling of the roll of States for the presentation of names of candidates for President of the United States.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. OSCAR R. HUNDLEY, of Alabama (when Alabama was called).—The State of Alabama requests the privilege and the distinguished honor of yielding its place upon the call to the State of New York. (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Alabama yields to New York.

Mr. Frank S. Black, of New York, was escorted to the platform.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It is my privilege and great pleasure to introduce to this convention my ex-colleague in the House of Representatives from the great Empire State, one of the most magnificent orators, and a Republican by nature—ex-Governor Black. (Applause.)

NOMINATING SPEECH OF MR. FRANK S. BLACK, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. BLACK, of New York.—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: We are here to inaugurate a campaign which seems already to be nearly closed. So wisely have the people sowed and watched and tended, there seems little now to do but to measure up the grain. They are ranging themselves not for battle but for harvest. In one column reaching from the Maine woods to the Puget Sound are those people and those states which have stood so long together, that when great emergencies arise the nation turns instinctively to them. In this column, vast and solid, is a majority so overwhelming that the scattered squads in opposition can hardly raise another army. The enemy has neither guns nor ammunition, and if they had they would use them on each other. (Applause.) Destitute of the weapons of effective warfare, the only evidence of approaching battle is in the tone and number of their bulletins. There is discord among the generals; discord among the soldiers. Each would fight in his own way, but before assaulting his Republican adversaries he would first destroy his own comrades in the adjoining tents. Each believes the weapons chosen by the other are not only wicked but fatal to the holder. That is true. This is the only war of modern times where the boomerang has been substituted for the

gun. (Laughter.) Whatever fatalities may occur, however, among the discordant hosts now moving on St. Louis, no harm will come this fall to the American people. There will be no opposition sufficient to raise a conflict. There will be hardly enough for competition. There are no Democratic plans for the conduct of the fall campaign. Their zeal is chiefly centred in discussion as to what Thomas Jefferson would do if he were living. (Laughter and applause.) He is not living, and but few of his descendants are among the Democratic remnants of to-day. Whatever of patriotism or wisdom emanated from that distinguished man is now represented in this convention. (Applause.)

It is a sad day for any party when its only means of solving living issues is by guessing at the possible attitude of a statesman who is dead. (Laughter and applause.) This condition leaves that party always a beginner and makes every question new. The Democratic party has seldom tried a problem on its own account, and when it has its blunders have been its only monuments, its courage is remembered only in regret. (Laughter and applause.) As long as these things are recalled that party may serve as ballast, but it will never steer the ship. (Applause.)

When all the people have forgotten will dawn a golden era for this new Democracy. But the country is not ready yet to place a party in the lead whose most expressive motto is the cheerless word "forget." That motto may express contrition, but it does not inspire hope. (Applause.) Neither confidence nor enthusiasm will ever be aroused by any party which enters each campaign uttering the language of the mourner. (Applause.)

There is one fundamental plank, however, on which the two great parties are in full agreement. Both believe in the equality of men. The difference is that the Democratic party would make every man as low as the poorest, while the Republican party would make every man as high as the best. (Applause.) But the Democratic course will provoke no outside interference now, for the Republican motto is that of the great commander, "never interrupt the enemy while he is making a mistake." (Laughter and applause.)

In politics as in other fields, the most impressive arguments spring from contrast. Never has there been a more striking example of unity than is now afforded by this assemblage. You are gathered here not as factions torn by discordant views, but moved by one desire and intent, you have come as the chosen representatives of the most enlightened party in the world. You meet not as strangers, for no men are strangers who hold the same beliefs and espouse the same cause. You may separate two bodies of water for a thousand years, but when once the barrier is removed they mingle instantly and are one. The same traditions inspire and the same purposes actuate us all. Never in our lives did these purposes stand with deeper root than now. At least two generations have passed away since the origin of that great movement from which sprang the spirit which has been the leading impulse in American politics for half a century. In that movement, which was both a creation and an example, were those great characters which endowed the

Republican party at its birth with the attributes of justice, equality and progress, which have held it to this hour in line with the highest sentiments of mankind. From these men we have inherited the desire, and to their memory we owe the resolution, that those great schemes of government and humanity, inspired by their patriotism, and established by their blood, shall remain as the fixed and permanent emblem of their labors, and the abiding signal of the liberty and progress of the race. (Applause.)

There are many new names in these days, but the Republican party needs no new title. It stands now where it stood at the beginning. Memory alone is needed to tell the source from which the inspirations of the country flow. A drowsy memory would be as guilty now as a sleeping watchman when the enemy is astir. The name of the Republican party stands over every door where a righteous cause was born. Its members have gathered around every movement, no matter how weak, if inspired by high resolve. Its flag for more than fifty years has been the sign of hope on every spot where liberty was the word. (Applause.) That party needs no new name or platform to designate its purposes. It is now as it has been, equipped, militant and in motion. The problems of every age that age must solve. Great causes impose great demands, but never in any enterprise have the American people failed, and never in any crisis has the Republican party failed to express the conscience and intelligence of that people. (Applause.)

The public mind is awake both to its opportunities and its dangers. No-where in the world, in any era, did citizenship mean more than it means to-day in America. Men of courage and sturdy character are ranging themselves together with a unanimity seldom seen. There is no excuse for groping in the dark, for the light is plain to him who will but raise his eyes. The American people believe in a man or party that has convictions and knows why. They believe that what experience has proved it is idle to resist. A wise man is any fool about to die. But there is a wisdom which with good fortune may guide the living and the strong. That wisdom springs from reason, observation and experience. Guided by these this thing is plain, and young men may rely upon it, that the history and purposes I have described, rising even to the essence and aspirations of patriotism, find their best concrete example in the career and doctrines of the Republican party. (Applause.)

But not alone upon the principles of that party are its members in accord. With the same devotion which has marked their adherence to those principles, magnificent and enduring as they are, they have already singled out the man to bear their standard and to lead the way. No higher badge was ever yet conferred. But great as the honor is, the circumstances which surround it make that honor even more profound. You have come from every state and territory in this vast domain. The country and the town have vied with each other in sending here their contributions to this splendid throng. Every highway in the land is leading here and crowded with the members of that great party which sees in this splendid city the symbol of its rise and power. Within this unexampled multitude is every rank and condition of free men, every creed and occupation. But to-day a common purpose and desire have

engaged us all, and from every nook and corner of the country rises but a single choice to fill the most exalted office in the world. (Applause.) He is no stranger waiting in the shade to be called suddenly into public light. The American people have seen him for many years and always where the fight was thickest and the greatest need was felt. He has been alike conspicuous in the pursuits of peace and in the arduous stress of war. No man now living will forget the spring of '98, when the American mind was so inflamed and American patriotism so aroused; when among all the eager citizens surging to the front as soldiers, the man whom this convention has already in its heart was among the first to hear the call and answer to his name. Preferring peace but not afraid of war; faithful to every private obligation yet first to volunteer at the sign of national peril; a leader in civil life and yet so quick to comprehend the arts of war that he grew almost in a day to meet the high exactions of command. There is nothing which so tests a man as great and unexpected danger. He may pass his life amid ordinary scenes and what he is or does but few will ever know. But when the crash comes or the flames break out, a moment's time will single out the hero in the crowd. A flash of lightning in the night will reveal what years of daylight have not discovered to the eye. And so the flash of the Spanish War revealed that lofty courage and devotion which the American heart so loves and which you have met again to decorate and recognize. His qualities do not need to be retold, for no man in that exalted place since Lincoln has been better known in every household in the land. He is not conservative, if conservatism means waiting till it is too late. (Applause.) He is not wise, if wisdom is to count a thing a hundred times when once will do. (Applause.) There is no regret so keen, in man or country, as that which follows an opportunity unembraced. Fortune soars with high and rapid wing, and whoever brings it down must shoot with accuracy and speed. Only the man with steady eye and nerve and the courage to pull the trigger brings the largest opportunities to the ground. (Applause.) He does not always listen while all the sages speak, but every day at nightfall beholds some record which if not complete has been at least pursued with conscience and intrepid resolution. He is no slender flower swaying in the wind, but that heroic fibre which is best nurtured by the mountains and the snow. (Applause.) He spends little time in review, for that he knows can be done by the schools. A statesman grappling with the living problems of the hour he gropes but little in the past. He believes in going ahead. He believes that in shaping the destinies of this great republic, hope is a higher impulse than regret. He believes that preparation for future triumphs is a more important duty than an inventory of past mistakes. (Laughter and applause.) A profound student of history, he is to-day the greatest history maker in the world. (Applause.) With the instincts of the scholar, he is yet forced from the scholar's pursuits by those superb qualities which fit him to the last degree for those great world currents now rushing past with larger volume and more portentous aspect than for many years before. The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees; you may

sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life; you may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, up-turned face. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are the accepted charts to guide the destinies of men. (Applause.) Events are numberless and mighty, and no man can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation basking to-day in the quiet of contentment and repose may still be on the deadly circuit and to-morrow writhing in the toils of war. This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great the material to resist it must be granite and iron. Whether we wish it or not, America is abroad in this world. Her interests are in every street, her name is on every tongue. Those interests so sacred and stupendous should be trusted only to the care of those whose power, skill and courage have been tested and approved. (Applause.) And in the man whom you will choose, the highest sense of every nation in the world beholds a man who typifies as no other living American does, the spirit and the purposes of the twentieth century. (Applause.) He does not claim to be the Solomon of his time. There are many things he may not know, but this is sure, that above all things else he stands for progress, courage and fair play, which are the synonyms of the American name.

There are times when great fitness is hardly less than destiny, when the elements so come together that they select the agent they will use. Events sometimes select the strongest man, as lightning goes down the highest rod. And so it is with those events which for many months with unerring sight have led you to a single name which I am chosen only to pronounce: Gentlemen, I nominate for President of the United States the highest living type of the youth, the vigor and the promise of a great country and a great age, Theodore Roosevelt of New York. (Applause.)

A HISTORIC FLAG.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will read an announcement.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

"This flag, staff and all, just as you see it, save the wear and tear, was carried in the Republican National Convention held in Chicago in 1860, and was waved at the moment of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President, and was hoisted on the platform of the convention.

"It has been waved in every Republican National Convention since 1860 at the moment of the nomination of the Republican candidate for President. It is the property of the Lincoln-McKinley Association of Veteran Voters of the United States.

"Capt. F. L. Withaupt, of Willow Springs, Mo., the bearer hereof, who is a nephew of the late Judge Arnold Krekel, who was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1860, is hereby commissioned to carry the priceless gem and souvenir to the Republican National Convention to be held forty-four years after in the same city on June 21, A. D. 1904, and wave it at

the moment of time the nominee shall be named by the convention." (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (holding the flag in his hand).—It prophesied victory in 1860; its like has been baptized on a hundred battlefields since; and it is as safe today under the leadership of the Republican party, headed by Theodore Roosevelt, as it ever was. (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention: I have the pleasure of introducing to you a man whom you know and whom all know of, one of Indiana's favorite and favored sons, who always when he has a message insists on a hearing, and in the hearing the people are gratified, entertained, informed and enthused. (Applause.)

SECONDING SPEECH OF MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, OF INDIANA.

Gentlemen of the Convention:—One difference between the opposition and ourselves is this: They select their candidate for the people, and the people select our candidate for us. (Cheers.)

This was true four years ago when we accepted the people's judgment and named William McKinley (applause), whose perfect mingling of mind and heart, of wisdom and of tenderness, won the trust and love of the Nation then and makes almost holy his memory now. (Applause.) His power was in the people's favor, his shrine is in the people's hearts. (Applause.)

It is true today when we again accept the people's judgment and name Theodore Roosevelt (cheers), whose sympathies are as wide as the Republic, whose courage, honesty and vision meet all emergencies, and the sum of whose qualities make him the type of 20th century Americanism. (Applause.) And the 20th century American is nothing more than the man of '76 facing a new day with the old faith. (Cheers.)

Theodore Roosevelt, like William McKinley, is the nominee of the American fireside. (Cheers.) So were Washington and Jefferson in the early time; so was Andrew Jackson when he said "The Union: It must be preserved;" so was Abraham Lincoln (applause) when, the Republic saved, he bade us "bind up the Nation's wounds;" and Grant (applause) when, from victory's very summit his lofty words, "let us have peace" voiced the spirit of the hour and the people's prayer. When nominated by parties, each of these great Presidents was, at the periods named, already chosen by the public judgment. And so today, the Republican party, whose strength is in its obedience to the will of the American people, merely executes again the decree which comes to it from the American home in naming Theodore Roosevelt as our candidate. (Cheers.)

The people's thought is his thought, American ideals, his ideals. This is his only chart of statesmanship—and no other is safe. (Applause.) For the truest guide an American President can have is the collective intelligence and massed morality of the American people. (Applause.) And this ancient rule of the fathers is the rule of our leaders now. (Applause.)



HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana,
Who Seconded the Nomination of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt for the
Presidency.

Theodore Roosevelt is a leader (applause) who leads (applause); because he carries out the settled purposes of the people. Our President's plans, when achieved, are always found to be merely the nation's will accomplished. And that is why the people will elect him.

They will elect him because they know that if he is President we will get to work and keep at work on the Canal. (Cheers.) After decades of delay when the people want a thing done, they want it done. (Applause.)

They know that while he is President the Flag will "stay put" (cheering), and no American advantage in the Pacific or the world be surrendered. Americans never retreat. (Cheers.)

While he is President no wrong-doer in the service of the Government will go unwhipped of justice. (Applause.) Americans demand honesty and honor, vigilant and fearless. (Applause.)

While he is President, re-adjustment of tariff schedules will be made only in harmony with the principle of protection. (Cheers.) Americans have memories. (Applause.)

While he is President peace with every nation will be preserved at any cost, excepting only the sacrifice of American rights; and the vigor with which he maintains these will be itself a guarantee of peace. (Cheers.)

The American people will elect him because, in a word, they know that he does things the people want done; does things, not merely discusses them—does things only after discussing them—but does things; and does only those things the people would have him do. (Applause.) This is characteristically American; for wherever he is, the American is he who achieves. (Cheers.)

On every question all men know where he stands. Americans, frank themselves, demand frankness in their servants. No mystery was ever made President of the United States, or ever will be. (Great cheering, renewed.) Uncertainty is the death of business. The people can always get along if they know where they are and whither they are going. (Applause.)

His past is his proof. Every great measure of his administration was so wise that, enthusiastically sustained by his own party, it won votes even from the opposition.

Do you name Cuban reciprocity? The opposition resisted and then opposition votes helped to ratify it. (Applause.)

Do you name corporate legislation? The opposition resisted and then opposition votes helped to enact it. (Applause.)

Do you name the Canal—that largest work of centuries, the eternal wedding of oceans, shrinking the circumference of the globe, making distant peoples neighbors, advancing forever civilization all around the world? This historic undertaking in the interest of all the race, planned by American statesmanship, to be wrought by American hands, to stand through the ages protected by the American flag (cheers); this vast achievement which will endure when our day shall have become ancient, and which alone is enough to make the name of Theodore Roosevelt illustrious through all time—this fulfillment of the Republic's dream accomplished by Republican effort, finally received votes even from an opposition that had tried to thwart it. (Cheers.)

Of what measure of Theodore Roosevelt's administration does the opposition dare even to propose the repeal? And when has the record of any President won greater approval?

And so the people trust him as a statesman. (Applause.) Better than that, they love him as a man. (Cheers.) He wins admiration in vain who wins not affection also. In the American home—that temple of happiness and virtue where dwell the wives and mothers of the Republic, cherishing the beautiful in life and guarding the morality of the Nation—in the American home the name of Theodore Roosevelt is not only honored but beloved. (Cheers.) And that is a greater triumph than the victory of battlefields, greater credit than successful statesmanship, greater honor than the Presidency itself would be without it. (Cheers.) Life holds no reward so noble as the confidence and love of the American people. (Applause.)

The American people! The mightiest force for good the ages have evolved. (Cheers.) They began as children of liberty. They believed in God and His providence. They took truth and justice and tolerance as their eternal ideals and marched fearlessly forward. Wildernesses stretched before them—they subdued them. Mountains rose—they crossed them. Deserts obstructed—they passed them. Their faith failed them not and a continent was theirs. (Applause.) From ocean to ocean cities rose, fields blossomed, railroads ran; but everywhere church and school were permanent proof that the principles of their origin were the life of their maturity. (Cheers.)

American methods changed, but American character remained the same. They outlived the stage coach, but not the Bible. (Applause.) They advanced but forgot not their fathers. (Applause.) They delved in earth, but remembered the higher things. (Applause.) They made highways of the oceans, but distance and climate altered not their Americanism. (Applause.) They began as children of liberty, and children of liberty they remain. They began as servants of the Father of Lights, and His servants they remain. And so into their hands is daily given more of power and opportunity that they may work even larger righteousness in the world and scatter over ever widening fields the blessed seeds of human happiness. (Cheers.)

Wonderful beyond prophecy's forecast their progress; noble beyond the vision of desire their future. In 1801 Jefferson said that the United States (then) had "room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation;" three generations behold the oceans our boundaries. (Cheers.) Washington never dreamed of railways. Today electricity and steam make Maine and California household neighbors. (Applause.) This advance, which no seer could have foretold, we made because we are Americans—because a free people with unfettered minds and unquestioning belief joyfully faced the universe of human possibilities. (Applause.) These possibilities are not exhausted; we have hardly passed their boundaries. (Applause.) The American people are not exhausted; we have only tested our strength. (Applause.) God's work for us in the world is not finished; His future missions for the American people will be grander than any He has given us, nobler than we now can comprehend. And these tasks as they come



HON. GEORGE W. KNIGHT, of California,
Who Seconded the Nomination of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt for President.

we will accept and accomplish as our fathers accomplished theirs. (Applause.) And when our generation shall have passed and our children shall catch from our aging hands the standard we have borne, it will still be the old flag of Yorktown and Appomattox and Manila Bay (cheers); the music to which they in their turn will then move onward will still be the strains that cheered the dying Warren on Bunker Hill and inspired the men who answered Lincoln's call (cheers); and the ideals that will be in them triumphant as they are in us, will still be the old ideals that have made the American people great and honored among the nations of the earth. (Cheers.)

This is the Republican idea of the American people (cheers); this the thought we have when we nominate today our candidate for the Nation's chief; this the quality of Americanism a Republican standard-bearer must possess. (Applause.) And this is just the Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt. (Cheers.) Full of the old-time faith in the Republic and its destiny; charged with the energy of the Republic's full manhood; cherishing the ordinances of the Republic's fathers and having in his heart the fear of God; inspired by the sure knowledge that the Republic's splendid day is only in its dawn. (Applause.) Theodore Roosevelt will lead the American people in paths of safety to still greater welfare for themselves, still broader betterment of the race and to the added honor of the American name. (Cheers.) Indiana seconds the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt. (Demonstration, etc.)

SPEECH OF MR. GEORGE A. KNIGHT, OF CALIFORNIA.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—We will now receive a message from the Golden Gate, delivered by that great civilian, lawyer and orator, whose speech is "like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Mr. KNIGHT.—Gentlemen of the Convention: Geography has but little to do with the sentiment and enthusiasm that are today apparent in favor of the one who is to be given all the honors and duties of an elected President of the United States of America. However the Pacific slope and the islands (those ocean buoys of commerce moored in the drowsy tropical sea) send to this Convention words of confident greeting with discreet assurance that your judgment will be endorsed by the American voter and our country continue its wonderful progress under Republican success.

The time is ripe for brightening up Americanism; to teach with renewed vigor the principles of individual liberty for which the minute men of the Revolution fought. The Lincoln liberty, and individual liberty for the man, not a black man alone, any man, all men. The right to labor in the air of freedom unmolested, and be paid for his individual toil and with it build his cottage home.

From the press, the pulpit, the school house, the platform and the street, let the true history of our country be known, that the young men and women of America, and many old ones, may know what a price has been paid for the liberty, peace and union they enjoy through the devoted patriotism of our

silent heroes of the past. (Applause.) Deprivation and sacrifice were endured for many years before the old bell in the statehouse was given voice to speak the glorious sentiment of the age, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, and they were made the instruments by which the principles productive of our national grandeur were set as jewels in our Republic's coronet. What we prayed for, fought for, bled for and died for we want cared for. (Applause.)

Telegraph the world that the Republican party was the first organization that beckoned the laboring man to his feet, and made him know the quality and equality of his true self. (Applause.) It showed him the possibilities of honest poverty and has withheld nothing from his worthy ambition. It took a railsplitter from the ground floor of a log cabin and set him with the stars.

Protection to American labor, and our natural resources, climate, soil, agricultural and mineral wealth, navigable rivers and safe harbors, wise laws and clean public men, have made us the greatest nation of earth today. In territory, we have outgrown the Continent; we are peopling the isles of the sea.

When I look over this Convention and see representatives from Alaska carrying as their banner an American Eagle it brings to my mind the words of sacred writ that seem prophetic: "A great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colors, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar. He cropped off the top of his young twigs and carried it into a land of traffic; he set it in a city of merchants. He took also of the seed of the land and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters and set it as a willow tree."

How like unto our emblem of freedom, he has cropped off the young twigs of our cedar of liberty and carried them across the ocean to the land of traffic and set them in the city of merchants. The seed of our land is there among fruitful fields, beside great waters and set as a willow tree.

With our growth as a nation we are satisfied—but there are some things that require more than a passing glance. Far back in the time of the Revolutionary War when the dark clouds of oppression and losses in battle seemed to shut out the last glimmering spark of day, upon the bold prominent height of the White, Allegheny and Blue Ridge Mountains could be found standing alone the Patriot Beacon Watch of the Revolution, while our armies slept under the darkness—he kept watch and from crag to crag and peak to peak his watch fire was a signal to warn the sleeping army of approaching danger, and from every mountain top within the thirteen colonies those patriots' watch fires lighted up the dark pathway of their future destiny.

While today we struggle not with an obstinate soldiery, nor hear the exciting drum beat of war, dark clouds of a social disorder have settled over a portion of our beloved country. The poisonous virus of Socialism is among us, and the vicious anarchist seeks to lead his fellow by the torch of the incendiary. Three times our flag has drooped; three times the muffled drum was heard.

