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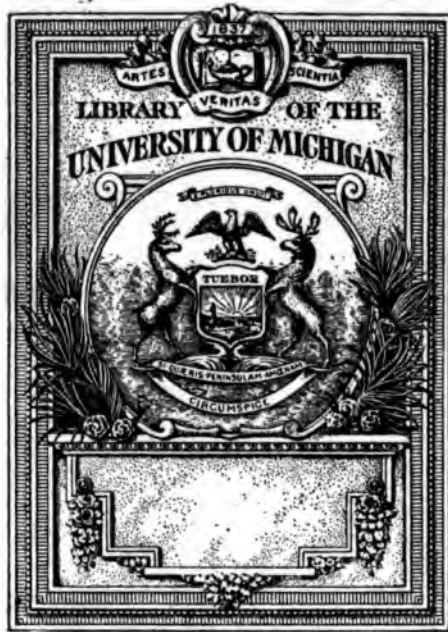
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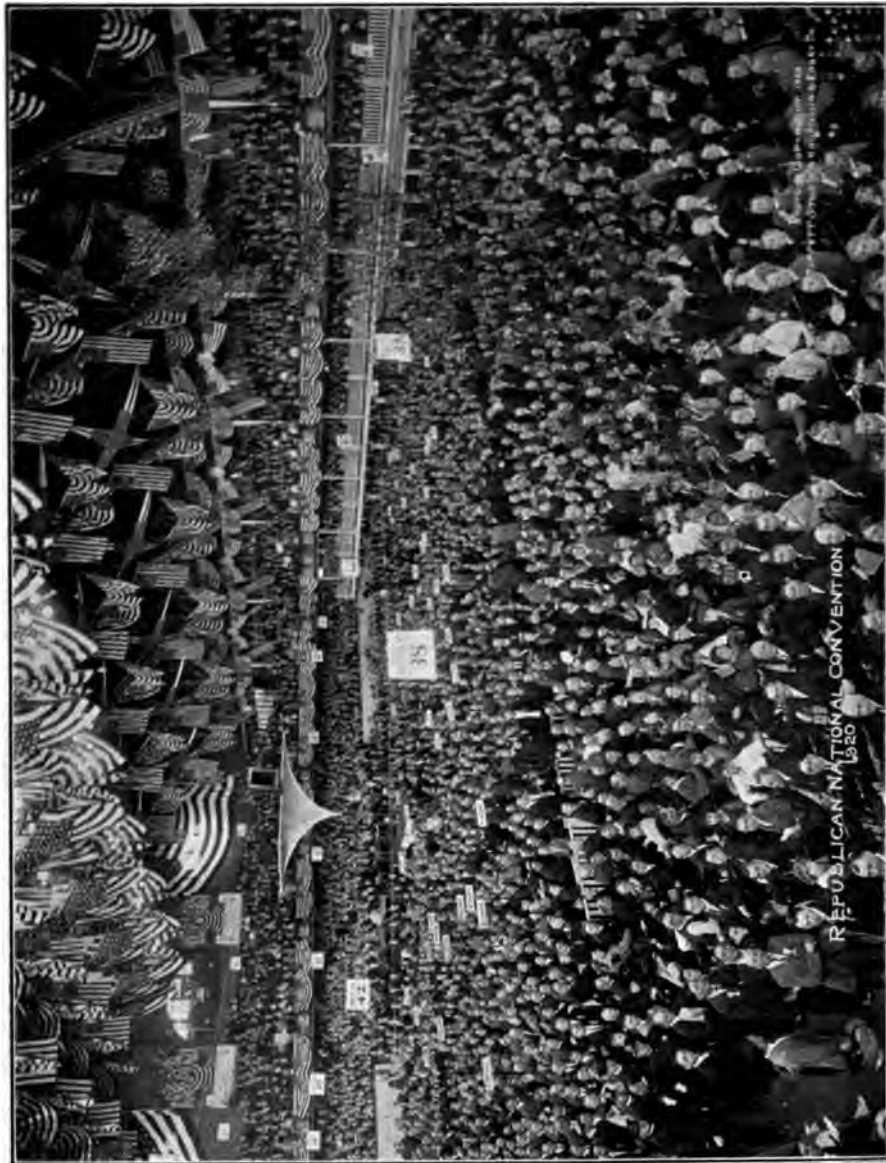
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Interior View of the Convention Hall,
From a Photograph taken at the First Day's Session

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Seventeenth Republican *party.*
National Convention *17th, June*

HELD IN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 8, 9, 10, 11 AND 12, 1920

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING, of Ohio
for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

CALVIN COOLIDGE, of Massachusetts
for Vice-President

REPORTED BY GEORGE L. HART, OFFICIAL REPORTER

Published Under the Supervision of the General Secretary of the Convention



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HON. WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING, of Ohio
Nominee for President of the United States

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OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION

CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

WILL. H. HAYS

OF INDIANA

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CLARENCE B. MILLER

OF MINNESOTA

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION

HENRY CABOT LODGE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION

HENRY CABOT LODGE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

GENERAL SECRETARY

LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON

OF NEW YORK

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS

EDWIN P. THAYER

OF INDIANA



HON. CALVIN COOLIDGE, of Massachusetts
Nominee for Vice-President of the United States



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Republican National Convention

HELD IN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
June 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1920

FIRST DAY

CONVENTION HALL—THE COLLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILL., TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1920.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana). The Convention will please be in order. Prayer will be offered by Rt. Rev. Charles Edward Woodcock, Episcopal Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky. The Convention will please arise and stand during the invocation.

INVOCATION BY THE RT. REV. CHARLES EDWARD WOODCOCK,

Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Louisville, Ky.

O God of our fathers and Leader of our destinies, who dost govern all things in heaven and in earth, whose wisdom is infinite and whose power no man can resist, we acknowledge Thee as the Ruler of all nations and the Guide of all who put their trust in Thee.

Be with us, Thy children. Let Thy mercy, we pray Thee, rest upon this whole land, and make us to know and feel that it is righteousness that exalteth a people.

Thou knowest our necessities before we ask, and our failure often to ask aright. Leave us not to our own course, we beseech Thee, but

so direct us, by Thy mighty power, that we may be led in the way that makes for unity and peace. So enlighten our minds that we may be unashamed, before men, to seek Thy help, nor unafraid to obey Thy will. So illumine and strengthen us, we beg Thee, that we may cleave steadfastly to the right as Thou dost give us to see the truth; that we may make no compromise of duty for fear of consequences, and nothing doubting where Thou dost show us the path wherein we should walk.

O God, fill our hearts with the desire to promote the welfare of our nation, and enable us to serve in loyalty of purpose and singleness of mind. Direct us in all our doings that, in the sacred trust of citizenship, we may please Thee both in will and in deed. Let not strife divide us nor greed corrupt us. Banish, we implore Thee, all that is at enmity with justice, peace and right order. Allay the spirit of unrest; promote the spirit of good will. Call forth the spirit of unselfish service, establish a right fellowship among all men; and, of Thy goodness, enlarge our loyal devotion to Thee, and increase our unwearied, disinterested service to our beloved land.

Be with those who are gathered here charged with the grave responsibility of making choice of a fit person whom they may nominate for the high office of leader of this nation and upholder of her welfare. Fill them with a deep sense of their accountability to Thee and to the people whom they represent. Give them both insight and foresight, bestow upon them wisdom and courage, and move them to place the welfare of country and fitness for leadership above personal desire in the fulfillment of their trust and in the opportunity of making a wise choice.

For all Thy blessings in ages past, for the priceless heritage bequeathed from our fathers, we give Thee most hearty thanks; praying Thee to be with us at this and all times, to preserve us through all the turmoil and anxieties of these troublous days, in full assurance of Thy presence and Thy continual help wheresoever Thy people ask Thy will and keep Thy commandments.

All which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

SINGING OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—While standing the Convention will sing The Star Spangled Banner, led by Mr. Albert Edmund Brown, Director of Community Singing, Republican League of Massachusetts, accompanied by the band.

Thereupon officers, delegates, alternates, and guests of the Con-

vention sang the first and last verses of The Star Spangled Banner, as follows:

“O say can you see by the dawn’s early light,
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight’s last gleaming;
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars thro’ the perilous fight,
 O’er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
 And the rockets’ red glare, bombs bursting in air!
 Gave proof thro’ the night that our flag was still there!
 O say, does the star spangled banner yet wave
 O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?”

“Oh, thus be it ever when free men shall stand
 Between their loved home and wild war’s desolation;
 Blest with vict’ry and peace, may the heav’n rescued land,
 Praise the Pow’r that hath made and preserv’d us a nation!
 Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just!
 And this be our motto: ‘In God is our trust!’
 And the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave
 O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.”

MR. ALBERT EDMUND BROWN.—Now please give three cheers and a tiger for the greatest country on earth, the United States of America. Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah for the United States! Tiger!

Thereupon the entire assemblage gave three cheers and a tiger.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—The official photograph of the Convention will now be taken. As far as possible everybody will face the camera, located in the northeast corner of the Coliseum, and remain perfectly quiet for a few moments.

Thereupon a photograph was taken of the Convention.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—The next order of business is the reading of the call for the Convention by the Acting Secretary of the National Committee.

MR. CLARENCE B. MILLER, of Minnesota, Acting Secretary of the Republican National Committee, read the call, as follows:

To the Republican Voters of the United States:

In pursuance of the rules adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1916, the Republican National Committee directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican

Party be held in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, at eleven o'clock, A. M. on Tuesday, the 8th day of June, 1920, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 2, 1920, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The voters of the several States and of Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of Delegates to said Convention.

Said National Convention shall, as provided in the rules adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1916, consist of four Delegates-at-Large from each State; two additional Delegates-at-Large for each Representative-at-Large in Congress from any State; one Delegate from each Congressional District in each State; and one additional Delegate for each Congressional District in each State in which the vote for any Republican Elector in the Presidential Election of 1916, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the Congressional Election of 1918, shall have been not less than (7,500) seven thousand five hundred; two Delegates each from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia.

Delegates shall be duly qualified voters, men or women, of their respective States, Territories or Territorial Possessions and, in the case of the District of Columbia, residents therein.

Delegates-at-Large and their Alternates, and Delegates from Congressional Districts and their Alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary election, in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, in such States as require by law the election of Delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries; provided, that in any State in which Republican representation upon the board of judges or inspectors of elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and Alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(2) By Congressional or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the call for any such convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the District or State, as the case may be. In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

All Delegates from any State may, however, be chosen from the

State at Large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs so provide.

Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein, and shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates, they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

The election of Delegates and Alternates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican Central Committee or governing committee therein, in conformity with the resolution this date adopted by the National Committee, copies of which resolution will be furnished to the governing committee of the Republican Party in each of such units of representation by the Secretary of the National Committee.

All Delegates or Alternates shall be elected not earlier than thirty days after the date of this call and not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of said Republican National Convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

No Delegates or Alternates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any Convention to elect Delegates to said National Convention who were elected prior to the date of this call.

The credentials of each Delegate and Altenate elected must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at the office of the National Committee, 923 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., at least twenty days before the said 8th day of June, 1920, for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention; except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, rendering impossible the filing of credentials within the time above specified.

All notices of contests shall be forwarded in the same manner, and within the same time limit. *When more than the authorized number of Delegates or Alternates from any State, Territory or Territorial possession are reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed on the temporary roll of the Convention;* provided, however, that the names of Delegates and Alternates presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of

the State in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to National Convention of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the National Committee.

All notices of contests shall be submitted in writing, accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the ground of the contests, and must be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee at least twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, rendering impossible the filing of notices of contests within the time above specified.

The Secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to promulgate this call by sending a copy thereof to the member of the National Committee from each State, Territory, Territorial possession and the District of Columbia, and to inclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary of the State Central Committee or governing committee of the party therein to be forwarded to said Chairman and Secretary by the member of the National Committee.

THE APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO SAID NATIONAL CONVENTION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1916, IS AS FOLLOWS:

ALABAMA	4 Delegates at Large; 1 from each of the 10 Congressional Districts—total 14.
ARIZONA	6 Delegates at Large.
ARKANSAS	4 Delegates at Large; 2 each from the 3d and 5th Congressional Districts; 1 from each of the other districts total 13.
CALIFORNIA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 26.
COLORADO	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 12.
CONNECTICUT	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 14.
DELAWARE	6 Delegates at Large.
FLORIDA	4 Delegates at Large; 1 from each Congressional District—total 8.
GEORGIA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from the 9th Congressional District; 1 from each of the other districts—total 17.
IDAHO	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 8.
ILLINOIS	8 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional District—total 58.
INDIANA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 30.
IOWA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 26.
KANSAS	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 20.
KENTUCKY	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 26.
LOUISIANA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 12.
MAINE	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 12.

MARYLAND	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional District—total 16.
MASSACHUSETTS	4 Delegates at Large; 1 from the 10th Congressional District; 2 from each of the other districts—total 35.
MICHIGAN	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 30.
MINNESOTA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 24.
MISSISSIPPI	4 Delegates at Large; 1 from each Congressional District—total 12.
MISSOURI	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 36.
MONTANA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 8.
NEBRASKA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 16.
NEVADA	6 Delegates at Large.
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 8.
NEW JERSEY	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 28.
NEW MEXICO	6 Delegates at Large.
NEW YORK	4 Delegates at Large; 1 each from the 12th and 13th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total 88.
NORTH CAROLINA	4 Delegates at Large; 1 each from the 1st and 2d Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total 22.
NORTH DAKOTA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 10.
OHIO	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 48.
OKLAHOMA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 20.
OREGON	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 10.
PENNSYLVANIA	12 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional District—total 76.
RHODE ISLAND	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 10.
SOUTH CAROLINA	4 Delegates at Large; 1 from each Congressional District—total 11.
SOUTH DAKOTA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 10.
TENNESSEE	4 Delegates at Large; 1 each from the 5th, 6th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total 20.
TEXAS	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from the 14th Congressional District; 1 from each of the other districts—total 23.
UTAH	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 8.
VERMONT	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 8.
VIRGINIA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from the 9th Congressional District; 1 from each of the other districts—total 15.
WASHINGTON	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 14.
WEST VIRGINIA	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 16.
WISCONSIN	4 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional district—total 26.
WYOMING	6 Delegates at Large.
ALASKA	2 Delegates at Large.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	2 Delegates at Large.
HAWAII	2 Delegates at Large.
PHILIPPINES	2 Delegates at Large.
PORTO RICO	2 Delegates at Large.

Total Number of Delegates984.

JAMES B. REYNOLDS,
Secretary.
Washington, D. C.
December 10, 1919.

WILL H. HAYS,
Chairman.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—Members of the Convention: The Republican party has met in this open and free Convention to accept from the American people a mandate for the government of the United States. As Chairman of your National Committee, I report progress. Four years ago the normal Republican majority was 600,000 minus. Two years ago it was 1,200,000 plus. Today I honestly believe it is double that number, and in November it should exceed 3,000,000. In spirit I report more than progress; I report fulfillment. The great party of the Union has become a unit. It shall so continue. There will be no bolt from this convention. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

By direction of your National Committee I present the name of the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge to act as your temporary chairman. (Applause.)

The question is on the election of Senator Lodge as temporary chairman of this convention. Those in favor will say aye. (A mighty chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify it by saying no. (A pause, filled in by a roar of applause.) He is unanimously elected.

I will ask the following committee to escort the temporary chairman to the platform: Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, of New York (applause), Hon. Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio (applause), and Mrs. J. B. Hume, of California (applause).

As the committee proceeded to that portion of the convention hall where the Massachusetts delegation were seated, and while escorting Senator Lodge to the platform, there was loud and prolonged applause on the part of delegates, alternates and guests of the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor to present your temporary chairman, Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, of the United States. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. (MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts).—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: We are met here to take the first, the most decisive step in the political campaign which is to determine the party control of this great Government for the next four years. It is a solemn moment, fraught with vast possibilities of either good or evil. Well worth our while it is just here "upon this bank and shoal of time," to pause for an instant while we glance swiftly upon the scene in which we are to fight our battle. Behind us lies the greatest war of history, now for



HON. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

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the most part fallen silent, together with all the hideous advances of science in methods of taking human life, which battered upon it, halted and quiescent. The tempest has subsided, but the ocean still heaves and rolls with cresting waves, while the dead seas of the storm, which has passed, crash sullenly against the shores that shelter and sustain the vast fabric which we are wont to call our civilization.

THE HAVOC OF WAR.

We find ourselves gazing upon the problems and trials which the huge convulsion has left to us, and with which we must cope and cope successfully if we are to rebuild and again move onward. The ruined towns, the broken industries, the desolated farms are there before our eyes wherever the battles were fought. Countless little mounds mark the resting places of the dead in the fields and on the hillsides torn and gashed by shot and shell. Signals of mourning throughout the world tell us of the irreparable losses of all nations, which have swept away such an appalling portion of the youth of every land, those in whom were garnered up the hopes and strength of the future.

The splendor of the achievement of our soldiers and sailors, their dauntless courage and unshrinking service will always remain one of the proudest memories in the history of the Republic. But the dead return not and the shadow of the great sorrow for those forever gone will never be lifted from the hearts of the people who sent them forth to battle. The material side of war results is, like the spiritual, ever with us. We feel in daily life the grinding pressure of the vast debts and heaped-up taxes which have been piled upon our shoulders and upon those of posterity. Great empires have been swept from the earth, ancient monarchies have crumbled in an hour, and long-established governments have tottered, fallen and passed away like a watch in the night.

THE TASK BEFORE US

All these things stare us in the face, pierce our attention and arrest our thoughts. But this is not all, and what remains, perhaps more than anything else, makes incredibly difficult the immense task which lies before us, one not to be escaped but which will strain governments and people to the top of their bent if aught that makes life worth living is to survive. The wrecked towns, the shattered forts, the effaced villages, the sinking ships were not the only victims of the storm of war. Other things, the impalpable possessions of the mind and heart, have in like fashion been wounded and crippled. In the shock of war, through long years of bitter conflict, moral restraints were loosened and all the habits, all the conventions, all the

customs of life, which more even than law hold society together, were swept aside. One passion, one purpose—to save the country, to save civilization, to preserve freedom—rose supreme. It could not be otherwise. There could be in that hour but one question asked of men and women: "Are you loyal to your country and her cause, ready to work and to sacrifice and if need be to die for them?" If that single demand was rightly answered nothing else mattered in those days of stress and anguish. No one inquired further.

RESTLESSNESS BRED BY WAR

So the war ended and victory came; the great adventure was over, and men and women came back to find the old ways dull, the old life tame, the old restraints burdensome, and they themselves possessed by a longing for excitement and a hunger for change unknown before. One sees the result in the restlessness which is everywhere; in the mere trifles of life, in dress, in amusements, in pleasure seeking, in the greed for money and the recklessness of expenditure and what is infinitely more serious, in the discontent with all forms of government or control and in the readiness and eagerness to destroy even the fundamental principles of a free and orderly civilization without which law and order, organized society, the possibilities of progress and the chance for happiness cannot exist.

This state of mind born of the war is the gravest obstacle in the essential work of restoring a shattered world and making the great victory a blessing to mankind. In order to succeed at all we must understand this mental and moral condition. We must allow for it. We must be very patient. We must steady our nerves. We must be tolerant and above all open-minded. We must call on our common sense and self-restraint. The complex problem cannot be evaded, and it must be dealt with in such a way as to preserve the foundations of society and enable us, those once secured, to advance steadily, never hurriedly but always in order, toward every reform, every improvement, every form of true progress which will help mankind. It is a gigantic task for any government or any party. No party and no government can succeed unless they meet it bravely, looking facts always in the face and determined to do their best,—never promising what they cannot perform and never yielding to the facile temptations of momentary success. (Applause.)

DEMOCRATS FAILED

One of our great political parties has failed to meet—nay, is in a considerable measure responsible for, the perilous conditions of the hour. The only other organized political force strong enough to

grapple with the encircling dangers is the Republican party. (Applause.) If that too fails and breaks down, the Russian descent into barbarism will begin to draw near. Such an end is inconceivable with the American people, but they must realize the peril and drive it back into the darkness whence it comes. We, keepers of the Republican faith, must therefore succeed. We must not know defeat when the great responsibility comes to our hands. To the service of 1860 we must add a live service in 1920. No larger victory at any time could be won by any political party. We must both earn and deserve it. We did not fail in the Civil War. We shall not, must not fail now. (Applause.)

MUST END THE WILSON DYNASTY

In order to render to our country the service which we desire to render and which we can accomplish in large measure, at least, if we undertake it with all our ability and in a disinterested public spirit, we must have the opportunity for service. That opportunity can only come through our being entrusted by the people with both the legislative and the executive authority. To this end Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control, from all influence upon the Government of the United States. (Applause.) They must be driven from office and power not because they are Democrats but because Mr. Wilson stands for a theory of administration and government which is not American. (Applause.) His methods, his constant if indirect assaults upon the Constitution and upon all the traditions of free government, strike at the very life of the American principles upon which our Government has always rested.

The return of the Democrats to power with Mr. Wilson or one of his disciples still the leader and master of a great party, which before his advent possessed both traditions and principles, would be a long step in the direction of the autocracy for which Mr. Wilson yearns and a heavy blow to the continuance of free representative government as we have always conceived and venerated it. The peril inseparable from Mr. Wilson and his system goes far beyond all party divisions, for it involves the fundamental question of whether the Government of the United States shall be a government of laws and not of men, whether it shall be a free representative government or that of a dictatorship resting on a plebiscite carried by repellent methods. Mr. Wilson and the autocracy he represents, and all which those who believe in his doctrines and share his spirit represent, must be put aside and conclusively excluded from any further control. (Applause.)

Bear this well in mind throughout the campaign, for it is the first condition of our ability to enter upon the path which will carry us forward to true progress and to wiser laws. It is the path of Washington, of Lincoln and of Roosevelt from which Mr. Wilson has sought to drag us. We can only regain it by once and for all condemning the man and his associates who have thus endeavored to turn us from the right road into the dark and devious ways which with all nations lead to destruction. We therefore make our appeal for support to all who love America, to all, whatever party name they happen to bear, who are true to the faith of the fathers, to join with us in this great work of redemption. The defeat of the present administration and all it means transcends in importance every other question, and all immediate and dominant issues are bound up with it. Without that defeat every chance of the right settlement of the mighty questions before us, so sorely needed now and not later, will depart. (Applause.)

THE FIRST DUTY OF AMERICA

The ground thus cleared, it is our first duty as Americans to re-establish certain essential principles which have been both shaken and invaded—shaken by the shock of war, invaded by those who had their own selfish purposes to serve even in the hour of the country's danger. (Applause.)

The earliest beliefs of men reveal the trust of mankind in order, as the divine conqueror of chaos and eternal night. A famous poet tells us that "order is Heaven's first law," and history repeats the same injunction. All the civilization ever built up and treasured by mankind has rested upon the establishment of law and order. Law and order, the supports of true liberty, the firm foundations of prosperity and progress, have always ruled in the United States and have been very dear to the hearts of the American people. They must never be weakened or impaired unless we are ready to see all that we have carefully built up go down in ruin and men forced once more into the struggle against chaos, followed by the slow and toilsome climb out of the darkness of anarchy to the height of freedom and accomplishment. (Applause.)

To maintain law and order and a stable government where justice rules and the rights of all men, high and low, rich and poor, shall be protected, we must have a government of the people, duly chosen by the people, and never must there be permitted any government by a single man or by a group of men or by an organized minority. (Applause.) Tyranny lurks in them all and true freedom withers when they ascend the throne.

GOVERNMENT BY AND OF THE PEOPLE

There must be but one law in this country and that is the law framed by the men chosen by the people themselves to make the laws. (Applause.) The chief magistrate must understand that it is his duty not only to enforce but to abide by the laws, the laws made by the representatives of the people, and when those laws are once made they must be obeyed until the people see fit to change them. (Applause.) The will of the people, expressed in lawful manner through the Government of the United States, must be supreme, for the Government of the United States can neither suffer revolt nor submit to any question of its authority on the part of any man or any group of men or any minority of the people. (Applause.) When free government fails, autocracy and revolution and the downfall of civilization as we have known it are at hand. Progress will cease and the decline to lower stages of development will have begun. True progress must rest upon and proceed from the sound principles which sustain all free government and to such progress the Republican party always has been committed. Loyalty to the United States and obedience to the people's laws are the corner-stones of the Republic and should be sustained and upheld by every man and woman in every corner of our great land. Keep these principles sacred and untouched and all the rest will follow. (Applause.)

THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

Let me turn first to the economic conditions, so profoundly distorted and confused by the war, which affect our daily life, are essential to our business and upon which our material prosperity and all the benefits, both mental and moral, which flow from it when honestly acquired, so largely depend. Already a beginning has been made by a Republican Congress, working under all the difficulties and opposition imposed by a hostile Executive. (Applause.) Many vital economic measures and especially protective tariff legislation to guard our industries are impossible with a Democratic Free Trader of Socialistic proclivities in the White House. To accomplish such measures as these we must have, as we intend to have, a Republican President, in sympathy with a Republican House and Senate. (Applause.)

Great reductions in expenditures have been effected but we have been met with resistance in some of the departments and also by habits of waste backed by maladministration, by sacrifice of efficiency to political purposes, never so recklessly indulged in before, and in certain cases by an incompetency so marvellous that it cannot be due to nature, but must be the result of art. (Applause, accompanied by cries of "That's true.") Yet despite all these fettering conditions

an amount of work has been done which in days of peace would have been considered remarkable but now passes almost unnoticed because great events have so crowded on each other's heels in the years of world war that the comprehension and appreciation of legislative accomplishment are well nigh lost.

A FEW EXAMPLES

Let me give a few examples of what has been accomplished: The estimates have been reduced over a billion dollars. (Applause.)

The oil-leasing and water-power bills, two measures of large effect and high importance, which have been halting and stumbling for many years in the incapable hands of a Democratic majority, have passed both Houses (applause), but the President has vetoed the water-power bill. (A voice: "That's just like him.")

We have passed the vocational rehabilitation act for the benefit of wounded soldiers and several acts for the disposition of war material, very necessary to our finances. (Applause.)

We have amended and improved the Federal Reserve and the farmers' loan acts. (Applause.)

We have cared for the soldiers of the Civil War, straitened in their old age through the rise in prices, by an increase in their pensions. (Applause.)

The civil service retirement law, a long-deferred act of justice to faithful servants of the Government, has been passed and become law. (Applause.)

We have been obliged to restore the Army and Navy to a peace footing, a work as difficult as it was necessary. (Applause.)

We have met this by two most important measures, the Army and Navy pay-bill and the law for the reorganization of the Army on a peace basis. (Applause.)

Two of the most important acts of any period, the shipping act for the upbuilding of the American Marine and the settlement of the affairs of the Shipping Board and the law establishing the Budget, a great measure of economy and sound financial administration, are conspicuous as our latest achievements. (Applause.)

But the budget bill was vetoed by the President at the last moment on the ground that it interfered with his power of appointment and removal. (A voice: "He's an autocrat.")

The list of beneficial laws, passed under adverse circumstances, might be largely extended did not time forbid. But these are enough to show the far-reaching results of the labors of this Congress, whose time is but little more than half spent.

Some of the master minds of the Democratic party are now chirruping away like incessant little birds that "the Republicans have



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts
Chairman of the Convention

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done nothing." I should be glad, omitting the two years of war when both parties worked together, to put the recorded accomplishment of the five years of complete Democratic control beside that of our eighteen months hampered by an inimical administration. Let me assure you that we do not fear the comparison. (Applause.)

MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE

We have made a remarkable beginning, but we are fully conscious that it is only a beginning. Much has been done, much more remains to do and we pledge ourselves to exert all our energies to deal with what is still undone. The wreck and confusion of a great war, in business, finance and all economic conditions, cannot be cleared away and fully readjusted in a year and a half nor indeed in twice that time. Reconstruction must be steady and energetic, but it also demands care if it is to be of lasting value. (Applause.)

HIGH COST OF LIVING

The rise of prices, the high cost of living which reach daily into every home, is the most pressing as it is the most difficult and most essential problem which confronts us. Some of the sources of this trouble can be reached by legislation, although not all, but everything that can be effected by law should be done at once. (Applause.) Profiteering, the charging of extortionate and unjustified prices, which is stupid as well as unlawful, are subject now to ample punitive laws. Those laws should be enforced, others if necessary added, and the offenders both great and small should be pursued and punished, not in the headlines of newspapers after the manner of the present Attorney general (applause, and voices: "That's right"), but quietly, thoroughly and efficiently, in the courts of the United States. Something more in this direction can be accomplished by the proper regulation of cold storage, and a bill for that purpose has passed both Houses and is now in conference. (Applause.)

Another deep-seated cause of the rise of prices, more effective in its results although less obvious than profiteering, is the abnormal increase per capita of the circulating medium. This has doubled since the war began and if in the space of a few years the amount of the circulating medium is doubled it has a most profound effect in stimulating and advancing prices.

During the war credits have been enormously inflated and there have been large additions to the currency through the Federal Reserve banks. Here is possible to check the advance of prices by law. (Applause.) We can provide for the control of credits in such manner as to give preference to the most essential products. We are also able to reduce the amount of the circulating medium in the form of Federal Reserve bank notes, the authority having been given during

the war to increase the issue of those notes from two billions to four billions. It should be one of the first acts of Congress to deal with this essential point, and it would have a marked effect in reducing prices by steadying them and bringing them down to a lower and more normal level.

ENCOURAGE PRODUCTION

The most potent remedy of all against advances in the high cost of living, however, lies in production, which cannot be reached directly by statutes. If production begins to fail and fall off, the cost of everything will be advanced by the simple force of scarcity which inevitably drives prices upward. The most essential remedy for high costs is to keep up and increase production, and particularly should every effort be made to advance the productivity of the farms. (Applause.) Just how much the Government can do in this direction is uncertain, but it can aid and support and if anything can be done it must not be omitted or overlooked. At the same time it must not be forgotten that there is a vast difference between the powers of the National Government in time of war and those which it possesses in time of peace. (Applause, and voices "You are right.") The normal limitations of times of peace restrict very much the powers of the general government and in helping to increase the productivity of the farms, which must be done through government action, the Republican party promises to use every power in this direction whether within the State or Federal jurisdiction. (Applause.)

I have touched upon this matter of prices and the high cost of living because it is altogether the most important domestic question now before the country and one to which the Republican party should address itself without delay in every direction where help is possible. There are, of course, as I have said, many other important economic questions to be dealt with, as speedily as may be, but the time allotted to me makes it impossible to touch upon them all.

THE RAILROAD QUESTION

There is, however, one measure which cannot be passed over, a single great law which has been enacted and which in any period would be sufficient to distinguish a Congress as one of high accomplishment. This is the Railroad Act. (Applause.) For six months able committees in both Houses, committees where no party line was drawn, toiled day after day upon this most intricate of problems. There was much serious debate in both Senate and House and then the bill, signed by the President, became law. No doubt time and experience will show that improvements in the Act can be made, but in the main it is a remarkable piece of legislation, and in general

principles is entirely sound, and nothing could be more unfair than to criticize the present owners contending with the legacy of mismanagement, waste and confusion bequeathed by the Government when it returned the roads only three months ago. (Applause.)

The Railroad Law possesses also an importance wholly distinct from its provisions, which have been framed with extreme care. This Act declares a national policy and, so far as any law can do it, establishes that policy as a rule of action. The policy embodied in the bill concedes at the outset that it is of course impossible to return to the old system or lack of system in the management of railroads. They must henceforth be under thorough Government supervision and also the Government must have over them a large measure of control. The transportation system of the country can no longer be suffered to continue without such supervision and control. But the policy also represents the principle that the Government must not assume the ownership of the railroads. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) Their operation and management must be left in private ownership. (Applause.) The phrase "government ownership" means not only that the Government shall own the railroads but also, it is to be feared, that those who run the railroads shall own the Government. (Applause.) General government ownership under our political system would inevitably bring about the mastery of the Government by those who operate the machinery of transportation or of any other industries which come into Government possession.

The rights of the general public, for whom all industries exist, would disappear under this scheme and nothing would be left to the people except the duty of paying taxes to support the roads. That is a very perilous position for a representative democracy. Our Government must not be dominated by any one man or any class or any selected body of men who represent a part of the people and not the whole people. (Applause.) Moreover, in the United States, government ownership wherever applied to an industry, whether it involves transportation or telegraphic and telephonic communication or ship-building or manufacturing, is a very inefficient and wasteful system, badly managed and certain to be intolerably burdensome to the taxpayers. (Applause.) This point it is not necessary to argue because the country through the demands of war turned the railroads over to the Government and we have had the painful privilege of observing the performance which followed. The government management which ensued was inefficient, the railroads were wretchedly conducted and money was spent and wasted with a prodigality which nothing can defend. (Applause.) During the time in which the Government undertook to manage the railroads they sustained despite a generous increase in freight rates a loss of over a million dollars a day and

the total payments out of the treasury to support the railroads have reached the enormous sum of one and three-quarters billions of dollars. There was universal dissatisfaction with the government management and it was a just dissatisfaction. The experiment failed and should not be renewed. (Applause, accompanied by voices "You are right.")

THE MEXICAN MUDDLE

From domestic affairs, which I have only touched upon briefly, let us turn to foreign questions, to our relations with the world of other nations. Look first at one of the most pressing importance just beyond our own borders. Look at Mexico. For seven years the United States has been pursuing under the direction of the President a policy of "watchful waiting." (Laughter.) The President saw fit to intervene in Mexico. As a matter of fact he made war upon Mexico, for in the taking of Vera Cruz we lost some 120 men in killed and wounded and several hundred unregarded, incidental Mexicans were also either wounded or killed, in the conflict. We went there to exact an apology for the treatment of some of our sailors at Tampico. The apology has never been given but General Huerta was driven from power, which was the President's real purpose, and Mexico then fell into a state of anarchy which, growing constantly worse, has continued to this day.

The President saw fit to recognize Carranza, who was chosen by a military junta, as political chief. He thus furnished an essential support to the Carranza government and what has been our reward? Over 600 Americans have been murdered in Mexico, some under circumstances of great brutality. For these murders no reparation has been made. Decorated by endless futile and useless notes they have gone on unchecked. To have been an American citizen in Mexico added to a man's danger. The words "I am an American citizen," instead of being a protection, as they ought to be, in every corner of the world, were an absolute peril to anyone who was entitled to that high distinction. (A voice: "We're paying the price of 'Watchful Waiting.'")

Mexico teemed with German plots. The Mexican Government, largely the offspring of Mr. Wilson's recognition, did not support us in the war, but gave aid so far as it was possible to the cause of our enemies. Yet we still continued to support Carranza. His government sent agents into this country to foment industrial trouble and to bring on strikes. They allied themselves with the bolshevist and anarchist elements. Nothing was done by the United States. Carranza insulted the American Government in every possible way and still nothing was done. We fell so low that when an American was seized by one of the many bands of brigands and held for ransom

all that the Government of the United States would do was to offer to be the channel for conveying the ransom of their citizens to the highwaymen who had seized them. (A voice: "What a shame it was!") The mere statement seems incredible but it is in exact accordance with the facts in some cases. Still nothing was done and we watched and waited. Naturally we lost our influence in Mexico and what was far more important we lost the respect of the Mexican people by the manner in which we submitted to every sort of insult and outrage.

ENOUGH OF "WATCHFUL WAITING"

We have watched and waited long enough. It is time that this condition, disgraceful to us and ruinous to Mexico, should cease. (Applause.) We need a firm hand at the helm. We need a man who will think not only of the rights of the United States but of the welfare of Mexico. The Mexican people would not resent the influence or intervention of the United States if it would only help to bring them peace under a president of their own choosing. The great mass of the Mexican people wish to work and earn money. They long to be able to sleep in peace and not be subject to pillage and outrage. Thousands of them look to us for help. Let the Mexicans choose as their president some strong and upright man who is friendly to the United States and determined to establish order and then let the United States give him a real and cordial support, and so strengthen and uphold him that he will be able to exterminate the bandits and put an end to the unceasing civil war which has well nigh completely ruined one of the finest and most valuable countries on the face of the earth. (Applause.)

We must watch and wait no longer. We must have a man who has a policy and who will act. (Applause.) Nothing can ever be accomplished under the Wilson administration or any administration in sympathy with it. Their miserable record of hopeless failure in Mexico has been unbroken for seven years. The time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation, which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to our civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home in Mexico. (Applause.) If we assert and protect the Monroe doctrine against Europe, as we must for our own safety, we must also accept and fulfill the duties and responsibilities which that doctrine imposes. (Applause.)

MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

The President has been unable or unwilling to do anything for Mexico, where civil war has raged for years, where anarchy exists and where the people are suffering. But he thinks it our duty to

take a mandate for Armenia, which would involve our sending an army there for an indefinite time and which would cost including the army and civil expenditures 275 millions for the first year, besides entangling us in all the quarrels and intrigues of Asia Minor and the surrounding countries. (A voice: "We must not do it.") Mexico lies at our doors. It is a primary duty for us to deal with it under the Monroe doctrine, but nothing has been done, and yet we are asked to take a mandate for Armenia! The American people have a deep sympathy for Armenia. They have already given over 40 million dollars for the relief of those starving and suffering people, a brave and gallant people who deserve assistance and who have established a government. We are anxious to help Armenia in all reasonable ways and no doubt shall do so, but to take a mandate to control, protect and govern that country would involve our sending our sons and brothers to serve and sacrifice their lives in Armenia for an indefinite time. This is a mandate which we in the Senate of the United States think should not be undertaken. It is a plan to get us involved in the responsibilities of the League of Nations and all the wars in which it may be engaged, without our being a member of the League. To such a proposition the only answer is plain refusal. On the other hand what the President has neglected—a like condition among an unfortunate people at our very doors—we must take up and by a wise and firm policy restore Mexico to the position which she ought to occupy and thereby help and relieve her people and so benefit the world and extend the reign of peace. (Applause.)

KEEPING US FROM PEACE

As the great war in Europe pushed Mexico into the background and turned the thoughts of all away from it, so there is at this moment another great question of our relations to the civilized world which overshadows every other. When the armistice with Germany was signed the course to be pursued was clear. It was urged by Republican Senators before the armistice and immediately afterwards. That course was to make the peace with Germany at once and then take up for reasonable consideration the question of establishing such future relations with our associates in the war as would make for the future peace of the world. If this had been done we could have had full peace with Germany three months after the armistice. (Applause.) This Mr. Wilson prevented. He went to Europe with the greatest opportunity for large service to the world ever offered to any one man. He insisted on going himself, for he trusted no one else. (Laughter.) We then had the confidence, the gratitude and the friendship of every European nation, which thanks to the President we possess no longer.

If Mr. Wilson had said: We came here to help you win this war in defense of civilization. The war is won. All we now insist upon is that Germany shall be put in such a position as not to be able again to threaten the peace and freedom of mankind. Our own questions in the American hemisphere we will care for ourselves. We have interests in the Far East which we shall wish to have protected, but your own European questions you must settle and we will accept the settlement to which you agree. We are not here seeking territory or to dictate what you shall do in regard to either territory or boundaries. Then indeed we should have been entitled to the gratitude of the world not only for our decisive services in the war but for generous assistance in making a lasting peace. (Applause.)

But Mr. Wilson did not do this. He had apparently only one aim, to be the maker of a league of which he should be the head. He was determined that there should be a League of Nations then and there and in order to nullify the powers of the Senate given by the Constitution of the United States he decided to make the League an integral part of the treaty of peace with Germany. Thus he presented to the Senate, and intended to present, a dilemma from which he believed there was no escape. (Laughter, accompanied by a voice "But he did not get away with it.") In order to have peace with Germany he meant to compel the Senate to accept with it the League of Nations. It was indeed a difficult situation which he thus created. But Republican Senators believed their duty to be clear before them and did not shrink from fulfilling it. (Applause.) Thirty-nine of them in March, 1919, signed a statement setting forth that the first draft of the League as Mr. Wilson brought it back, announcing that it must be taken just as it stood, could no be accepted by the Senate in that form. (Applause.)

The President returned to Europe with this warning before him and before the world. He admitted a few slight changes in the covenant, for the most part unimportant and some of which made the second draft worse than the first. He forced the Allied and Associated Powers to yield to his demand that the covenant of the League should be interwoven with the treaty of peace. To accomplish this he surrendered the principle of the freedom of the seas—whatever that may have been—to Great Britain, and he made promises and concessions to France—not yet fulfilled—which brought him the French support. Having thus carried his point abroad he brought the treaty with Germany home and laid it before the Senate. To the great mass of the American people he said: "This covenant of the League of Nations will bring to the world a lasting peace." (Laughter.)

LIGHT GIVEN TO PUBLIC

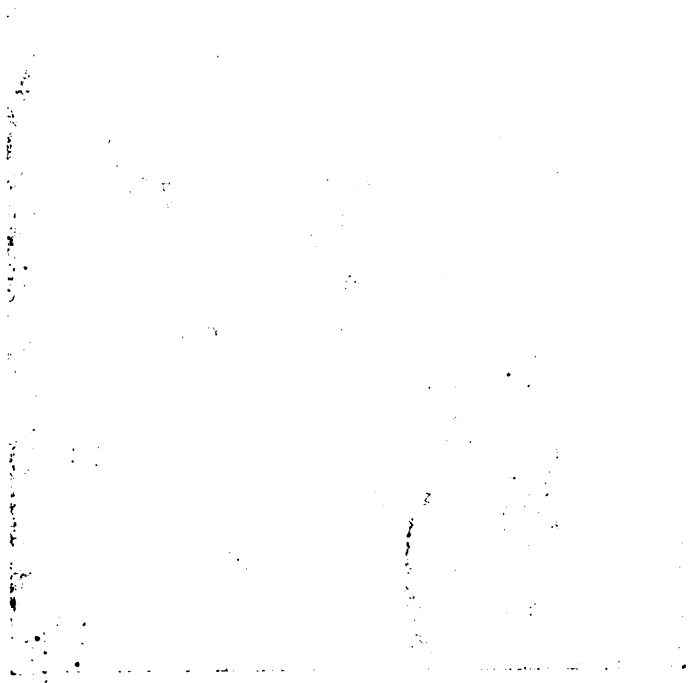
Everyone desired lasting peace and without pausing to consider or even to read the covenant, thousands upon thousands of good people united in the demand that the Senate ratify and take the League at once and without consideration, just as it stood. The Republicans of the Senate, perceiving the dangers of the League, determined to resist Mr. Wilson's demand, even at the cost of delaying the treaty of peace with Germany. (Applause.) They felt that the one thing necessary was to have the people understand the treaty, that they might realize what it meant and what it threatened.