Socialism can never live in this Republic (applause), and the anarchist has no home with us; he must put out the torch, for standing upon the mountain top of our historic past, the beacon watches of old signal to us to follow their light and fear not—follow the light of a Washington for its purity of purpose—follow the light of Jefferson and Seward and Sherman and Lincoln, Grant and McKinley, and all the other great ones who built for us this perament home.

Our country is big and broad and grand; we want a President typical of the country, one who will preserve her history, enforce her law, teach Americanism and fight the wrong. Theodore Roosevelt, "thou art the man!" (Applause.) Well may he be proud,—he is young, the prime of life is his, and time is on his side; he loves the whole country and knows no favorite section; he has performed his sacred promise, he has kept the faith with McKinley's memory and now faces responsibilities his own. He hypnotizes obstacles, looks them in the eye, and overpowers with self-conscious honesty of purpose. (Applause.)

Dishonesty, cowardice and duplicity are never impulsive; Roosevelt is impulsive (applause), so be it,—he is different. The party needs him more than he needs the party.

From a Democratic point of view, he is a weird magician of politics. They charged him with disrupting a government on the Isthmus, creating a republic and unlawfully conniving at a canal. (Laughter.) They awoke one fine morning to find the Republic of Panama an entity, its existence recognized by foreign nations and Congress paying out millions of dollars to ratify his strategic promptness. (Applause.)

He wanted to give Uncle Sam a job, and he did it; and Uncle Sam wanted the job and he took it. He belongs to the union. We see him standing today with his foot upon the spade, his garments are made of his flag, there is a smile on his face, and his heart is gladdened as he looks at the golden sunrise of his commercial future.

Barnacle bottomed ships of the great salt sea will greet the Great Father of Waters and make every town on his banks a maritime city. (Applause.) The owner of the farm, factory, and mine will become familiar with names he never knew, and write strange addresses on the exports he sends across the unharvested ocean. Australia—New Zealand—Yokohoma—Hong Kong—Manila—Honolulu and Corea, will be some of the new names the new South will be glad to know, and their children will bless the President that gave them their wonderful opportunities for trade.

The blessings of this great work cannot be told in words, and figures will get wabbly and unsteady with their load when you chalk them on the black-board of time.

We want this younger Lincoln—the Keeper of our great eagle—we want him with his hands on the halyards of our flag, we want him the Defender of our Constitution and the Executive of our Law, and when we have used him and the best years of his young manhood for the good of the nation, he will still be holding the banner of liberty with stars added to its azure field,

its history sacred, its stripes untarnished, and by command of the majority hand it to the American patriot standing next in line. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. H. S. EDWARDS, OF GEORGIA.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention, it is a comparatively easy matter to keep the Republican faith in the State of Illinois where we have local success. The policies of the party spread over the whole country, bringing prosperity to those who do not support us politically as well as to those who do. It is my great pleasure to introduce to you one of those who come from the State of Georgia, that keep the leaven and fight the fight, although from time to time they fail. But they will live, and even these old eyes will live, to see Georgia give an electoral vote for a Republican President. (Applause.)

MR. EDWARDS.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: It is eminently fit and proper that a Georgian should on this occasion second the eloquent speaker from New York, that the voice of the Motherland should blend with the voice of the Fatherland to declare that the destinies of America shall for four years more be entrusted to the great son born of the union of the two Empire states. (Applause.)

I do not belittle the influence of a father when I say that if the iron in a son's nature be derived from him, the gold is coined from the heart of the mother whose lap has cradled him. And because I believe this, because the lesson at the mother's knee is the seed that sends a stalk toward heaven and opens far up its axillary blossoms in the morning light, because the lofty ideals of manhood are rooted deeper than youth, because that which a man instinctively would be has been dreamed for him in advance by a Mother, I claim for Georgia the larger share in the man you have chosen your leader. (Applause.)

The childhood of the good woman who bore him was cast near where the Atlantic flows in over the marsh and the sand. There she first built her a home in the greatness of God. Womanhood found her within the uplifting view of the mountains in a land over which the Almighty inverts a Sapphire cup by day and sets his brightest stars on guard by night. And there, fellow countrymen, the soul of your President was born. Those of us who know and love him catch in the easy flow of his utterance, and feel in its largeness of thought and contempt of littleness the rythm of the ocean on the Georgian sands and the spirit of the deep. In his lofty ideals and hopefulness, in his fixedness of purpose and unchanging rockribbed honesty we hear the mountains calling. In his daring, his impulsive courage, his unconquerable manhood, we see his great brother the Georgia volunteer in the hand to hand fights of the Wilderness, the impetuous rush up the heights of Gettysburg and the defiance of overwhelming odds from Chattanooga to Atlanta. We look on him as a Georgian abroad, and if in the providence of God it may be so we shall welcome him home some day, not as a prodigal son who has wasted his gifts but as one who on every field of endeavor has honored his great mother and worn the victor's wreath. (Applause.)

Coming into the position of the martyred McKinley, the youngest Chief Magistrate that has ever filled the Presidential chair, without the privilege and advantage of preliminary discussion and consultation, he gave the country a pledge that he would carry out the policies of his predecessor. It was a master stroke of genius, applauded alike North and South. His conception of the duties of his high office as enunciated by him at Harvard was, "to serve all alike, well: to act in a spirit of fairness and justice to all men; and to give to each man his rights." He has kept this pledge; he has lived up to this fine conception of his duty. The pledge involved a completion of the work begun in Cuba and an honorable discharge of the promises made to our struggling neighbor. The flag of an independent Republic floats over Havana today and all men know that we have kept faith with the Cuban people. Leaving the details to engineers, he has cut as by a single stroke, the Panama Canal through mountains of prejudice and centuries of ignorance! In the far Philippines our flag floats, a guarantee of redemption, pacification and development. His conception of duty has led him into difficult places in dealing with the internal affairs of our own country; he has met every issue bravely and ably and demonstrated not only that prompt and decisive action is often the highest expression of conservatism but that it is safe to trust the impulse of a man who is essentially and instinctively honest. (Applause.)

Fellow Countrymen, after nearly four years of Theodore Roosevelt, we find the army and navy on a better footing, our trade expanded, the country at peace and prosperous and our flag respected in every quarter of the globe. The American people will not withhold from him the applause of manly hearts. I am proud that my great State, the Empire state of the South, shares in the glory of his achievements, as it will share in their benefits! (Applause.)

It is not pretended that the section from which I come to you, is, as a section in sympathy with your political party. But I am as sure as that I stand here, that the great majority of intelligent business men in the South are in sympathy with the controlling principles of your platform and opposed to those of your opponents as last declared. And I am equally sure that they recognize and respect the fearless honesty of your leader! Headlines are not history, nor does the passionate partisan write the final verdict of a great people. History, despite the venom of the small politician, will do him the justice to record that he has gone further than any man who has occupied the White House since the civil war, to further the vital interests of the South. The standard of appointments has been the same for Georgia as for New York. He has insisted on efficiency and integrity as the chief tests, North and South alike. Of the thousand or more original post office appointments in Georgia under his administration not one has within my knowledge been criticized by even the unfriendly and partisan press of the State. A Southern man, General Wright, by his appointment holds the honor of this country in trust in the far Philippines, and on him your President relies for the advancement and development of the 7,000,000 people who are there working out their destinies. Two judges of first instance, one a

Democrat and one a Republican and both from Georgia, are there by his appointment to administer the laws. In the army there and here in the navy and in all the divisions of the civil government Southern men have felt the friendly touch of his hand. The character of these appointments and his whole policy give the lie to those designing knaves who charge him with stirring up strife between races and arraying section against section. "I am proud of your great deeds: for you are my people!" This was his greeting to a Southern audience, and no honest man doubts that he meant it. (Applause.)

The South shares in the magnificent prosperity which our great country has achieved under the Republican party. Especially has she felt the beneficent effect of your policies during the last eight years; and the hardest fact your opponents have to contend with is the fact that your financial policy has been tested and found to be sound and efficient. They have sufficed for eight years at least, and the Democratic partisan who has twice in that time been led captive behind the silver car of Bryan must be optimistic beyond expression if he believes that the country will suffer alarm over the prospect of four years more of prosperity. The South deals in cotton goods, cotton seed products, coal, iron, oil and lumber, and business enterprises in connection with these and other industries have increased and multiplied. Traveling from Washington to Macon, one is never off a first class railroad nor long out of sight of the smoke of a mill. The people who conduct these and kindred enterprises, who are raising cotton at from ten to sixteen cents per pound, wheat at from seventy-five cents to a dollar per bushel, whose coal, iron and lumber are in demand throughout the world, whose home market is assured and whose lands are rapidly increasing in value, are not yet alarmed over the prospect of another Republican victory, under Roosevelt. They are not alarmed over the digging of a canal at Panama that will give them direct communication with five or six hundred millions of people who need the products of their fields and factories. Nor are they alarmed that increased railway and river transportation will be required to move these products to Southern ports, or that from these ports, under a Republican administration, yellow fever, the South's dread enemy has been banished, millions saved annually to the taxpayers and the business year raised from nine months to twelve.

The prosperity of the South is wrapped up in the policies of the Republican party and Southern people are beginning to realize it. Southern business sentiment indicates an increasing distrust of the policies of the Democratic party. In 1896 Georgia, accustomed to enormous Democratic majorities, gave 94,000 votes for Bryan and 60,000 for McKinley. North Carolina cast 174,000 votes for Bryan and 155,000 for McKinley. Virginia gave 154,000 for Bryan and 135,000 for McKinley. And this was according to Democratic counts. Maryland and West Virginia cast Republican majorities in both 1896 and 1900. In Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina in 1900 twelve to fifteen per cent of the people who had voted in '96 stayed away from the polls and sacrificed their last opportunity to worship the "popular idol." An analysis of

election returns shows that the distrust of Democracy was most pronounced and conspicuous in centers of trade, manufactures, and commerce.

Fellow Countrymen, we of the South believe in Roosevelt, and in his ability to meet every issue at home and abroad, triumphantly. We believe that he is animated by a spirit of patriotism as broad and as bright as has ever streamed from the White House over our beloved country; and we believe that when he has fulfilled his mission, he, the son of the North and South, will carry with him the consciousness that Fatherland and Motherland, once divorced in sadness, through him and because of him have been drawn together again in the bonds of the old affection. And we believe that when he goes at length into the retirement of private life, he will go beloved of all patriotic Americans, from Canada to the Gulf and from Ocean to Ocean.

Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Motherland I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF WILLIAM O. BRADLEY, OF KENTUCKY.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Why introduce a man whom every one knows. Suffice it to say that he comes from that State and of that people who take their politics like their whiskey—straight. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. BRADLEY.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention: The Republican Party has made no mistakes; therefore, it has no apologies to offer. It has broken no promises; therefore, it enters no plea of confession and avoidance. It offers no guaranty for the future save the record of its past. (Applause.)

It points to an enormously increased commerce, at home and abroad. To free homes given to free people. To a war waged to drive the tyrant from Cuba, and a promise faithfully kept to give to the people of the island a stable form of government. To an improved army and navy whose deeds of valor have added imperishable glory to American arms. To the erection of churches and school-houses, and the inauguration of civil government in the Philippines. To the best financial system on the globe. To a system of protection which has given to our people the best home and foreign market in the world. To the universal prosperity now prevailing throughout the Republic. To a generous system of pensions, provided for those who fought, and the families of those who died, that the Union might be preserved. To the most gigantic rebellion of all time courageously met and completely subdued. To the shackles of bond-men melted in the red flames of war, and to stars preserved, and yet others fixed, in the firmament of freedom. (Applause.)

We can not stand at the base of Bunker Hill Monument, as prophesied by Toombs, and call the roll of our slaves; but we can stand on any spot of the earth and call the long roll of Republican statesmen and soldiers—the most distinguished and illustrious that the Nation has produced, who rendered impossible the fulfillment of that prediction. (Applause.)

For nearly half a century, the record of the Republican Party has been so interwoven with the country's history that each is a part of the other, and neither can be written without including the other. Indeed, during that time the Republican Party has been the country.

In diplomacy, in progress, in the arts and sciences, in prosperity and adversity in peace and war, at home and abroad, on land and sea, the Republican Party has been true to every trust, equal to every emergency, has continually elevated and advanced the standard of American honor and glory, and now proclaims to the world that in the lexicon of patriotic endeavor and achievement there is no such word as "fail." (Applause.)

And during all these eventful years, the Democratic Party has resisted every step of advancement and progress. It has been a stupid objector, a miserable malcontent and a common scold. For two Presidential terms it administered public affairs, and during each, crippled commerce, unsettled and decreased values, paralyzed industry, closed manufactories and made it necessary for public charity to provide food for the starving unemployed. It has exchanged its time-honored principles for dangerous heresies, and betrayed its leaders, until it is without a leader and in anxious search of a platform. It has abandoned its Moses and is unable to discover a Joshua. It does not certainly know what it wants; and if it did, would not know where to find it. It does not know what it is for; and if it did, would not know how to express it. It does not know what to do; and if it did, would not know how to do it. (Applause.)

Men of the North, we come from the battle-fields consecrated to freedom with the blood of your brave sons. We are the custodians of your patriot dead, and each year commemorate their deeds and decorate their graves with flowers. In their names, and by their memories, the disfranchised South appeals to you for justice. Shall it be said that your sons marched, and fought and died in vain? Shall it be said that a nation can exist part slave and part free? Are people free who are forced to bear the burden and yet denied the highest privilege of citizenship? If it be true that warrant may not be found in the Constitution to prevent disfranchisement, then we beg that you no longer permit the disfranchised and oppressed to be estimated for the purpose of increasing the electoral strength of their oppressors. (Applause.)

Though the grape is crushed, and the grain is ground, they produce neither wine nor bread for the persecuted men of the South.

Surrounded by difficulties, striving in vain to be free, they instinctively turn to the brave, true man who has said that he would not close the door of hope on a struggling race. The Southern Republicans are devoted to him and will follow him with all the affection and enthusiasm with which the "Old Guard" followed Napoleon. They have unshaken faith in his superb courage, even-handed justice and unsullied honor. (Applause.)

We have not forgotten how, when the war clouds hung dark in the nation's horizon, he sacrificed office, and left a happy home, and a beloved wife and children, to bare his bosom in the storm of battle. The same pa-

triotism and courage that inspired him then has animated him throughout his administration. When others stood appalled in the presence of the great strike, he cheerfully, and with alacrity, assumed a responsibility not officially incumbent upon him, and bravely springing into the breach, succeeded in procuring a settlement that brought tranquillity to the representatives of capital, and smiles and sunshine into the faces and homes of the humble laborers. (Applause.)

He unhesitatingly measured swords with the giant corporation, which threatened the people with wrong and oppression, and brought it into subjection.

He knows how and when to plan, and, better still, how and when to execute. Alert of mind, he has quickly seized every opportunity. In the procurement of concessions for the Panama Canal, he accomplished more in a few hours than his predecessors accomplished in more than a hundred years. He did not attempt to unloose, he cut the Gordian knot.

His enemies say, that he can not be trusted; but the people know that one who always does the right thing, at the right time and in the right way, is entitled to their implicit confidence. (Applause.)

His enemies say, that he is unsafe. His record proves that he is unsafe only to the lawless, the trickster, the grafter and those who deny equal protection of the law to any class of American citizens. But in the discharge of the great trusts devolved upon him, he has proven a harbor of safety.

His enemies predicted, that he would involve the Nation in war; but all his victories have been those of diplomacy and peace, and today he enjoys the respect and friendship of every foreign power.

He has not been the pliable instrument of any man, or set of men. He is the creator, not the creature of public sentiment. He is not controlled by popular clamor, but hews to the line, let the chips fall where they may. He is not a laggard, a time server or an idle dreamer. He loses no opportunity on account of timid doubt or annoying hesitation. He is not a follower, but every inch a leader. He is not an imitator, but thoroughly original, guided alone by a clear conception of right and the genius of common sense.

He boldly and fearlessly advances; he never sounds the retreat. Imbued with never-failing courage, tempered with sound and conservative judgment; brilliant as a meteor, yet steady and certain as the sun in its course; gifted with broad and intelligent statesmanship; fixed in lofty purpose, he is the embodiment of American ideas, American vigor and the most exalted type of American manhood.

He was born to fulfill a mission. That mission in part accomplished will be completed in coming years, and his name shall go ringing down the centuries with those of the immortal few "who were not born to die."

In Kentucky we have "contended against principalities and powers and the rulers of darkness." We have, in truth, fought with all manner of beasts, not at Ephesus—but at Frankfort. We are nerving ourselves for the coming conflict, and in November next hope to break the chains which partisan legislation has thrown around us and restore freedom to the State which gave

birth to Abraham Lincoln and holds within its bosom the ashes of Henry Clay. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. JOSEPH B. COTTON, OF MINNESOTA.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I take great pleasure in introducing to you one of those young men who are doing things in the Republic. He comes from Duluth, at the head of the “unsalted sea.”

Mr. COTTON.—Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: Responsive to the swelling chorus of millions of voices from all over the Republic, we are here to name as our standard bearer the gifted son of the Empire State, who has in his make-up all the resolute spirit and vigor of the imperial West and in whose veins courses the rich, warm blood of the dauntless South-land. Nominating and seconding speeches here are of no moment, for his nomination has already been made by the American people themselves. We have only to select his running mate, proclaim the doctrines of our faith, and go forth and overwhelm once more the cohorts of a distracted, distempered and dismembered Democracy.

Our Democratic friends in this year of grace are destined to be mere idle dreamers and only seers of visions. Dissentious, they lack faith and have no issue. Why, just now they are trying to let go of the “Orator of the Platte” and his fustian “Cross of Gold.” They now say that “Free Silver” is dead because the Almighty put too much gold in the lap of Old Mother Earth. Concealing their real purpose, they no longer openly champion Free Trade. They clamor only for a Republican revision of the Dingley Tariff. Has it come to this, that with Chamberlain of England they are at last openly become Protectionists? Overwhelmed by the rebuke of the people, they now profess to be really anxious to keep the American Flag where it is, regardless and unmindful of whether the Constitution follows the Flag, or the Flag follows the Constitution. Truly, can any good thing come out of this Democratic chaos and reluctant acquiescence in the triumph of Republican policies? In fifty history-making, creative years what policies, domestic or foreign, fiscal or industrial, expansive or constructive, has the Democratic Party embodied into the National thought or woven into the fabric of the Republic? An obstructionist always, it has been a participant, in spite of itself, in a national glory and a greatness to which it has long since ceased to contribute. Our virile young nation presses on with undying energy. Its footprints are everywhere. It impresses its character upon every land. It is unthinkable that at the very threshold of our world-work the American citizen will again experiment and imperil our all by turning over the reins of Government to an inconstant, incapable and inert Democracy? To fulfil the Republic’s mighty destiny, the guiding, shaping, controlling spirit must and will be the Republican Party.

The Republican Party has had and will ever have a glorious mission. It has always been a party of action. Its promises have always been crystallized into exact performance. For fifty years it has labored to advance the sub-

stantial progress of all the American people. It is making of America the dominant world power. It has written into law the promises of fifty years in respect of an Isthmian Canal. It has built up and firmly established by protective policies a nation which must eventually secure, for the surplus products and industry of her people, the markets of all the earth. Its thought is along constructive lines and for the expansion requisite to meet the Nation's industrial needs rather than for Democratic isolation. It has built up American industries, protected American labor and safeguarded the American home. It has permanently secured the nation upon the gold standard, the standard of stability and enlightened civilization. In the olden day the Crusader, armor-clad, rode valiantly away to rescue the Holy Land from ruthless devastation. So, in this our day, the Republican party is carrying forward the Stars and Stripes for the uplifting of mankind and the supremacy of a civilization which finds its highest type in our glorious American Republic.

Mr. Chairman, the great Northwest, whence I hail, teems with hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic Republicans. You know their worth and their fealty. On their behalf I am commissioned to second the nomination of their choice for President of these United States. We need and demand today a wise and dauntless mariner to take our soundings and shape our course. In this history-making hour, at the dawn of a century big with the potentialities of individual and national life, when the Republic advances full speed upon a future we cannot know, in all the excitement of the individual struggle for wealth and self-aggrandizement, in the midst of tendencies toward municipal and governmental corruption, and when keenest minds seem largely bent upon profit without recompense, all born of an inherent weakness which cannot be ignored but must be met, we have only to name our choice for President for all the world to know that his name is a synonym for courage, for untiring energy, for loyalty to principle, for uprightness, for rugged honesty. No words of any man are needed to tell you that he is pre-eminently qualified to be our inspiring leader. We are proud of his distinguished career and of his great service to the nation. We endorse his unswerving devotion to the highest ideals of government and his stalwart Americanism. We support him for his lofty character; for his manifest genius; for his splendid personality, and for his superb moral courage. Four years ago, the Republican Party placed him beside the immortal McKinley and with such standard bearers, with such a cause, we marched to a glorious victory. When the assassin's ignoble work was accomplished, and amidst the Nation's tears, showered with the Nation's love, the gentle McKinley passed to the Ages and was crowned with the wreath of immortal fame, the intrepid and aggressive Roosevelt faced and was equal to the grave responsibilities of the Presidency. He has kept the faith. By force of his character and his works he has extended, at home and abroad, the influence and greatness of the Republic. His name has come to be a symbol everywhere of American manhood, American valor, American honesty and American supremacy.

Obedying a mandate both pleasing and supreme, on behalf of the great State of Minnesota and the mighty Empire of the Northwest, whose growth and prosperity will ever keep full pace with the giant tread of the Nation itself, I desire to second the nomination of that intrepid leader, that potent statesman, that master workman upon the greater Republic, that tried, trusted and incomparable public servant,—the President now, the President again to be,—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SPEECH OF MR. HARRY S. CUMMINGS, OF MARYLAND.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention: God's chosen people dwelled in bondage four hundred years. They wandered in the desert forty years. It was a long reach from Pharaoh to Solomon's temple. It is my privilege to introduce an American citizen whose people were brought from a servile condition forty years ago to freedom, and who, with equality before the law, have learned to live in the sweat of their faces, and have made better progress in one generation than any servile race ever made before in the history of the world. (Applause.)