So the long debate began and it has lasted for more than a year. At the outset that portion of the people who wished an instantaneous and unqualified acceptance of a covenant which most of them had never read had possession in large measure of the press and other methods of obtaining publicity and thus were able to keep up a continual cry for immediate ratification. The vocal part of the community felt almost universally, as they listened to each other's voices, that the whole country was with them, but they forgot the great inarticulate masses of the people who went silently about their work and their business, who did not write letters to the newspapers or publish circulars or spend millions in spreading their views through powerful organs and active associations but who simply loved their country and thought first of the interests of America. (Applause.) The debate in the Senate spread to them. They read the speeches, they listened to the arguments, and, what was far more important, they began to read and discuss the covenant of the League themselves, in the street, by the firesides, wherever men and women meet together. They began to understand the League. They began to know what it meant. They saw it was an alliance and not a league for peace. They saw that it did not mention the Hague Conventions which we all desired to have restored as foundations for further extensions, did nothing for the development of international law, nothing for a world court and judicial decisions, and nothing looking toward an agreement as to dealing with non-justiciable questions. (Applause.)

These real advances toward promoting peace, these constructive measures were all disregarded and the only court mentioned was pushed into an obscure corner. The people began to perceive with an intense clearness that this alliance, silent as to real peace agreements, contained clauses which threatened the very existence of the United States as an independent power—threatened its sovereignty, threatened its peace, threatened its life. The masses of the people became articulate. Public opinion steadily changed and today the number of Americans who would be willing to accept the covenant of the League



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Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements



of Nations just as the President brought it back from Europe is negligible. (Applause.) The American people will never accept that alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. (Applause.) The President meantime has remained inflexible. He is determined to have that treaty as he brought it back or nothing and to that imperious demand the people will reply in tones which cannot be misunderstood. No man who thinks of America first need fear the answer. (Applause.)

THE FAMOUS ARTICLE 10

Mr. Wilson said in a recent letter to Senator Hitchcock: "For my own part I am not willing to trust to the counsel of diplomats the working out of any salvation of the world from the things which it has suffered." And he said this in behalf of an alliance whose representatives will all be diplomats and politicians. They will all act in behalf of the interests of their respective countries and they will have nothing judicial about them. (Applause.) Strip the League of every clause which involves the action of political representatives in the Assembly and the Council and you leave but one article in which the diplomats of the League as such will have no power.

That is the famous Article 10. Most of the League covenant was prepared by General Smuts, of South Africa, but Article 10 was the work of the President of the United States. It is true this article is free from diplomats, but it rests entirely upon naked force. In that way peace is to be preserved and the nations freed from war by multiplying the opportunities for the use of force. Each individual nation is bound by Article 10 to go to war for the protection of the territorial integrity and the political independence of every other nation in the world at the time of signature; that is, for the protection of States some of which are not yet determined or established, for the protection of boundaries which no man can define. We were to give such a guarantee and any of the countries in the League in the event of exterior aggression could have demanded our armed assistance, and our soldiers and sailors must then have gone forth at the command of foreign countries unless we shattered all hope of world peace by breaking a solemn moral obligation. The Republicans of the Senate, no matter what their future fate might be, were determined that a covenant containing that article unmodified should never be ratified. (Applause.) It became every day clearer to them that the alliance called a League of Nations, instead of being a guarantee for the world's peace, was a breeder of war and an enemy of peace. As we studied it—and a majority of Senators desired to have some League if possible which should be a genuine League of Peace—we found that it dragged us not only into every dispute and every war in Europe and in the rest of the world but that our soldiers and

sailors might be forced to give their lives in quarrels not their own at the bidding of foreign governments. (A voice: "We don't want that.")

INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC QUESTIONS

It also appeared that our domestic questions, like immigration, could be interfered with; that the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine was to be left to the decision of the League; that we were to be made participants in the outrageous disposition of Shantung which robbed a friendly nation and gave the proceeds of the robbery to her worst enemy; and that finally we were to have in the Assembly of the League only one vote to Great Britain's six. These provisions were all intolerable. (Applause.)

Reservations were adopted which relieved us from every obligation under Article 10, which took all our domestic questions completely out of the jurisdiction of the League, which once and for all placed the Monroe Doctrine beyond any interference by Europe or any foreign power, and which refused our assent to the cruel wrong of Shantung. (Applause.) We also made it impossible to subject the United States to the proposed inequality in voting power, for we profoundly believed that the United States must never take part in any council of the nations where her vote was not equal to that of any other power represented. (Applause.)

Some of us were deeply convinced that there ought to be no League at all and that absolute safety could be obtained in no other way; others of us, more numerous, believed that the reservations I have described would protect the United States against the perils of the covenant if we joined the League. We were all firmly united in our determination that the League as submitted by Mr. Wilson must never pass. (Applause, and a voice: "It shall not pass.") We were also agreed that Mr. Wilson's League with what he called "interpretative reservations," or with anything those obedient to him approved, was just as bad, just as menacing as the original. Twice we offered the President and his most faithful supporters an opportunity to ratify the treaty with reservations. Twice his followers, obedient to his orders, rejected the treaty with the reservations I have outlined. (A voice: "And now let the people speak.")

A VETO WITHOUT REASON

The Republicans of the Senate then made another effort to put an end to the state of technical war with Germany and at the same time rid the country of those measures which were adopted under the war powers of the constitution and which are clearly unconstitutional in time of peace. They would thus have relieved the business

and the daily occupations of the people from the burden of war legislation and at the same time have preserved to the United States under the terms of the resolution all benefits accruing to the United States under provisions of the treaty of Versailles. (Applause.) This resolution was passed by both branches of Congress and vetoed by the President in a message which furnished neither argument nor reason for the veto but which it must be admitted had a pleasant touch of humor in its allusion to the freedom of the seas. (Laughter.)

The House and Senate also passed a resolution repealing all the war legislation with three exceptions. The President vetoed it. His autocratic powers must not be disturbed. (Laughter.)

Thus the President demonstrated again that unless he could have his own way exactly and without any modification he would not permit the country to be at peace, an exercise of executive power never contemplated by the Constitution. (A voice: "He didn't keep us out of war but he is keeping us from peace.")

TREATY UP TO THE PEOPLE

There the story ends. We have stopped Mr. Wilson's treaty and the question goes to the people. In 1916 Mr. Wilson won on the cry that "he had kept us out of war." He now demands the approval of the American people for his party and his administration on the ground that he has kept us out of peace. (Laughter.)

We of the Senate believe that we have performed a high and patriotic duty and we ask you, representatives of the Republican party, to approve our course and stand by what we have done. (Applause, accompanied by cries "We will.") The next act will fill a larger stage and the people will decide between us and the President. The League must be discussed in every district and in every State and we desire to have the verdict so clearly given that no man who seeks to represent the people in the Senate, in the House or in any place or any degree, can have the slightest doubt as to his duty. (Applause, and voices "That's right.") We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's League and its sacrifice of America. (Applause.) The shifting scene in Europe, with its wars and disputes, its changing governments and fleeting boundaries which we are asked to guarantee, will instruct the people from day to day and we confidently leave the future and the protection of their sons and brothers and of the country's rights in their hands. (Applause.)

That future no man can predict but the country knows well in what spirit we Republicans will meet it, a spirit as different from that of the President as day from night. The people know our policy; they know Mr. Wilson's and they will choose between them. (Ap-

plause.) They will tear aside the veil of words woven to blind and deceive and come down to the essential and vital point—Mr. Wilson's plan on one side, the independence and safety of the United States on the other. To determine aright this question, involving the fate and fortunes of the United States, all Republicans, all Americans, must join together and in their own way and with their own arguments defeat Mr. Wilson's League as he desires it, whether amended by him or in its pristine simplicity. (Applause.)

NATIONALISM V. INTERNATIONALISM

We must all fight side by side to keep safe and untouched the sovereignty, the independence, the welfare of the United States. We hear the timid cry that America will be isolated. Have no fear. The United States cannot be isolated. The world needs us far too much. (Applause.) We have never turned a deaf ear to the cry of suffering humanity, but whatever we do must be done in our own way, freely and without a constraint from abroad. (Applause.) With no outside help since the Revolution, we have come to where we are today. We shall march on and not neglect our duty to the world. When we were called to the defense of freedom and civilization in 1917 we did not fail. We threw our great weight into the wavering scale and we were all the more effective, all the stronger because we went without alliance and of our own free will, as we should always go to help mankind. (Applause.) Let us stand fast by the principles and policies of Washington and Monroe and against—utterly against, those of Mr. Wilson. We must be now and ever for Americanism and Nationalism, and against Internationalism. There is no safety for us, no hope that we can be of service to the world, if we do otherwise. (Applause.)

FOR FUTURE OF THE NATION

One word more before I close. During all the tedious weeks and months of the protracted struggle to have America from what we conceived to be the dire perils lurking in the covenant of the League of Nations, which Mr. Wilson presented to us, party was scarcely ever mentioned, nor was the effect of our action upon the party considered. (Applause.) To this spirit I think our success was largely due. We made up our minds as to what our duty and our general policy ought to be and then the only difference was as to the best way in which that duty could be performed. I believe that the great party which we represent here today has made up its mind as to its attitude upon Mr. Wilson's League and all that is carried with it of danger and of menace. In making our contest before the people let us think of what the public interest, the future existence of the United States,



CLARENCE B. MILLER, of Minnesota
Secretary Republican National Committee



demand without any consideration of party effect. (Applause.) When we put the word "gold" into our platform in 1896 we took from the ordinary political point of view great risks but we went to the people confident in the justice of our cause and won. The way to assure victory now is to remember always what Mr. Wilson and his party threaten not only in the League but in regard to the very foundations of our Government. Let us for our part think of nothing except our cause and with that great end clear before us let us behold with indifference "the lesser chances and inferior hopes meantime going pouring past." So thinking, so believing, we must win because the fight we are making is for the right. (Applause.)

LET US FULFILL ALL PROMISES

Let us also in the battle we are to wage make no promises which cannot be performed. Let us not imitate the Democrats, who pledged themselves to reduce the cost of living by lowering the tariff when they well knew, for even they must have known, that their pledge was impossible of fulfillment, that the high cost of living could not be affected in that way and every day since then has proved the falsity of their position. (Applause.) Let us not promise any millenniums or pledge our faith to the performance of impossibilities. Let us simply lay before the people our principles and policies, policies which are at once vigorous and practicable and then pledge ourselves to do our utmost to carry those policies into effect. This we can do and we should bind ourselves no further. If the righteousness of our cause will not win, no false promises or delusive hopes will be of any avail. (Applause.) Let us be true to our highest traditions because in them we shall find both an inspiration and a guide. Let past dissensions among ourselves be relegated to history and forgotten by us. Let all honest differences as to means and methods, if there are such, be set aside until November in order that the great and overruling purpose in which we all agree and which we long to achieve may be attained. (Applause.) Make our declaration of principles so broad, so devoted to the one supreme object, that all may accept it and all work for the same dominant result. Thus inspired, thus united, we may feel assured that when the banners are lifted and the trumpets blown we shall march forth to a victory, not for our party alone but for principles and beliefs which are absolutely vital if the American Republic is to continue on its triumphant course and the hopes of humanity, so bound up in the fortunes of the United States, are to be fulfilled. (Applause, loud and prolonged, delegates and alternates rising and giving three cheers "for Senator Lodge and the Grand Old Party.")

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE).—The chair recognizes Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who will present that Committee's recommendations for temporary officers of the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE (MR. WILL H. HAYS).—By direction of the National Committee I present the following recommendations for temporary officers of the Convention, and ask that the same be read.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The list of temporary officers recommended by the National Committee will be read.

A READING CLERK. (MR. DENNIS E. ALWARD, of Michigan).—The temporary officers recommended for your Convention are as follows:

Secretary	LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, New York.
Chief Assistant Secretary.....	Fred H. Wilson, Missouri.
Sergeant-at-Arms	Edward P. Thayer, Indiana.
Chief Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms	Guy V. Howard, Minnesota.
Second Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms.....	McGinnis Hatfield, West Virginia.
Parliamentarians	Lehr Fess, Ohio.
Official Reporter	Herman A. Phillips, District of Columbia.
Chief of Doorkeepers	Geo. L. Hart, Virginia.
Chaplains	Brig.-Gen. James R. Ryan, Illinois.
	Cardinal James Gibbons, Maryland.
	Bishop Thomas Nicholson, of the Chicago area of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
	Rt. Rev. Charles E. Woodcock, Episcopal Bishop of the diocese of Louisville, Kentucky.
	Rev. John Timothy Stone, Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago.
	Rev. Johnston Myers, pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church, Chicago.
	Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, of Sinai Congregation, Chicago.
	Rev. Gardiner Alpheus McWhorter, of St. Chrysotom's Protestant Episcopal Church, Chicago.
Assistant Secretaries	Richard J. Beamish, Pennsylvania.
	Mrs. Jeanette A. Hyde, Utah.
	Mrs. William Y. Morgan, Kansas.
	Mrs. Guy P. Gannett, Maine.
	Harry Govanelli, Kentucky.
Reading Clerks	D. E. Alward, Michigan.
	H. H. Bancroft, Illinois.
	Fred Davis, Iowa.
	James E. Dooley, Rhode Island.
	T. Williamson, Illinois.
Assistant Reporters	Thad. E. Ragsdale, Pennsylvania.
	J. B. Corbett, Kansas.
	Fred A. Carlson, Illinois.
	Osso W. Stanley, Kentucky.
	Harry E. Folk, Indiana.
	F. H. Gurtier, Illinois.
Tally Clerks	Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, West Virginia.
	John T. Cushing, Vermont.
	Ed. Martin, District of Columbia.
Announcers	Will A. Waite, Michigan.
	W. Townsend, Arkansas.
	Carroll B. Merritt, New York.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The convention has heard the reading of the names of the temporary officers as selected by the National Committee. What is your pleasure?

MR. JOSEPH L. CRUPPER, of Virginia.—I move that the recommendations of the Republican National Committee in respect to temporary officers for the Convention, viz: Secretary, Chief Assistant Secretary, Sergeant-at-arms, Chief Assistant Sergeant-at-arms, Parliamentarians, Official Reporter, Chief of Doorkeepers, Chaplains and other officers, be approved and confirmed by this Convention.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

RULES FOR THE CONVENTION

MR. COLEMAN DU PONT, of Delaware.—I offer the following resolution and move its adoption: RESOLVED, That until the permanent organization is effected and permanent rules adopted, this Convention be governed by the rules adopted by the National Convention in 1916.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

MR. CHARLES H. INNES, of Massachusetts.—I offer the resolution which I now send up to the chair, and move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read by one of the reading clerks.

A READING CLERK (MR. H. H. BANCROFT, of Illinois).—The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That a committee on credentials, consisting of one member from each State and territory, be appointed, and that as the roll of States and Territories is called the chairman of each delegation announce the name of the person selected to serve on said committee, and also send to the Secretary's desk, in writing, the name of the person thus selected.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

MR. EDWIN P. MORROW, of Kentucky.—I wish to offer the resolution which I send to the desk of the Secretary of the Convention to be read, and to move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Resolution will be read.

A READING CLERK (THOMAS WILLIAMSON, of Illinois).—The resolution is as follows:

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Permanent Organization, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, be appointed, and that as the roll of States and Territories is called, the chairman of each delegation announce the name of the person selected to serve on said committee, and also send to the Secretary's desk, in writing, the name of the person thus selected.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

MR. PAUL HOWLAND, of Ohio.—I offer the resolution which I am sending up to the Secretary of the Convention, and wish to move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—I now read the resolution, which is as follows:

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Rules and Order of Business consisting of one member from each State and Territory, be appointed, and that as the roll of States and Territories is called the chairman of each delegation announce the name of the person selected to serve on said committee, and also send to the Secretary's desk, in writing, the name of the person thus selected.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

MRS. MANLEY L. FOSSEEN, of Minnesota.—I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

RESOLVED, that a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, be appointed, and that as the roll of States and territories is called, the chairman of each delegation announce the name of the person selected to serve on said committee, and also send to the Secretary's desk, in writing, the name of the person thus selected.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PERSONNEL OF COMMITTEES

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will now announce the personnel of the committees just authorized, and also the several meeting places and times of meeting of said committees.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (MR. LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, of New York).—Before announcing the personnel of the committees, for

although we are getting the lists prepared as fast as names are sent in, yet there will be a slight delay, I will announce the time and place of meeting of each committee:

TIMES AND PLACES OF MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES

Committee on Credentials: The Committee will meet in the hearing room of the Republican National Committee, in the Coliseum Annex, immediately after adjournment.

Committee on Permanent Organization.—The Committee will meet for the purpose of organization at Suite G-22, Congress Hotel, at four o'clock this afternoon.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.—The Committee will meet in Parlor 22, floor G, Congress Hotel, at five o'clock this afternoon.

Committee on Resolutions.—The Committee will meet in Parlor 22, floor G, Congress Hotel, at three o'clock this afternoon.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the lists of committees be dispensed with, and that said lists be furnished by the Secretary of the Convention to the respective committees when they assemble and be printed in the proceedings.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Alabama	A. P. Longshore
Arizona	Geo. W. Elias
Arkansas	R. S. Granger
California	Chas. L. Neumiller
Colorado	Walter S. Coen
Connecticut	James F. Walsh
Delaware	S. S. Pennewill
Florida	Fred C. Cubberly
Georgia	C. P. Goree
Idaho	John P. Gray
Illinois	Fred E. Sterling
Indiana	John L. Moorman
Iowa	C. E. Pickett
Kansas	Frank Sponable
Kentucky	Maurice L. Galvin
Louisiana	W. L. Cohen
Maine	Charles B. Carter
Maryland	James A. Gary, Jr.
Massachusetts	Chas. H. Innes
Michigan	John W. Smith
Minnesota	Leavitt Corning
Mississippi	M. H. Daily
Missouri	W. H. Allen
Montana	John Adami, Jr.
Nebraska	H. E. Sackett
Nevada	Frank Norcross
New Hampshire	Philip C. Lockwood
New Jersey	Edward D. Duffield

that the reading of the lists of committees be dispensed with, and

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS—Continued

New Mexico	Gregory Page
New York	Jacob A. Livingston
North Carolina	David H. Blair
North Dakota	Alfred Steel
Ohio	Walter F. Brown
Oklahoma	L. G. Disney
Oregon	W. H. Brooke
Pennsylvania	Robert McAfee
Rhode Island	Richard S. Aldrich
South Carolina	John F. Jones
South Dakota	S. X. Way
Tennessee	A. F. McLane
Texas	J. M. McCormick
Utah	C. E. Loose
Vermont	H. N. Jackson
Virginia	R. A. Fulwiler
Washington	Wm. T. Laube
West Virginia	W. F. Hite
Wisconsin	H. J. Mortonsen
Wyoming	W. R. Weeks
District of Columbia	James A. Cobb
Alaska	T. M. Reed
Hawaii	Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	D. R. Williams
Porto Rico	R. H. Todd

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

Alabama	H. G. Ashley
Arizona	F. S. Breen
Arkansas	J. A. McLeod
California	James Rolph, Jr.
Colorado	Lawrence C. Phipps
Connecticut	Harvey P. Bissell
Delaware	Alden R. Benson
Florida	Peter H. Miller
Georgia	E. R. Belcher
Idaho	H. M. Jones
Illinois	John G. Oglesby
Indiana	James P. Goodrich
Iowa	Mrs. Frank W. Dodson
Kansas	F. C. Pomeroy
Kentucky	Edward P. Morrow
Louisiana	B. V. Baranco
Maine	Ernest L. Morrill
Maryland	Thos. A. Bartlett
Massachusetts	Edward A. Thurston
Michigan	John C. Davis
Minnesota	Earl Simpson
Mississippi	J. C. Tyler
Missouri	Roy H. Monier
Montana	John Brimacombe
Nebraska	H. E. Stein
Nevada	J. I. Wilson
New Hampshire	John Scammon
New Jersey	Wm. H. Worrell
New Mexico	Geo. W. Amijo
New York	William Barnes
North Carolina	Claudius Dockery
North Dakota	A. T. Kraabel
Ohio	Wilson W. Wood, 3rd
Oklahoma	Chas. B. Rogers
Oregon	Conrad P. Olson
Pennsylvania	James Elverson, Jr.
Rhode Island	John S. Holbrook
South Carolina	L. A. Hawkins
South Dakota	Chas. A. Howard
Tennessee	W. T. Testerman
Texas	Eugene Nolte



HON. LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, of New York,
General Secretary of the Convention.