Mr. CUMMINGS.—Gentlemen of the Convention: I have been admonished that the greatest service I can do the great American people today, and the opportunity of my life to make a hero of myself, is to speak as briefly as possible. (Applause.)

For the distinguished honor of seconding the nomination of that grand type of the American citizen, Theodore Roosevelt, I am profoundly grateful.

Fortunate indeed is it for this government that it has had during the eight years just passed a political organization such as ours to meet face to face with undaunted courage and determination, the many perplexing questions which have arisen during that period.

Equally fortunate has been our party to have had within its ranks during this crucial period such men as our able, wise and patriotic McKinley of beloved memory and our capable, courageous and aggressive Roosevelt upon whose young though ample shoulders the mantle of the great McKinley fell.

Whether the questions affected our internal or external relations, they have been boldly met and wisely solved.

We have carried to the Filipino, the Porto Rican, and the Cuban the torch of light and intelligence, relieved them from the burdens and oppressions of despotic rule, established civil government among them and are teaching them the blessings of liberty and independence. (Applause.)

The Panama Canal, "The Key of the Universe," the construction of which has for centuries been the dream and fancy of more than one government, has under the prompt and decisive action of this administration been taken from the realm of cloudland and dreamland and its completion in the near future has become a certain and fixed fact. (Applause.)

The wise leadership of our party has kept so well adjusted our tariff and currency legislation, that prosperity abounds in the land, labor is plentiful, the laborer is well paid and contented, capital multiplies and seeks additional outlets for investments and enterprises.

In a word, we have given a full and complete report of the stewardship committed to our care during the past four years. It becomes the duty of this convention to name a general who we hope and believe will lead the great republican host to victory in the coming election. A man who will in every way measure up to the responsibility of the high office of President of this country. Such an one in the person of our Chief Executive has been ably and eloquently placed before you and heartily do we all endorse what has been said. (Applause.)

"By their fruits ye shall know them." Theodore Roosevelt brings to this party and the nation at the close of his administration the precious fruits of three years of able and faithful service.

The solemn promise made by him when gloom and distress o'ershadowed the nation, when stout hearts grew faint, when fears and misgivings were abroad in the land, when the nation bowed in tears for her fallen hero, that promise, made at a most trying time in our country's life, has been kept to the letter, and he brings as an evidence of such, the plans and purposes of his martyred predecessor fully developed and completed.

He is above all things, a true, honest, earnest and patriotic American citizen. (Applause.)

He is a leader of unflinching courage, a man of wisdom, a man of action. (Applause.)

He is open and frank, free from intrigue and concealment, in his life and walk and conduct, he stands unapproached and unapproachable. (Applause.)

He is a broad man; broad in intellect, broad in sympathies; broad in soul; he lends a listening ear to the cry of the down trodden and oppressed, and with strong and ready arm encircling the weak and helpless he bids them rise and hope and live. (Applause.)

He is a just man, and believes that a man should be judged by merit and merit alone; and that the just rewards of faithful and patriotic service should be withheld from no one for any cause whatever. (Applause.)

With a vision unclouded by bias or prejudice, he sees through the outer clay clad in different hues, the man within and there beholds the image of the Divine Master, indicating the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. (Applause.)

Criticism, bitter, severe, unreasonable, has only served to make him the more devoted to his country's welfare.

He believes that corruption and dishonesty in private life and in public office should be unearthed and exposed and punished, no matter who the guilty party may be or how high in official life he may stand.

He believes that respect for and obedience to law are the foundation upon which this government must rest and that the violation of the oath of office is little less than treason.

He believes that the Constitution of the United States and every amendment thereof should be rigidly enforced and that its violation by whatever subterfuges or undirectness of expression should be condemned and remedied.

He is for these good and sufficient reasons, the man whom the people of every section and in every walk of life, want for this high office.

First of all, the powerful christian and moral sentiment of the nation demands his nomination, and every christian and moral agency will be exercised for his election. (Applause.)

The laboring interest demands him.

The farmer as with happy heart he gathers in his bounteous harvest stands ready to do battle for his return. The miner who in contentment digs away in the bowels of the earth sees in him his salvation from oppression and encroachment.

The business man, and the capitalist to whom this administration has brought abundant success eagerly await his nomination. So surely as he is nominated by this Convention today, so surely will he be elected by the people in November.

With his nomination and election, what an inspiring prospect opens up before the party and the Nation? With it will come new efforts to promote a greater prosperity and a larger measure of happiness to all who dwell within our borders.

With it will come that calm and peaceful assurance that while prosperous, happy and contented at home, a wise, safe and skillful diplomacy guards and protects our every interest throughout the civilized world.

And finally with it will come an advanced step towards the fulfillment of the great mission of the Republican Party.

And that mission will not be performed until every section of our Constitution and every amendment thereof shall be respected and made effective, and until every citizen of every section, of every race and of every religion shall proclaim in one grand chorus of that Constitution, "Thou art my shield and my buckler."

God grant that in our party's struggle to reach that time, it may ever have a man to place before the American people, for their suffrage, who has the courage, the honesty, and the aggressiveness of Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.)

VOTE FOR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—If there are no other nominations of candidates for President, the Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MR. FRANKLIN MURPHY, of New Jersey (when New Jersey was called): Mr. Chairman, New Jersey asks unanimous consent that the further calling of the roll be dispensed with, and that Theodore Roosevelt be chosen by acclamation.

Cries of "No, No."

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—There is objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. MURPHY.—I withdraw the request.

The roll call was concluded, and resulted as follows:

	Whole Number of Delegates.	For Theodore Roosevelt.		Whole Number of Delegates.	For Theodore Roosevelt.
Alabama	22	22	North Carolina	24	24
Arkansas	18	18	North Dakota	8	8
California	20	20	Ohio	46	46
Colorado	10	10	Oregon	8	8
Connecticut	14	14	Pennsylvania	68	68
Delaware	6	6	Rhode Island	8	8
Florida	10	10	South Carolina	18	18
Georgia	26	26	South Dakota	8	8
Idaho	6	6	Tennessee	24	24
Illinois	54	54	Texas	36	36
Indiana	30	30	Utah	6	6
Iowa	26	26	Vermont	8	8
Kansas	20	20	Virginia	24	24
Kentucky	26	26	Washington	10	10
Louisiana	18	18	West Virginia	14	14
Maine	12	12	Wisconsin	26	26
Maryland	16	16	Wyoming	6	6
Massachusetts	32	32	District of Columbia...	2	2
Michigan	28	28	Alaska	6	6
Minnesota	22	22	Arizona	6	6
Mississippi	20	20	Indian Territory	6	6
Missouri	36	36	New Mexico	6	6
Montana	6	6	Oklahoma	6	6
Nebraska	16	16	Hawaii	*6	6
Nevada	6	6	Philippines	2	2
New Hampshire	8	8	Porto Rico	2	2
New Jersey	24	24			
New York	78	78	Totals	994	994

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The total number of votes in the convention is 994. Theodore Roosevelt has received 994 votes; and it only remains for me to announce that Theodore Roosevelt, of the State of New York, is your candidate for the Presidency for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1905. (Applause.)

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. The Clerk will call the roll of States for the presentation of candidates.

The CLERK proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. OSCAR R. HUNDLEY, of Alabama (when Alabama was called).—The State of Alabama requests the privilege and the honor of yielding its place on the roll call to the State of Iowa.

*This convention only.

NOMINATING SPEECH OF MR. J. P. DOLLIVER, OF IOWA.

Mr. J. P. DOLLIVER, of Iowa, was escorted to the platform.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair presents Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver, of the State of Iowa. (Applause.)

Mr. DOLLIVER.—Gentlemen of the Convention: The National Republican Convention, now nearly ready to adjourn, has presented to the world a moral spectacle of extraordinary interest and significance. It is a fine thing to see thousands of men, representing millions of people, fighting in the political arena, for their favorite candidates, and contending valiantly for the success of contradictory principles and conflicting doctrines. Out of such a contest, with its noise and declamation, its flying banners, its thunder of the captains and the shouting, the truth often secures a vindication, and the right man comes out victorious. Sometimes, however, wisdom is lost in the confusion, and more than once we have seen the claims of leadership swallowed up in contention and strife.

We have the honor to belong to a convention whose constituency in every state and territory, and in the islands of the sea, has done its thinking by quiet firesides, undisturbed by clamor of any sort, and has simplified our responsibilities by the unmistakable terms of the credentials which we hold at their hands

At intervals of four years I followed the banner of James G. Blaine through the streets of our convention cities, from Cincinnati to Minneapolis, and did my full share to see that nobody got any more applause than the great popular leader who had captured my enthusiasm long before I was old enough to vote.

Not even his defeat served to diminish the hold which our champion had upon the hearts of those who followed him, and it has required a good deal of experience to enable them to understand the lesson of his defeat. Other conventions have met to settle the fate of rival chieftains; we meet to record the judgment of the Republican millions of the United States.

They have based their opinion upon the facts of the case. They have not concluded that we have the greatest President of the United States since Washington. They know how to measure the height and depth of things better even than Professor Bryce, when he deals with the superlatives which find their way into all well-regulated banquets after midnight. They have not forgotten the grave of Lincoln, which has become a shrine for the pilgrimage of the human race. They remember still the day when the Canon of Westminster opened the doors of that venerable monument to admit the name of the silent American soldier into the household of English-spoken fame.

They have passed no vainglorious judgment upon the career of Theodore Roosevelt. They have studied it with sympathetic interest from his boyhood, as he has risen from one station of public usefulness to another, until at length, before the age of 45, he stands upon the highest civic eminence known among men. Their tears fell with his as he stood in the shadow of



HON. J. P. DOLLIVER, of Iowa,
Who Made the Address Placing Senator Fairbanks in Nomination for
Vice-President.

poor McKinley's death, and as a part of his oath of office, asked the trusted counsellors who stood by the side of the fallen President to help him carry forward the work which he had left unfinished, and while his administration deserved the tribute which it received in this convention from the eloquent lips of our temporary chairman, it is because he has executed in a manly way the purpose of the Republican party, and interpreted aright the aspirations of the American people. Nor can there be a doubt that, if in the years to come, he shall walk steadfastly in the same path, he will be numbered among the great leaders of the people who have given dignity and influence to their highest office.

But the judgment of the Republican party is not only united upon its candidate—it is unanimous also upon the fundamental principles for which it stands. I think the convention has been fortunate in harmonizing the minor differences which unavoidably arise in a country like ours, where speech is free, and where printing is free. We stand together on the proposition that the industrial system of the United States must not be undermined by a hostile partisan agitation and that whatever changes are necessary in our laws, ought to be made by the friends, or at least the acquaintances, of the protective tariff system. The things upon which we are agreed are so great, and the things about which we differ are so small, that we are able, without sacrificing sincere Republican convictions anywhere, to unite as one man in defense of our common faith.

The roll-call of this convention is a reminder, not without its melancholy suggestion, that the veterans of Republican leadership are transferring the responsibilities which they have borne, to the generation born since 1850. The children of the men who laid the foundations of the Republican party are here to begin the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. A heavy hand has been laid since we met at Philadelphia upon the men who guided the counsels of the party. Nelson Dingley, whose name is associated in immortal reputation with the industrial and commercial miracles which opened the new century, is gone, and within the borders of the same state lies all that is mortal of Thomas B. Reed, who put an end to anarchy in the American house of representatives; dear old uncle Mark Hanna, whose face has looked down with the benediction of an old friend upon our deliberations, we shall see no more; within the past few days we buried Matthew Stanley Quay in the bosom of the commonwealth which he loved, and which, in spite of the malice and calumny which pursued him while he lived, never failed in its affectionate confidence in him, while over the whole four years has hung the shadow of the national affliction which left the American people in sackcloth and ashes.

We stand at the beginning of the new era, and while the Republican party leans upon the counsel of its old leaders, it has not hesitated to summon to the responsibilities of public life the young men who have been trained under their guidance to take up the burdens which they are ready to lay down, and finish the work which comes to them as an inheritance of patriotism and duty. That is the significance of the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, and

that is the explanation of the call which has been made by the Republican party without a dissenting voice, upon Charles W. Fairbanks, to stand by the side of the President in the guidance and leadership of the Republican party.

While he has not sought to constrain the judgment of the convention, directly or indirectly, he has kept himself free from the affectation which undervalues the dignity of the second office in the gift of the American people, and I do not doubt that his heart has been touched by the voluntary expression of universal good will which has already chosen as one of the standard-bearers of the Republican party of the United States. The office has sought the man and he will bring to the office the commanding personality of a statesman equal to any of the great responsibilities which belong to our public affairs. A leader of the senate, the champion of all the great policies which constitute the invincible record of the Republican party during the last ten years, his name will become a tower of strength to our cause, not only in his own state, but everywhere throughout the country. A man of affairs, the whole business community shares the confidence which his political associates have reposed in him from the beginning of his public life. The quiet, undemonstrative, popular opinion which has given the Republican party a platform upon which all Republicans can stand with no dissenting voice, here or anywhere, has long since anticipated the action of this convention in adding to the national Republican ticket the name of Senator Fairbanks of Indiana. I take pleasure in presenting his name, honored everywhere throughout the United States, as our candidate for Vice President.

FIFTY YEARS OF EMANCIPATION.

SENATOR DEPEW'S RATTLING SPEECH SECONDING NOMINATION OF FAIRBANKS.

Senator Chauncey M. Depew made the first speech seconding the nomination of Senator Fairbanks for vice-president at the Republican national convention held in Chicago, on June 23. A remark coming from a delegate, "Have you had your dinner?" was used by the Senator as a text. He said:

My friend wants to know if I have had my dinner, but what I am about to say is in behalf of dinners for the American people. [Laughter and cries of "Good."]

I cannot help thinking, in listening to the eloquence with which we have been entertained this morning, what will be the difference when our Democratic friends meet on July 6 to go through with their duty of nominating candidates and adopting a platform. We here have been unanimous upon our candidates, all agreed upon our principles, all recognizing and applauding our great statesmen, living and dead, and agreeing with them, while on the other hand in that convention there will be the only two living exponents of Democratic principles.

On the one side will be their only president, rising and saying, "Be sane," while on the other side, in opposition will come their last candidate for president saying, "Be Democrats." The two are incompatible. [Laughter and applause.]

I present two thoughts which it seems to me in the flood of our oratory have been passed by. There has been criticism of this convention that it was without enthusiasm and perfunctory and would occupy little place in history. But this convention is an epoch making convention because it marks the close of fifty years of the life of the Republican party.

That fifty years—if we should divide recorded time into periods of half a century—the fifty years from 1854 to 1904 would concentrate more that has been done in this world for the uplifting of humanity than all the half centuries which have preceded.

While this half century has done so much in electricity, so much in steam, so much in inventions, so much in medicine, so much in surgery and in science, its one distinguishing characteristic will be that it was the half century of emancipation—emancipation all over the world, led mainly by the American thought and the success of the American experiment.

But when for our purpose we look back over the accomplishment of this half century we find that the best part of it, that which has made most for the welfare of the country, most for emancipation, has been done by the Republican party.

Just one word to throw the picture on the wall. In 1854 the Missouri compromise was repealed and the territory whose purchase is now being celebrated at St. Louis was dedicated to slavery, and in 1863 Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves. [Applause.]

In 1854 James Buchanan at Ostend issued the manifesto to buy or conquer Cuba for slavery, and in 1900 William McKinley set up Cuba as an independent republic. [Applause.] In 1854 the first cable flashed under the Atlantic ocean, and the use of this tremendous discovery came from a Republican president who was the only president since the formation of the country who had presided over the destinies of a free people, with freedom in the constitution, and the Declaration of Independence no longer a living lie.

AMERICA'S COMMERCIAL PROGRESS.

So it is also in diplomacy. Fifty years ago those of our people who were located among the semi-civilized nations of Asia and Africa placed themselves under the protection of the consuls of Great Britain or the European government most influential in that territory. Today an American fleet appears in the harbor of Tangier, and the secretary of state sends the thrilling message, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." [Cheers.]

Now, it was only sixty years ago, ten years preceding the birth of the Republican party, when that great wit and great writer, Sydney Smith, asked, In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book or goes to an American play or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians and surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Ameri-

cans? What have they done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses or eats from American plates or wears American coats or gowns or sleeps in American blankets?

The answer is that from the figures coming yesterday from the Department of Commerce and Labor we discovered that this year \$450,000,000 of manufactured articles from American looms and factories go into European markets to compete with the highly organized industrial nations of the world in their own market places. [Applause.]

An American can start and go around the world and not leave his country. He can cross the Pacific to Yokohama in a Northern Pacific steamer. He rides through Japan and China on American electrical appliances. He goes 6,000 miles across the Siberian railway in American cars, drawn by American locomotives. In Spain, alongside of their orange groves, he finds California and Florida oranges. In France he drinks wine labeled French which has come from San Francisco. [Laughter and applause.]

He crosses the Nile upon a bridge made in Pittsburg. [Applause.] In an English hotel he goes to his room near the roof in an elevator manufactured in New York. His feet are in carpets made in Yonkers. On the banks of the Ganges he reads his cables by an electric light run by an American and made in America. He goes under old London in tunnels dug and run by American machinery and American genius, and then he goes to Newcastle and finds that the impossible has been profitably accomplished, and coals—American coals—are carried to Newcastle. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, while we represent the positive, the convention which meets on the 6th of July represents that element unknown heretofore in American politics, the opportunist. It is waiting for bankruptcy, waiting for panic, waiting for industrial depression, waiting for financial distress.

There was an old farmer upon the Maine coast who owned a farm with a rocky ledge running out into the ocean and called Hurricane Point; on it ships were wrecked, and he gathered his harvest from the wreckage, and, in his will, he wrote, "I divide my farm equally among my children, but Hurricane Point shall be kept for all of you forever, for while the winds blow and the waves roll the Lord will provide." [Great laughter.] But we have put a lighthouse on Hurricane Point, a lighthouse of protection, with a revolving light shedding golden beams over the ocean, and American commerce in going and coming is absolutely safe. [Applause.]

Time eliminates reputations. One or two men represent a period. There are very few statesmen who are remembered by succeeding generations. The heroes of the civil war on both sides are reduced in popular recollection to two names. Issues and events, which make history, bring out qualities of greatness in those specially gifted for statesmanship and government. The constructive genius of the country was first in the Federal, then in the Democratic, then in the Whig and for the past half century in the Republican party. This is the result: In our first era the leaders were Washington, Hamilton and Adams, Federalists; in the second era, Jefferson and

Jackson, Democrats; in the third era, Webster and Clay, Whigs; in the fourth and most productive era of all that makes life worth living and citizenship valuable, Lincoln, Grant and McKinley, all Republicans. [Applause.]

We love Roosevelt because of his "indiscretions." When everybody else thought it foolish his foresight provided powder and ball for Dewey. When the financial world said it was folly to enforce the laws the supreme court of the United States justified the wisdom of the president. Who calls him rash, impetuous and tumultuous? It is the statesmen who enacted the Wilson bill, with its attendant distress, bankruptcy and ruin; the statesmen who would have given us silver at 16 to 1, with the inevitable collapse of our home industries and our foreign markets; it is the statesmen who would give up the Philippines and would have lost the opportunity to build the isthmian canal while discussing questions of international law and constitutional prerogatives. [Applause.]

To Roosevelt's "impulsiveness," "rashness" and "indiscretions" we owe the settlement of the coal strike, which, if continued, would have produced among a freezing people in the great cities and among millions thrown out of employment, because of manufactories shut down, suffering, riot and revolution. We owe to Roosevelt's "indiscretions," "rashness" and "impetuosity" the removal of the fear and the perils of gigantic trusts by proving that they are the creatures of and within the power of the law. We owe to Roosevelt's "indiscretions," "rashness" and "impetuosity" the solution of the problem of 400 years, the realization of the hope of the statesmen of this country for more than a half of a century, the fruition of the dream of Columbus and the welding of the east and the west and gaining of the Pacific ocean and the Orient for our commerce, in the concession of the right and the beginning of the work of the construction of the isthmian canal. If, as our opponents say, the campaign is Roosevelt, we follow the fortunes of our young leader, confident of victory. [Applause.]

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

And now, gentlemen, it seems to me we have not attached enough importance to the office of vice-president of the United States. [Applause.] It was not so among the fathers. Then of the two highest potential presidential possibilities one took the presidency, the other the vice-presidency. But in the last forty years ridicule and caricature have placed the office almost in contempt.

Let us remember that Thomas Jefferson, let us remember that old John Adams, let us remember that John C. Calhoun and George Clinton and Martin Van Buren were vice-presidents of the United States. Eighty million people want for vice-president a presidential figure of full size.

He presides over the senate, but he does more than that. He is the confidant of the senators. He is the silent member of every committee. He is influential in that legislation which originates and which is shaped in the

senate, and now that we have become a world power, now that treaties make for either our prosperity, our open door or closed harbors, he is necessarily an important factor in the machinery of the government.

By the tragic death of McKinley the vice-president was elevated to the presidency, and today for the first time we have renominated the vice-president who thus came to be the president. [Applause.]

All that has been said here about Theodore Roosevelt is true, but the highest tribute to him is that the American people for the first time unanimously demand that a vice-president shall be the elect of their choice for the presidency of the United States.

Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege in looking for vice-presidential possibilities to announce what you all know—that we have found a vice-presidential candidate of full presidential size. [Applause.] Everybody knows that if the towering figure of Theodore Roosevelt had been out of this canvass one of the promising candidates before this convention for president of the United States would have been Charles W. Fairbanks. [Applause.]

And New York, appreciating his great ability as a lawyer, appreciating the national name he has made for himself as a senator, appreciating his dignity, his character and his genius for public affairs, seconds the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks for vice-president of the United States. [Prolonged applause and cheering.]

SPEECH OF MR. J. B. FORAKER, OF OHIO.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, we have come here to do three things: Make a platform, name the next president of the United States, and also name the next vice president of the United States.

We have done two of these things, and are about to do the third. We have done both of the things we have done well. The platform we adopted yesterday has already met the favorable judgment of the American people. It is the counterpart of the best the Republican party has ever adopted, and, if you would know how high is that tribute, recall the fact of which every Republican may justly feel proud—that, of all the many platforms we have made in the fifty years of our party life, we would not today strike one of them from our record if we could.

Further than that, there is not a plank, or a declaration, or a thought, or an idea in one of them that we would erase if we had the power. From the platform of 1856 down to the one adopted yesterday, all are as sound as a gold dollar. If you would know what a tribute is here to Republican patriotism, wisdom and statesmanship, recall the great questions with which the Republican party has dealt in making these platforms. They are all imperishable contributions to our political literature.

If you would further know the measure of our success, read also of the lamentable failure our Democratic friends have met with in making their platforms. While we are today proud of the success of ours, they cannot find one platform they have made in all this period that does not have some



HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio,
Who Seconded the Nomination of Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks for
Vice-President.

features at least of which they are now ashamed. Not all of them, perhaps, because there are apparently some Democrats who can hardly be ashamed of anything. (Laughter.)

On the platform made yesterday we have placed our candidate who is to head the ticket. It was not as easy to some of the conventions that have gone before to name a Republican candidate for the presidency, as it was for us to name our candidate here today. In former years, when we have been called upon to choose between such great leaders as Conkling and Morton and Blaine and Garfield and Harrison and McKinley, they have been matched so evenly, their claims for merit were so nearly equal, that it was a hard task. But this time one man stood head and shoulders above all others of our Republican leaders, nominated, as has been well said, from this platform by the American people before we took our seats in this convention. We could choose only him.

On the ticket with him, as his associate for the vice presidency, we want now to place a man who represents in his personality, in his beliefs, in his public services, in his high character, all the splendid record the Republican party has made; all the great declarations of all our platforms; a man who will typify, as the leader of our ticket will, the highest ambitions and the noblest purposes of the Republican party of the United States. (Applause.)

I shall not detain you with a eulogy of Senator Fairbanks beyond simply saying that to all who know him personally, as those of us do who have been closely associated with him in the public service, he meets all the requirements so eloquently stated by Senator Depew. He, indeed, is of presidential calibre. He has all the qualifications for the high office for which he has been named, and, by all of these tokens and considerations, in the name of the 46 delegates of Ohio, I second the nomination of Senator Fairbanks. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF MR. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, to every arch there must be a keystone. In the Republican arch Pennsylvania by name and in fact is the keystone. (Applause.) I had three of a kind, and now I take great pleasure in introducing the fourth, Governor Pennypacker, of the State of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

Mr. PENNYPACKER, of Pennsylvania.—Gentlemen of the convention: The first national convention of the Republican party was held in that city in western Pennsylvania which rivals in wealth, in enterprise, in energy, the great mart along the shores of the inland lakes wherein, after the lapse of nearly half a century, we meet today. Pennsylvania may well claim to be the leader among Republican States. The principles which are embodied in the platform of the party as we have adopted it are the results of the teachings of her scholars and statesmen. Her majorities for the nominees of that party are greater and more certain than those of any other State. (Applause.) She

alone of all the States since the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, has never given an electoral vote against a candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency. (Applause.) She is generous and unselfish in her devotion. During the period of half a century that has gone no son of hers has been either President or Vice President. She has been satisfied, like the Earl of Warwick, to be the maker of kings. (Applause.) She has been content that you should have regard to the success of the party and the welfare of the country rather than to the personal interests of her citizens.

The waters of the Ohio, rising in the mountains of Pennsylvania, roll westward, bearing fertility and men to the prairie lands of Indiana. The thought of Pennsylvania turns with kindred feeling toward the State which has produced Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin Harrison and the brave Hoosiers who fought alongside of Reynolds on the Oak Ridge at Gettysburg. (Applause.) She recalls that Abraham Lincoln and Uncle Joe Cannon, both of them wanderers from the South to reach distinction in the North, before they came to Illinois had a preliminary training in Indiana. (Applause.)

She well remembers that when her own Senator, he who did so much for the Republican party, and whose wise counsels, alas! are missing today, bore a commission to Washington, he had no more sincere supporter than the able and distinguished statesman who then, as he does now, represented Indiana in the United States Senate. (Applause.)

Pennsylvania with the approval of her judgment and with glad anticipation of victory in her heart, following a leader, who, like the Chevalier of France, is without fear and without reproach, seconds the nomination for the Vice Presidency of Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana.

SPEECH OF MR. THOMAS H. CARTER, OF MONTANA.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, we have had four of a kind. Wonderful to relate, here is a fifth ace—Tom Carter, of Montana. (Applause.)

Mr. CARTER, of Montana.—Gentlemen of the convention, it will be at once consoling and reassuring to you for me to announce that I do not rise to make a speech, but merely to deliver a message.

You will all recall how upon a historic day eight years ago the intermountain country, theretofore solidly Republican, became tempest tossed and disconcerted. It will be remembered with regret that since 1892 Republican electoral votes in the Rocky Mountain country have been few and far between. I am here today to say to you that from the Canadian line to the south line of Colorado, and from the Missouri river to the Pacific Ocean each and every vote will be cast for Theodore Roosevelt in the Electoral College. (Applause.)

The manner in which this happy result has been brought about is well worth a moment's consideration. We all recall the kind, considerate and wise administration of affairs by William McKinley and his successor as President guided, aided and assisted by the venerated Mark Hanna, of Ohio. (Ap-

plause.) Of all those who have been sympathetic through good and evil report, while standing inflexible for the cardinal principles of the party, one of the strongest and most comforting who have helped has been Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, whose nomination I second. With Roosevelt and Fairbanks the West will be secure. (Applause.) I thank you. (Applause.)

WITHDRAWAL OF MR. R. R. HITT'S NAME.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Are there further nominations? (Cries of "No, No.") If not, by unanimous consent, the further call of the States will be dispensed with.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois.—Before any vote shall be taken, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say one word. Illinois had the great honor of having a candidate for the office of Vice-President, the Honorable Robert R. Hitt. (Applause.) A day or two ago I received a telegram from that distinguished gentleman stating that as the sentiment of the country seemed so unanimous for Senator Fairbanks, he desired that I should withdraw his name from consideration in connection with the great office.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, the Illinois delegation met together, accepted the suggestion of Robert R. Hitt, and determined to give its solid vote to Charles W. Fairbanks for Vice-President of the United State. (Applause.)

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

Mr. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the roll call be dispensed with and that Senator Fairbanks' nomination be made by an unanimous *viva voce* vote.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the roll call of the States be dispensed with, and that Senator Fairbanks be chosen unanimously by this convention as our candidate for the vice presidency.

Mr. W. P. MILES, of Nebraska.—Mr. Chairman, the Nebraska delegation withholds for just a moment its consent to that request.

On behalf of Nebraska's candidate for the Vice-Presidency, the Nebraska delegation extends greeting to Indiana. It recognizes that in Roosevelt and Fairbanks we have a combination of character and intelligence worthy of the aspirations and traditions of the Republican party, and we, therefore, second the nomination. (Applause.)

Mr. L. F. PARKER, of Missouri.—I am unanimously instructed by the delegation from Missouri to say that Missouri recognizes, and cheerfully recognizes, the practically unanimous will of this convention, and withdraws the name of Cyrus Walbridge as its candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States. It further instructs me to cast its unanimous vote for Charles W. Fairbanks for that honor. (Applause.)

Mr. HENRY BLUN, JR., of Georgia.—Mr. Chairman, Georgia instructed her delegation to cast her ballot for one of her sons, but realizing that sound money makes sound banks, and that sound banks make certain Fairbanks

(laughter), she withdraws, and Georgia seconds the nomination of the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Charles W. Fairbanks. (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Depew) that the roll call on the question of nominating a candidate for Vice President be dispensed with, and that the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks be made by acclamation. The Chair hears none. All those who are in favor of the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks, will say "aye."

The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It only remains for the Chair to declare by the unanimous choice of the convention Charles W. Fairbanks of the State of Indiana, is our candidate for Vice President for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1905. (Applause.)

(There were calls for Mr. Fairbanks.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Senator Fairbanks is not in the hall.

COMMITTEES TO NOTIFY THE NOMINEES.

Mr. J. P. DOLLIVER, of Iowa.—Mr. Chairman I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Iowa offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the Permanent Chairman of this Convention, Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination for President; and that Temporary Chairman, Hon. Elihu Root, of New York, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President; and that the committee notify the candidate for President on July 27th, and the candidate for Vice-President on August 3rd.

The GENERAL SECRETARY (Mr. C. W. Johnson).—The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. KNUTE NELSON, of Minnesota.—I submit for consideration the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Minnesota presents a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish a full and complete report of the official proceedings of this convention, under the direction of the National Committee, co-operating with the local committee.

The resolution was agreed to.

THANKS TO CONVENTION OFFICERS.

Mr. W. B. HEYBURN, of Idaho.—I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are tendered to the Temporary Chairman, the Permanent Chairman, the Secretary and his Assistants, the Sergeant-at-Arms, and his Deputies, Clerk at the Chairman's desk, the Reading and Tally Clerks, the Official Reporter, and the Messengers.

THANKS TO THE CITY OF CHICAGO, ETC.

Mr. FRANKLIN MURPHY, of New Jersey.—I offer a resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New Jersey offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to the Hon. Samuel B. Raymond, Chairman, and the members of the Chicago Committee on Arrangements; the members of the sub-committee of the Republican National Committee, the citizens of Chicago, etc., for the hospitable and perfect provision made for the sessions of the convention, and the entertainment of the delegates, alternates and visitors.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY HONORABLE THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will now read the names of the members of the committee appointed to notify Honorable Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

States or Territories	Name.
Alabama.....	J. O. THOMPSON
Arkansas.....	H. L. REMMEL
California.....	GEORGE C. PARDEE
Colorado.....	CHARLES F. CASWELL
Connecticut.....	CHARLES S. MELLE
Delaware.....	FRANCIS S. BRADLEY
Florida.....	JAMES N. COOMBS
Georgia.....	H. S. EDWARDS
Idaho.....	WELDON B. HEYBURN
Illinois.....	ISAAC L. ELLWOOD
Indiana.....	W. R. McKEEN
Iowa.....	GEORGE M. CURTIS
Kansas.....	W. T. DONALD
Kentucky.....	CHARLES F. WEAVER
Louisiana.....	EMIL KUNTZ
Maine.....	ERNEST M. GOODALL
Maryland.....	FELIX ANGUS
Massachusetts.....	CHARLES G. WASHBURN
Michigan.....	CHARLES E. SWEET
Minnesota.....	WALTER W. HEFFELFINGER
Mississippi.....	L. B. MOSELEY
Missouri.....	W. C. PIERCE
Montana.....	CONRAD KOHRS
Nebraska.....	GURDON W. WATTLES
Nevada.....	E. S. FARINGTON
New Hampshire.....	ROSECRANS W. PILLSBURY
New Jersey.....	LESLIE D. WARD
New York.....	CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
North Carolina.....	I. M. MEEKINS
North Dakota.....	V. B. NOBLE
Ohio.....	GEORGE P. WALDORF
Oregon.....	S. J. KLEIN
Pennsylvania.....	FRANCIS L. ROBBINS
Rhode Island.....	H. MARTIN BROWN
South Carolina.....	A. D. WEBSTER
South Dakota.....	G. E. ANDREWS
Tennessee.....	T. A. LANCASTER
Texas.....	W. S. SIMPSON
Utah.....	WILLARD F. SNYDER
Vermont.....	JAMES F. HOOKER
Virginia.....	S. BROWN ALLEN
Washington.....	J. G. LEWIS
West Virginia.....	J. L. CALDWELL
Wisconsin.....	O. H. FETHERS
Wyoming.....	C. D. CLARK
District of Columbia.....	JOHN F. COOK
Alaska.....	J. W. IVEY
Arizona.....	A. O. BRODIE

Indian Territory.....	GEORGE W. BIGHAM
New Mexico.....	M. A. OTERO
Oklahoma.....	W. D. FOSSETT
Hawaii.....	ERIC A. KNUDSON
Philippines.....	E. C. McCULLOUGH
Porto Rico.....	R. H. TODD

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY HONORABLE CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will now read the names of the members of the committee appointed to notify Honorable Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

State or Territory.	Name.
Alabama.....	L. J. BRYAN
Arkansas	T. O. FITZPATRICK
California.....	M. A. GUNST
Colorado.....	THOMAS F. WALSH
Connecticut.....	CHARLES C. BISSELL
Delaware.....	G. LAYTON GRIER
Florida.....	JOSEPH E. LEE
Georgia.....	E. F. BLODGETT
Idaho.....	C. J. HALL
Illinois.....	VESPASIAN WARNER
Indiana.....	JOSEPH HUDSPETH
Iowa.....	J. W. DOXSEE
Kansas.....	O. Z. SMITH
Kentucky.....	JAMES BREATHITT
Louisiana.....	C. C. DUSON
Maine.....	EDWIN RILEY
Maryland.....	JAMES E. INGRAM, JR.
Massachusetts.....	WM. SHEPHERD
Michigan.....	THOMAS WALTERS
Minnesota.....	AMOS MARCKEL
Mississippi.....	R. A. SIMMONS
Missouri.....	E. S. BROWN
Montana.....	J. E. EDWARDS
Nebraska.....	H. M. CHILDS
Nevada.....	H. B. MAXSON
New Hampshire.....	EDWIN C. BEAN
New Jersey.....	EDMUND WILSON
New York.....	ELIHU ROOT
North Carolina.....	B. F. MEBANE
North Dakota.....	B. PROM
Ohio.....	GEO. W. McMURCHY
Oregon.....	N. C. RICHARDS
Pennsylvania.....	W. L. CONNELL
Rhode Island.....	SAMUEL L. PECK
South Carolina.....	W. D. CRUM
South Dakota.....	H. GODDARD
Tennessee.....	A. A. HORNSBY
Texas.....	C. DICKSON
Utah.....	L. W. SHURTLIFF

Vermont.....	JAMES F. MANNING
Virginia.....	C. G. SMITHERS
Washington.....	A. B. EASTHAM
West Virginia.....	ENOCH CARVER
Wisconsin.....	A. W. McLEOD
Wyoming.....	F. W. MONDELL
District of Columbia.....	ROBERT REYBURN
Alaska.....	W. D. GRANT
Arizona.....	J. X. WOODS
Indian Territory.....	CHAS. W. RAYMOND
New Mexico.....	D. J. LEAHY
Oklahoma.....	JNO. H. COTTERAL
Hawaii.....	A. G. M. ROBERTSON
Phillipine Islands.....	JOHN M. SWITZER
Porto Rico.....	JOSE GOMEZ BRIOSO

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. GRAEME STEWART, of Illinois.—I move that the convention do now adjourn *sine die*.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Chair declared the convention adjourned without day.

Official Notification of Candidates

ADDRESS OF HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON

Notifying President Roosevelt of his Nomination for President
at Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 27, 1894.

Mr. President:—The people of the United States, by blood, heredity, education and practice, are a self-governing people. We have sometimes been subject to prejudice and embarrassment from harmful conditions, but we have outgrown prejudice and overcome conditions as rapidly as possible, having due regard to law and the rights of individuals. We have sometimes made mistakes, from a false sense of security or from a desire to change policies instead of letting well enough alone, merely to see what would happen, but we have always paid the penalty of unwise action at the ballot box and endured the suffering until, under the law, through the ballot box, we have returned to correct policies. Tested by experience, no nation has so successfully solved all problems and chosen proper policies as our nation. Under the lead of the Republican party for over forty years, the United States, from being a third-class power among the nations, has become in every respect first. The people rule. The people ruling, it is necessary that they should be competent to rule. Competency requires not only patriotism but material well-being, education, statecraft.

The people, under the lead of the Republican party, wrote upon the statute books revenue laws, levying taxes upon the products of foreign countries seeking our markets, which replenished our treasury, but were so adjusted as to encourage our people in developing, diversifying and maintaining our industries, at the same time protecting our citizens laboring in production against the competition of foreign labor. Under this policy, our manufactured product today is one-third of the product of the civilized world, and our people receive almost double the pay for their labor that similar labor receives elsewhere in the world, thereby enabling us to bear the burdens of citizenship.

Liberal compensation for labor makes liberal customers for our products. Under this policy of protection, our home market affords all our people a better market than has any other people on earth, and this, too, even if we did not sell any of our products abroad. In addition to this, we have come to be the greatest exporting nation in the world. For the year ending the 30th of June, 1904, our exports to foreign countries were valued at \$1,460,000,000, of which \$450,000,000 were products of the factory. The world fell in our debt last year \$470,000,000, an increase of \$75,000,000 over the preceding year.

This policy of protection has always been opposed by the opponents of the Republican party, and is opposed by them today. In their last national platform, adopted at St. Louis, they denounce protection as robbery. They never have been given power but they proceeded by word and act to destroy the policy of protection. Their platform is as silent as the grave touching the gold standard and our currency system. Their chosen leader, after his nomination, having been as silent as the sphynx up to that time, sent his telegram, saying in substance that the gold standard is established, and that he will govern himself accordingly if he should be elected.

I congratulate him. It is better to be right late than never. It is better to be right in one thing than wrong in all things. I wonder if it ever occurred to him that if his vote and support for his party's candidate in 1896 and 1900 had been decisive we would now have the silver standard. I wonder what made him send that telegram after he was nominated, and why he did not send it before! When did he have a change of heart and judgment? And does he at heart believe in the gold standard and our currency system, or does he try now to reap where he has not sown? If, perchance, he should be elected by forcing together discordant elements, I submit that, with a democratic House of Representatives or House and Senate, there would be no harmonious action in legislation or administration that would benefit the people, but that doubt and discontent would everywhere distress production and labor. Consumption would be curtailed. In short, we would have an experience similar to that from 1893 to 1897. If this chosen leader and his friends are converts to Republican policies, should not they "bring forth fruits meet for repentance" before they ask to be placed in the highest positions to affect the well-being of all; or, if they profess all things to all men, then they are not worthy the confidence of any man. If clothed with power, will they follow in the paths of legislation according to their loves and votes as manifested by their action always heretofore, or will they stand by, protect and defend the gold standard and our currency system that have been created under the lead of the Republican party?

Correct revenue laws, protection or free trade, the gold standard and our currency system, all depend upon the sentiment of the majority of our people as voiced at the ballot box. A majority may change our revenue laws; a majority may change our currency laws; a majority may destroy the gold standard and establish the silver standard; or, in lieu of either or both, make the treasury note, non-interest-bearing and irredeemable, the sole standard of value.

Sir, let us turn from the region of doubt and double-dealing, the debatable land, to the region of assured certainty. The Republican party stands for protection. It stands for the gold standard and our currency system. All these dwell in legislation enacted under the lead of the Republican party and against the most determined opposition of the Democratic party, including its leader and candidate. These being our policies, and having been most useful to the country, we have confidence in and love them. If it be

necessary from time to time that they should be strengthened here and controlled there, the Republican party stands ready, with loving, competent hands, to apply the proper remedy. I say "remedy." Being our policies, we will not willingly subject them to their enemies for slow starvation on the one hand or to sudden destruction on the other.

Since the Republican party was restored to power, in 1897, under the lead of McKinley, our country has prospered in production and in commerce as it has never prospered before. In wealth, we stand first among all the nations. Under the lead of William McKinley, the war with Spain was speedily brought to a successful conclusion. Under the treaty of peace and our action, Cuba is free; and, under guaranties written in her constitution and our legislation, it is assured that she will ever remain free. We also acquired Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, by a treaty, the ratification of which was only possible by the votes of Democratic Senators. Civil government has been established in Porto Rico, and we are journeying towards civil government in the Philippines as rapidly as the people of the archipelago are able to receive it; and this, too, notwithstanding the false cry of "imperialism" raised by the Democratic party and still insisted upon, which led to insurrection in the Philippines and tends to lead to further insurrection there. The record of the Republican party under the lead of William McKinley has passed into history. Who dares assail it?

In the history of the Republic, in time of peace, no executive has had greater questions to deal with than yourself, and none have brought greater courage, wisdom and patriotism to their solution. You have enforced the law against the mighty and the lowly without fear, favor or partiality. Under the constitution, you have recommended legislation to Congress from time to time, as it was your duty to do, and when it was passed by Congress, have approved it. You have, under the constitution, led in making a treaty which was ratified by the Senate and is approved by the people, which not only assures, but, under the law and appropriations made by Congress, proceeds with the construction of the Panama Canal.

The Republican party, under your leadership, keeps its record from the beginning under Lincoln of *doing things*, the right thing at the right time and in the right way, notwithstanding the opposition of those who oppose the right policies from the selfish or partisan standpoint. They dare not tell the truth about your official action or the record of the party and then condemn it. They can, for selfish or partisan reasons, abuse you personally and misrepresent the party which you lead. It is true, however, that, so far, their abuse of your action and their alleged fear of your personality is insignificant as compared with the personal and partisan carpings against Lincoln, Grant and McKinley when they were clothed with power by the people. Those whose only grievance is that you have enforced the law and those who carp for more partisan capital will not, in my judgment, reap the harvest of success. The Republican party for you and under your leadership appeals to the great body of the people who live in the sweat of their

faces, make the civilization, control the Republic, fight its battles and determine its policies, for approval and continuance in power.

The office of President of the United States is the greatest on earth, and many competent men in the Republican party are ambitious to hold it, yet the Republican convention met at Chicago, June last, and cordially, with one accord, nominated you as the candidate of the party for President. I am sure all Republicans and a multitude of good citizens who do not call themselves Republicans, said "Amen."

In pursuance of the usual custom, the convention appointed a committee, of which it honored me with the chairmanship, to wait upon you and inform you of its action, which duty, speaking for the committee, I now cheerfully perform, with the hope and the confident expectation that a majority of the people of the Republic will, in November next, approve the action of the convention by choosing electors who will assure your election to the Presidency as your own successor.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S REPLY

The President replied, as follows:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me by the representatives of the Republican party assembled in convention, and I accept the nomination for the Presidency with solemn realization of the obligations I assume. I heartily approve the declaration of principles which the Republican National Convention has adopted, and at some future day I shall communicate to you, Mr. Chairman, more at length and in detail a formal written acceptance of the nomination.