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COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION—Continued

Utah	J. C. Lynch
Vermont	Fuller C. Smith
Virginia	H. L. Lawson
Washington	Frank S. Dement
West Virginia	Thomas W. Fleming
Wisconsin	Henry Krumrey
Wyoming	P. P. Anderson
District of Columbia	Frank J. Hogan
Alaska	T. M. Reed
Hawaii	Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	A. L. Crossfield
Porto Rico	Alfonso Valdes

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Alabama	Oliver D. Street
Arizona	F. M. Pool
Arkansas	John I. Worthington
California	George I. Cochran
Colorado	Isaac Baer
Connecticut	Hugh M. Alcorn
Delaware	Robert Elliot
Florida	E. M. Brelsford
Georgia	D. C. Cole
Idaho	John Thomas
Illinois	Charles Ringer
Indiana	Charles W. Jewett
Iowa	B. J. Thompson
Kansas	E. E. Mulaney
Kentucky	Mrs. Christine Bradley South
Louisiana	Chas. M. Robertson
Maine	Albert J. Stearns
Maryland	Amos W. W. Woodcock
Massachusetts	Philip R. Ammidon
Michigan	Robert H. Shields
Minnesota	Mrs. Manley L. Fosseen
Mississippi	E. F. Brennan, Jr.
Missouri	Roy H. Monier
Montana	George Baker
Nebraska	Earl D. Mallery
Nevada	Miss Della Boyd
New Hampshire	Frank Knox
New Jersey	Richard Doherty
New Mexico	Eduardo M. Otero
New York	Bertrand H. Snell
North Carolina	J. H. Harden
North Dakota	Henry McLean
Ohio	Paul Howland
Oklahoma	W. W. Hills
Oregon	Walter L. Tooze, Jr.
Pennsylvania	Marvin E. Griswold
Rhode Island	Frederick L. Jenckes
South Carolina	John H. Goodwin
South Dakota	Allen R. Fellows
Tennessee	Mrs. M. H. Hankins
Texas	H. F. MacGregor
Utah	C. P. Cardon
Vermont	Hugh J. M. Jones
Virginia	John Paul
Washington	Henry W. McPhail
West Virginia	Wm. McKell
Wisconsin	Theo. M. Thomas
Wyoming	Thomas A. Dunn
District of Columbia	James A. Cobb
Alaska	Geo. C. Hazlet
Hawaii	John W. Wise
Philippines	D. R. Williams
Porto Rico	Alfonso Valdes

MEMBERS ON COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Alabama	J. J. Curtis
Arizona	S. F. Noon
Arkansas	A. J. Russell
California	John F. Neylan
Colorado	C. C. Hamlin
Connecticut	Isaac M. Ullman
Delaware	L. Heisler Ball
Florida	F. T. Bielby
Georgia	B. J. Davis
Idaho	W. E. Borah
Illinois	Medill McCormick
Indiana	James E. Watson
Iowa	Chas. E. Pickett
Kansas	William Allen White
Kentucky	Wm. Heyburn
Louisiana	D. A. Lines
Maine	George G. Weeks
Maryland	W. Bladen Lowndes
Massachusetts	Louis A. Coolidge
Michigan	Harris E. Gilpin
Minnesota	Frank W. Murphy
Mississippi	I. T. Montgomery
Missouri	W. L. Cole
Montana	Lynn D. Ambrose
Nebraska	Don L. Love
Nevada	F. W. Griffith
New Hampshire	Jesse M. Barton
New Jersey	Austen Colgate
New Mexico	Edward A. Cahoon
New York	Ogden L. Mills
North Carolina	Irvin B. Tucker
North Dakota	Staale Hendrickson
Ohio	A. R. Johnson
Oklahoma	Vernon Whiting
Oregon	Wallace McCamant
Pennsylvania	Wm. E. Crow
Rhode Island	R. Livingston Beekman
South Carolina	R. R. Tolbert, Jr.
South Dakota	Chambers Kellar
Tennessee	Fred Arn
Texas	T. P. Lee
Utah	Reed Smoot
Vermont	John M. Thomas
Virginia	D. Lawrence Groner
Washington	N. C. Richards
West Virginia	Herbert B. White
Wisconsin	E. J. Gross
Wyoming	J. M. Wilson
District of Columbia	Frank Hogan
Alaska	Geo. C. Hazelet
Hawaii	John W. Wise
Philippines	A. S. Crossfield
Porto Rico	R. H. Todd

AUTOMOBILE RIDE

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will read an invitation presented by the Mayor's Entertainment Committee.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—I am requested to announce that the Mayor's Entertainment Committee will have one thousand automobiles outside of the Coliseum upon the adjournment of this session of the Convention, and that delegates and alternates wearing badges are invited to avail themselves thereof for a ride. Luncheon

will be served at the Stock Yards, and delegates and alternates will be then taken back to their hotels or wherever they may wish to go.

SINGING OF AMERICA

MR. FREDERICK W. CARBERRY, Director of Community Singing, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.—Before adjourning for the day the Convention will please rise and sing two verses of America to the accompaniment of the band.

Thereupon two verses of America were sung by delegates, alternates and guests of the Convention.

ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY

MR. R. LIVINGSTON BEECKMAN, of Rhode Island.—I move that the Convention do now adjourn until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 34 minutes, p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, June 9, 1920, at 11 o'clock, a. m.

SECOND DAY

CONVENTION HALL—THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILL., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1920

The Convention met at 11 o'clock, a. m. pursuant to adjournment of yesterday.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—While the Convention is being seated preparatory to beginning work for the day a Song Leader will lead the Convention in a song and ask everybody to join him.

MR. ALBERT EDMUND BROWN, Director of Community Singing, Republican Campaign Committee, of Massachusetts.—I wish to ask the Convention to join in singing two verses of The Long, Long Trail, to the accompaniment of the Band.

The Convention stood and sang two verses of The Long, Long Trail, followed by three cheers and a tiger for the Republican Party. Republican Party.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention—

At this point Senator Lodge was interrupted by loud and prolonged applause, the delegates, alternates and visitors rising and giving three cheers and a tiger for him.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Prayer will now be offered by Rev. John Timothy Stone, Pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Illinois. The Convention will please rise.

INVOCATION BY REV. JOHN TIMOTHY STONE,

Pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.

O God of nations, before Whom we bow as a people, we rejoice in Thy care and leadership. Thou art the God of all the earth. Nations which fear Thee are blessed; nations which disregard Thee come to naught.

Bless us with Thy presence in the responsible service of this day. Inspire us with Thy own purposes. Instruct us with Thy plans. Guide us by Thy spirit. Grant to us Thy wisdom and may the voice of the people, indeed, be the voice of God.



JOHN T. ADAMS, of Iowa
Vice Chairman of the Republican National Committee and
Member of Committee on Arrangements

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Enable us to choose the men of Thy choice to lead this great nation. Control our acts. Destroy our prejudices. Put principle above personality and national honor above personal preference. May Thy divine power be upon us.

May every man live and act in all good faith before his own conscience, and may we know no future but God.

Thus may our nation be an example in precept, principle and act before the nations of the whole earth, that this our country may stand among the nations of the earth for righteousness, honor, fellowship and truth.

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 debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the Kingdom and the power and the glory, for ever. Amen.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

MR. FREDERICK W. CARBURY, Leader of Community Singing of Wisconsin.—The Convention will please rise and sing two verses of the Star Spangled Banner to the accompaniment of the Band.

Delegates, alternates and guests stood and sang with much enthusiasm the National Anthem.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The first business before the Convention is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the committee ready to report?

MR. EDWARD DUFFIELD, of New Jersey.—Mr. Chairman, the committee concluded its hearings about five o'clock this morning and is ready to report.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials will please come to the platform and present the Committee's report.

MR. EDWARD DUFFIELD, of New Jersey.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Committee on Credentials respectfully presents to the Convention its report, and unanimously recommends the seating of the following persons in the respective contest cases which it has heard and decided.

GEORGIA, 4th District: C. D. Williams, Taswell, Georgia.

MISSOURI, 5th District: Robert J. Flick, Kansas City, Mo.; Jesse L. Martin, Independence, Mo. Alternates: Miss Jennie M. Fisher, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Albert L. Reeves, Kansas City, Mo.

TENNESSEE, 10th District: Charles B. Quinn, Memphis, Tenn.; John E. McCall, Jr., Memphis, Tenn.

The Committee heard all other contests presented to it and recommends that the temporary roll as made up by the National Committee, with the above exceptions, be made the permanent roll of the Convention as herewith submitted.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD DUFFIELD, Chairman.

WM. T. LAUBE, Secretary.

I now move the adoption of the report.

MR. ROBERT R. CHURCH, of Memphis, Tennessee.—Mr. Chairman, I have a minority report in my hand, and I know that I am entitled to a seat in the Convention as a delegate from the Tenth Congressional District of Tennessee. But I am not going to be the one man to bring any minority report before this convention, so I have decided to withdraw it, and I am going to carry my fight back to Memphis, Tennessee, and settle it there. (Applause.)

MR. JESSE M. LITTLETON, of Tennessee.—By inadvertence on the part of the National Committee and of the Committee on Credentials the name of one alternate from the Second District, in which there is no contest, was left off the roll. I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be amended by adding the name of William York.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Unless there is objection the roll of the Convention will be amended accordingly. The chair hears no objection and the name of the alternate referred to will be added to the roll.

The report of the Committee on Credentials was agreed to, whereupon the following became the permanent roll of the Convention.

ALABAMA

(Fourteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Pope M. Long.....Cordova	Charles M. Sartain.....Jasper
Oliver D. Street.....Guntersville	J. B. Isbell.....Ft. Payne
A. P. Longshore.....Columbiana	Charles R. Barker.....Anniston
H. G. Ashley.....Odenville	Oscar Drake.....Haleyville

DISTRICTS

1—P. D. Barker.....Mobile	James T. Peterson.....Mobile
2—Henry F. Irwin.....Montgomery	James F. Brawner.....Andalusia
3—Dallas B. Smith.....Opelika	C. M. Cox.....Ozark
4—J. B. Atkinson.....Clanton	J. M. Atkins.....Hefflin
5—Douglas Smith.....Wedowee	Peyton E. Alexander.....Prattville
6—N. C. Fuller.....Centerville	J. O. Hayes.....Boligee
7—C. B. Kennamer.....Guntersville	John Sutterer.....Cullman
8—A. N. Holland.....Scottsboro	H. A. Cathey.....Florence
9—F. H. Lathrop.....Birmingham	J. C. Diffay.....Birmingham
10—J. J. Curtis.....Jasper	W. B. Ford.....Hamilton

ARIZONA
(Six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
F. S. Breen.....Flagstaff	P. J. Sullivan.....Yuma
Edmund W. Wells.....Prescott	Chas. F. Soloman.....Tucson
George W. Elias.....Phoenix	Chas. F. Price.....Mesa
S. F. Noon.....Nogales	Mrs. H. A. Guild.....Phoenix
F. M. Pool.....Winkelman	G. O. Nolan.....Ray
Albert M. Sames.....Douglas	E. C. Hicks.....Bisbee

ARKANSAS
(Thirteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
*H. L. Rimmel.....Little Rock	J. C. Lloyd.....Stuttgart
*John I. Worthington.....Harrison	Guy W. Caron.....Little Rock
*Chas. N. Rix.....Hot Springs	J. C. Black.....Corning
*A. J. Russell.....Berryville	Mary Alice Sawyer.....Little Rock
*E. M. Rowe.....Little Rock	
*J. H. Butler.....Van Buren	
*D. F. Taylor.....Osceola	
*Andrew I. Roland.....Malvern	

DISTRICTS

1—C. T. Bloodworth.....Corning	S. E. Simonson.....Luxora
2—H. C. Wade.....Batesville	J. N. Hout.....Tuckerman
3—R. S. Granger.....Harrison	W. J. Moore.....Jasper
William N. Ivie.....Rogers	B. F. Campbell.....Fayetteville
4—W. B. Pape.....Ft. Smith	J. O. Livesay.....Foreman
5—A. C. Rimmel.....Little Rock	George L. Mallory.....Little Rock
George E. Owen.....Conway	James O. Baker.....Perry
6—A. A. Tindall.....Stuttgart	W. R. Day.....Malvern
7—J. A. McLeod.....Camden	J. C. Hoffman.....Dermott
*One-half vote each	

CALIFORNIA
(Twenty-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Frank P. Flint.....Los Angeles	Hiram W. Johnson.....San Francisco
George I. Cochran.....Los Angeles	Charles S. Wheeler.....San Francisco
Ralph W. Bull.....Arcata	William H. Davis.....Los Angeles
Charles E. Clinch.....Grass Valley	Robert M. Clarke.....Los Angeles
Mrs. C. K. McClatchy.....Sacramento	R. R. Byrne.....Ukiah
Michael H. de Young.....San Francisco	B. B. Meek.....Oroville
P. H. McCarthy.....San Francisco	Ed. Kay.....Sacramento
Mrs. J. B. Hume.....Berkeley	Ivan Parker.....Auburn
W. A. Sutherland.....Fresno	Frank R. Devlin.....Vallejo
William H. Crocker.....Hillsborough	John M. Perry.....Stockton
John B. Miller.....Pasadena	Thomas F. Finn.....San Francisco
Mrs. Katherine Philips Edson Los Angeles	Theodore J. Roche.....San Francisco

CALIFORNIA—Continued

C. D. Ball.....	Santa Ana	James A. Johnston.....	San Rafael
Herbert Fleisshacker....	San Francisco	Eustace Cullinan.....	San Francisco
John Francis Neylan.....	San Francisco	P. E. Bowles.....	Oakland
Albert E. Boynton.....	Oroville	M. J. Kelly.....	Oakland
Mrs. Bradford Woodbridge....	Roseville	William H. Langdon.....	Modesto
Charles L. Neumiller.....	Stockton	James M. Oliver.....	Berkeley
John H. Rosseter.....	San Francisco	Frank A. Benson.....	San Jose
James Rolph, Jr.....	San Francisco	R. E. Miller.....	San Mateo
Joseph R. Knowland.....	Alameda	H. L. Carnahan.....	Los Angeles
Mrs. M. C. Zumwalt.....	Tulare	D. J. Reese.....	Ventura
T. S. Montgomery.....	Saratoga	Leo V. Youngworth.....	Los Angeles
Joseph Scott.....	Pasadena	Al G. Faulkner.....	Los Angeles
Meyer Lissner.....	Los Angeles	James E. Keating.....	San Diego
Fred A. Heilbron.....	San Diego	Rex Goodsell.....	San Bernardino

COLORADO

(Twelve Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

Lawrence C. Phipps.....	Denver
Oliver H. Shoup.....	Colorado Springs
C. J. Moynahan.....	Montrose
C. C. Hamlin.....	Colorado Springs

Alternates

Floyd J. Wilson.....	Lanear
Eleanor Young.....	Denver
John H. Fletcher.....	Littleton
John Adams.....	Pueblo

DISTRICTS

1—James C. Burger.....	Denver
Mrs. Anna M. Scott.....	Denver
2—N. R. McCreery.....	Longmont
Walter S. Coen.....	Fort Morgan
3—George Milliken.....	La Junta
A. E. Carlton.....	Cripple Creek
4—H. E. Perkins.....	Delta
Isaac Baer.....	Meeker

W. H. Leonard.....	Denver
Mrs. Dewey C. Bailey.....	Denver
Samuel H. Morrow.....	Aurora
Minnie K. Scott.....	Idalia
Dr. John D. Harper.....	Trinidad
Ira F. Bacon.....	Center
Joseph Clark.....	Leadville
Web. S. Whinnery.....	Lake City

CONNECTICUT

(Fourteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

J. Henry Roraback.....	North Canaan
James F. Walsh.....	Greenwich
Charles Hopkins Clark.....	Hartford
Charles F. Brooker.....	Ansonia

Alternates

R. Leland Keeney.....	Somers
Hiram Bingham.....	New Haven
William H. Heald.....	Stafford
George W. Klett.....	New Britain

DISTRICTS

1—Arthur E. Bowers.....	Manchester
Hugh M. Alcorn.....	Suffield
2—Fayette L. Wright.....	Pomfret
William H. Hall.....	South Willington
3—Isaac M. Ullman.....	New Haven
Charles F. Rockwell.....	Meriden
4—John T. King.....	Bridgeport
Harvey P. Bissell.....	Ridgefield
5—Charles A. Templeton.....	Waterbury
Robbins B. Stoeckel.....	Norfolk

John H. Trumbull.....	Plainville
William J. Malone.....	Bristol
Daniel M. Cronin.....	New London
Wilson S. Reynolds.....	Middletown
William H. Lyon.....	Meriden
Rollin S. Woodruff.....	New Haven
Frederick M. Salmon.....	Westport
Frederick L. Lamson.....	Norwalk
Alfred C. Baldwin.....	Derby
Edgar L. Pond.....	Plymouth

DELAWARE
(Six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
T. Coleman du Pont.....Wilmington	Daniel O. Hastings .....Wilmington
L. Heisler Ball .....Marshallton	Horace L. Dilworth .....Canterville
Alden R. Benson .....Dover	Walter O. Hoffecker.....Smyrna
James A. Hiron.....Dover	J. Will Powell .....Harrington
Simeon S. Pennewill .....Greenwood	Fred Walls .....Georgetown
Robert Elliott .....Seaford	William P. Short .....Millville

FLORIDA
(Eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
*George W. Bean .....Tampa	Fred C. Cubberly .....Gainesville
*Daniel T. Gerow .....Jacksonville	W. M. Gober .....Lakeland
*W. H. Northup .....Pensacola	E. M. Brelsford .....Palm Beach
*Joseph E. Lee (deceased).....Jacksonville (Alternate Fred C. Cubberly will take place of Lee.)	John R. Scott .....Jacksonville
*E. C. Smith	D. H. Bacon
*H. L. Anderson .....Jacksonville	J. E. Merrill
*D. D. Powell	W. C. Ray
*J. H. Blodgett	A. O. Sperry

DISTRICTS

1—Henry W. Bishop .....Eustis	J. L. Skipper .....Lakeland
2—W. H. Bryan .....Gainesville	J. A. Parker .....Gainesville
3—Peter H. Miller...DeFuniak Springs	E. A. Pottsdamer .....Tallahassee
4—Z. T. Beilby .....DeLand	D. A. Dorsey .....Miami

*One-half vote each.

GEORGIA
(Seventeen Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Henry Lincoln Johnson .....Atlanta	William James .....Statesboro
Churchill P. Goree .....Decatur	S. W. Estes .....Union City
Benj. J. Davis .....Atlanta	A. T. Atwater .....Rome
Joseph H. Watson .....Albany	E. J. Turner .....Columbus

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—Walter S. Scott .....Savannah	H. Van Buren .....Statesboro
2—W. F. Satterwhite .....Albany	O. B. Hines .....Camilla
3—E. S. Richardson.....Marshallville	Chas. Taunton .....Cuthbert
4—C. D. Williams .....Tazewell	T. W. Wheat .....Newnan
5—John W. Martin .....Atlanta	L. M. Hill .....Atlanta
6—B. M. Sherard .....Griffin	A. J. May .....Gray
7—D. C. Cole .....Marietta	A. M. Green.....Talahoosa
8—W. H. Harris .....Athens	D. C. Sorrells .....Monroe
9—W. Y. Gilliam .....Copper Hill	W. K. Reece .....Ellijay
9—Roscoe Pickett .....Jasper	J. E. Cagle .....Talking Rock
10—R. C. Williams .....Augusta	N. G. Barnes .....Sparta
11—E. R. Belcher .....Brunswick	S. M. Scarlett .....Waycross
12—S. S. Mincey .....Ailey	B. F. Allen .....Blun

IDAHO

(Eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
William E. Borah	Boise	Frank H. Adams	Paul
John Thomas	Gooding	H. H. Armstead	Sandpoint
John P. Gray	Coeur d'Alene	O. D. Platt	St. Maries
Stanley A. Easton	Kellogg	Mrs. A. C. McDougal	Boise
DISTRICTS			
1—Harold Jenness	Wampa	Fred Crane	Coeur d'Alene
Henry M. Jones	Lewiston	J. W. Snook	Salmon
2—W. P. Guthrie	Twin Falls	T. M. Edwards	McCammon
M. B. Yeatman	Idaho Falls	E. M. Kennedy	Blackfoot

ILLINOIS

(Forty-eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
*Lawrence Y. Sherman	Springfield	O. F. Berry	Carthage
*Medill McCormick	Chicago	David E. Shanahan	Chicago
*L. L. Emmerson	Mt. Vernon	Henry I. Green	Champaign
*William Hale Thompson	Chicago	W. B. McHenry	Rochelle
*W. A. Rodenberg	East St. Louis	Eugene Pike	Chicago
*Fred W. Upham	Chicago	Walter H. Wood	Cairo
*Frank L. Smith	Dwight	Mrs. Fletcher Dobyms	Chicago
*John G. Oglesby	Elkhart	Mrs. Ernest Griffin	Grant Park
*Harold L. Ickes	Chicago	Otis B. Duncan	Springfield
*Samuel A. Ettelson	Chicago	Mrs. Irene Pease Montana	Chicago

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
1—George F. Harding, Jr.	Chicago	Clarence H. Robinson	Chicago
Oscar De Priest	Chicago	Conrad Egerer	Chicago
2—Charles Ringer	Chicago	Edwin W. Sims	Chicago
Edwin S. Davis	Chicago	Edward G. Elzinga	Chicago
3—Elliott W. Sproul	Chicago	Henry R. Boettcher	Chicago
Anton T. Zeman	Chicago	William T. Arthur	Chicago
4—Frank H. Dobler	Chicago	Frank Trefil	Chicago
Hector A. Brouillet	Chicago	George L. Russell	Chicago
5—Thomas Curran	Chicago	Jacob Geiserowich	Chicago
John T. Nebeck	Chicago	Otto Besserer	Chicago
6—Robert E. Crowe	Chicago	Albert O. Hollie	Chicago
George B. Arnold	Chicago	Carl P. Graff	Chicago
7—John P. Garner	Chicago	Harry M. Carroll	Chicago
Albert H. Severinghaus	Chicago	Louis S. Wilk	Chicago
8—Christopher Mamer	Chicago	Charles McGavin	Chicago
Magnus Knudson	Chicago	Joseph F. Dolatowski	Chicago
9—William Wrigley, Jr.	Chicago	Henry T. Carr	Chicago
Michael J. Faherty	Chicago	John A. Peterson	Chicago
10—William T. Abbott	Chicago	Robert J. Douglas	Waukegan
Edgar J. Cook	Chicago	Charles L. Swanson	Chicago
11—William E. Wire	Hebron	Frank M. Lasher	Elgin
John Lambert	Joliet	Joseph A. Reuss	Naperville
12—Fred E. Sterling	Rockford	C. A. Darnell	Plano
Henry W. Johnson	Ottawa	Frank S. Whitman 2d	Belvidere

ILLINOIS—Continued

13—Charles W. McCall	Morrison	W. J. Huston	Rochelle
J. Stewart Lamont	Apple River	A. P. Woodruff	Savanna
14—Everitt C. Hardin	Monmouth	James E. Dertinger	Bushnell
Lowrie C. Blanding	Moline	Charles W. Cooper	Little York
15—Burnet M. Chipfield	Canton	Thomas S. Carlin	Golden
Charles P. Riner	Galva	G. T. Townsend	Galesburg
16—William E. Hull	Peoria	Edwin M. Wayne	Delavan
Palmer E. Anderson	Princeton	Harry Taggart	Wenona
17—Frank H. Funk	Bloomington	William M. Miller	Cabery
Frederick J. Simitar	Minonk	W. W. Latham	Lincoln
18—Fred Raber	Paris	George G. Robertson	Marshall
Howard A. Swallow	Danville	C. E. Carter	Onarga
19—George H. Jeffries	Charleston	S. S. Clapper	Mowequa
Frank K. Lemon	Clinton	Andrew D. Miller	Sullivan
20—Andrew Russell	Jacksonville	Harry E. Beekman	Petersburg
Joseph W. Becker	Jerseyville	Samuel O. Savage	Tallula
21—Elbert S. Smith	Springfield	Harry DeFrates	Palmyra
Phil S. Haner	Taylorville	F. H. Ives	Hillsboro
22—Ed. M. Irwin	Belleville	A. C. Bollinger	Waterloo
W. M. Sauvage	Alton	Rose Marion Boylan	East St. Louis
23—John J. Brown	Vandalia	William W. Austin	Effingham
P. B. McCullough	Lawrenceville	Grant Tohill	Flat Rock
24—A. J. Poorman	Fairfield	Harry M. Jackson	Vienna
Charles Durfee	Golconda	Commodore C. Wright	McLeansboro
25—Hal W. Trovillion	Herrin	J. Fred Gilster	Chester
Otis F. Glenn	Murphysboro	M. F. Browner	Mound City

*Four-fifths vote each.