Three years ago I became President because of the death of my lamented predecessor. I then stated that it was my purpose to carry out his principles and policies for the honor and the interest of the country. To the best of my ability I have kept the promise thus made. If next November my countrymen confirm at the polls the action of the convention you represent, I shall, under Providence, continue to work with an eye single to the welfare of all our people.

A party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low, can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of the loyal co-operation of many different persons. The members of a legislative majority, the officers in the various departments of the Administration, and the Legislative and Executive branches as towards each other, must work together with subordination of self to the common end of successful government. We who have been entrusted with power as public servants during the past seven years of administration and legisla-

tion now come before the people content to be judged by our record of achievement. In the years that have gone by we have made the deed square with the word; and if we are continued in power we shall unswervingly follow out the great lines of public policy which the Republican party has already laid down; a public policy to which we are giving, and shall give a united, and therefore an efficient, support.

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the administration because of which they ask that the administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere. We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question: our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future. Our opponents, either openly or secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promises in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void. We know our own minds and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give to our policy coherence and sanity. In such a fundamental matter as the enforcement of the law we do not have to depend upon promises, but merely to ask that our record be taken as an earnest of what we shall continue to do. In dealing with the great organizations known as trusts, we do not have to explain why the laws were not enforced, but to point out that they actually have been enforced and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement. We do not have to propose to "turn the rascals out," for we have shown in very deed that whenever by diligent investigation a public official can be found who has betrayed his trust he will be punished to the full extent of the law without regard to whether he was appointed under a Republican or a Democratic administration. This is the efficient way to turn the rascals out and to keep them out, and it has the merit of sincerity. Moreover the betrayals of trust in the last seven years have been insignificant in number when compared with the extent of the public service. Never has the administration of the government been on a cleaner and higher level; never has the public work of the nation been done more honestly and efficiently.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well. Prosperity has come at home. The national honor and interest have been upheld abroad. We have placed the finances of the nation upon a sound gold basis. We have done this with

the aid of many who were formerly our opponents, but who would neither openly support nor silently acquiesce in the heresy of unsound finance; and we have done it against the convinced and violent opposition of the mass of our present opponents who still refuse to recant the unsound opinions which for the moment they think it inexpedient to assert. We know what we mean when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year. We do not have to avoid a definite and conclusive committal on the most important issue which has recently been before the people, and which may at any time in the near future be before them again. Upon the principles which underlie this issue the convictions of half of our number do not clash with those of the other half. So long as the Republican party is in power the gold standard is settled, not as a matter of temporary political expediency, not because of shifting conditions in the production of gold in certain mining centers, but in accordance with what we regard as the fundamental principles of national morality and wisdom.

Under the financial legislation which we have enacted there is now ample circulation for every business need; and every dollar of this circulation is worth a dollar in gold. We have reduced the interest-bearing debt and in still larger measure the interest on that debt. All of the war taxes imposed during the Spanish war have been removed with a view to relieve the people and to prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus. The result is that hardly ever before have the expenditures and income of the government so closely corresponded. In the fiscal year that has just closed the excess of income over the ordinary expenditures was nine millions of dollars. This does not take account of the fifty millions expended out of the accumulated surplus for the purchase of the Isthmian Canal. It is an extraordinary proof of the sound financial condition of the nation that instead of following the usual course in such matters and throwing the burden upon posterity by an issue of bonds, we were able to make the payment outright and yet after it to have in the treasury a surplus of one hundred and sixty-one millions. Moreover, we were able to pay the fifty millions of dollars out of hand without causing the slightest disturbance to business conditions.

We have enacted a tariff law under which during the past few years the country has attained a height of material well-being never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a protective tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment but to repeal. The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage-worker in the maintenance of our present economic system, both as regards the finances and the tariff. The standard

of living of our wage-workers is higher than that of any other country, and it can not so remain unless we have a protective tariff which shall always keep as a minimum a rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. Those who, like our opponents, "denounce protection as a robbery," thereby explicitly commit themselves to the proposition that if they were to revise the tariff, no heed would be paid to the necessity of meeting this difference between the standards of living for wage-workers here and in other countries; and therefore on this point their antagonism to our position is fundamental. Here again we ask that their promises and ours be judged by what has been done in the immediate past. We ask that sober and sensible men compare the workings of the present tariff law, and the conditions which obtain under it, with the workings of the preceding tariff law of 1894 and the conditions which that tariff of 1894 helped to bring about.

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor. It is a singular fact that the only great reciprocity treaty recently adopted—that with Cuba—was finally opposed almost alone by the representatives of the very party which now states that it favors reciprocity. And here again we ask that the worth of our words be judged by comparing their deeds with ours. On this Cuban reciprocity treaty there were at the outset grave differences of opinion among ourselves; and the notable thing in the negotiation and ratification of the treaty, and in the legislation which carried it into effect, was the highly practical manner in which without sacrifice of principle these differences of opinion were reconciled. There was no rupture of a great party, but an excellent practical outcome, the result of the harmonious co-operation of two successive Presidents and two successive Congresses. This is an illustration of the governing capacity which entitles us to the confidence of the people not only in our purposes but in our practical ability to achieve those purposes. Judging by the history of the last twelve years, down to this very month, is there justification for believing that under similar circumstances and with similar initial differences of opinion, our opponents would have achieved any practical result?

We have already shown in actual fact that our policy is to do fair and equal justice to all men, paying no heed to whether a man is rich or poor; paying no heed to his race, his creed, or his birthplace.

We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each

is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense.

In inaugurating the great work of irrigation in the West the Administration has been enabled by Congress to take one of the longest strides ever taken under our Government toward utilizing our vast national domain for the settler, the actual home-maker.

Ever since this continent was discovered the need of an Isthmian Canal to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic has been recognized; and ever since the birth of our nation such a canal has been planned. At last the dream has become a reality. The Isthmian Canal is now being built by the Government of the United States. We conducted the negotiation for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run. Every sinister effort which could be devised by the spirit of faction or the spirit of self-interest was made in order to defeat the Treaty with Panama and thereby prevent the consummation of this work. The construction of the canal is now an assured fact; but most certainly it is unwise to entrust the carrying out of so momentous a policy to those who have endeavored to defeat the whole undertaking.

Our foreign policy has been so conducted that, while not one of our just claims has been sacrificed, our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind; there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation between us and any other nation was removed by the settlement of the Alaskan boundary.

In the Caribbean Sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba, and have proved our assertion that our mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement; and thereby no less than by our action in Venezuela and Panama we have shown that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality, designed for the hurt of no nation, but for the protection of civilization on the western continent, and for the peace of the world. Our steady growth in power has gone hand in hand with a strengthening disposition to use this power with strict regard for the rights of others, and for the cause of international justice and goodwill.

We earnestly desire friendship with all the nations of the New and Old Worlds; and we endeavor to place our relations with them upon a basis of reciprocal advantage instead of hostility. We hold that the prosperity of each nation is an aid and not a hindrance to the prosperity of other nations. We seek international amity for the same reasons that make us believe in peace within our own borders; and we seek this peace not because we are afraid or unready, but because we think that peace is right as well as advantageous.

American interests in the Pacific have rapidly grown. American enterprise has laid a cable across this, the greatest of oceans. We have proved in effective fashion that we wish the Chinese Empire well and desire its integrity and independence.

Our foothold in the Philippines greatly strengthens our position in the competition for the trade of the East; but we are governing the Philippines in the interest of the Philippine people themselves. We have already given them a large share in their government, and our purpose is to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task. The great majority of the officials of the islands, whether elective or appointive, are already native Filipinos. We are now providing for a legislative assembly. This is the first step to be taken in the future; and it would be eminently unwise to declare what our next step will be until this first step has been taken and the results are manifest. To have gone faster than we have already gone in giving the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government would have been disastrous. At the present moment to give political independence to the islands would result in the immediate loss of civil rights, personal liberty and public order, as regards the mass of the Filipinos, for the majority of the islanders have been given these great boons by us, and only keep them because we vigilantly safeguard and guarantee them. To withdraw our government from the islands at this time would mean to the average native the loss of his barely-won civil freedom. We have established in the islands a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos assisted by Americans.

The principles which we uphold should appeal to all our countrymen, in all portions of our country. Above all they should give us strength with the men and women who are the spiritual heirs of those who upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln; for we are striving to do our work in the spirit with which Lincoln approached his. During the seven years that have just passed there is no duty, domestic or foreign, which we have shirked; no necessary task which we have feared to undertake, or which we have not performed with reasonable efficiency. We have never pleaded impotence. We have never sought refuge in criticism and complaint instead of action. We face the future with our past and our present as guarantors of our promises; and we are content to stand or to fall by the record which we have made and are making.

ADDRESS OF HON. ELIHU ROOT
Notifying Senator Fairbanks of his Nomination for
Vice-President

Elihu Root, in delivering his notification speech, said:

"Senator Fairbanks—The committee which now waits upon you was appointed by the National Convention of the Republican party held in Chicago in June, and its agreeable duty is to notify you of your nomination as the Republican candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States for the term to begin on the 4th day of March, 1905.

"We give you formal notice of that nomination, with assurance of the undivided and hearty support of the great party which has executed the people's will in the government of this country for the better part of the last half century. The nomination comes to you in accordance with the best methods and practices of representative government. It was the result of long and earnest consideration and discussion by the members of the convention. It was not the chance product of an excited hour, and it was not upon the demand of any powerful influence—political or otherwise—constraining the judgment of the delegates. It was not made for the purpose of conciliating possible malcontents or of swelling the campaign fund of the party. No bargains or intrigues contributed to it. No suppressions of the truth or misleading of the convention as to your principles and opinions were necessary to bring it about. It was the deliberate, informed and intelligent judgment of the delegates from every State and Territory, and it was their unanimous judgment.

IMPORTANCE OF OFFICE.

"It is a great office to which you are called. John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, and George Clinton, and John C. Calhoun, and Martin Van Buren and many others whose names are illustrious in the history of our country, have filled it. It is an office of high dignity and immediate, ever-present importance. The credit and honor of our country are greatly concerned in the character and conduct of the man who presides over the Senate of the United States—that powerful and august body, of which you are already so experienced, so useful and so honored a member.

"But the Vice-President has other grave duties of imperative obligation. When the people elect a President under our political system they do not merely select the man for the office; they give their approval to certain controlling principles and policies of government; and the administration of which the Vice-President is a part is bound to give effect to these principles and policies. The primary duty of the Vice-President,—to be always ready to take up the burden of the Presidency if occasion requires,—carries with it the duty to be always ready to continue unbroken the policies which the people have entrusted to the administration for execution. For the due

performance of this duty the Vice-President should be familiar with the conduct of affairs by the administration as it proceeds, a part of its counsels, and imbued with a knowledge of its labors, its perplexities and its motives, that can come only from intimate association and confidence and sympathy.

IN SYMPATHY WITH THE PRESIDENT.

"Too often it has happened that after excited contests for the Presidential nomination the candidate for Vice-President has been selected from the defeated faction for the purpose of appeasing their resentment, and that after election he has remained antagonistic in spirit and a stranger to the counsels of the President whom he may be called upon to succeed. Happily we are now in no such case. The people would fain see again such relations of sympathy and loyal helpfulness for the public good as existed between President McKinley and Vice-President Hobart; and the personal relations between President Roosevelt and yourself, your mutual esteem and good understanding assure us that these happy conditions will come again after the 4th of next March. We count upon your wisdom and experience and loyal aid as an element of ever-present strength in the coming administration.

"As to the supreme responsibility of the Vice-Presidency in case of succession to the Presidency, we shall all pray, and no one more earnestly than yourself, that it may not come to you. But we are not at liberty to ignore the possibility that it may come. Sad and bitter experience admonishes us that provision for succession to the Presidency is no idle form. Of the last twelve Presidents elected by the people of the United States five—nearly one-half—have died in office and have been succeeded by Vice-Presidents. A serious obligation rests upon the political parties which select the candidates between whom the people must choose, to see to it that they nominate men for this possible succession who have the strength of body and mind and character which shall enable them, if occasion comes, to take up the burdens of the great Presidential office, to endure its trying and exhausting demands, to meet its great responsibilities, and with firm hand and clear vision to guide the Government of the country until the people can express their choice again.

"Our opponents of the Democratic party have signally failed to perform this duty. They have nominated as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency an excellent gentleman, who was born during the Presidency of James Monroe, and who before the 4th of March next will be in the eighty-second year of his age. Before the next administration is ended, he will be approaching his eighty-sixth birthday. It is no disparagement of this gentleman, for whom I believe we all have the highest respect, to say that he shares the common lot of mortals, and that the election of any man of such great age would furnish no safeguard to the American people against disaster which would ensue upon the death of a President with a successor not competent to perform the duties of the Presidential office. It is com-

mon experience that very aged men, however bright and active they may appear for brief periods, can not sustain long-continued, severe exertion. The demands of the Presidential office upon the mental and physical vitality are so great, so continuous and so exhausting as to be wholly beyond the capacity of any men of eighty-five.

SUCCESSION OF PRESIDENCY.

"The attempt by such a man to perform the duties of the office would with practical certainty be speedily followed by a complete breakdown, both of body and of mind. In contemplating the remote possibility of the election of the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, the people of the country are bound to contemplate also as a necessary result of such an election in the case of the President's death, that others, not chosen by the people, and we know not who, would govern in the name of a nominal successor unable himself to perform the constitutional duties of his office; or worse still, that serious doubt whether the Vice-President had not reached a condition of "inability" within the meaning of the constitution would throw the title to the office of President into dispute.

EFFECT OF GOVERNMENT.

"The serious effect of such an event upon the Government and upon the business interests and general welfare of the country, and the serious effect even of the continual menace of such an event, must be apparent to every thoughtful mind.

"In your election, on the other hand, this chief requirement will be fully met. In the full strength of middle life you are prepared for the exhausting duties of the Presidency. Your successful and distinguished career, the ability and probity with which you have already discharged the duties of high office, the universal respect and esteem of the people of Indiana who have delighted to honor you, the attachment of hosts of friends throughout the Union—all assure us that you have the character and the ability to govern wisely and strongly, should you become President. Many indeed among our people have already turned toward you as a suitable candidate to be elected directly to that great office.

"It is the earnest wish of your party and of many good citizens who have no party affiliations, that you shall accept this nomination, and that you shall be elected in November to be the next Vice-President of the United States. In expressing to you this wish, we beg to add an assurance of our own personal respect, esteem and loyalty."

SENATOR FAIRBANK'S REPLY

Senator Fairbanks made a brief reply to Elihu Root's address, accepting the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination. He spoke as follows:

"Mr. Root and Gentlemen of the Committee: I thank you for the very generous terms in which you have conveyed the official notification of my nomination for Vice-President of the United States. The unsolicited and unanimous nomination by the Republican party is a call to duty which I am pleased to obey.

"I accept the commission which you bring with a profound sense of the dignity and responsibilities of the exalted position for which I have been nominated. My utmost endeavor will be to discharge in full measure the trust, if the action of the convention shall meet the approval of the American people.

"The platform adopted by the convention is an explicit and emphatic declaration of principles in entire harmony with those policies of our party which have brought great honor and prosperity to our common country, and which, if continued, will bring us like blessings in the future.

FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL STRENGTH.

"The monetary and economic policies which have been so forcibly reannounced, lie at the very foundation of our industrial life, and are essential to the fullest development of our national strength. They give vitality to our manufactures and commerce, and if impaired or overthrown, there would inevitably ensue a period of industrial depression, to the serious injury of the vast interests of both labor and capital.

"The Republican party, since it preserved the integrity of the Republic and gave freedom to the oppressed, never rendered a more important service to the country than when it established the gold standard. Under it we have increased our currency supply sufficiently to meet the normal requirements of business. It is gratifying that the convention made frank and explicit declaration of the inflexible purpose of the party to maintain the gold standard. It is essential not only that the standard should be as good as the best in the world, but that the people should have the assurance that it will be so maintained.

ENEMIES OF SOUND MONEY.

"The enemies of sound money were powerful enough to suppress mention of the gold standard in the platform lately adopted by the Democratic national convention. The leader of Democracy in two great national campaigns has declared since the adjournment of the convention that as soon as the election is over, he will undertake to organize the forces within the Democratic party for the next national contest, for the purpose of advancing the radical policies for which his element of the party stands. He frankly says that the money question is for the present in abeyance. In view of these palpable facts, it is not the part of wisdom to abandon our

vigilance in safeguarding the integrity of our monetary system. We must have not only a President who is unalterably committed to the gold standard, but both Houses of Congress in entire accord with him upon the subject.

"In Congress and not with the President rests the supreme power to determine the standard of our money. Though the chief executive should oppose, the Congress, acting within its independent constitutional authority, could at any time overthrow or change the monetary standard.

PROTECTIVE POLICY.

"The wisdom of our protective policy finds complete justification in the industrial development of the country. This policy has become a most vital part of our industrial system and must be maintained unimpaired. When altered conditions make changes in schedules desirable, their modification can be safely entrusted to the Republican party. If they are to be changed by the enemies of the system along free trade lines, uncertainty would take the place of certainty and a reaction would surely follow, to the injury of the wage-earners and all who are profitably employed. Uncertainty undermines confidence, and loss of confidence breeds confusion and distress in commercial affairs.

"The convention was wise not only in its enunciation of party policies, but in its nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. During the last three years President Roosevelt has been confronted with large and serious questions. These he has met and solved with high wisdom and courage. The charges made against him in the Democratic platform find an irrefutable answer in his splendid administration, never surpassed in all the history of the Republic, and never equaled by the party who seeks to discredit it.

ROOSEVELT'S RE-ELECTION DEMANDED.

"The election of the President is imperatively demanded by those whose success depends upon the continuance of a safe, conservative and efficient administration of public affairs. We have an ample record of deeds done, of beneficent things accomplished in the public interest. The vast business of the Government has been well administered. The laws have been enforced fearlessly and impartially. The treasury has been adequately supplied with revenue, and the financial credit of the Government was never better. Our foreign trade balance continues to increase our national wealth. We have adopted an irrigation policy which will build homes in the arid regions of the West. The Panama Canal, the hope of centuries, is in course of construction under the sole protection of the American flag.

"We have peace and great prosperity at home and are upon terms of good neighborhood to the entire world. The conditions constitute the strongest possible assurance for the future.

"Later I shall avail myself of a favorable opportunity to submit to you, and through you to my fellow-citizens, a fuller expression of my views concerning the questions now in issue.

"Permit me again to thank you and to express the belief that we may confidently submit our cause to the candid and patriotic judgment of our countrymen."

The Letters of Acceptance

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Oyster Bay, N. Y., Sept. 12.—President Roosevelt's letter accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency was given out today. It follows, in full:

Hon. J. G. Cannon, Chairman Notification Committee:

My Dear Sir:—I accept the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, and cordially approve the platform adopted by it. In writing this letter, there are certain points upon which I desire to lay especial stress.

It is difficult to find out from the utterances of our opponents what are the real issues upon which they propose to wage this campaign. It is not unfair to say that, having abandoned most of the principles upon which they have insisted during the last eight years, they now seem at a loss, both as to what it is that they really believe, and as to how firmly they shall assert their belief in anything. In fact, it is doubtful if they venture resolutely to press a single issue; as soon as they raise one they shrink from it and seek to explain it away. Such an attitude is the probably inevitable result of the effort to improvise convictions; for when thus improvised, it is natural that they should be held in a tentative manner.

The party now in control of the Government is troubled by no such difficulties. We do not have to guess at our own convictions, and then correct the guess if it seems unpopular. The principles which we profess are those in which we believe with heart and soul and strength. Men may differ from us; but they cannot accuse us of shiftness or insincerity. The policies we have pursued are those which we earnestly hold as essential to the national welfare and repute. Our actions speak even louder than our words for the faith that is in us. We base our appeal upon what we have done and are doing, upon our record of administration and legislation during the last seven years, in which we have had complete control of the Government. We intend in the future to carry on the Government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past.

A party whose members are radically at variance on most vital issues, and if united at all, are only united on issues where their attitude threatens widespread disaster to the whole country, cannot be trusted to govern in any matter. A party which, with facile ease, changes all its convictions before election, cannot be trusted to adhere with tenacity to any principle after election. A party fit to govern must have convictions. In 1896 the Republican party came into power, and in 1900 it retained power on certain definite

pledges, each of which was scrupulously fulfilled. But in addition to meeting and solving the problems which were issues in these campaigns, it also became necessary to meet other problems which arose after election; and it is no small part of our claim to public confidence that these were solved with the same success that had attended the solution of those concerning which the battles at the polls were fought. In other words, our governmental efficiency proved equal, not only to the tasks that were anticipated, but to doing each unanticipated task as it arose.

ENABLING QUALITIES.

When the contest of 1896 was decided the question of the war with Spain was not an issue. When the contest of 1900 was decided the shape which the Isthmian Canal question ultimately took could not have been foreseen. But the same qualities which enabled those responsible for making and administering the laws at Washington to deal successfully with the tariff and the currency enabled them also to deal with the Spanish war; and the same qualities which enabled them to act wisely in the Philippines and in Cuba also enabled them to do their duty as regards the problems connected with the trusts and to secure the building of the Isthmian Canal.

We are content to rest our case before the American people upon the fact that to adherence to a lofty ideal we have added proved governmental efficiency. Therefore, our promises may surely be trusted as regards any issue that is now before the people; and we may equally be trusted to deal with any problem which may hereafter arise.

So well has the work been done that our opponents do not venture to recite the facts about our policies or acts, and then oppose them. They attack them only when they have first misrepresented them; for a truthful recital would leave no room for adverse comment.

Panama offers an instance in point. Our opponents can criticise what we did in Panama only on condition of mis-stating what was done. The administration behaved throughout not only with good faith, but with extraordinary patience and large generosity toward those with whom it dealt. It was also mindful of American interests. It acted in strict compliance with the law passed by Congress. Had not Panama been promptly recognized and the transit across the isthmus kept open, in accordance with our treaty rights and obligations, there would have ensued endless guerilla warfare, and possibly foreign complications; while all chance of building the canal would have been deferred, certainly for years, perhaps for a generation or more. Criticism of the action in this matter is simply criticism of the only possible action which could have secured the building of the canal; as well as the peace and quiet which we were, by treaty, bound to preserve along the line of transit across the isthmus.