INDIANA
(Thirty Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

James E. Watson	Rushville
Harry S. New	Indianapolis
Albert J. Beveridge	Indianapolis
James P. Goodrich	Winchester

Alternates

Edward M. Wasmuth	Huntington
Mrs. Anne Studebaker Carlisle	South Bend
Mrs. Joseph B. Kealing	Indianapolis
W. A. Gaines	Evansville

DISTRICTS

1—W. H. McCurdy	Evansville
James A. Hemenway	Boonville
2—Charles G. Sefrit	Washington
Claud H. Stratton	Sullivan
3—Newton H. Myers	Jeffersonville
Lee Herr	Iell City
4—Estel Beilby	Lawrenceburg
Dr. Haskell Lett	Seymour
5—Edgar M. Blessing	Danville
John L. Crawford	Terre Haute
6—Harry Moberly	Shelbyville
Walter Bridges	Greenfield
7—Charles W. Jewett	Indianapolis
Mahlon E. Bash	Indianapolis

Wm. E. Hastings	Mt. Vernon
Herman Bryant	Winslow
Otto F. Herold	Bloomfield
Miss Dorothy Cunningham	Martinsville
Ezra Smith	French Lick
Mrs. Blanche Foster Boruff	Bedford
Henry E. Nichols	Madison
Benjamin M. Bledsoe	Vevay
John T. Jones	Brazil
A. D. Spears	Clinton
Mrs. John Goodwin	Brookville
Clen Miller	Rushville
Mrs. Emma Eaton White	Indianapolis
W. W. Hyde	Indianapolis

INDIANA—Continued

8—Jesse T. Moorman	Winchester	Wm. A. Klepper	Decatur
E. F. Kitselman	Muncie	L. Ray Lenich	Union City
9—Morris Ritchie	Lebanon	David C. Jenkins	Kokomo
John Owen	Noblesville	Elijah Perry	Windfall
10—Walter E. Schrage	Whiting	Miss Ada Bush	Kentland
Thomas Bauer	Lafayette	Addison N. Worstell	Valparaiso
11—Hiram Bearss	Peru	Mrs. Frances Bearss Gould.....	Peru
George R. Daniels.....	Marion	Samuel G. Brown	Star City
12—Joseph Hutuzucull	Fort Wayne	James Provines	Auburn
Clyde Carlin	Angola	Clyde Walb	La Grange
13—Fred C. Klein	South Bend	Jasper Hoover	Pierceton
John L. Moorman	Knox	I. C. Wood	Goshen

IOWA

(Twenty-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

*H. O. Weaver	Wapello
*C. F. Curtiss.....	Ames
*C. E. Pickett	Waterloo
*Mrs. J. A. Devitt	Oskaloosa
*Mrs. Frank W. Dodson	Des Moines
*E. A. Burgess	Sioux City
*C. A. Rawson	Des Moines
*Claude Stanley	Corning

DISTRICTS

1—Alex Moir	Burlington	Mrs. Albert E. Glazier	Ft. Madison
H. B. Sloan	Keosauqua	R. S. Galer	Mt. Pleasant
2—George A. Smith	Clinton	Alfred G. Mueller	Davenport
Geo. M. Titus	Muscatine	Mrs. B. F. Jones	Ladora
3—W. T. S. Rath	Ackley	S. A. Clock	Hampton
Don D. Donnan	Independence	Miss Mildred Humphrey	Clarion
4—Karl J. Johnson	Osage	C. C. Sheakley	New Hampton
A. J. Carpenter	Elkader	Mrs. Irene Bell	Mason City
5—M. J. Tobin	Vinton	N. S. Beale	Tama
H. A. Willoughby.....	Grundy Center	William T. Gilmore	Tipton
6—H. B. Alfree	Newton	Mrs. Nellie D. Needham	Grinnell
Chas. C. Heninger	Sigourney	Mrs. J. G. Hutchison	Ottumwa
7—Chas. R. Brenton	Dallas Center	Mrs. F. L. Grennon	Winterset
Louis C. Kurtz	Des Moines	Dale Shaw	Des Moines
8—Dan Anderson	Lamoni	Miss Myrtle Dungan	Chariton
H. H. Carter	Corydon	Mrs. C. A. Hall	Bedford
9—Almor Stern	Logan	T. J. Hysham	Red Oak
E. S. White	Harlan	A. B. Gillespie	Guthrie Center
*10—W. D. Miller	Ogden		
*R. J. Thompson	Forest City		
*Mrs. B. M. Coon	Estherville		
*Miss Edith Prouty	Humboldt		
11—S. A. Lincoln	Alton	Mrs. Robert Molyneaux	Cherokee
W. J. Kennedy	Sioux City	Miles Newby	Blencoe

*One-half vote each.

KANSAS
(Twenty Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Willis J. Bailey .....Atchison	Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead .....Liberal
H. H. Motter .....Olathe	Emerson Carey .....Hutchison
David W. Mulvane .....Topeka	Ralph M. Harris .....Ottawa
W. W. Watson .....Salina	W. M. Bettis .....Wichita

DISTRICTS

1—Frank Pomeroy .....Holton	Frank E. Grimes .....Topeka
Frank Roberts .....Oskaloosa	John McCoy .....Oneida
2—W. L. Wood .....Kansas City	Mrs. Sennett Kirk .....Iola
Frank Sponable .....Paola	Mrs. C. C. Thomas .....Moran
3—Wilbur F. Allen .....Chanute	T. A. Curnow .....Pittsburgh
Charles N. Hunt .....Arkansas City	George Turner .....Howard
4—William Allen White .....Emporia	Mrs. L. T. Hussey .....Topeka
W. B. Dalton .....St. George	Harry J. Taylor .....Wabaunsee
5—J. B. Lower .....Washington	A. Q. Miller .....Belleville
Fred Fitzpatrick .....Salina	Mrs. J. P. Scott .....Herington
6—E. E. Mulaney .....Hill City	G. W. Beasley .....Natoma
A. W. Swayze .....Ellsworth	Peter Johnson .....Hays City
7—W. Y. Morgan .....Hutchinson	J. W. Tidlow .....Fort Dodge
Thadd C. Carver .....Pratt	W. B. Levan .....Ness City
8—J. H. Stewart .....Wichita	Ira E. Swain .....Caldwell
George W. Kanavel .....Sedgwick	Mrs. F. O. Johnson .....McPherson

KENTUCKY

(Twenty-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Mrs. Christine Bradley South..Frankfort	H. Green Garrett .....Winchester
Edwin P. Morrow .....Frankfort	Mrs. John W. Langley .....Pikeville
Alvin T. Hert .....Louisville	Ben L. Bruner .....Louisville
S. H. George .....Paducah	George F. David .....Lexington

DISTRICTS

1—Adolph Weil .....Paducah	I. Herman Sloss .....Princeton
Charles Ferguson .....Smithland	T. J. Yandell .....Marion
2—Gray Haynes .....Owensboro	George R. Erwin.....R. D. 1, Calhoun
Claude R. Clark .....Hopkinsville	W. L. Hughes .....Henderson
3—A. A. Demunbrum.Mammouth Cave	A. J. Oliver .....Scottsville
W. S. Carver .....Edmonton	J. H. Britt .....Trenton
4—W. Sherman Ball .....Hardinburg	A. D. Kirk .....Hartford
G. C. Wharton .....Springfield	J. W. Demombron .....Horse Cave
5—William Heyburn .....Louisville	Louis P. Atwood .....Louisville
Charles A. Segner .....Louisville	Ernest F. Horn .....Louisville
6—Maurice L. Galvin .....Covington	B. F. Wilson .....Sparta
W. A. Burkamp .....Newport	H. T. Clinger .....Falmouth
7—Richard C. Stoll .....Lexington	Virgil Beatty .....Beattyville
Thomas M. Owsley .....Lexington	J. M. Perkins .....Frankfort
8—W. L. Wallace .....Richmond	J. E. Wood .....Danville
J. L. Butler .....Danville	W. B. Bufford .....Nicholasville
9—W. C. Halbert.....Vanceburg	S. M. Bradley .....Morehead
M. S. Crain .....Jackson	James M. Collins .....Maysville

KENTUCKY—Continued

10—Tolbert Holliday	Hazard	M. D. Powers	Prestonburg
H. F. Ramey	Hazard	B. F. Tye	Travelers' Rest
11—J. Austin Brown	Monticella	Mrs. Neeta J. Kash	Corbin
Hiram J. Johnson.....	London	Robert B. Lloyd	Jamestown

LOUISIANA

(Twelve Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
Walter L. Cohen	New Orleans	Hugh Larre	New Orleans
Emile Kuntz	New Orleans	F. F. Woodfley	Lake Charles
D. A. Limes	New Orleans	W. E. Weeks	New Orleans
B. V. Baranco	Baton Rouge	R. A. Giddons	Coushatta

DISTRICTS

1—Joseph Wilkins	New Orleans	Albert Workman	New Orleans
2—A. C. Fowler	Gretna	W. W. Tuttle	New Orleans
3—P. H. Segurra	New Iberia	A. R. Thompson	Patterson
4—Chas. M. Robertson.....	Shreveport	J. M. Carter	Shreveport
5—S. W. Green	Lake Providence	J. S. Millikin	Millikin
6—J. H. Lowery	Donaldsville	George J. Reilly	Clinton
7—J. Stuart Thomson.....	Lake Charles	Goldman Lasalle	Opelousas
8—Louis Escude	Mansura	J. Edward Hines	Alexandria

MAINE

(Twelve Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
Edward W. Wheeler	Brunswick	George H. Smith	Waterborough
Charles B. Carter	Auburn	Patrick H. Gillin	Bangor
George C. Weeks	Fairfield	Phineas H. Gay	Damariscotta
Frank M. Hume	Houlton	Timothy F. Callahan	Lewiston

DISTRICTS

1—P. P. Baxter	Portland	E. E. Philbrook	Portland
Ernest L. Morrill	Saco	William Garner	Parsonfield
2—R. J. Hodgdon	Lewiston	W. C. Oliver	Bath
A. J. Stearns	Norway	John Bass	Wilton
3—Blaine S. Viles	Augusta	Charles J. Cole	Readfield
Stillman E. Woodman	Machias	B. O. Norton	Belfast
4—Burton W. Howe	Patten	E. B. Sanger	Bangor
Harry W. Davis	Guilford	N. F. Perry	Presque Isle

MARYLAND

(Sixteen Delegates)

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
*Galen L. Tait	Bethesda	A. Parks Rasin	Chestertown
*Felix Angus	Baltimore	Thomas Dawson	Rockville
*W. Bladen Lowndes	Baltimore	Charles Steiner	Baltimore
*A. W. W. Woodcock	Salisbury	H. B. Wilcox	Baltimore
*William F. Browning.....	Baltimore	Truxton Beale	Annapolis
*Blanchard Randall	Baltimore	Edmund Budnitz	Baltimore
*John W. Garrett.....	Baltimore	E. Bernard Taylor	Baltimore
*Harry W. Nice	Baltimore	H. M. St. Clair	Cambridge

MARYLAND—Continued

DISTRICTS

1—Lawrence Towers .....Denton	N. J. Wimbrow .....Whaleyville
Thomas Bartlett .....Easton	Frank T. Benson .....Port Deposit
2—Walter R. Rudy .....Mt. Airy	Charles H. Kuebler .....Baltimore
Jacob France .....Catonsville	William H. Lawrence .....Baltimore
3—Charles W. Main .....Baltimore	Fred Selenkow .....Baltimore
John A. Janetzke .....Baltimore	John Toadvin .....Baltimore
4—James A. Gary Jr. ....Baltimore	Charles W. Pohlman .....Baltimore
Warner T. McGuinn .....Baltimore	George A. Watty .....Baltimore
5—R. Frank Smith .....Baltimore	Herbert L. Datterlee ..Sotterly's Wharf
Jeremiah Hawkins .....Brentwood	F. Stone Posey .....La Plata
6—Charles H. Holtzoman ..Cumberland	George L. Eppler .....Cumberland
Reno S. Harp .....Frederick	Scott M. Wolfinger .....Hagerstown

*One-half vote each.

MASSACHUSETTS

(Thirty-five Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Henry Cabot Lodge .....Nahant	Butler Ames .....Lowell
Frederick H. Gillett .....Springfield	Chandler Bullock .....Worcester
W. Murray Crane .....Dalton	Gurdon W. Gordon .....Springfield
Edward A. Thurston .....Fall River	Butler R. Wilson .....Boston

DISTRICTS

1—James R. Savery .....Pittsfield	Edgar L. Gillett .....Westfield
William F. Whiting .....Holyoke	John H. Waterhouse.....North Adams
2—George A. Bacon .....Springfield	Walter D. Cows .....Amherst
Henry L. Bowles .....Springfield	Samuel W. Lee .....Northampton
3—Freelon Q. Ball .....Monson	Bernard W. Doyle .....Leominster
Albert H. Stone .....Gardner	Joseph G. E. Page .....Southbridge
4—Albert F. Richardson ..Worcester	Chester D. Heywood .....Worcester
Walter E. Schuster .....Douglas	John W. Slatery .....Westborough
5—Frank E. Dunbar .....Lowell	Kimball G. Colby .....Methuen
Gardner W. Pearson .....Lowell	Wilford D. Gray .....Woburn
6—William H. Root .....Haverhill	William H. McSweeney .....Salem
George V. L. Meyer.....Hamilton	Gayden W. Morrill .....Newburyport
7—Archie N. Frost .....Lawrence	Fabrizio Pitocchelli .....Lawrence
Charles A. Littlefield .....Lynn	Eugene B. Fraser .....Lynn
8—Philip R. Ammidon ....Cambridge	John Dike .....Melrose
Lewis Parkhurst .....Winchester	Alexandra Carlisle Peiffer....Lexington
9—Charles W. Eldridge ...Somerville	Andrew A. Casassa .....Revere
Herbert P. Wasgatt .....Everett	John V. Kimball .....Malden
10—Charles L. Burrill .....Boston	John J. Musgrave .....Boston
11—Gaspar G. Bacon .....Boston	Barnard Morrison .....Boston
Charles H. Innes .....Boston	Hubert W. Ross .....Boston
12—J. Mitchell Galvin .....Boston	Tilton S. Bell .....Boston
Herbert S. Frost .....Boston	Willard W. Hibbard .....Boston
13—John H. Sherburne .....Brookline	William W. Ollendorff .....Medway
Thomas W. White .....Newton	Benjamin Loring Young .....Weston
14—Louis A. Coolidge .....Milton	Philip S. Dalton .....Milton
Harry H. Williams .....Brockton	Walter Rapp .....Brockton

MASSACHUSETTS—*Continued*

15—Walter E. McLane	Fall River	Arthur F. Gehrung	Attleboro
Joseph E. Warner	Taunton	Charles H. Macomber	Berkley
16—Eben S. S. Keith	Bourne	John Halliwell	New Bedford
Ward M. Parker	New Bedford	Thomas Otis	Barnstable

*One-half vote each.

MICHIGAN

(Thirty Delegates)

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
Charles W. Burton	Detroit	Charles P. O'Neil	Detroit
Mrs. Grace Greenwood Browne	Ann Arbor	Howard P. Woodworth	Bay City
Claude T. Hamilton	Grand Rapids	Mrs. Nellie Francis Graves	Saginaw
Robert H. Shields	Houghton	Mrs. Orrin T. Bolt	Muskegon

DISTRICTS

1—John W. Smith	District	Joseph Wedda	Detroit
Jerome H. Remick	Detroit	Miss Lotta B. Broadbridge.....	Detroit
2—William G. Gutmann	Monroe	Fred C. Fisher	Belleville
Albert S. Glasgow	Jackson	A. F. Schurz	Ann Arbor
3—John C. Davis	Battle Creek	Benjamin B. Gorman	Coldwater
Donald Osborne	Kalamazoo	A. S. Kimball	Battle Creek
4—W. R. Cook	Hastings	Clare Hoffman	Allegan
W. A. Cavin	Sturgis	W. H. Berkey	Cassopolis
5—Frank D. McKay	Grand Rapids	Mrs. A. L. T. Blake	Grand Rapids
Arthur Van Buren	Holland	William M. Connolly.....	Spring Lake
6—Thaddeus D. Seeley	Pontiac	Daniel C. Richards	Howell
Leonard Freeman	Flint	Samuel S. Riley	Lansing
7—John H. Hands	Sandusky	James B. Brooker	Cass City
Burt D. Cady	Port Huron	Charles W. Smith	Lapeer
8—William F. Gallagher	Owosso	Mabel Roach Somers	Saginaw
Fred W. Green	Iona	Teresa B. Ranney	Greenville
9—Martin Brown	Leland	Joseph Murphy	Cadillac
Harris E. Galpin	Muskegon	Mrs. Mabel Curtis	Ludington
10—James E. Davidson	Bay City	Floyd Mitchell	Weidman
Alfred J. Doherty	Clare	Charles Francis	Standish
11—Richard E. MacLean	Wells	Lee Harmon	Manistique
William J. Pierson	Boyne Falls	Henry K. Gustin	Alpena
12—O. C. Davidson	Iron Mountain	George A. Newett	Ishpeming
E. C. Bowers	Iron River	Robert A. Douglas	Ironwood
13—Robert Oakman	Detroit	Mrs. Agnes Farrell	Detroit
Ira W. Jayne	Detroit	Leonard Szymanski	Detroit

MINNESOTA

(Twenty-four Delegates)

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
Mrs. Manley L. Fosseen.....	Minneapolis	Miss Julia Rogers	St. Paul
Millie Bunnell	Duluth	J. E. Haycraft	Fairmont
R. H. Bach	Owatonna	George W. Frankberg	Fergus Falls
Alvah Eastman	St. Cloud	Frank E. Reed	Minneapolis

MINNESOTA—Continued

DISTRICTS

1—Earl Simpson	Winona	Samuel A. Rask	Blooming Prairie
J. A. Melone	Rochester	H. A. Larson	Preston
2—I. N. Tompkins	Mankato	Mrs. Anna T. Morse	Blue Earth
E. H. Nichols	Jackson	Mrs. Winnifred Campbell	Slayton
3—Joseph J. Rachac	Faribault	J. J. Ponsford	Watertown
W. H. Wescott	St. Paul	W. L. Harvey	New Prague
4—Leavitt Corning	St. Paul	Charles R. Parker	St. Paul
Herbert P. Keller	St. Paul	George B. Edgerton	St. Paul
5—W. J. Williamson	Minneapolis	E. W. Cameron	Minneapolis
F. H. Carpenter	Minneapolis	George O. Hauge	Minneapolis
6—Ira Bouck	Royalton	Mrs. H. W. Gehr	Wadena
Charles H. Warner	Aitken	Chas. Hayden	Blackduck
7—C. H. March	Litchfield	John Schutz, Jr.	Marshall
Frank W. Murphy	Wheaton	W. B. Strom	Olivia
8—H. R. Weirick	Hibbing	Guy A. Eaton	Duluth
Spencer J. Searls	Carlton	Mrs. Alice M. Lang ..	International Falls
9—Charles Loring	Crookston	Mary Jenkins	Ada
Russell B. Rathbun	Detroit	Daniel Shaw	Thief River Falls
10—L. M. Mithun	Buffalo	John G. Priebe	Minneapolis
Thomas D. Schall	Minneapolis	George Means	Howard Lake

MISSISSIPPI

AT LARGE

Delegates

M. J. Mulvihill	Vicksburg
M. H. Daily	Coldwater
I. T. Montgomery	Mound Bayou
D. D. Sherrad	Meridian

Alternates

A. M. Storer	Kosciusko
E. E. Hindman	Jackson
Charles H. Isaacs	Natchez
T. J. Wilson	Meridian

DISTRICTS

*1—W. F. Elgin	Corinth	Sam R. Russell	Ripley
2—L. E. Oldham	Oxford	William McDonough	Oxford
*3—E. P. Booze	Mound Bayou	W. H. Braxton	Friars Point
B. T. Williamson	Greenwood	J. E. Skinner	Indianola
*4—L. B. Phillips	Eupora	J. S. Niles	Kosciusko
*5—William Cleveland	Newton	A. Buckley	Enterprise
6—J. C. Tyler	Biloxi	E. E. Robertson	Collins
*7—E. F. Brennan, Jr.	Brookhaven	H. B. Miller	Gloster
8—Wesley C. Crayton	Vicksburg	W. H. Clark	Vicksburg

*One-half vote each.