The service rendered this country in securing the perpetual right to construct, maintain, operate and defend the canal was so great that our opponents

do not venture to raise the issue in straightforward fashion; for if so raised there would be no issue.

The decisive action which brought about this beneficent result was the exercise by the President of the powers vested in him, and in him alone, by the Constitution; the power to recognize foreign governments by entering into diplomatic relations with them, and the power to make treaties which, when ratified by the Senate, become under the Constitution part of the supreme law of the land. Neither in this nor in any other matter has there been the slightest failure to live up to the Constitution in letter and in spirit. But the Constitution must be observed positively as well as negatively. The President's duty is to serve the country in accordance with the Constitution; and I should be derelict in my duty if I used a false construction of the Constitution as a shield for weakness and timidity, or as an excuse for governmental impotence.

MISREPRESENTATION WEAPON.

Similar misrepresentation is the one weapon of our opponents in regard to our foreign policy, and the way the navy has been made useful in carrying out this policy. Here again all that we ask is that they truthfully state what has been done, and then say whether or not they object to it; for if continued in power we shall continue our foreign policy and our handling of the navy on exactly the same lines in the future as in the past. To what phase of our foreign policy, and to what use of the navy, do our opponents object? Do they object to the way in which the Monroe doctrine has been strengthened and upheld? Never before has this doctrine been acquiesced in abroad as it is now; and yet, while upholding the rights of the weaker American republics against foreign aggression, the administration has lost no opportunity to point out to these republics that those who seek equity should come with clean hands, and that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of the right. Do our opponents object to what was done in reference to the petition of American citizens against the Kishinef massacre? or to the protest against the treatment of the Jews in Roumania? or to the efforts that have been made in behalf of the Armenians in Turkey?

No other administration in our history, no other Government in the world, has more consistently stood for the broadest spirit of brotherhood in our common humanity, or has held a more resolute attitude of protest against every wrong that outraged the civilization of the age, at home and abroad.

Do our opponents object to the fact that the international tribunal at The Hague was rescued from impotence, and turned into a potent instrument for peace among the nations? The Government has used that tribunal, and advocated its use by others, in pursuance of its policy to promote the cause of international peace and good will by all honorable methods. In carrying out this policy, it has settled dispute after dispute by arbitration or by friendly agreement. It has behaved towards all nations, strong or weak, with courtesy, dignity and justice; and it is now on excellent terms with all.

OPPONENTS' OBJECTIONS.

Do our opponents object to the settlement of the Alaska boundary line? Do they object to the fact that after freeing Cuba we gave her reciprocal trade advantages with the United States, while at the same time keeping naval stations in the island and providing against its sinking into chaos, or being conquered by any foreign power? Do they object to the fact that our flag now flies over Porto Rico? Do they object to the acquisition of Hawaii? Once they "hailed down" our flag there; we have hoisted it again; do they intend once more to haul it down? Do they object to the part we played in China? Do they not know that the voice of the United States would now count for nothing in the Far East if we had abandoned the Philippines and refused to do what was done in China? Do they object to the fact that this Government secured a peaceful settlement of the troubles in Venezuela two years ago? Do they object to the presence of the ship-of-war off Colon when the revolution broke out in Panama, and when only the presence of this ship saved the lives of American citizens, and prevented insult to the flag? Do they object to the fact that American warships appeared promptly at the port of Beirut when an effort had been made to assassinate an American official, and in the port of Tangier when an American citizen had been abducted? and that in each case the wrong complained of was righted and expiated? and that within the last few days the visit of an American squadron to Smyrna was followed by the long-delayed concession of their just rights to those Americans concerned in educational work in Turkey? Do they object to the trade treaty with China, so full of advantage for the American people in the future? Do they object to the fact that the ships carrying the national flag now have a higher standard than ever before in marksmanship and in seamanship, as individual units and as component parts of squadrons and fleets? If they object to any or all of these things, we join issue with them. Our foreign policy has been not only highly advantageous to the United States, but hardly less advantageous to the world as a whole. Peace and good will have followed in its footsteps. The Government has shown itself no less anxious to respect the rights of others than insistent that the rights of Americans be respected in return. As for the navy, it has been and is now the most potent guarantee of peace; and it is such chiefly because it is formidable and ready for use.

OLD-AGE PENSION ORDER.

When our opponents speak of "encroachments" by the executive upon the authority of Congress or the judiciary, apparently the act they ordinarily have in view is pension order No. 78, issued under the authority of existing law. This order directed that hereafter any veteran of the Civil War who had reached the age of 62 should be presumptively entitled to the pension of \$6 a month given under the dependent pension law to those whose capacity to earn their livelihood by manual labor has been decreased 50 per cent, and that by the time the age of 70 was reached, the presumption

should be that the physical disability was complete; the age being treated as an evidential fact in each case. This order was made in the performance of a duty imposed upon the President by an act of Congress, which requires the executive to make regulations to govern the subordinates of the pension office in determining who are entitled to pensions. President Cleveland had already exercised this power by a regulation which declared that 75 should be set as the age at which total disability should be conclusively presumed. Similarly President McKinley established 65 as the age at which half disability should be conclusively presumed. The regulation now in question, in the exercise of the same power, supplemented these regulations made under Presidents Cleveland and McKinley.

SAVED NATION FROM RUIN.

The men who fought for union and for liberty in the years from 1861 to 1865 not only saved this nation from ruin, but rendered an inestimable service to all mankind. We of the United States owe the fact that today we have a country to what they did; and the nation has decreed by law that no one of them, if disabled from earning his own living, shall lack the pension to which he is entitled, not only as a matter of gratitude, but as a matter of justice.

It is the policy of the Republican party, steadily continued through many years, to treat the veterans of the civil war in a spirit of broad liberality. The order in question carried out this policy, and is justified not merely on legal grounds, but also on grounds of public morality.

It is a matter of common knowledge that when the average man who depends for his wages upon bodily labor has reached the age of 62 his earning ability is in all probability less by half than it was when he was in his prime; and that by the time he has reached the age of seventy he has probably lost all earning ability. If there is doubt upon this point let the doubter examine the employees doing manual labor in any great manufactory or on any great railroad and find out how large is the proportion of men between the ages of 62 and 70, and whether these men are still employed at the highly paid tasks which they did in their primes. As a matter of fact, many railroads pension their employees when they have reached these ages, and in nations where old age pensions prevail, they always begin somewhere between the two limits thus set. It is easy to test our opponents' sincerity in this matter. The order in question is revokable at the pleasure of the executive.

If our opponents come into power they can revoke this order and announce that they will treat the veterans of 60 to 70 as presumably in full bodily vigor and not entitled to pensions. Will they now authoritatively state that they intend to do this? If so, we accept the issue. If not, then we have the right to ask why they raise an issue which, when raised, they do not venture to meet.

In addition to those acts of the administration which they venture to assail only after misrepresenting them, there are others which they dare not overtly or officially attack, and yet which they covertly bring forward as reasons for the overthrow of the party. In certain great centers and with certain great interests our opponents make every effort to show that the settlement of the anthracite coal strike by the individual act of the President and the successful suit against the Northern Securities Company—the merger suit—undertaken by the department of justice, were acts because of which the present administration should be thrown from power. Yet they dare not openly condemn either act. They dare not in any authoritative or formal manner say that in either case wrong was done or error committed in the method of action, or in the choice of instruments for putting that action into effect. But what they dare not manfully assert in open day they seek to use furtively and through special agents. It is perhaps natural that an attack so conducted should be made, sometimes on the ground that too much, sometimes on the ground that too little, has been done.

Some of our opponents complain because under the antitrust and interstate commerce laws suits were undertaken which have been successful; others, because suits were not undertaken which would have been unsuccessful. The Democratic state convention in New York dealt with the anthracite coal strike by demanding in deliberate and formal fashion that the national government should take possession of the coal fields; yet champions of that convention's cause now condemn the fact that there was any action by the President at all—though they must know that it was only this action by the President which prevented the movement for national ownership of the coal fields from gaining what might well have been an irresistible impetus. Such mutually destructive criticisms furnish an adequate measure of the chance for coherent action or constructive legislation if our opponents should be given power.

DEMOCRATIC POLICIES.

So much for what our opponents openly or covertly advance in the way of an attack on the acts of the administration. When we come to consider the policies for which they profess to stand we are met with the difficulty always arising when statements of policy are so made that they can be interpreted in different ways. On some of the vital questions that have confronted the American people in the last decade our opponents take the position that silence is the best possible way to convey their views. They contend that their lukewarm attitude of partial acquiescence in what others have accomplished entitles them to be made the custodians of the financial honor and commercial interests which they have but recently sought to ruin.

But being unable to agree among themselves as to whether the gold standard is a curse or a blessing, and as to whether we ought or ought not to have free and unlimited coinage of silver, they have apparently thought it expedient to avoid any committal on these subjects, and individually each

to follow his particular bent. Their nearest approach to a majority judgment seems to be that it is now inexpedient to assert their convictions one way or the other, and that the establishment of the gold standard by the Republican party should not be disturbed unless there is an alteration in the relative quantity of production of silver and gold. Men who hold sincere convictions on vital questions can respect equally sincere men with whose views they radically differ; and men may confess a change of faith without compromising their honor or their self-respect. But it is difficult to respect an attitude of mind such as has been fairly described above; and where there is no respect there can be no trust. A policy with so slender a basis of principle would not stand the strain of a single year of business adversity.

We, on the contrary, believe in the gold standard as fixed by the usage and verdict of the business world, and in a sound monetary system as matters of principle; as matters not of monetary political expediency, but of permanent organic policy. In 1896 and again in 1900 far-sighted men, without regard to their party fealty in the past, joined to work against what they regarded as a debased monetary system. The policies which they championed have been steadfastly adhered to by the administration; and by the act of March 14, 1900, Congress established the single gold standard as the measure of our monetary value. This act received the support of every Republican in the house and of every Republican except one in the senate. Of our opponents, eleven supported it in the house and two in the senate; and one hundred and fifty opposed it in the house and twenty-eight in the senate. The record of the last seven years proves that the party now in power can be trusted to take the additional action necessary to improve and strengthen our monetary system, and that our opponents cannot be so trusted. The fundamental fact is that in a popular government such as ours no policy is irrevocably settled by law unless the people keep in control of the government men who believe in that policy as a matter of deep-rooted conviction. Laws can always be revoked; it is the spirit and the purpose of those responsible for their enactment and administration which must be fixed and unchangeable.

It is idle to say that the monetary standard of the nation is irrevocably fixed so long as the party which at the last election cast approximately 46 per cent of the total vote, refuses to put in its platform any statement that the question is settled. A determination to remain silent cannot be accepted as equivalent to a recantation. Until our opponents as a party explicitly adopt the views which we hold and upon which we have acted and are acting, in the matter of a sound currency, the only real way to keep the question from becoming unsettled is to keep the Republican party in power.

As for what our opponents say in reference to capital and labor, individual or corporate, here again all we need by way of answer is to point to what we have actually done, and to say that if continued in power we shall continue to carry out the policy we have been pursuing, and to execute the

laws as resolutely and fearlessly in the future as we have executed them in the past. In my speech of acceptance I said:

"We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense."

FIRST GOVERNMENT OPPORTUNITY.

The action of the attorney general in enforcing the antitrust and interstate commerce laws, and the action of the last Congress in enlarging the scope of the interstate commerce law, and in creating the department of commerce and labor, with a bureau of corporations, have for the first time opened a chance for the national government to deal intelligently and adequately with the questions affecting society, whether for good or for evil, because of the accumulation of capital in great corporations, and because of the new relations caused thereby. These laws are now being administered with entire efficiency, and as, in their working, need is shown for amendment or addition to them—whether better to secure the proper publicity, or better to guarantee the rights of shippers, or in any other direction—this need will be met. It is now asserted "that the common law, as developed, affords a complete legal remedy against monopolies." But there is no common law of the United States. Its rules can be enforced only by the state courts and officers. No federal court or officer could take any action whatever under them. It was this fact, coupled with the inability of the states to control trusts and monopolies, which led to the passage of the federal statutes known as the Sherman antitrust act and the interstate commerce act; and it is only through the exercise of the powers conferred by these acts, and by the statutes of the last Congress supplementing them, that the national government acquires any jurisdiction over the subject. To say that action against trusts and monopolies should be limited to the application of the common law is equivalent to saying that the national government should take no action whatever to regulate them.

FAILURE TO PROSECUTE.

Undoubtedly, the multiplication of trusts and their increase in power has been largely due to the "failure of officials charged with the duty of enforcing the law to take the necessary procedure." Such stricture upon the failure of the officials of the national government to do their duty in this

matter is certainly not wholly undeserved as far as the administration preceding President McKinley's is concerned; but it has no application at all to Republican administration. It is also undoubtedly true that what is most needed is "officials having both the disposition and the courage to enforce existing law." This is precisely the need that has been met by the consistent and steadily continued action of the department of justice under the present administration.

So far as the rights of the individual wageworker and the individual capitalist are concerned, both as regards one another, as regards the public, and as regards organized capital and labor, the position of the administration has been so clear that there is no excuse for misrepresenting it, and no ground for opposing it unless misrepresented.

Within the limits defined by the national constitution the national administration has sought to secure to each man the full enjoyment of his right to live his life and dispose of his property and his labor as he deems best, so long as he wrongs no one else. It has shown in effective fashion that in endeavoring to make good this guaranty, it treats all men, rich or poor, whatever their creed, their color, or their birthplace, as standing alike before the law.

Under our form of government the sphere in which the nation as distinguished from the state can act is narrowly circumscribed; but within that sphere all that could be done has been done. All thinking men are aware of the restrictions upon the power of action of the national government in such matters. Being ourselves mindful of them, we have been scrupulously careful on the one hand to be moderate in our promises, and on the other hand to keep these promises in letter and in spirit. Our opponents have been hampered by no such considerations. They have promised, and many of them now promise action which they could by no possibility take in the exercise of constitutional power, and which, if attempted, would bring business to a standstill; they have used, and often now use, language of wild invective and appeal to all the baser passions which tend to excite one set of Americans against their fellow-Americans; and yet whenever they had power they have fittingly supplemented this extravagance of promise by absolute nullity in performance.

This government is based upon the fundamental idea that each man, no matter what his occupation, his race or his religious belief, is entitled to be treated on his worth as a man, and neither favored nor discriminated against because of any accident in his position. Even here at home there is painful difficulty in the efforts to realize this ideal; and the attempt to secure from other nations acknowledgment of it sometimes encounters obstacles that are well nigh insuperable; for there are many nations which in the slow procession of the ages have not yet reached that point where the principles which Americans regard as axiomatic obtain any recognition whatever.

One of the chief difficulties arises in connection with certain American citizens of foreign birth, or of particular creed, who desire to travel abroad.

Russia, for instance, refuses to admit and protect Jews. Turkey refuses to admit and protect certain sects of Christians. This government has consistently demanded equal protection abroad for all American citizens, whether native or naturalized. On March 27, 1899, Secretary Hay sent a letter of instructions to all the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, in which he said: "This department does not discriminate between native-born and naturalized citizens in according them protection while they are abroad, equality of treatment being required by the laws of the United States." These orders to our agents abroad have been repeated again and again, and are treated as the fundamental rule of conduct laid down for them, proceeding upon the theory "that all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries, are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens." In issuing passports the state department never discriminates, or alludes to any man's religion; and in granting to every American citizen, native or naturalized, Christian or Jew, the same passport, so far as it has power it insists that all foreign governments shall accept the passport as prima facie proof that the person therein described is a citizen of the United States and entitled to protection as such. It is a standing order to every American diplomatic and consular officer to protect every American citizen, of whatever faith, from unjust molestation; and our officers abroad have been stringently required to comply with this order.

IGNORANCE OR INSINCERITY.

Under such circumstances, the demand of our opponents that negotiations be begun to secure equal treatment of all Americans from those governments which do not now accord it, shows either ignorance of the facts or insincerity. No change of policy in the method or manner of negotiation would add effectiveness to what the state department has done and is doing. The steady pressure which the department has been keeping up in the past will be continued in the future. This administration has on all proper occasions given clear expression to the belief of the American people that discrimination and oppression because of religion, wherever practiced, are acts of injustice before God and man; and in making evident to the world the depth of American convictions in this regard, we have gone to the very limit of diplomatic usage.

It is a striking evidence of our opponents' insincerity in this matter that with their demand for radical action by the state department they coupled a demand for a reduction in our small military establishment. Yet they must know that the heed paid to our protests against ill-treatment of our citizens will be exactly proportionate to the belief in our ability to make these protests effective should the need arise.

Our opponents have now declared themselves in favor of the civil service law, the repeal of which they demanded in 1900 and in 1896. If consistent, they should have gone one step further and congratulated the coun-

try upon the way in which the civil service law is now administered, and the way in which the classified service has been extended. The exceptions from examinations are fewer by far than ever before, and are confined to individual cases, where the application of the rules would be impracticable, unwise, unjust, or unnecessary. The administration of the great body of the classified civil service is free from politics, and appointments and removals have been put upon a business basis. Statistics show that there is little difference between the tenure of the federal classified employees and that of the employees of private business corporations. Less than 1 per cent of the classified employees are over 70 years of age, and in the main the service rendered is vigorous and efficient. Where the merit system was of course most needed was in the Philippine islands; and a civil service law of very advanced type has there been put into operation and scrupulously observed. Without one exception every appointment in the Philippines has been made in accordance with the strictest standard of fitness, and without heed to any other consideration.

WHERE ISSUES ARE DEFINITE.

Finally, we come to certain matters upon which our opponents do in their platform of principles definitely take issue with us, and where, if they are sincere, their triumph would mean disaster to the country. But exactly as it is impossible to call attention to the present promises and past record of our opponents without seeming offensive, so it is impossible to compare their platform with their other and later official utterances and not create doubt as to their sincerity. In their private or unofficial utterances many of them frankly advance in this insincerity as a merit, taking the position that as regards the points on which I am about to speak they have no intention of keeping their promises or of departing from the policies now established, and that therefore they can be trusted not to abuse the power they seek.

When we take up the great question of the tariff we are at once confronted by the doubt as to whether our opponents do or do not mean what they say. They say that "protection is robbery," and promise to carry themselves accordingly if they are given power. Yet prominent persons among them assert that they do not really mean this and that if they come into power they will adopt our policy as regards the tariff; while others seem anxious to prove that it is safe to give them partial power, because the power would be only partial, and therefore they would not be able to do mischief. The last is certainly a curious plea to advance on behalf of a party seeking to obtain control of the government.

TARIFF AND TRUSTS.

At the outset it is worth while to say a word as to the attempt to identify the question of tariff revision or tariff reduction with a solution of the trust question. This is always a sign of desire to avoid any real effort to deal

adequately with the trust question. In speaking on this point at Minneapolis on April 4, 1903, I said:

"The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Almost all the others that are of any importance have as a matter of fact numbers of smaller American competitors; and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors; and equally of course such a change would mean disaster to all the wageworkers connected with either the large or the small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors; and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable, and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also."

There is little for me to add to this. It is but ten years since the last attempt was made, by means of lowering the tariff, to prevent some people from prospering too much. The attempt was entirely successful. The tariff law of that year was among the causes which in that year and for some time afterwards effectually prevented anybody from prospering too much, and labor from prospering at all. Undoubtedly it would be possible at the present time to prevent any of the trusts from remaining prosperous by the simple expedient of making such a sweeping change in the tariff as to paralyze the industries of the country. The trusts would cease to prosper; but their smaller competitors would be ruined, and the wageworkers would starve, while it would not pay the farmer to haul his produce to market.

The evils connected with the trusts can be reached only by rational effort, step by step, along the lines taken by Congress and the executive during the past three years. If a tariff law is passed under which the country prospers, as the country has prospered under the present tariff law, then all classes will share in the prosperity. If a tariff law is passed aimed at preventing the prosperity of some of our people, it is as certain as anything can be that this aim will be achieved only by cutting down the prosperity of all of our people.

Of course, if our opponents are not sincere in their proposal to abolish the system of a protective tariff, there is no use in arguing the matter at

all, save by pointing out again that if on one great issue they do not mean what they say, it is hardly safe to trust them on any other issue. But if they are sincere in this matter, then their advent to power would mean domestic misfortune and misery as widespread and far-reaching as that which we saw ten years ago. When they speak of protection as "robbery," they, of course, must mean that it is immoral to enact a tariff designed (as is the present protective tariff) to secure to the American wageworker the benefit of the high standard of living which we desire to see kept up in this country. Now, to speak of the tariff in this sense as "robbery," thereby giving it a moral relation, is not merely rhetorical; it is on its face false. The question of what tariff is best for our people is primarily one of expediency, to be determined not on abstract academic grounds, but in the light of experience. It is a matter of business; for fundamentally ours is a business people—manufacturers, merchants, farmers, wageworkers, professional men, all alike. Our experience as a people in the past has certainly not shown us that we could afford in this matter to follow those professional counselors who have confined themselves to study in the closet; for the actual working of the tariff has emphatically contradicted their theories. From time to time schedules must undoubtedly be rearranged and readjusted to meet the shifting needs of the country, but this can with safety be done only by those who are committed to the cause of the protective system. To uproot and destroy that system would be to insure the prostration of business, the closing of factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist and the starvation of the wageworker. Yet, if protection is indeed "robbery," and if our opponents really believe what they say, then it is precisely to the destruction and uprooting of the tariff, and therefore of our business and industry, that they are pledged. When our opponents last obtained power it was on a platform declaring a protective tariff "unconstitutional;" and the effort to put this declaration into practice was one of the causes of the general national prostration lasting from 1893 to 1897. If a protective tariff is either "unconstitutional" or "robbery," then it is just as unconstitutional, just as much robbery, to revise it down, still leaving it protective, as it would be to enact it. In other words, our opponents have committed themselves to the destruction of the protective principle in the tariff, using words which if honestly used forbid them from permitting this principle to obtain in even the smallest degree.

AS TO RECIPROCITY.