MISSOURI

(Thirty-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

*Selden P. Spencer	St. Louis
*W. L. Cole	St. Louis
*Edward W. Forstell	St. Louis
*L. C. Dyer	St. Louis
*W. S. Dickey	Kansas City
*Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing	Greenville
*Mrs. Vennona Swan	Joplin
*G. R. A. Crossland	St. Joseph

Alternates

Mrs. B. H. Rutherford	Hannibal
Miss Bessie Graham	Albany
Miss Sybil Powell	Rolla
Mrs. William C. Irwin	Jefferson
Mrs. Albert H. Brueggeman ..	St. Louis
Mrs. J. M. Hutchinson	St. Louis
Mrs. Charles Geiger	St. Joseph
Mrs. Victoria Clay Haley	St. Louis

MISSOURI—Continued

DISTRICTS

1—George E. Leslie	Memphis	C. L. Young	Kahoka
Edward S. Brown	Edina	G. B. Schaefer	
2—Roy H. Monier	Carrollton	Mrs. Ben Wright	Higbee
Fred C. Sasse	Brunswick	Mrs. R. N. Bowden	Brookfield
3—L. F. De Hart	Cameron	W. V. Hauber	Grand City
E. R. Lindley	Stanbury	W. H. Melvin	Princeton
4—Clarence U. Phillely	St Joe	W. M. Rankin	
Luster C Cottrill	Savannah	Miss Elizabeth Leet	
5—Robt J. Flick	Kansas City	Miss Jennie L. Fisher.....	Kansas City
Jesse L. Martin	Independence	Mrs. Albert L. Reeves.....	Kansas City
6—John O. App	Adrian	Mrs. Rosa Jones	Peculiar
W. H. Allen	Clinton	Mrs. L. C. Pemberton	Holden
7—R. W. Hedrick	Cole Camp	Mrs. W. A. Dollarhide	Hermitage
S. P. Huston	Malta Bend	Mrs. Anna Powell	Odessa
8—George Wagner.....	Jefferson City	Miss Lola Koffman.....	California
Roy T. Davis	Columbia	Mrs. R. A. Norfleet.....	Versailles
9—Ransom A. Bruer	Hermann	Mrs. W. L. Cole.....	Union
J. William Gill.....	Montgomery City	Mrs. Martha Spohrer.....	Warrentown
10—John Schmoll	St. Louis	Mrs. John S. Payne.....	St. Louis
Fred Essen	Clayton	Mrs. Elizabeth Gann.....	St. Louis
11—Nat Goldstein	St. Louis	Wm. H. Butler.....	St. Louis
Mrs. Edward E. Butler...	St. Louis	W. R. Hill.....	St. Louis
12—Sam A. Moseley.....	St. Louis	Price McGinnis	St. Louis
Robert E. Moore	St. Louis	Louis Lange	St. Louis
13—Carr Hartshorn	Elvins	Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing	
		Greenville	
Albert Miller	Hillsboro	Sam Bond	Perryville
14—Almon Ing.....	Poplar Bluff	Mrs. James A. Finch	New Madrid
John C. Harlin	Gainesville	Mrs. Elizabeth Allman	Galena
15—T. J. Franks	Joplin	Nellie McComb	Lamar
Sam Chapel	Neosha	Mrs. Joe J. Manlove	Pierce City
16—Wm. P. Elmer	Salem	Mrs. W. F. Herron	Houston
Jno. N. Pryor	Mansfield	Mrs. J. E. McKesson.....	Lebanon

*One-half vote each.

MONTANA

(Eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>	
John Adami, Jr.	Helena	James M. Burlingame
J. C. Alexander	Kalispell	Lew J. Calloway
C. B. Allen	Billings	Frank B. Connelly
Lynn D. Ambrose	Missoula	William R. Allen
Miss A. M. Anderson	Helena	John Allen
George Baker	Butte	Edward Donlan
John Brimacombe	Butte	O. F. Goddard
A. J. Dorr	Glasgow	H. L. Hart

NEBRASKA
(Sixteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
L. D. Richards .....Fremont	Elmer F. Robinson .....Hartington
Don L. Love .....Lincoln	I. L. Pindell .....Sidney
Charles E. Sandall .....York	J. A. True .....McCook
John W. Towle .....Omaha	J. E. Lutz .....Blair

DISTRICTS

1—W. A. Selleck .....Lincoln	D. M. Douthett .....Lincoln
O. A. Cooper .....Humboldt	J. M. Curtis .....Tecumseh
2—Gould Dietz .....Omaha	John H. Caldwell .....Omaha
W. G. Ure .....Omaha	Amos Thomas .....Omaha
3—Burt Mapes .....Norfolk	E. C. Bergman .....Columbus
A. R. Davis .....Wayne	Robert I. Stout .....Tekamah
4—H. E. Sackett .....Beatrice	George Liggett .....Utica
H. C. Beebe .....Osceola	H. H. Campbell .....Osceola
5—W. H. Miller .....Bloomington	Albert J. Gardner .....Orleans
H. E. Stein .....Hastings	David F. Meeker .....Imperial
6—Horace F. Kennedy .....Broken Bow	C. A. Yoder .....Elm Creek
Earl D. Mallery .....Alliance	Guy C. Thatcher .....Butte

NEVADA
(Six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
*Frank Norcross .....Reno	Fred Balzer .....Mina
*Sam Platt .....Reno	Mrs. Frank Humphreys .....Reno
*Miss Delle Boyd .....Reno	George Springmeyer .....Reno
*J. I. Wilson .....Yerington	Mrs. H. S. Gelder .....Yerington
*H. J. Murrish .....Lovelocks	A. L. Bachrodt .....Lovelocks
*Whitman Symmes .....Virginia City	E. H. Beemer .....Reno
*Arthur Smith .....Ely	J. H. Fulmer .....Ely
*W. J. Booth .....Tonopah	Hugh Henry Brown .....Tonopah
*Frank Button .....Winnemucca	John G. Taylor .....Lovelocks
*B. F. Curler .....Elko	W. S. Dupont .....Elko
*W. A. Keddie .....Fallon	C. W. Foote .....Fallon
*F. W. Griffith .....Las Vegas	Walter R. Bracken .....Las Vegas

*One-half vote each.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Frank Knox .....Manchester	F. H. Challis .....Manchester
Fred W. Estabrook.....Nashua	William Dupont .....Berlin
John H. Bartlett.....Portsmouth	John L. Meoder .....Rochester
C. Gale Shedd.....Keene	Benjamin F. Prescott .....Milford

DISTRICTS

1—Philip C. Lockwood.....Manchester	1—H. L. Grinnell, Jr. ....Derry
John Scammon .....Exeter	Hobart Pillsbury .....Manchester
2—Jesse M. Barton .....Newport	2—J. B. Perley .....Enfield
Alfred Stanley .....Lincoln	Louis E. Shipman .....Plainfield

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW JERSEY
(Twenty-eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Walter E. Edge .....Atlantic City	Edgar A. Knapp .....Elizabeth
Joseph S. Frelinghuysen .....Raritan	Ridley Watts .....Morristown
William N. Runyon .....Plainfield	Charles A. Woolverton .....Camden
Edward C. Stokes .....Millville	William B. Mackay, Jr. ....Hackensack

DISTRICTS

1—Francis F. Patterson, Jr. . .Camden	Charles S. Boyer .....Camden
Edward L. Sturgess.....Glassboro	William Richman .....Sharptown
2—William H. Bright .....Wildwood	Joseph G. Champion .....Ocean City
William H. Worrell .....Mt. Holly	Benjamin Stevens .....Vineland
3—William H. Kline .....South River	James A. Morrison .....New Brunswick
William P. Thompson ..Red Bank	Andrew F. Van Cleve .....Ocean Grove
4—Arthur F. Foran .....Flemington	Charles A. Eaton .....Watchung
William P. Howe .....Pennington	John H. McCullough .....Trenton
5—J. Mortimer Townley ....Elizabeth	William F. Birch .....Dover
Charles W. Ennis .....Morristown	John P. Stevens .....Plainfield
6—Nathan H. Hart .....Newton	A. Lincoln Reiley .....Phillipsburg
Daniel E. Pomeroy .....Englewood	Carl M. Vail .....Ridgewood
7—Joseph Hardy	Peter Hofstra
Colin Reed Wise	J. Hosey Osborn
8—Henry M. Doremus.....Newark	Albert E. Howe .....Nutley
Arthur B. Archibold ....Arlington	Samuel W. Smith .....Kearny
9—Austen Colgate ....New York City	Arthur T. Vanderbilt .....East Orange
Richard Wayne Parker ....Newark	Philip Krimke .....Newark
10—Edward D. Duffield .....Newark	Louis Lippman .....Newark
William L. Glorieux.....Newark	Peter D. Eggleston .....Montclair
11—William P. Verdon .....Hoboken	Charles A. Heins .....West Hoboken
Philip Melcher .....Union	John G. McGee
12—Richard Doherty .....Jersey City	Charles V. Finch .....Jersey City
Thomas S. Vierow .....Jersey City	George E. Divers .....Jersey City

NEW MEXICO
(Six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Edward Cahoon .....Roswell	Thomas H. O'Brien .....Dawson
David J. Leahy .....East Las Vegas	O. L. Phillips .....Raton
Jesus Romero .....Albuquerque	W. C. Porterfield .....Silver City
Eduardo M. Otero .....Las Lunas	George W. Armijo .....Sante Fe
Gregory Page .....Gallup	J. E. Reinburg .....La Union
Venceslao Jaramillo .....El Rito	Lorenzo Delgado .....Las Vegas

NEW YORK
(Eighty-eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Nathan L. Miller .....Syracuse	Thomas B. Dunn .....Rochester
Jas. W. Wadsworth, Jr. ....Mt. Morris	Henrietta W. Livermore .....Yonkers
Wm. M. Calder .....Brooklyn	John F. O'Brien .....W. Chazy
Wm. Boyce Thompson .....Yonkers	Chas. W. Anderson .....New York

NEW YORK—Continued

DISTRICTS

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1—Robert L. Bacon .....Westbury | Jeremiah Wood .....Lynbrook |
| Harry Lee .....Riverhead | deLancey Kountze Southampton |
| 2—John Wagner .....Long Island | Ebba M. Winslow .....Rosedale |
| Thorndyke C. McKennee | |
| Rockaway Beach | Isaac Schwerin .....Flushing |
| 3—John MacCrate .....Brooklyn | Marion Monninger .....Brooklyn |
| Jacob Bartscherer .....Brooklyn | Wm. Brust .....Brooklyn |
| 4—Chas. S. Devoy .....Brooklyn | Chas. F. Vachris .....Brooklyn |
| Jacob Brenner .....Brooklyn | Antonio De Martini .....Brooklyn |
| 5—Chas. F. Murphy .....Brooklyn | John T. Rafferty .....Brooklyn |
| Alfred E. Vass .....Brooklyn | Virginia K. O'Connor .....Brooklyn |
| 6—Frederick J. H. Kracke..Brooklyn | Samuel Kellner .....Brooklyn |
| Lewis M. Swasey .....Brooklyn | Estelle D. Bush .....Brooklyn |
| 7—Paul Windels .....Brooklyn | George A. Owens .....Brooklyn |
| Wm. Boardman .....Brooklyn | Walter T. L. Dickie .....Brooklyn |
| 8—Frederick Oppikofer ....Brooklyn | Maurice J. Moore .....Brooklyn |
| Marcus B. Campbell ....Brooklyn | Wm. H. Eagleson .....Brooklyn |
| 9—Jacob A. Livingston ....Brooklyn | Geo. W. A. Murray .....Brooklyn |
| Robert Kennedy .....Brooklyn | Robert B. Beyer .....Brooklyn |
| 10—Reuben L. Haskell .....Brooklyn | Philip S. Seligman .....Brooklyn |
| Thomas J. McGann .....Brooklyn | Wm. Liebermann .....Brooklyn |
| 11—George Cromwell | |
| Dongan Hills, S. I. | Jos. P. Thompson .....Stapleton, S. I. |
| Chauncey M. Depew ....New York | Louis J. Obici .....New York |
| 12—Joseph Levenson .....New York | Henry G. Bralower .....New York |
| 13—Helen Varick Boswell...New York | Harry D. Rosen .....New York |
| 14—Samuel S. Koening .....New York | Olive Stott Gabriel .....New York |
| Fiorello H. LaGuardia...New York | Elsie Blum .....New York |
| 15—Michael H. Blake .....New York | Nellie Wilson .....New York |
| Henry W. Taft .....New York | Benj. F. Fox .....New York |
| 16—Henry L. Stimson .....New York | Wm. Henkel .....New York |
| Jas. R. Sheffield .....New York | Elizabeth J. Cudmore .....New York |
| 17—Albert J. Berwin.....New York | Caroline L. Iselin .....New York |
| Herbert Parsons.....New York | John W. Noble .....New York |
| 18—Chas. S. Whitman.....New York | Ambrose O. Neal .....New York |
| Ogden L. Mills.....New York | Joseph Pabian .....New York |
| 19—Nicholas Murray Butler..New York | Katherine Hammer .....New York |
| Chas D Hilles .....New York | Robert P. Levis .....New York |
| 20—Jules S. Bache.....New York | Chas. Novello .....New York |
| Isaac Siegel .....New York | Robert Oppenheim .....New York |
| 21—John J. Lyons .....New York | Myrta M. Hanford .....New York |
| Edward M. Morgan ....New York | John C. Hawkins .....New York |
| 22—Geo. Z. Medalie .....New York | Geo. Henry Payne .....New York |
| Jas. L. Wells .....New York | Joseph H. Emery .....New York |
| 23—Geo. W. Perkins .....Riverdale | Thos. W. Whittle .....New York |
| Richard W. Lawrence ..New York | Ernest W. Bradbury .....New York |
| 24—Leslie Sutherland .....Yonkers | John Boyle, Jr. ....New York |
| Arthur W. Lawrence....Bronxville | John H. Nichols .....New York |
| 25—Wm. L. Ward .....Port Chester | Harry E. Colwell .....Rochelle |
| Otis H. Cutler .....Suffern | Chas. D. Millard .....Tarrytown |
| 26—Joseph M. Dickey .....Newburgh | Russell Wiggins .....Middletown |
| Daniel J. Gleason .....Millerton | Geo. Overocker .....Poughkeepsie |

NEW YORK—Continued

27—Philip Elting	Kingston	Frank L. Dodge	Ashland
Louis F. Payn	Chatham	Clyde H. Proper	Schoharie
28—Wm. Barnes	Albany	Rollin B. Sanford	Albany
Henry M. Sage	Menands	Alba M. Ide	Troy
29—Louis W. Emerson....	Warrensburg	Jas. S. Parker	Salem
Cornelius V. Collins	Troy	Thomas H. Sterling	Mechanicsville
30—John Barnes	Amsterdam	Samuel Rothchild	Gloversville
Jas M. Evans	Johnstown	Jas. C. Parker	Schenectady
31—Bertrand H. Snell	Potsdam	Mary Chahoon	Ausable Forks
Joseph G. Gokey	Tupper Lake	Wallace H. Howell, Jr.	Willsboro
32—Elon R. Brown	Watertown	Harold O. Whitnall	Hamilton
Perry G. Williams	Lowville	Patrick W. Cullinan	Oswego
33—Thos. R. Proctor	Utica	Chas. B. Rogers	Clinton
Homer P. Snyder	Little Falls	Herbert T. Dyett	Rome
34—Lafayette B. Gleason	Delhi	Jas. P. Hill	Norwich
Leroy E. Barnes.....	Binghamton	Florence M. Wardwell.....	Springfield Ctr.
35—Florence E. S. Knapp....	Syracuse	Richard J. Shanahan	Syracuse
Geo. M. Champlin	Cortland	Geo. D. Kirtland	Syracuse
36—Lansing G. Hoskins	Geneva	H. Merton Smith	Penn Yan
John Taber	Auburn	Jas. D. Bashford	Lyons
37—Wm. J. Tully	Corning	Cora West Diven	Elmira
John W. Dwight	Dryden	Theodore F. Chamberlain.....	Newark Valley
38—Geo. W. Aldridge	Rochester	John McKie	Rochester
Jas. L. Hotchkiss	Rochester	Geo. W. Dunn	Webster
39—Jas. E. Nash	Silver Springs	Mrs. Zada A. Ferry Walker	Batavia
Irving L'Hommedieu	Medina	Schyler C. Wells	LeRoy
40—Edward H. Butler	Buffalo	Mrs. Helen May Hosmer	Buffalo
Geo. W. Whitehead.....	Niagara Falls	Geo. E. Green	Lockport
41—Geo. P. Urban	Buffalo	Miss Ada Schenk	Snyder
Harry J. Knepper	Buffalo	Mrs. Mary Lorbrick Felton	Buffalo
42—Herbert S. Sisson	Collins	John E. Kirschberger	Buffalo
Wm. F. Waldow	Buffalo	Mrs. Grace L. Parker	N. Collins
43—Albert T. Fancher	Salamanca	Wm. Duke, Jr.....	Wellsville
Cyrus E. Jones	Lakewood	Mary B. Jepson	Olean

NORTH CAROLINA

(Twenty-two Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

John M. Morehead	Charlotte
Frank A. Linney	Boone
E. Carl Duncan	Raleigh
Marion Butler	Elliott

Alternates

C. R. Pugh	Elizabeth City
J. D. Parker	Smithfield
Eugene Holt	Burlington
D. W. Hill	Asheville

DISTRICTS

1—Isaac M. Meekins	Elizabeth City	Wheeler Martin	Williamstown
2—Dan W. Patrick	Snow Hill	J. E. Cameron	Kinston
3—George E. Butler	Clinton	H. J. Faison	Faison
D. M. Jones	Beaufort	A. L. Wilson	Newport
4—R. W. Ward	Raleigh	J. W. Harden	Raleigh
J. J. Jenkins	Siler City	J. F. Hicks	Henderson
5—David H. Blair.....	Winston-Salem	S. O. McGuire	Elkin
J. H. Harden	Burlington	U. L. Stanford	Stoneville
6—Irvin B. Tucker	Whiteville	Robert W. Davis	Southport
Alexander L. McCaskill	Fayetteville	John M. Byrd	Lillington

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued

7—P. E. Brown	Wilkesboro	W. F. Redding	Asheboro
Clausius Dockery	Troy	H. F. Seawell	Carthage
8—R. A. Kohloss	Salisbury	W. S. Whiting	Shulls Mills
T. O. Teague	Taylorsville	R. V. Thorp	Statesville
9—John C. McBee	Bakersville	H. C. Caviness	Newland
J. J. George	Cherryville	P. A. Setzer	Hickory
10—Charles J. Harris	Dillsboro	John B. Ensley	Sylva
Brownlow Jackson ..	Hendersonville	C. Brewster Chapman	Asheville

NORTH DAKOTA
(Ten Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

Alternates

Staal Handrickson	Coteau
E. A. Tostevin	Mandan
A. T. Kraabel	Clifford
Olaf Lokensgard	Sawyer
Edward P. Kelly	Carrington
Alfred Steel	Jamestown
E. P. Bishop	Belfield
Henry McLean	Hannah
E. C. Lucas	Lisbon
Minnie J. Nielson	Valley City

OHIO
(Forty-eight Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

Alternates

Myron T. Herrick.....	Cleveland Heights	Daniel C. Brower	Dayton
John B. Galvin	Cincinnati	Charles A. Cottrill	Toledo
Frank B. Willis	Delaware	Edwin Jones	Jackson
William H. Boyd	Cleveland	Harry L. Vail	Cleveland