Our opponents assert that they believe in reciprocity. Their action on the most important reciprocity treaty recently negotiated—that with Cuba—does not bear out this assertion. Moreover, there can be no reciprocity unless there is a substantial tariff; free trade and reciprocity are not compatible. We are on record as favoring arrangements for reciprocal trade relations with other countries, these arrangements to be on an equitable basis of benefit to both the contracting parties. The Republican party stands pledged

to every wise and consistent method of increasing the foreign commerce of the country. That it has kept its pledge is proven by the fact that while the domestic trade of this country exceeds in volume the entire export and import trade of all the nations of the world, the United States has in addition secured more than an eighth of the export trade of the world, standing first among the nations in this respect. The United States has exported during the last seven years nearly ten billions of dollars' worth of goods—on an average half as much again annually as during the previous four years, when many of our people were consuming nothing but necessities, and some of them a scanty supply even of these.

Two years ago, in speaking at Logansport, Ind., I said:

“The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workingman. The tariff rate must never fall below that which will protect the American workingman by allowing for the difference between the general labor cost here and abroad, so as at least to equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a difference which it should be our aim to foster in so far as it represents the needs of better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country. At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages, that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad.”

PROTECTION MORE THAN A THEORY.

It is a matter of regret that the protective tariff policy, which, during the last forty odd years, has become part of the very fiber of the country, is not now accepted as definitely established. Surely we have a right to say that it has passed beyond the domain of theory, and a right to expect that not only its original advocates but those who at one time distrusted it on theoretic grounds, should now acquiesce in the results that have been proved over and over again by actual experience. These forty odd years have been the most prosperous years this nation has ever seen; more prosperous years than any other nation has ever seen. Beyond question this prosperity could not have come if the American people had not possessed the necessary thrift, energy, and business intelligence to turn their vast material resources to account. But it is no less true that it is our economic policy as regards the tariff and finance which has enabled us as a nation to make such good use of the individual capacities of our citizens, and the natural resources of our country. Every class of our people is benefited by the protective tariff. During the last few years the merchant has seen the export trade of this country grow faster than ever in our previous history. The manufacturer could

not keep his factory running if it were not for the protective tariff. The wage-worker would do well to remember that if protection is "robbery," and is to be punished accordingly, he will be the first to pay the penalty; for either he will be turned adrift entirely, or his wages will be cut down to the starvation point. As conclusively shown by the bulletins of the bureau of labor, the purchasing power of the average wage received by the wage-worker has grown faster than the cost of living, and this in spite of the continual shortening of working hours. The accumulated savings of the workingmen of the country as shown by the deposits in the savings banks, have increased by leaps and bounds. At no time in the history of this or any other country has there been an era so productive of material benefit alike to workingman and employer, as during the seven years that have just passed.

FARMER BENEFITED.

The farmer has benefited quite as much as the manufacturer, the merchant and the wage-worker. The most welcome and impressive fact, established by the last census is the wide and even distribution of wealth among all classes of our countrymen. The chief agencies in producing this distribution are shown by the census to be the development of manufacturers, and the application of new inventions to universal use. The result has been an increasing interdependence of agriculture and manufactures. Agriculture is now, as it always has been, the basis of civilization. The six million farms of the United States, operated by men who, as a class, are steadfast, single-minded and industrious, form the basis of all the other achievements of the American people and are more fruitful than all their other resources. The men on those 6,000,000 farms receive from the protective tariff what they most need, and that is the best of all possible markets. All other classes depend upon the farmer, but the farmer in turn depends upon the market they furnish him for his produce. The annual output of our agricultural products is nearly four billions of dollars. Their increase in value has been prodigious, although agriculture has languished in most other countries; and the main factor in this increase is the corresponding increase of our manufacturing industries. American farmers have prospered because the growth of their market has kept pace with the growth of their farms. The additional market continually furnished for agricultural products by domestic manufacturers has been far in excess of the outlet to other lands. An export trade in farm products is necessary to dispose of our surplus and the export trade of our farmers, both in animal products and in plant products, has very largely increased. Without the enlarged home market to keep this surplus down, we should have to reduce production or else feed the world at less than the cost of production. In the forty years ending in 1900 the total value of farm property increased \$12,500,000,000; the farmer gaining even more during this period than the manufacturer. Long ago over-production would have checked the marvelous development of our national agriculture, but for the steadily increasing demand of American

manufacturers for farm products required as raw materials for steadily expanding industries.

DEPENDENT ON MANUFACTURE.

The farmer has become dependent upon the manufacturer to utilize that portion of his produce which does not go directly to food supply. In 1900, 52 per cent, or a little over half, of the total value of the farm products of the nation was consumed in manufacturing industries as the raw materials of the factories. Evidently the manufacturer is the farmer's best and most direct customer. Moreover, the American manufacturer purchases his farm supplies almost exclusively in his own country. Nine-tenths of all the raw materials of every kind and description consumed in American manufactories are of American production. The manufacturing establishments tend steadily to migrate into the heart of the great agricultural districts. The center of the manufacturing industry in 1900 was near the middle of Ohio, and it is moving westward at the rate of about thirty miles in every decade; and this movement is invariably accompanied by a marked increase in the value of farm lands. Local causes, notably the competition between new farm lands and old farm lands, tend here and there to obscure what is happening; but it is as certain as the operation of any economic law, that in the country as a whole, farm values will continue to increase as the partnership between manufacturer and farmer grows more intimate through further advance of industrial science.

The American manufacturer never could have placed this nation at the head of the manufacturing nations of the world if he had not had behind him, securing him every variety of raw material, the exhaustless resources of the American farm, developed by the skill and the enterprise of intelligent and educated American farmers. On the other hand, the debt of the farmers to the manufacturers is equally heavy, and the future of American agriculture is bound up in the future of American manufactures. The two industries have become, under the economic policy of our government, so closely interwoven, so mutually interdependent, that neither can hope to maintain itself at the high-water mark of progress without the other. Whatever makes to the advantage of one is equally to the advantage of the other.

So it is as between the capitalist and the wage-worker. Here and there there may be an unequal sharing as between the two in the benefits that have come by protection; but benefits have come to both; and a reversal in policy would mean damage to both, and while the damage would be heavy to all, it would be heaviest, and it would fall soonest, upon those who are paid in the form of wages each week or each month for that week's or that month's work.

Conditions change and the laws must be modified from time to time to fit new exigencies. But the genuine underlying principle of protection, as it has been embodied in all but one of the American tariff laws for the last forty years, has worked out results so beneficent, so evenly and widely

spread, so advantageous alike to farmers and capitalists and workingmen, to commerce and trade of every kind, that the American people, if they show their usual practical business sense, will insist that when these laws are modified they shall be modified with the utmost care and conservatism, and by the friends and not the enemies of the protective system. They cannot afford to trust the modification to those who treat protection and robbery as synonymous terms.

In closing what I have to say about the system of promoting American industry, let me add a word of cordial agreement with the policy of in some way including within its benefits, by appropriate legislation, the American merchant marine. It is not creditable to us as a nation that our great export and import trade should be well-nigh exclusively in the hands of foreigners.

REDUCTION OF ARMY.

It is difficult to know if our opponents are really sincere in their demand for the reduction of the army. If insincere, there is no need for comment, and if sincere, what shall we say in speaking to rational persons of an appeal to reduce an army of 60,000 men which is taking care of the interests of over eighty million people? The army is now relatively smaller than it was in the days of Washington, when on the peace establishment there were 3,600 soldiers, while there were a little less than four millions of population; smaller than it was in the peaceful days of Jefferson, when there were 5,100 soldiers to 5,300,000 population.

There is now one soldier to every fourteen hundred people in this country—less than one-tenth of one per cent. We cannot be asked seriously to argue as to the amount of possible tyranny contained in these figures. The army as it is now is as small as it can possibly be and serve its purpose as an effective nucleus for the organization, equipment and supply of a volunteer army in time of need.

It is now used, as never before, for aiding in the upbuilding of the organized militia of the country. The war department is engaged in a systematic effort to strengthen and develop the National Guard in the several states, as witness, among many other instances, the great field maneuvers at Manassas, which have just closed. If our opponents should come into power they could not reduce our army below its present size without greatly impairing its efficiency and abandoning part of the national duty. In short, in this matter, if our opponents should come into power they would either have to treat this particular promise of the year 1904 as they now treat the promises they made in 1896 and 1900, that is, as possessing no binding force; or else they would have to embark on a policy which would be ludicrous at the moment, and fraught with grave danger to the national honor in the future.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE
EXTRAVAGANCE CHARGED.

Our opponents contend that the government is now administering extravagantly, and that whereas there was a "surplus of \$80,000,000 in 1900" there is "a deficit of more than \$40,000,000 in the year that has just closed."

This deficit is imaginary, and is obtained by including in the ordinary current expenses the sum of \$50,000,000, which was paid for the right of way of the Panama canal out of the accumulated surplus in the treasury. Comparing the current or ordinary expenditures for the two years, there was a surplus of nearly eighty million dollars for the year 1900, and of only a little more than eight millions for the year that has just closed. But this diminution of the annual surplus was brought about designedly by the abolition of the war taxes in the interval between the two dates. The acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1902, cut down the internal revenue taxes to an amount estimated at one hundred and five millions a year. In other words, the reduction of taxation has been considerably greater than the reduction in the annual surplus. Since the close of the war with Spain there has been no substantial change in the rate of annual expenditures. As compared with the fiscal year ending in June, 1901, for example, the fiscal year that has just closed showed a relatively small increase in expenditure (excluding the canal payment already referred to), while the year previous showed a relatively small decrease.

The expenditures of the nation have been managed in a spirit of economy as far removed from waste as from niggardliness; and in the future every effort will be continued to secure an economy as strict as is consistent with efficiency. Once more our opponents have promised what they cannot or should not perform.

The prime reason why the expenses of the government have increased of recent years is to be found in the fact that the people, after mature thought, have deemed it wise to have certain new forms of work for the public undertaken by the public. This necessitates such expenditures, for instance, as those for rural free delivery, or for the inspection of meats under the department of agriculture, or for irrigation. But these new expenditures are necessary; no one would seriously propose to abandon them; and yet it is idle to declaim against the increased expense of the government unless it is intended to cut down the very expenditures which cause the increase. The pensions to the veterans of the civil war are demanded by every sentiment of regard and gratitude. The rural free delivery is of the greatest use and convenience to the farmers, and a body of men who live under conditions which make them ordinarily receive little direct return for what they pay toward the support of the government. The irrigation policy in the arid and semi-arid regions of the west is fraught with the most beneficial and far-reaching good to the actual settlers, the home-makers, whose encouragement is a traditional feature in America's national policy. Do our opponents grudge the fifty millions paid for the Panama canal? Do they intend to

cut down on the pensions to the veterans of the civil war? Do they intend to put a stop to the irrigation policy? or to the permanent census bureau? or to immigration inspection? Do they intend to abolish rural free delivery? Do they intend to cut down the navy? or the Alaskan telegraph system? Do they intend to dismantle our coast fortifications? If there is to be a real and substantial cutting down in national expenditures it must be in such matters as these. The department of agriculture has done service of incalculable value to the farmers of this country in many different lines. Do our opponents wish to cut down the money for this service? They can do it only by destroying the usefulness of the service itself.

The public work of the United States has never been conducted with a higher degree of honesty and efficiency than at the present time, and a special meed of praise belongs to those officials responsible for the Philippines and Porto Rica, where the administrations have been models of their kind. Of course, wrong has occasionally occurred, but it has been relentlessly stamped out. We have known no party in dealing with offenders, and have hunted down without mercy every wrongdoer in the service of the nation whom it was possible by the utmost vigilance to detect; for the public servant who betrays his trust and the private individual who debauches him stand as the worst of criminals, because their crimes are crimes against the entire community, and not only against this generation but against the generations that are yet to be.

PHILIPPINE POLICY.

Our opponents promise independence to the Philippine islands. Here again we are confronted by the fact that their irreconcilable differences of opinion among themselves, their proved inability to create a constructive policy when in power, and their readiness, for the sake of monetary political expediency, to abandon the principles upon which they have insisted as essential, conspire to puzzle us as to whether they do or do not intend in good faith to carry out this promise if they are given control of the government. In their platform they declare for independence, apparently—for their language is a little obscure—without qualification as to time, and indeed a qualification as to time is an absurdity, for we have neither right nor power to bind our successors when it is impossible to foretell the conditions which may confront them; while if there is any principle involved in the matter, it is just as wrong to deny independence for a few years as to deny it for an indefinite period. But in later and equally official utterances by our opponents the term self-government was substituted for independence; the words used being so chosen that in their natural construction they described precisely the policy now being carried on. The language of the platform indicated a radical change of policy; the latter utterances indicated a continuance of the present policy. But this caused trouble in their own ranks; and in a still later, although less

formal, utterance, the self-government promise was recanted, and independence at some future time was promised in its place.

They have occupied three entirely different positions within fifty days. Which is the promise they really intend to keep? They do not know their own minds; and no one can tell how long they would keep of the same mind, should they by any chance come to a working agreement among themselves. If such ambiguity affected only the American people it would not so greatly matter; for the American people can take care of themselves. But the Filipinos are in no such condition. Confidence is with them a plant of slow growth. They have been taught to trust the word of this government because this government has promised nothing which it did not perform. If promised independence they will expect independence; not in the remote future, for their descendants, but immediately, for themselves. If the promise thus made is not immediately fulfilled they will regard it as broken, and will not again trust to American faith; and it would be indeed a wicked thing to deceive them in such fashion.

Moreover, even if the promise were made to take effect only in the distant future, the Filipinos would be thrown into confusion thereby. Instead of continuing to endeavor to fit themselves for moral and material advancement in the present, they would abandon all effort at progress and begin factional intrigues for future power.

To promise to give them independence when it is "prudent" to do so, or when they are "fit" for it, of course implies that they are not fit for it now, and that it would be imprudent to give it to them now. But as we must ourselves be the judges as to when they become "fit," and when it would be "prudent" to keep such a promise if it were made, it necessarily follows that to make such a promise now would amount to a deception upon the Filipinos.

It may well be that our opponents have no real intention of putting their promise into effect. If this is the case, if, in other words, they are insincere in the promise they make, it is only necessary to say again that it is unwise to trust men who are false in one thing to deal with anything. The mere consciousness of broken faith would hamper them in continuing our policy in the islands; and only by continuing unchanged this policy can the honor of the country be maintained, or the interests of the islands subserved. If, on the other hand, our opponents came into power and attempted to carry out their promises to the Filipinos by giving them independence, and withdrawing American control from the island, the result would be a frightful calamity to the Filipinos themselves, and in its larger aspect would amount to an international crime. Anarchy would follow; and the most violent anarchic forces would be directed partly against the civil government, partly against all forms of religious and educational civilization. Bloody conflicts would inevitably ensue in the archipelago, and just as inevitably the island would become the prey of the first power which, in its own selfish interest, took up the task we had cravenly abandoned.

SCUTTLE POLICY.

Of course the practical difficulty in adopting any such course of action—such a “policy of scuttle,” as President McKinley called it—would be found well nigh insuperable. If it is morally indefensible to hold the archipelago as a whole under our tutelage in the interest of our own people, then it is morally indefensible to hold any part of it. In such case what right have we to keep a coaling station? What right to keep control over the Moro peoples? What right to protect the Igorrotes from their oppressors? What right to protect the law-abiding friends of America in the islands from treachery, robbery and murder? Yet, to abandon the islands completely, without even retaining a coaling station, would mean to abandon the position in the competition for the trade of the orient which we have acquired during the last six years; and what is far more important, it would mean irreparable damage to those who have become the wards of the nation. To abandon all control over the Moros would amount to releasing these Moros to prey upon the Christian Filipinos, civilized or semi-civilized, as well as upon the commerce of other peoples. The Moros are in large part still in the stage of culture where the occupations of the bandit and the pirate are those most highly regarded; and it has not been found practical to give them self-government in the sense that we have been giving it to the Christian inhabitants. To abandon the Moro country, as our opponents propose in their platform, would be precisely as if twenty-five years ago we had withdrawn the army and the civil agents from within and around the Indian reservations in the west at a time when the Sioux and the Apache were still the terror of our settlers. It would be a criminal absurdity; and yet our opponents have pledged themselves thereto. If successful in the coming election they would either have to break faith, or else to do an act which would leave an indelible stain upon our national reputation for courage and for good sense.

During the last five years more has been done for the material and moral well-being of the Filipinos than ever before since the islands first came within the ken of civilized man. We have opened before them a vista of orderly development in their own interest, and not a policy of exploitation.

Every effort is being made to fit the islanders for self-government, and they have already in large measure received it, while for the first time in their history their personal rights and civil liberties have been guaranteed. They are being educated; they have been given schools; they have been given libraries; roads are being built for their use; their health is being cared for; they have been given courts in which they receive justice as absolute as it is in our power to guarantee. Their individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness are now by act of Congress jealously safeguarded under the American flag; and if the protection of the flag were withdrawn their rights would be lost, and the islands would be plunged

back under some form of vicious tyranny. We have given them more self-government than they have ever before had; we are taking steps to increase it still further by providing them with an elected legislative assembly; and surely we had better await the results of this experiment—for it is a wholly new experiment in Asia—before we make promises which as a nation we might be forced to break, or which they might interpret one way and we in another. It may be asserted without fear of successful contradiction that nowhere else in recent years has there been as fine an example of constructive statesmanship and wise and upright administration as has been given by the civil authorities, aided by the army, in the Philippine islands. We have administered them in the interest of their own people; and the Filipinos themselves have profited most by our presence in the islands; but they have also been of very great advantage to us as a nation.

SPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF FREEDOM.

So far from having “sapped the foundations” of free popular government at home by the course taken in the Philippines, we have been spreading its knowledge, and teaching its practice, among peoples to whom it had never before been more than an empty name. Our action represents a great stride forward in spreading the principles of orderly liberty throughout the world. “Our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores.” We have treated the power we have gained as a solemn obligation, and have used it in the interest of mankind; and the peoples of the world and especially the weaker peoples of the world are better off because of the position we have assumed. To retrace our steps would be to give proof of an infirm and unstable national purpose.

Four years ago, in his speech of acceptance, President McKinley said:

“We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. We will perform without fear every national and international obligation. The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance. It broke the shackles for four million slaves, and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of ten millions of the human family from the yoke of imperialism. In its solution of great problems, in its performance of high duties, it has had the support of members of all parties in the past, and it confidently invokes their co-operation in the future.”

This is as true now as four years ago. We did not take the Philippines at will, and we cannot put them aside at will. Any abandonment of the policy which we have steadily pursued in the islands would be fraught with dishonor and disaster; and to such dishonor and disaster I do not believe that the American people will consent.

BENEFITS RECEIVED.

Alarm has been professed lest the Filipinos should not receive all the benefits guaranteed to our people at home by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution. As a matter of fact, the Filipinos have already secured the substance of these benefits. This government has been true to the spirit of the fourteenth amendment in the Philippines. Can our opponents deny that here at the home the principles of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have been in effect nullified? In this, as in many other matters, we at home can well profit by the example of those responsible for the actual management of affairs in the Philippines. In our several commonwealths here in the United States we as a people now face the complex problem of securing fair treatment to each man regardless of his race or color. We can do so only if we approach the problem in the spirit of courage, common sense and high-minded devotion to the right, which has enabled Governor Taft, Governor Wright and their associates to do so noble a work in giving to the Philippine people the benefit of the true principles of American liberty.

APPEAL TO GOOD CITIZENS.

Our appeal is made to all good citizens who hold the honor and the interests of the nation close to their hearts. The great issues which are at stake, and upon which I have touched, are more than mere partisan issues, for they involve much that comes home to the individual pride and individual well-being of our people. Under conditions as they actually are, good Americans should refuse, for the sake of the welfare of the nation, to change the national policy. We, who are responsible for the administration and legislation under which this country, during the last seven years, has grown so greatly in well-being at home and in honorable repute among the nations of the earth abroad, do not stand inertly upon this record, do not use this record as an excuse for failure of effort to meet new conditions. On the contrary, we treat the record of what we have done in the past as incitement to do even better in the future.

We believe that the progress that we have made may be taken as a measure of the progress we shall continue to make if the people again entrust the government of the nation to our hands. We do not stand still. We press steadily forward toward the goal of moral and material well-being for our own people, of just and fearless dealing toward all other peoples in the interest not merely of this country but of mankind.

There is not a policy, foreign or domestic, which we are now carrying out which it would not be disastrous to reverse or abandon. If our opponents should come in and should not reverse our policies, then they would be branded with the brand of broken faith, of false promise, of insincerity in word and deed, and no man can work to the advantage of the nation with such a brand clinging to him. If, on the other hand, they

should come in and reverse any or all of our policies, by just so much would the nation as a whole be damaged.

Alike as lawmakers and as administrators of the law, we have endeavored to do our duty in the interest of the people as a whole. We make our appeal to no class and to no section, but to all good citizens, in whatever part of the land they dwell, and whatever may be their occupation or worldly condition. We have striven both for civic righteousness and for national greatness, and we have faith to believe that our hands will be upheld by all who feel love of country and trust in the uplifting of mankind. We stand for enforcement of the law and for obedience to the law; our government is a government of orderly liberty equally alien to tyranny and to anarchy, and its foundation stone is the observance of the law, alike by the people and by the public servants. We hold ever before us as the all-important end of policy and administration the reign of peace at home and throughout the world; peace, which comes only by doing justice. Faithfully yours,

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SENATOR FAIRBANKS' LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

The Hon. Elihu Root, Chairman of Notification Committee:

MY DEAR SIR:—In accordance with the promise made when you formally notified me of my nomination for Vice-President, I avail myself of this opportunity to submit to you, and through you, to my fellow-citizens, some further views with respect to the questions in issue before the people.

The principles which are so frankly and felicitously expressed in the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention meet with my heartiest approval. In the main they have been subjected to the test of actual experience and have been found to be well suited to our industrial and national needs. They have brought us to a high state of material development, and have made the nation's name respected among the powers of the earth.

The utterances of political parties must be interpreted in the light of that practical construction which they have put upon them when intrusted with power. It is not alone what they say, but what they will do, which should weigh in determining their capacity to administer public affairs.