DISTRICTS

1—Myers Cooper	Cincinnati	L. B. Cahill	Cincinnati
Rudolph K. Hynicka ..	Cincinnati	Frank H. Kunkel	Cincinnati
2—Albert Bode	Cincinnati	Christian Bardes	Cincinnati
John J. Burchenal	Cincinnati	Henry Ott	Cincinnati
3—Robert Patterson	Dayton	John A. Hoover	Dayton
Frank I. Brown	Dayton	Frank P. Richter	Hamilton
4—Wilson W. Wood, 3d	Piqua	B. H. Gilberg	Salina
J. W. Halfhill	Lima	Albert Herzig	St. Marys
5—H. B. Franks	Montpelier	A. F. Tabler	Napolean
Jacob Longnecker	Delta	R. B. Troyer	Continental
6—Chas. E. Hard.....	Portsmouth	J. A. Shriver	Manchester
James O. McManus ...	West Union	John W. Gregg	Waverly
7—L. E. Evans	West Jefferson	C. A. Reid	Washington C. H.
George U. Wilbur	Marysville	Marcus Shoup	Xenia
8—Charles M. Lewis	Harpster	R. E. Ratcliffe	Kenton
Hoke Donithen	Marion	F. H. Miller	Mt. Gilead
9—Walter F. Brown	Toledo	Frank H. Geer	Toledo
Wm. W. Knight	Toledo	J. C. Steinkamp	Elmore
10—R. M. Switzer	Gallipolis	H. A. Goddard	Willston
A. R. Johnson	Ironton	S. F. Beckley	McArthur

OHIO—Continued

11—S. F. McCracken	Lancaster	John F. White	Logan
LaBert Davie	New Lexington	Milton J. Scott	Chillicothe
12—George R. Hedges	Columbus	Thomas B. Hardman	Columbus
John B. Miles	Columbus	Robert T. Smith	Columbus
13—Earl Ash	Amsden	W. M. Weatherspoon	Fostoria
F. A. Knapp	Bellevue	C. B. Wilcox	Sandusky
14—W. E. Pardee	Akron	D. M. Mason	Kent
C. K. Whitney	Oberlin	W. H. Crafts	Manatua
15—Wm. P. Sharer	Zanesville	C. H. Fouts	McConnelsville
Beeman G. Dawes	Marietta	William D. Merry	Caldwell
16—Thomas F. Turner	Canton	Roy A. Wilson	New Philadelphia
Edwin Morgan	Alliance	C. F. Kraft	Orville
17—Grant Dowds	Mt. Vernon	George Hildebrand	Ashland
E. B. Capeler	Mansfield	Edward Bennett	Galena
18—W. H. Mullens	Salem	R. R. Wood	Martins Ferry
Chas. T. Coleman	Martins Ferry	J. A. Gordon	New Athens
19—W. P. Barnum	Youngstown	Raymond V. Dickey	Youngstown
Joseph G. Butler, Jr.	Youngstown	Isaac M. Hogg	Youngstown
20—Paul Howland	Cleveland	Jerry R. Zmunt	Cleveland
W. S. Fitzgerald	Cleveland	Fielder Sanders	Cleveland
21—Harry L. Davis	Cleveland	Herman H. Finkle	Cleveland
Clayton C. Townes	Cleveland	Thomas W. Fleming	Cleveland
22—William L. Day	Cleveland	Elmer E. Bates	Cleveland
William F. Eirick	Cleveland	C. R. Cross	Cleveland

OKLAHOMA
(Twenty Delegates)

AT LARGE

Delegates

*Bird McGuire	Tulsa
*Henry E. Asp	Oklahoma City
*J. E. Dyche	Oklahoma City
*Alva McDonald	El Reno
*Vernon Whiting	Pawhuska
*W. H. Hills	Enid
*John Dillon	Geary
*D. C. Malernee	Walters

Alternates

DISTRICTS

1—Chas. B. Rogers	Tulsa	Geo. B. Schwabe	Nowata
S. E. Wallen	Vinita	Alex A. Dennison	Claremore
2—L. G. Disney	Muskogee	John Raper	Coweta
G. O. Grant	Stilwell	F. P. Snider	Muskogee
3—E. A. McGowan	Talihina	Mrs. Wm. Burkhart	McAlester
F. E. Kennamer	Madill	Sam Butler	Atoka
4—Hugh Scott	Holdenville	James A. Embry	Chandler
Albert Kelly	Bristow	T. W. Harmon	Paden
*5—W. H. P. Trudgeon	Oklahoma City		
Chris Madsen	Guthrie		
Mrs. Frank P. Northup	Oklahoma City		
Mrs. J. S. Pearson	Marshall		
6—Wm. Newer	Kingfisher	C. C. Brown	Lawton
Rex Galbraith	Apache	J. R. Schultz	El Reno

OKLAHOMA—Continued

7—Zach T. Pryse	Mangum	H. L. Vogle	Snyder
C. R. Strong	Clinton	Fred L. Hoyt	Taloga
8—Everett Purcell	Enid	George E. Ellison	Guynam
S. B. Richards	Waynoka	Roy Harvey	Perry

*One-half vote each.

OREGON
(Ten Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
Wallace McCamant	Portland	Sanfield McDonald	Portland
Conrad P. Olson	Portland	W. I. Harrison	Portland
Charles H. Carey	Portland	Denton Burdick	
John L. Rand	Baker	W. L. Tooze	

DISTRICTS

1—Walter L. Tooze, Jr. ..	McMinnville	Joel C. Booth	Lebanon
E. J. Adams	Eugene	Mrs. Joel C. Booth	Lebanon
2—W. H. Brooke	Ontario	Roy Rittner	
D. J. Cooper	The Dalles	M. J. Donnell	The Dalles
3—Dow Walker	Portland	Mrs. F. O. Northrup	
Hamilton Johnstone	Portland	Jno. L. Day	

PENNSYLVANIA
(Seventy-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>		<i>Alternates</i>	
William Wallace Atterbury,	Philadelphia	Robert B. Greer	Butler
Edward V. Babcock	Pittsburgh	James H. Reed	Pittsburgh
Percy M. Chandler	Philadelphia	W. Harry Baker	Harrisburg
James Elverson, Jr.	Philadelphia	Charles L. Brown	Philadelphia
W. Freeland Kendrick	Philadelphia	Elisha P. Douglass	McKeesport
Philander C. Knox	Pittsburgh	Henry M. Edwards	Scranton
Andrew W. Mellon	Pittsburgh	William S. Ellis	Bryn Mawr
Asher Miner	Wilkes-Barre	Andrew Frosch	Philadelphia
J. Hampton Moore	Philadelphia	Jacob L. Kendall	Pittsburgh
Boies Penrose	Philadelphia	Lyle W. Orr	Erie
William I. Schaffer	Chester	John W. B. Bausman	Lancaster
William C. Sproul	Harrisburg	Andrew F. Stevens	Philadelphia

DISTRICTS

1—Charles B. Hall	Philadelphia	John W. Parks	Philadelphia
William S. Vare	Philadelphia	Robert Smith (deceased) ..	Philadelphia
2—Thomas Develon, Jr. ...	Philadelphia	George W. Coles	Philadelphia
Powell Evans	Philadelphia	Joseph P. O'Neill	Philadelphia
3—Joseph P. Bartlucci	Philadelphia	Isaac D. Hetzell	Philadelphia
William Rowen	Philadelphia	Herbert W. Salus	Philadelphia
4—Alfred E. Burk	Philadelphia	William B. Roaskam	Philadelphia
William Freihofner	Philadelphia	John W. Snowden	Philadelphia
5—Harry Brocklehurst ..	Philadhlpeia	Byron E. Wrigley	Philadelphia
Joseph H. Bromley	Philadelphia	S. Everett Pendlebury	Philadelphia
6—Bayard Henry	Philadelphia	Chester W. Hill	Philadelphia
Samuel P. Rotan	Philadelphia	Frank L. Kenworthy	Philadelphia

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

- 7—Horace A. Beale, Jr. Parkesburg
 Samuel M. Vauchlain. P. O. Rosemont
- 8—Clayton H. Alderfer Norristown
 Joseph R. Grundy Bristol
- 9—William W. Griest Lancaster
 H. Edgar Sherts Millersville
- 10—Mortimer B. Fuller Scranton
 George W. Maxey Scranton
- 11—Albert H. Bleckley .. Wilkes-Barre
 Paul J. Sherwood Wilkes-Barre
- 12—Charles P. Hoffman Pottsville
 Paul W. Houck Shenandoah
- 13—Charles J. Esterly Wyomissing
 Edward M. Young Allentown
- 14—Lewis A. Howell Honesdale
 E. Everitt Van Dyne Troy
- 15—Archibald F. Jones Coudersport
 Allen P. Perley Williamsport
- 16—James C. Brown Bloomsburg
 William R. Reinhardt Shamokin
- 17—Milton K. Burgner .. Chambersburg
 Samuel I. Spyker Huntingdon
- 18—Lewis S. Sadler Carlisle
 Edward J. Stacpole Harrisburg
- 19—William S. Aaron Altoona
 Alvin Sherbine Johnstown
- 20—John E. Baker York
 William C. Tyson Guernsey
- 21—Theodore Davis Boal ... Boalsburg
 Melville Gillett Smethport
- 22—Harry F. Bovard Greensburg
 Clarence G. Dixon Butler
- 23—William E. Crow Uniontown
 Isaiah Good Somerset
- 24—C. L. V. Acheson Washington
 Oliver P. Brown New Castle
- 25—Marvin E. Griswold Erie
 James B. Yard Erie
- 26—W. Evan Chipman Easton
 George M. Davies Lansford
- 27—Daniel B. Heiner Kittanning
 Samuel S. Henderson Brookville
- 28—Harry K. Daugherty ... Grove City
 W. A. McMaster Jamestown
- 29—Robert McAfee Pittsburgh
 J. K. F. Weaver Tarentum
- 30—George H. Flinn Pittsburgh
 Alexander D. Moore Pittsburgh
- 31—C. A. Rook Pittsburgh
 M. G. Leslie Pittsburgh
- 32—Joseph G. Armstrong Pittsburgh
 William S. Haddock Dormont
- Frank P. Miller East Downingtown
 J. Herbert Ogden Lansdowne
 Charles Johnson Norristown
 Howard R. Moyer Quakertown
 Frank G. Hartman Lancaster
 Henry C. Schock Mount Joy
 Jacob R. Schlager Clarks Summit
 James W. Smith Peckville
 John S. Fine Nanticoke
 E. Foster Heller Wilkes-Barre
 Charles A. Snyder Pottsville
 Joseph Wyatt Mahoney City
 Almer C. Huff Bethlehem
 Edgar S. Richardson Reading
 Frank A. Davies Montrose
 Edward B. Farr Tunkhannock
 Reuben E. Cleveland Mansfield
 George F. Hess Beach Creek
 Joe A. Logan Milton
 Charles Steele Northumberland
 Samuel B. Sheller Duncannon
 Jerome G. Shelley Richfield
 H. Clay Kennedy Harrisburg
 Harvey L. Selzer Palmyra
 Frederick W. Coxe Everett
 George G. Patterson ... Hollidaysburg
 John E. Anstine Stewartstown
 William U. Carr Wrightsville
 Morris S. Jones DuBois
 H. B. Mutterbough Driftwood
 William Ferguson Scottsdale
 William S. Rial Greenburg
 James A. Garrison Waynesburg
 William W. Parshall Uniontown
 J. T. Moltrup Beaver Falls
 Fred L. Rentz New Castle
 Joseph J. Desmond Corry
 Labazure O. McLane Linesville
 Charles L. Fellows Stroudsburg
 John Morgans Nesquehoning
 Newton E. Graham East Brady
 Charles C. McLain Indiana
 David B. Shields Marienville
 F. C. Smith Ridgway
 F. H. Frederick Pittsburgh
 John Swan, Jr. Pittsburgh
 Robert E. L. Coughlin Pittsburgh
 John T. Small East McKeesport
 John B. Barbour Pittsburgh
 Daniel T. Coffey Pittsburgh
 Miles Bryan McKees Rocks
 Harry A. Estep Pittsburgh

RHODE ISLAND
(Ten Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
R. Livingston Beeckman Providence	Isaac B. Merriman..... Providence
Frederick L. Jenckes Providence	William B. MacColl..... Providence
G. Pierce Metcalf Providence	Joseph P. Burlingame..... Warrick
Theophile Guerin Woonsocket	Mahlon M. Gowdy..... Warrick

DISTRICTS

1—Joseph J. Bodell Providence	Joseph McCormick, Jr... E. Providence
Edward A. Sherman..... Newport	T. I. Hare Powel..... Providence
2—Richard S. Aldrich..... Providence	Harry R. Milner..... Westerly
George P. Newell Washington	Rush Sturges Providence
3—Charles H. Newell Providence	James G. Connolly..... Pawtucket
John S. Holbrook Providence	Joseph Roy Woonsocket

SOUTH CAROLINA
(Twelve Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Joseph W. Tolbert Greenwood	N. J. Frederick..... Columbia
J. H. Goodwin Columbia	W. T. Andrews..... Sumter
John F. Jones Blacksburg	E. J. Sawyer..... Bennettsville
W. S. Dixon Barnwell	L. C. Waller..... Greenwood

DISTRICTS

1—Gibbs Mitchell Charleston	S. M. Walker..... Summerton
2—J. M. Jones Saluda	D. J. Jeter..... Denmark
3—R. R. Tolbert, Jr. Abbeville	E. B. Churchwell..... Anderson
4—A. A. Gates Greenville	B. J. Madden..... Laurens
5—Geo. A. Watts Rock Hill	M. D. Lee..... Lancaster
6—I. J. McCottrie Georgetown	W. L. McFarlan..... Kingstree
7—L. A. Hawkins Columbia	Jacob Moorer Orangeburg

SOUTH DAKOTA
(Ten Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
C. A. Kelley Huron	Chas. A. Alseth..... Lake Preston
Charles A. Howard Aberdeen	J. F. Sargent..... Gettysburg
S. X. Way Watertown	F. E. Guhin..... Aberdeen
John Sutherland Pierre	Fred Litz Emery
Helen S. Peabody Sioux Falls	A. C. Roberts..... Pierpont
Allen R. Fellows Sioux Falls	T. C. Burns..... Mitchell
Chambers Kellar Lead	F. B. Stiles..... Watertown
C. N. Leedom Kadoka	O. S. Thompson..... Baltic
B. F. Myers Salem	W. F. Bruell..... Redfield
C. E. Coyne Ft. Pierre	Wm. G. Buell..... Rapid City

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

TENNESSEE
(Twenty Delegates)
AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
*Newell Sanders	Chattanooga
*Daniel Cooper Swab	Hartranft
*John J. Gore	Cookeville
*Mrs. Eddie Priest	Huntingdon
*George M. Trotter	Knoxville
*S. E. Murray	Memphis
*J. C. Martin	Jackson
*Jesse M. Littleton	Chattanooga

DISTRICTS

1—W. T. Testerman.....	Mooreburg	E. N. Clabo	
Walter P. Shipley.....	Jonesboro	C. R. Hathaway	
2—I. C. King.....	Knoxville	William York	Huntsville
M. H. Gamble.....	Maryville	L. C. Hill.....	Danridge
3—D. A. Tate.....	South Pittsburg	E. P. Loomis.....	Tellico Plains
Fred Arn	Chattanooga	S. M. Reese.....	Isabella
4—Julian H. Campbell.....	Lebanon	Mrs. M. H. Hankins.....	Livingston
T. F. Stephens.....	Livingston	M. R. White.....	Spring City
5—A. V. McLane.....	Lewisberg	T. C. Moore.....	Nashville
6—J. C. R. McCall.....	Nashville	Ed. Sneed	Lawrenceburg
7—E. B. Thurman.....	Waynesboro	J. W. Lomax	Hohenwald
W. M. Gallaher.....	Lawrenceburg	J. W. Robertson	
8—W. F. Appleby.....	Lexington	G. B. Dillon	
Dan M. Nobles.....	Paris	Mrs. H. B. Nunn.....	Ripley
*9—H. B. Nunn.....	Ripley	Miss Nell Biggs	
W. E. Hudgins.....	Union City	John E. McCall, Jr.....	Memphis
10—Chas. B. Quinn.....	Memphis		

*One-half vote each.

TEXAS
(Twenty-three Delegates)
AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>		
H. F. MacGregor.....	Houston	C. S. Williamson.....	Brenham
Phil E. Baer.....	Paris	A. B. Marshall.....	Angleton
C. A. Boynton.....	Waco	J. C. Culbertson.....	Wichita
Jno. E. Elgin.....	San Antonio	Roy Campbell	Laredo

DISTRICTS

*1—J. J. Dickerson.....	Paris	V. G. Goree.....	Texarkana
G. T. Bartlett.....	Linden	J. M. Singleton.....	Linden
*2—R. H. Dunn.....	Port Arthur	S. M. Morris.....	Lufkin
Charles F. Adams.....	Jacksonville	H. O. Wilson.....	Marshall
*3—George C. Hopkins....	Winnsboro	W. A. Hawn.....	Athens
D. W. Gullick.....	Tyler	Miss Lucile Breem.....	Mineola
*4—C. A. Duck.....	Greenville	M. O. Sharp.....	Denison
M. A. Taylor.....	Bonham	W. J. Durham.....	Greenville
*5—George F. Rockhold.....	Dallas	W. G. McClain.....	Waxahachie
J. M. McCormick.....	Dallas	J. S. Dunlap.....	Dallas

TEXAS—*Continued*

- *6—J. Wed. DavisTeague T. K. Price.....Mexia
E. W. Thomas.....Bryan Tyler HaswellBryan
- *7—R. W. Humphreys.....Liberty T. G. W. Tarver.....Crockett
U. W. Allen.....Huntsville Willis WoodsGalveston
- *8—Roy B. Nichols.....Houston George L. Noble.....Houston
T. P. Lee.....Houston G. E. Kepple.....Houston
- *9—Irvin KibbeVictoria J. Hy. Quota.....Yoakum
C. G. FranzLagrange Guy HuffmanAngleton
William Anderson
- *10—E. P. WilmotAustin J. C. Eakin.....Chilton
- *11—James W. Bass.....Waco Joe E. Williams.....Hamilton
E. R. Misener.....Hamilton Walter HudsonWeatherford
- *12—Henry ZweifelGrandburg Joe KingsbefryFort Worth
Sam DavidsonFort Worth C. W. Johnson, Jr.....Graham
- *13—J. L. Hickson.....Gainesville O. P. Maricle.....Wichita Falls
J. B. SchmitzDenton D. A. Walker.....San Antonio
- *14—F. E. Scobey.....San Antonio W. E. Haisley.....Sinton
Eugene NolteSeguin W. G. B. Morrison.....San Benito
- *15—R. B. Creager.....Brownsville C. P. Wood.....Sabinal
H. H. Jefferies.....Laredo B. J. McDowell.....Del Rio
- *16—C. O. Harris.....San Angelo O. H. Baum.....El Paso
J. G. McNaryEl Paso G. N. Harrison.....Brownswood
- *17—B. F. Robey.....Coleman F. A. Blackenbecker.....Cisco
C. A. WarnkenComanche J. L. Vannatta.....Amarillo
- *18—Frank Exum.....Shamrock J. S. Hood.....Canadian
W. S. Kenyon.....Amarillo

*One-half vote each.

UTAH
(Eight Delegates)
AT LARGE

- | <i>Delegates</i> | <i>Alternates</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Reed Smoot.....Washington, D. C. | P. C. Scorup.....Salina |
| Mrs. Jeannette Hyde...Salt Lake City | T. H. Burton.....Nephi |
| J. U. Eldredge, Jr.....Ogden | Mrs. Lilly Wolstenholm.Salt Lake City |
| J. C. Lynch.....Salt Lake City | Wilford Day .....Parowan |
| DISTRICTS | |
| 1—C. P. Cardon.....Logan | James Knudson .....Brigham City |
| L. R. Anderson.....Manti | Mrs. Alice Collins.....Ogden |
| 2—H. P. Fabian.....Salt Lake City | F. C. Loofbourow.....Salt Lake City |
| C. E. Loose.....Provo | J. Parley White.....Salt Lake City |

VERMONT
(Eight Delegates)
AT LARGE

- | <i>Delegates</i> | <i>Alternates</i> |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| H. Nelson Jackson.....Burlington | A. J. Cooper.....Bennington |
| Alexander Dunnett .....St. Johnsbury | G. M. Campbell.....Lyndon |
| John M. Thomas.....Middlebury | J. W. Webb.....Burlington |
| James Dewey .....Quechee | Clarence C. Wells.....Middlebury |
| Redfield Proctor .....Proctor | Lynn D. Taylor.....Brattleboro |
| Hugh J. M. Jones.....Montpelier | E. L. Olney.....Rutland |
| Fuller C. Smith.....St. Albans | T. F. O'Rourke.....Derby |
| George O. Gridley.....Windsor | W. E. Tracy.....Johnson |

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

VIRGINIA

(Fifteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

C. B. Slemph.....Big Stone Gap	Henry B. Crockett .....Pulaski
H. L. Lawson.....Roanoke	J. B. Kimberly.....Ft. Monroe
D. L. Groner.....Norfolk	W. W. Wheeler.....Clifton Forge
Jos. L. Crupper.....Falls Church	Mrs. M. M. Caldwell.....Roanoke

DISTRICTS

1—C. G. Smithers.....Cape Charles	W. W. Butzner.....Fredericksburg
2—P. J. Riley.....Portsmouth	J. C. Beale.....Franklin
3—Joseph W. Stewart.....Richmond	Starkey Hare .....Richmond
4—R. W. Garnett.....Farmville	J. Y. Jamison.....Buffalo Junction
5—J. M. Parsons.....Independence	A. D. Hammer.....Keysville
6—J. W. Flanagan.....Radford	
7—John Paul .....Harrisonburg	B. B. Bowman.....Edinburg
*8—J. B. Grayson.....Warrenton	A. V. Baird.....Marshall
J. A. Eggborn.....Alexandria	R. P. Whitesjone.....Alexandria
L. L. Freeman.....Vienna	L. C. Hoge.....Leesburg
Col. W. C. Shelley.....Arlington	A. B. Castleman.....Arlington
9—J. M. Daugherty.....Nickelsville	C. J. Creveling.....Blackwood
A. P. Strother.....Pearlsburg	J. W. McGavock.....Max Meadows
10—R. A. Fulwiler.....Staunton	W. C. Franklin.....Pamplin City

*One fourth vote each.