We have had two administrations in the last seven years which have been governed by the same policies. We may consult the trade reports in vain to discover when the one ended and the other began. Both were obliged to make vast expenditures for much-needed public works. The rapidly expanding needs of the government business must be met. The national equipment must keep pace with our national growth, yet always with due regard to the principles of sound economy in public expenditure. We have pursued no parsimonious policy on the one hand nor indulged in extravagance on the other. We have measured the public expense by the public necessity.

The convention did well in its hearty commendation of the administration of President Roosevelt. This is sharply challenged by the opposition. We accept the issue with confidence. The President assumed the responsibilities of chief executive with a pledge to carry out the policy of his beloved and lamented predecessor. He kept the Cabinet of President McKinley, composed of statesmen of eminent ability, in whom the country placed entire confidence. He carried forward the uncompleted work faithfully and successfully. The pledge has been kept scrupulously; the promise has been fulfilled. Peace and good order have been maintained. Domestic and foreign trade have increased and relations of amity have been preserved with foreign powers.

The foreign policy of the administration has been conservative, just and firm, and has made for the advancement of peace. Time and events have given us a larger place in international affairs. While we have enlarged our foreign commerce, we have increased our prestige abroad, not with the sword, but through the peaceful agency of enlightened diplomacy.

Thirty treaties have been concluded and proclaimed, and stand to the credit of the administration. Some of these are of far-reaching importance. Among the number are the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, superseding the Clayton-Bulwer convention, which stood in the way of the construction of an Isthmian canal; the Panama Canal treaty, the Alaskan boundary treaty, and commercial treaties with China and with Cuba.

Events in the Far East suggest the wisdom and necessity of a continuance of the present foreign policy. We have maintained exact neutrality between Russia and Japan. At the beginning of the war between them, they assented to the suggestion made by the administration, limiting the zone of hostilities. This tends to preserve the open door in the Orient, so important and so much desired in the expansion of our commerce. It is the policy of the administration, predicated upon the soundest national prudence, to settle and remove by treaty, so far as possible, those international differences which might lead to future friction.

We favor the adjustment of international disagreements by an appeal to reason, rather than to arms. A great majority of the questions which arise between nations may, without compromising the national honor, be submitted to arbitration. The administration of President McKinley did well to aid in the creation of The Hague tribunal, and President Roosevelt is entitled to great credit for being the first to invoke its jurisdiction in the settlement of the Pious Fund cases.

Our relations with the world were never better. We have avoided all entangling alliances, and, in the language of the eminent Secretary of State, "We are without an ally and without an enemy."

The convention wisely declared in favor of "protection which guards and develops our industries," and that "the measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad."

This principle was embodied in the platform of the convention which first nominated Abraham Lincoln, and it has continued to be one of the cardinal doctrines of the Republican party during the forty-four years which have elapsed since then. It has been incorporated into the public law and has become the foundation of our industrial system. It has been regarded by the Republican party as a reasonable and appropriate exercise of the legislative power when imposing duties upon imports to discriminate in favor of American industries. This principle is dictated by a due regard for our own enterprise and industry, and is founded upon the highest considerations of national interest.

The Democratic convention which lately assembled at St. Louis denounced "protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few," and favored a "revision and gradual reduction of the tariff."

The issue is thus distinctly made. It is by no means a new one, for while the Republican party has uniformly adhered to the policy of protection, the Democratic party has been consistent in its opposition. It has held to the

doctrine of a revenue tariff, and during all the years of the contest has maintained that the protective system was opposed to good morals, in contravention of the constitution, and in violation of sound economics. The objections which are now urged against it are only a repetition of those which have found utterance for many years. The difference between the parties is radical and fundamental. It involves the principle of protection and not simply the measure of the duties to be laid.

A revision of duties should be made only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, and they should be so revised as to preserve and not destroy the protective principle.

A revision and reduction by those who regard the tariff as a robbery must awaken serious apprehension among all whose capital is employed or who are engaged at labor in the various enterprises throughout the country, which depend in large measure upon the maintenance of the protective system. A revision of the tariff along revenue lines means the increased importation of the products of foreign manufacture which come into competition with our domestic production. It means a loss to the American wage-earners and to American capital. This is, therefore, not a theoretical question which is presented to them, but is one of immediate and practical moment. It can be settled by them, and by them only.

History abundantly shows that the greatest industrial development of the country has occurred during the period when the protective tariff has been maintained, and that during this time labor has received its largest rewards and capital has been most profitably engaged.

The development of the country during the last forty-four years is a complete vindication of the virtue and efficacy of a protective system. Its benefits have been diffused through all sections of the country and among all our people. It has enlarged our home market until it has become the greatest in the world. This we should not unnecessarily surrender. We have believed it to be a wise national policy to preserve the American market for American producers and to secure to our workingmen an increased wage scale.

In 1860 the value of our exports and manufactures was \$40,345,892. Twenty years later it was \$102,856,015, and last year \$452,445,629. The pretention of its opponents that the protective tariff is inconsistent with the extension of our foreign commerce is thus denied by actual results. In considering the effect of the respective tariff policies of the Republican and Democratic parties, we are fortunately able to consult past experience. What a revenue tariff will accomplish we know, for we have hitherto seen how it has arrested industrial development and embarrassed enterprise to the injury of both labor and capital. Neither escapes its blighting effects.

Commercial reciprocity with foreign countries "consistent with the principles of protection," has long been one of the well recognized policies of the Republican party. The present administration, in the face of serious

Democratic opposition, secured a treaty of reciprocity with Cuba, which promises to give us control of a large share of the commerce of that island.

Both Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt attempted to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Canada. That subject, together with the Alaskan boundary and other matters, was submitted to a joint high commission for consideration, but the differences which arose between the American and the British commissioners with respect to the boundary made it impossible for the commission to agree upon any of the remaining subjects submitted for its determination.

The American commissioners desired to remit the boundary dispute to the two governments and to proceed with the consideration of all other questions, including reciprocity, but the British commissioners declined to proceed further while the boundary remained undetermined. Subsequently the boundary commission was created and the boundary line has been settled, but no agreement has been reached for further consideration of the remaining questions embraced in the protocol. It is hoped that the two governments may be able to agree in due course to take up the subject of reciprocity with Canada according to the principles laid down in the Republican national platform.

The platform appropriately recognizes combinations of capital and labor as the outgrowth of our economic development, and as entitled to the equal protection and subject to the like restrictions of the law.

The administration has enforced the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which was of Republican origin, in cases where combinations have been formed in violation of its provisions. The law, which was regarded as ineffective by a Democratic administration, has been invoked by the President against combinations in restraint of wholesome commerce, and it has been upheld by the courts.

The Congress last year enacted a law to expedite the hearing and determination of suits arising under the Anti-Trust and Inter-State Commerce Acts, so that the ends of justice might not be defeated by delay. It created the Department of Commerce and Labor, with authority to obtain necessary information with respect to the creation and operation of corporations engaged in inter-state commerce. It also amended the inter-state commerce law so as effectually to abolish the pernicious system of rebates under which large shippers could crush their smaller competitors. These are important, practical steps taken by a Republican President and a Republican Congress for the protection of the people against the encroachments of combined capital.

The Democratic party has done nothing towards safeguarding legitimate interests and restraining combinations effected for extortion or other improper purposes. It proposes as a principal remedy for unjust combinations to remove the tariff from trust-made goods, thereby inviting the foreign producer to occupy our home market in an attempt to regulate our own industries. It has assumed that the so-called trusts are either created or fostered by

the tariff. The assumption is fallacious. Trusts are found in free-trade countries, and they control commodities in this country which are upon the free list.

The Republican party is more direct and rational. It does not strike down good and bad alike. It invokes the authority of Congress and the power of the courts to deal with specific, well-defined combinations in restraint of the rights and interests of the people. It is as insistent upon the protection of capital employed in wholesome enterprise as in preventing its use in contravention of the public interests.

The convention very properly declared it "to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard." There is no more important duty than to maintain the stability and the character of the money of the people. Their manifold exchanges should be effected in a currency as free from blemish as the national integrity. The Republican party has been essentially the guardian of the financial credit of the country, and the steadfast supporter of a sound currency. It has maintained the national credit and preserved the soundness of our monetary system against persistent and powerful opposition.

The money question has seemed to be settled at various times, but the contest has been revived by the enemies of sound money whenever they have thought that they might be successful. We should not relax our vigilance in upholding the integrity of our currency so long as a considerable element of our country are at war with it. When Democratic candidates cannot hope to win preferment in a national convention without industriously concealing their monetary views, and when Democratic national and state conventions dare not declare their faith in the virtue of the gold standard, the hour has not arrived when the forces of sound money should disband and leave the field.

We not only established the gold standard, but we provided such safeguards as will maintain our silver and paper currency at a parity with it. But all of this may be changed at any time by a hostile Congress, or endangered by an unfriendly Secretary of the Treasury. Our past experience warns us that it is only a question of time when those who are always opposed to a sound monetary policy will again seek to overthrow it.

The Republican convention did well not only to pledge anew our fidelity to the gold standard, but to declare its purpose to uphold "the integrity and value of our national currency." There should be no equivocation or doubt as to our inflexible purpose, not only to maintain the gold standard, but to keep all silver and paper currency at a parity with it.

The assumption that the gold standard is "irrevocably established" does violence to the law. It was established by an Act of Congress, but the Congress may alter, amend or repeal that act at any time. It is no more irrevocably established than are our tariff schedules. The one may be changed as readily as the other.

Sound money is so vital to our welfare, so important to our industrial development, that we should let its open enemies or negative friends know that we abate nothing of our determination to uphold and defend it.

Since 1896 we have improved the system as well as increased the volume of our currency. We have now in circulation \$2,521,151,527, or \$880,942,008 more than we had seven years ago. The increase has not been due alone to the larger yield of gold, for \$262,659,559, or nearly thirty per cent of the increase is composed of silver and national bank notes, which, under the Republican policy, are essentially the equivalent of gold.

If in the future the exigencies of business, which no wisdom can now foresee, should make additional monetary or financial legislation advisable, the Republican party may be intrusted to enact it along rational lines.

The President's course in Panama merits the most generous approval. He dealt with a delicate and difficult situation, clearly within our national rights, in such a way as to make possible the early completion of an isthmian canal which has long been demanded in the interest of our commerce and the national defense.

He concluded the negotiations with Great Britain for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. He negotiated a treaty with the Republic of Colombia for the requisite rights and franchises for the construction and operation of a canal. Its ratification was contemptuously refused by the Colombian government. Thereupon the people of Panama renounced their allegiance to the parent government and declared their independence. The President, acting within the limits of his executive authority, and in conformity with well-established precedent, promptly recognized their independence. He negotiated a treaty with Panama, whereby the United States obtained the necessary rights and franchises for building and operating the canal.

When the insurrection occurred upon the Isthmus, the President safeguarded American interests. He acted promptly but deliberately; prudently, not rashly; firmly, not unlawfully. He usurped no authority. He only exercised that executive power which is clearly vested in him by the constitution, and which his predecessors had employed under similar circumstances. If he had failed to appreciate our rights, or to act firmly and promptly, blood would have been shed and the rights of American citizens would have been sacrificed, and the construction of the canal would have been indefinitely delayed.

The President in due time appointed a commission composed of eminent engineers and men of practical experience to undertake the work of constructing the canal as speedily as practicable. There is no longer any doubt or uncertainty as to the enterprise. Its completion is now an assured fact, and it will stand as one of the memorable achievements of the new century.

The completion of this great work should be left to the administration which has done so much to carry it forward against formidable obstacles abroad and vexatious opposition at home.

The administration in the Philippines has been dictated by a broad sense of duty. It has not been subversive of our national ideals, but has been in conformity with the best traditions of the Republic.

The archipelago came to the United States as the result of a war, and it became the duty of the administration to enforce the laws there as elsewhere, to maintain the national sovereignty, and to inaugurate civil government. Before the insurrection had ceased President McKinley admirably expressed our purpose. Said he:

"No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of mis-government. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and commerce, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain which we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waived over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

President Roosevelt has continued the work in the same just and generous spirit which inspired President McKinley.

Military rule was quickly succeeded by the civil authority. The people of the islands have been invited as fast as possible to participate in the work of government. The judicial system has been improved, corruption has been driven out, public schools have been established, and the people are already enjoying a large measure of self-government.

Congress has authorized a representative assembly to be chosen in due time by the people of the islands. The ballot-box is not the sign of imperialism. No one need have any grave concern with respect to the future of the archipelago if the United States goes forward as heretofore, inspired by the same lofty purpose which has characterized the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt. We may safely trust to the future to deal with the Filipinos in a manner consistent with their highest and best interest, and with the duty and honor of the United States.

The people of the islands have had abundant evidence of the exalted purpose of the United States. The various degrees of civilization among them, their unfamiliarity with civic duties, make it inadvisable to indulge in any declaration as to the future policies which may lead to misunderstanding. The people of the Philippines do not distrust us. We need not distrust ourselves.

Our opponents say the Philippine policy does not pay. They should not forget that the United States did not go to war with Spain for dollars and cents. They should remember that when it comes to a matter of duty, the United States does not consider the cost. When the history of our country is written, it will be found that there is no brighter page, or one which will

yield more pleasure and satisfaction in its contemplation than the one which tells of our discharge of the responsibilities growing out of the war with Spain. The archipelago belongs to the United States. Its title is vested in this government by virtue of the treaty of peace negotiated and ratified according to the requirements of the constitution, and the responsibility of administration rests upon us, not as a matter of sentiment, but as a duty imposed by the obligations of the law.

The application of the proceeds of public land sales to the reclamation of irrigable portions of our arid and semi-arid public domain, meets my cordial approval. Through the enlightened policy thus established under the present administration, the long-deferred hopes of the struggling settlers of the great arid and semi-arid West, will be realized in the upbuilding of substantial communities in places hitherto waste or comparatively unproductive. At the same time a vast area of the public domain will be opened, upon which the industrious homeseekers, now residing in over-crowded Eastern centers, may find homes. The sum of over twenty millions of dollars, now available in the reclamation fund, to which additions are constantly being made, guarantees, under the wise administration, great progress in the work of irrigation, and the settlement of the arid region within a few years.

The development of trade with the Orient promises to absorb the increased production of cereals in the far West, so as to leave the market conditions on the Atlantic seaboard undisturbed. The settlement of the present unproductive regions will open a new market for the manufacturers of the East.

Only by unduly extending this letter could I consider all the declarations embraced in the platform of the convention. Further reflection but strengthens my opinion of their wisdom, and I shall give them my earnest support. We are gratified that sectional differences have disappeared and that a fraternal spirit pervades the people of all sections of our country. We rejoice in a national inheritance which is our common pride. Republican policies are as broad as our country's needs. They are neither sectional nor racial in their generous design.

We are inspired with one high purpose, and that is, under divine guidance, to promote peace and good order, virtue and knowledge, justice, patriotism and prosperity among our countrymen, and to increase to the utmost the strength and honor of the great Republic.

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

APPENDIX

THE PRESS

The following newspapers were represented and made telegraphic special daily reports of the proceedings of the Convention and had seats assigned to them in the press department.

CALIFORNIA.

Los Angeles... The Times.
Los Angeles... The Express.
Los Angeles... The Examiner.
San Francisco... The Examiner.
San Francisco... The Call.
San Francisco... The Chronicle.
San Francisco... The Bulletin.

COLORADO.

Colo. Springs... The Gazette.
Denver The Times.
Denver The Post.
Denver The Republican.
Denver The Rocky Mountain
News.

CONNECTICUT.

Hartford The Courant.
New London... The Evening, Day,
Morning Telegram.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington ... The Star.
Washington ... The Post.
Washington ... The Times.

GEORGIA.

Atlanta The Constitution.

ILLINOIS.

Aurora The Beacon.
Aurora The News.
Chicago The Staats-Zeitung.
Chicago The Swedish Tribu-
en.
Chicago The Fosterlandet.
Chicago Chronicle.
Chicago The Inter Ocean.
Chicago The Post.
Chicago The Record Herald.
Chicago The Tribune.
Chicago The Associated Press.
Chicago The Examiner.
Chicago The American.
Chicago The Journal.
Chicago The News.
Ottawa The Journal.
Peoria The Star.
Peoria The Journal.
Quincy The Herald.
Quincy The Journal.
Rockford The Register Gazette.

Springfield The Herald.
Springfield The State Register.

INDIANA.

Evansville The Journal.
Evansville The Courier.
Ft. Wayne.... The News.
Indianapolis ... The Journal.
Indianapolis ... The News.
Indianapolis ... The Sun.
Indianapolis ... The Sentinel.
Indianapolis ... The Star.
Logansport ... The Journal.
Logansport ... The Reporter.
Lafayette The Journal.
Lafayette The Call.
Lafayette The Courier.
Madison The Courier.
New Albany... The Tribune.
Terre Haute... The Tribune.
Terre Haute... The Gazette.

IOWA.

Clinton The Herald.
Council Bluffs.. The Nonpareil.
Davenport The Republican.
Des Moines.... The Register Leader.
Des Moines.... The Capitol.
Iowa City..... The Republican.

KANSAS.

Ablene The Reflector.
Topeka The Capital.
Topeka The State Journal.

KENTUCKY.

Lexington The Leader.
Louisville The Times.
Louisville The Herald.
Louisville The Post.
Louisville The Courier Journal.

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans... The Pfcayune.
New Orleans... The Times Democrat.

MAINE.

Lewiston The Journal.

MARYLAND.

Baltimore The American.
Baltimore The News.
Baltimore The Sun.
Baltimore The Herald.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston The Journal.
 Boston The Traveller.
 Boston The Transcript.
 Boston The Herald.
 Boston The Globe.
 Boston The American.
 Springfield The Union.
 Springfield The Journal.
 New Bedford... The Standard.

MICHIGAN.

Detroit The Tribune.
 Detroit The News.
 Detroit The Journal.
 Detroit The Times.
 Detroit The Free Press.
 Grand Rapids... The Herald.
 Grand Rapids... The News.
 Kalamazoo The Telegraph.
 Jackson The Patriot.
 Saginaw The News.

MINNESOTA.

Minneapolis ... The Tribune.
 Minneapolis ... The Journal.
 Minneapolis ... The Times.
 St. Paul The Dispatch.
 St. Paul The Pioneer Press.
 St. Paul The Globe.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis The Globe Democrat.
 St. Louis The Republic.
 St. Louis The Post Dispatch.
 St. Louis The Chronicle.
 Kansas City... The Times.
 Kansas City... The Journal.
 Kansas City... The Star.

NEBRASKA.

Lincoln The Journal.
 Lincoln The Star.
 Omaha The Bee.
 Omaha The World Herald.
 Nebraska City.. The Tribune.

NEW JERSEY.

Newark The Advertiser.
 Newark The News.
 Trenton The Times.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Nashua The Telegram.
 Portsmouth ... The Chronicle.

NEW MEXICO.

Albuquerque ... The Citizen.
 Sante Fe..... The New Mexican.

NEW YORK.

Albany The Journal.
 Buffalo The Commercial.
 Buffalo The Courier.
 Buffalo The Express.
 Buffalo The Inquirer.
 Buffalo The News.
 Binghampton .. The Press.
 Brooklyn The Citizen.

Brooklyn The Eagle.
 Brooklyn The Standard.
 Brooklyn The Times.
 New York City. The American.
 New York City. The Herald.
 New York City. The Mail.
 New York City. The News.
 New York City. The Post.
 New York City. The Press.
 New York City. The Staats-Zeitung.
 New York City. The Sun.
 New York City. The Tribune.
 New York City. The Times.
 New York City. The World.
 New York City. The Wall Street Journal.
 Rochester The Post Express.
 Rochester The Democrat and Chronicle.
 Rochester The Evening Times.
 Syracuse The Herald.
 Troy The Budget.

OHIO.

Akron The Beacon-Journal.
 Cincinnati The Tribune.
 Cincinnati The Times Star.
 Cincinnati The Post.
 Cincinnati The Inquirer.
 Cincinnati The Volksblatt.
 Cleveland The Press.
 Cleveland The Plain Dealer.
 Cleveland The Leader.
 Columbus The Journal.
 Columbus The Dispatch.
 Marlette The Register.
 Toledo The News-Bee.
 Toledo The Express.
 Toledo The Blade.

OREGON.

Portland The Oregonian.

OKLAHOMA.

Guthrie The Courier.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Johnston The Tribune.
 Philadelphia .. The Press.
 Philadelphia .. The Ledger.
 Philadelphia .. The Record.
 Philadelphia .. The Inquirer.
 Philadelphia .. The North American.
 Philadelphia .. The Item.
 Philadelphia .. The News.
 Philadelphia .. The Bulletin.
 Philadelphia .. The Telegraph.
 Pittsburg The Leader.
 Pittsburg The Press.
 Pittsburg The Post.
 Pittsburg The Times.
 Pittsburg The Dispatch.
 Pittsburg The Gazette.

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence ... The Journal.
 Providence ... The Telegram.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston The News & Courier.

TEXAS.

GalvestonThe News.
 GalvestonThe Times.
 HoustonThe Post.
 HoustonThe Chronicle.
 DallasThe News.

TENNESSEE.

NashvilleThe American.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City.The Herald.
 Salt Lake City.The Tribune.
 Salt Lake City.The Telegram.
 OgdenThe Standard Exami-
 ner.

VIRGINIA.

RichmondThe News Leader.
 RichmondThe Times Dispatch.
 LynchburgThe News.

VERMONT.

RutlandThe News.

WEST VIRGINIA.

WheelingThe Intelligencer.

WASHINGTON.

SeattleThe Post-Intelligencer
 SeattleThe Journal.
 TacomaThe News.

WISCONSIN.

Fond du Lac...The Commonwealth.
 MilwaukeeThe Journal.
 MilwaukeeThe Sentinel.
 MilwaukeeThe News.
 MilwaukeeThe Evening Wiscon-
 sin.
 MilwaukeeThe Herald.
 MilwaukeeThe Free Press.
 OshkoshThe Northwestern.

Collier's Weekly.
 Publisher's Press.
 Scripps McRay Press Assn.
 Western Press Assn.
 Long Distance Telephone.
 The W. U. Telegraph Co.

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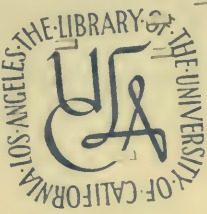
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