WASHINGTON

(Fourteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Thaddeus S. Lane.....Spokane	Mrs. Frances M. Haskell.....Tacoma
George H. Walker.....Seattle	Mrs. Sarah Weedon.....Seattle
Richard W. Condon.....Port Gamble	A. D. Sloan.....Yakima
Charles C. Barnette.....Anacortes	A. S. Kresky.....Centralia

DISTRICTS

1—Ewing D. Colvin .....Seattle	John J. Sullivan.....Seattle
William T. Laube.....Seattle	Mrs. Joseph Latham.....Seattle
2—H. Perry Niles.....Everett	H. B. Gardner.....Gardiner
Frank I. Sefrit.....Bellingham	Alston Fairservice.....Callam Bay
3—Mark E. Reed.....Shelton	Mrs. W. E. Brown.....Vader
Henry W. McPhail.....Raymond	Henry McCleary .....McCleary
4—N. C. Richards.....Yakima	Oliver Hall .....Colfax
Frank S. Dement.....Walla Walla	B. F. Reed.....Ellensburg
	*N. A. Boswick.....Hillyard
5—Charles Hebbard .....Spokane	*Mrs. Sarah Flannagan.....Spokane
W. Lon Johnson.....Colville	William A. Sexsmith.....Metaline Falls

*One-half vote each

WEST VIRGINIA
(Sixteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
J. S. Darst.....Charleston	C. C. Barnett.....Huntington
Joseph H. Gaines.....Charleston	John W. Fenton.....Elkins
Herbert B. White.....Parkersburg	William W. Sanders.....Charleston
James S. Lakin.....Charleston	W. H. Brand.....Fairmont

DISTRICTS

1—W. O. McCluskey.....Wheeling	J. H. Brennan.....Wheeling
Thomas W. Fleming.....Fairmont	A. Lloyd Heffner.....Fairmont
2—W. G. Wilson.....Elkins	James D. Gronninger.....Morgantown
William Taylor George.....Philippi	J. O. Henson.....Martinsburg
3—Harry B. Curtin.....Clarksburg	Wallace B. Gribble.....West Union
E. W. Martin.....Buckhannon	Birk S. Stathers.....Weston
4—John Marshall.....Parkersburg	M. Edward Hersman.....Spencer
W. F. Hite.....Huntington	Walter R. Reitz.....Sistersville
5—Joseph M. Sanders.....Bluefield	T. Edward Hill.....Keystone
Harry Scherr.....Williamson	A. Blaine York.....Williamson
6—H. P. Brightwell.....Charleston	C. J. Pearson.....St. Albans
William McKell.....Glen Jean	Harvey M. Scott.....Charleston

WISCONSIN
(Twenty-six Delegates)

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
James Thompson.....LaCrosse	Herman L. Ekern.....Madison
John J. Blaine.....Boscobel	Mrs. Theodore W. Youmans.Waukasha
Henry Krumrey.....Plymouth	Miss Katherine R. Williams.Milwaukee
Edwin J. Gross.....Milwaukee	Christian Doerfler.....Wilwaukee

DISTRICTS

1—John M. Whitehead.....Janesville	J. E. Barr.....Lake Geneva
Henry Lockney.....Waukesha	Mrs. A. J. Harris.....Janesville
2—William A. Kohl.....Mayville	Thos. H. Sanderson.....Portage
A. H. Hartwig.....Watertown	Mrs. Lynn Smith.....Jefferson
3—Dwight T. Parker.....Fennimore	Solomon Levitan.....Madison
A. T. Torge.....Mt. Horeb	Mrs. Geo. E. Gernon.....Madison
4—Fred R. Zimmerman...Milwaukee	Mrs. W. H. Wendt.....Milwaukee
Theo. Dammann.....Milwaukee	Miss Stella Gaffney.....Milwaukee
5—Peter F. Leuch.....Milwaukee	Mrs. Geo. S. Patterson.....Milwaukee
Eugene Wengert.....Milwaukee	Mrs. Wm. Stark Smith....Milwaukee
6—Julius H. Dennhart.....Neenah	Mrs. Wm. Mauthe.....Fond du Lac
Chas. Graham.....Ripon	Mrs. C. S. Van Auken.....LaCrosse
7—John Hatz.....Bangor	Henry Freehoff.....Coon Valley
Harry J. Mortonson..New Lisbon	Mrs. C. H. Ingraham.....Wausau
8—Jos. Barber.....Marathon	Geo. M. Hill.....Grand Rapids
S. M. Myhre.....Iola	John Kiernan.....Green Bay
9—Elmer S. Hall.....Green Bay	Mrs. Joshua Hodgins.....Marinette
C. B. Ballard.....Appleton	Geo. F. Comings.....Eau Claire
10—J. L. Dahl.....Rice Lake	Mrs. A. H. Shoemaker.....Eau Claire
Thos. A. Roycroft..Chippewa Falls	Mrs. C. H. Worden.....Ashland
11—Theo. M. Thomas.....Ladysmith	Mrs. B. R. Lewis.....Rhinelander
Frank McConnen.....Superior	B. R. Lewis.....Rhinelander

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

WYOMING

(Six Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

P. P. Anderson.....Basin	I. R. A. Conditt	Barnum
T. A. Dunn.....Moorcroft	Charles H. Harkins	Worland
W. R. Weeks.....Lander	Mrs. J. S. Hunter	Gillette
J. M. Wilson.....McKinley	E. L. Brannon	Guernsey
George E. Brimmer.....Rawlins	E. E. Braughn	Mauville
T. Blake Kennedy.....Cheyenne	John Park	Rock Springs

ALASKA

(Two Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

George C. Hazelet.....Cordova	
T. M. Reed.....Nome	

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Two Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Frank J. Hogan.....Washington	William T. Galliher	Washington
James A. Cobb.....Washington	Charles H. Marshall	Washington

HAWAII

(Two Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole.....Honolulu	E. Faxon Bishop	Honolulu
Harry A. Baldwin	John H. Wise	Honolulu

PHILIPPINES

(Two Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

A. S. Crossfield	Manila	E. E. Elser	Manila
Dan R. Williams	Manila	P. J. Moore	Manila

PORTO RICO

(Two Delegates)

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Robert H. Todd.....San Juan	J. Martinez Cintron	Mayaguez	
Alfonso Valdes	San Juan	Lee Nixon	Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

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

MR. EDWIN P. MORROW, of Kentucky (sitting with his delegation).—The committee is ready to report.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Governor Morrow will please come to the platform. (Applause.) The chair has pleasure in introducing Governor Morrow, of Kentucky, who will present the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

MR. EDWIN P. MORROW, of Kentucky.—Gentlemen of the Convention: We, your committee on permanent organization unanimously recommend that the temporary organization of this convention be made the permanent organization of the convention.

EDWIN P. MORROW, Chairman,
LOUISE M. DODSON, Secretary.

I now move the adoption of the report.

The report was unanimously agreed to, the question being put to the Convention by the Secretary of the Convention, Mr. Lafayette B. Gleason, of New York.

ADDRESS BY PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (MR. HENRY CAROT LODGE, of Massachusetts).—I thank the Convention and am most grateful for the action you have just taken. The best way and I think the most practical way to show my gratitude is to tell you there will be no speech by the Permanent Chairman. (Laughter.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

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

MR. PAUL HOWLAND, of Ohio (sitting with his delegation).—Mr. Chairman, the committee is ready to report.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chairman of the committee will please come to the platform. (Mr. Howland was greeted with applause as he reached the platform.) Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

MR. PAUL HOWLAND, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman and members of the Convention, I have the honor to present the unanimous report of your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, which I will ask the Secretary of the Convention to read.

A READING CLERK (MR. H. H. BANCROFT, of Illinois).—The report of the committee is as follows:

Resolved, That the Rules and Order of Business of this Convention be as follows:

I. Hereafter the Convention shall consist of four delegates-at-large from each State; two additional delegates-at-large for each Representative-at-large in Congress from any State; one delegate from each Congressional District in each State; and one additional delegate for each Congressional District in each State in which the vote for any Republican elector in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election shall have been not less than seven thousand five hundred (7,500);

Provided, however, that the total number of delegates to which any State is entitled shall be chosen from the State at large if the law of the State in which the election occurs so requires; and

Provided, further that, in the case of any State electing all Representatives in Congress from the State at large, such State shall be entitled to as many delegates, elected at large, as though the State were divided into separate Congressional Districts;

And two delegates each from Alaska, the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

In the absence of any delegate-at-large, or delegate from any Congressional District, the roll of alternates for the State or District shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention, unless the State or District Convention or law of the State electing the absent delegate shall otherwise direct, in which event the alternates from the State or District shall vote in the order established by the State or District Convention or law of the State.

II. Each delegate in the Convention shall be entitled to one vote, which may be cast by his alternate in the absence of the delegate.

III. The Rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules.



FRED W. UPHAM, of Illinois
Treasurer of the Republican National Committee and
Chairman of the Chicago Committee on Arrangements

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IV. 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.

V. 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.

VI. 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.

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

VIII. 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 candidates for President and Vice-President.

IX. 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 and Territorial Possessions in the order hereinbefore established.

X. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with.

When it appears, at the close of the roll-call, that any candidate has received the majority of votes entitled to be cast in the Convention, the Chairman 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 Chairman shall direct the vote to be taken again, and shall repeat the taking of the vote until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes.

When any State has announced its vote it shall so stand unless in case of error in casting the vote.

In the record of the votes the vote of each State, Territory and Territorial Possession shall be announced by the Chairman of the several delegations; and in case the vote of any State, Territory and Territorial Possession shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes for each 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 chairman 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 of the several delegates in such delegation.

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 name of the candidate for President or Vice-President.

XII. All resolutions relating to the Platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

XIII. No person, except members of the several delegations and officers of the Convention, shall be admitted to the Section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

XIV. A National Committee shall be elected by each National Convention, called to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, consisting of one member from each State, Territory and Territorial Possession. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory and Territorial Possession shall nominate, through its chairman, a person to act as a member of said committee. When the law of any State provides a method for the selection of members of national committees of political parties the nomination of a member of the Republican National Committee in accordance with the provisions of such law shall be considered a nomination to be carried into effect by the delegation from such State.

If the nomination be not made pursuant to law instructions by State and District Conventions to delegates to the National Convention shall be observed; and if not observed may be made operative by a vote of the National Convention.

When the delegates from each State, Territory and Territorial Possession shall have so nominated a member of the National Committee, the Convention shall thereupon elect the person so nominated to serve as a member of the Committee until the meeting of the National Committee elected by the next National Convention.

The National Committee shall issue the call for the next National Convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at least four months before the time fixed for said Convention; and delegates and alternates to such Convention shall be chosen in such manner as the National Committee shall provide, but not, however, in a manner inconsistent with these rules.

Twenty days before the time 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 contest shall be forwarded in the same manner and within the same time limit. Where more than the authorized number of delegates or alternates from any State, Territory or Territorial Possession are reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several delegates and alternates so reported, and shall

submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which delegates and alternates reported shall be placed on the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of delegates and alternates presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the State in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the National Committee.

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.

The officers of the National Committee shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, and such other officers as the Committee may deem necessary, who shall be elected by the members of the Committee.

The Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of fifteen members, in addition to which the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be ex-officio members.

Vacancies in the National Committee shall be filled by the Committee upon the nomination of the Republican State Committee in and for the State, Territory, or Territorial Possession in which the vacancy occurs.

The National Committee shall, however, have power to declare vacant the seat of any member who refuses to support the nominees of the Convention which elected such National Committee, and to fill such vacancies.

The first meeting of the National Committee shall take place within ten days after the adjournment of the National Convention electing such Committee, upon the call of the member oldest in time of service upon the previous National Committees.

The rule of the House of Representatives shall govern in all meetings of the Committee in so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with these rules. The Committee shall make its own rules governing the use of proxies at any meeting.

XV. 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 Rules and Order of Business.
- Fourth. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
- Fifth. Election of members of the National Committee.

Sixth. Presentation of names of candidates for President.

Seventh. Balloting for candidates for President.

Eighth. Presentation of names of candidates for Vice-President.

Ninth. Balloting for candidates for Vice-President.

Tenth. Call of roll of States, Territories, and Territorial Possessions, for names of delegates to serve respectively on the Committee to notify the nominee for President and the nominee for Vice-President of their nomination.

Eleventh. Unfinished business.

PAUL HOWLAND, Chairman,
MARVIN GRISWOLD, Secretary.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. I am asked to state for the committee that they can only report progress at this time, and are not ready to submit a full report.

That concludes the regular business of the convention for today. We shall be obliged to wait for the report of the Committee on Resolutions; what is the pleasure of the Convention? (There were cries of "Depew.")

The chair will take the liberty of saying that it seems the desire of the Convention that we should at this time hear from the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew, of New York. (Cheering.) He will please come to the platform. (Mr. Depew's appearance on the platform was greeted by a roar of applause, delegates, alternates and visitors rising.)

Although a young man he needs no introduction to a Republican Convention, so I have the honor merely to present Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, of the United States. (Loud applause.)

ADDRESS BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, and Ladies and Gentlemen who influence the Convention: (Laughter and applause.) I am not the Committee on Resolutions, and I do not know that I have anything to offer which will be instructive to the people here present, but when a man has reached my time of life he is inclined to reminiscence and to contrast the old with the new.

Well, Senator Lodge says that I am an old man. He is mistaken. (Laughter and applause.) I had the greatest compliment of my life a few weeks ago at a speech I made in the South. The next day I got a letter from a gentleman from the breezy West, who said, "I heard your speech last night, and they tell me that you said you were past eighty-six. Well, all I have got to say is, from the mountains of Colorado, that you are either a miracle or a d—d liar." (Laughter and applause.)

Now, my friends, I cannot help contrasting this with the first Convention with which I am familiar, the one which nominated Abraham Lincoln the second time. It was a Convention in which only half of the country was represented. The contrast is that here the whole of our glorious country is represented. (Applause.) That was a convention in which every delegate had either taken part in the war or had, as had everyone else, suffered in the war; and all the women were in black, in mourning, for lost friends.

We meet here today after another war where the situation is entirely different. We have won this war. That war was won for union and for liberty. This war has been won for liberty and civilization. But, my friends, there is this difference, that while we came out of that war with a debt of three billions, as to which we were in doubt whether it could ever be paid, we came out of this war with a debt of twenty-six billions and taxes such as were never heard of before. But that three billion was raised and paid, the debt was reduced so that nobody felt it, and our country went on, united, to a prosperity never before known, never even dreamed of by the fathers. And it was done under Republican administrations. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

In order to meet the present crisis, to settle the critical questions which are before us because of the conclusion of this conflict; to meet this terrible burden of debt and taxation, and to carry it easily, we must have that experienced statesmanship which carried us through this first great triumph to the success that all Americans hold dear and to all that Americans value. (Applause.)

My friends, I can not help recalling the difference between the Washington of today and the Washington during Lincoln's administration. I think I am one of the few men who was in Washington a great deal during Mr. Lincoln's administration and who saw him and the members of his Cabinet. I was there as Secretary of State of New York, a very young man, in order to get the soldiers' vote from New York. And I was the most popular man in Washington at the time, because of all the men and women who were there I was the only one who wanted nothing. (Laughter and applause.) All I wanted was to know where the soldiers from New York were in order that I might get their votes for the Administration. Talking with Mr. Lincoln, dining with Mr. Seward, discussing the situation with Mr. Chase, seeing often and quarreling with the Secretary of War, who was the worst tempered man I ever met, I got the atmosphere of that period. And the atmosphere differs from that of the present period in this respect: Every one of those cabinet ministers was a statesman of national and some of them of international repute. Every one of them had views of his own outside his office, and in his office he was the greatest man; and every one of them, except Seward, was hostile to the President. Not one of them had a mind that ran on

the track with the President. (Laughter and applause.) And yet Mr. Lincoln managed them all for the best interests of the country, putting into the round hole the round peg and into the square hole the square peg until he carried the people with him to that success which makes us that meet here today not only a united party but a united country. (Applause.)

My friends we have had a singular experience in these last seven years, something I had not known in my sixty-five years' talking for Republicanism. This isn't the first time the United States had to go abroad in order to meet foreign nations. We went abroad immediately after the Revolution. Washington knew better than any one else in the country what was required to make peace with Great Britain. But he did not go himself. He sent the Chief Justice of the United States. (Applause.) We had a controversy with France that required settlement. Jefferson knew more about it than any other statesman in the country. But he didn't go himself. He sent a great jurist from New York, and he sent a great statesman from New England. And what did they do? They brought back Louisiana out of which has been carved eight states. (Applause.) We had a controversy about the Oregon boundary, but the President did not go himself. He selected the greatest brains, the greatest constitutional lawyer there was in the country or ever has been in the country. And what did he do? He brought back Oregon. (Applause.) And then we had a later controversy, in the matter of the war with Spain, and McKinley knew more about it than anybody else. But he didn't go over to Europe to settle it. He sent two justices of our Supreme Court; he sent two United States Senators of opposite parties; he sent a great journalist. And what did they do? They brought back the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico along with the independence of Cuba. (Applause.)

When we came to the settlement of the recent world war our President said: Nobody understands this question but myself. Nobody can properly represent the people of the United States but myself. I will go abroad. And he went abroad, and brought back the League of Nations. (Laughter and applause.)

You know the secrets of that conference, that famous conference, of the four great powers, are leaking out. And I had a sympathy for our President in that conference. He was dealing with the ablest men in the political game, in the diplomatic game, in the international game, there are in the world. And he was a babe confident of himself. And what happened? Why, those great gamblers in international politics said to him: What do you want, Mr. President? You are the greatest man in the world: what do you want? You represent the greatest nation in the world, and you speak for every one of your people; what do you want? He said: I want a League of Nations which will put us like a heaven on

earth, reproduced on this round globe, of which I will be the recording angel. (Laughter and applause, long continued.)

Those astute old players said to him: All right, Mr. President, that is the most magnificent proposition ever offered since Calvary two thousand years ago. Said Lloyd George, I would like to have the German possessions in Africa, just to settle the negro question there. "All right." said the President. It was larger than all Europe. (Laughter.) And that little Irishman from Australia, I know him very well, Hughes said: "Mr. President, it is a luxury for a man from the Antipodes, way the other side of the world, to meet such a great man as you. That scheme of yours for a League of Nations is simply magnificent. But Australia wants Guinea, belonging to Germany, but close to us." And Wilson said, "Take it." (Laughter.) And then came forward Clemenceau and he said: "We need coal; we need iron; we need the Saar Valley and we need the Rühr Valley. The President said, "Take them." (Laughter.)

And then came Sonnino, and he said: We want Fiume. Precisely what there was in the mentality of the Chief Executive of the United States that made him object I do not know, but he said, "You can never have Fiume." It so happened that nobody there had ever heard of Fiume. (Laughter.) Nobody knew where Fiume was, whether one of the Sandwich Islands or a fixed star. (Laughter.) And so they adjourned three days to find out, and when they got together again our grand old President, with that consistency which is characteristic of him during his whole administration, said: "I will not surrender Fiume."

About that time I was up at the little village where I live, on the Hudson, at the center where I always go, and where the old statesmen gather and sit on the counter and on the nail keg, and on the flour barrel, and discuss the situation. The leader of them said, "We down in this neighborhood, Chauncey, don't care a rap about Fiume." (Applause.)

Well, my friends, the League of Nations is here. The situation is here, and no man is big enough, no man is eloquent enough, either by tongue or pen, to add anything to the magnificent description of our needs and of our conditions which was given by our temporary and permanent chairman, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. (Applause.)

I have been traveling through the South, and I have had this unusual experience, because I have been going through the South all my life. Man after man came to me and said: "I am a Democrat; I have always been a Democrat, but Mr. Wilson has taken away every principle of the Democratic Party, everything I learned from Washington, everything I learned from Jefferson, everything I learned from Monroe. I want you to nominate a good man and to win." (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, that sentiment is universal among Democrats because they do not know where they are, nor where they stand. They have fallen into an unhappy frame of mind. It is a

misfortune to a man, it is a misfortune to a nation, it is a misfortune to the members of a party when they stop thinking and let somebody else do the thinking for them. (Applause.) And so the Democrats in the House and Senate prevented the two-thirds majority necessary to overcome the President's veto and a repeal of the war measures which gave autocratic powers to the President. They prevented a budget system giving a possibility of paying our national debt; all because they were ordered so to do by the President, and did no thinking for themselves. (A voice: "Mr. Wilson does all the thinking for the Donkey.")

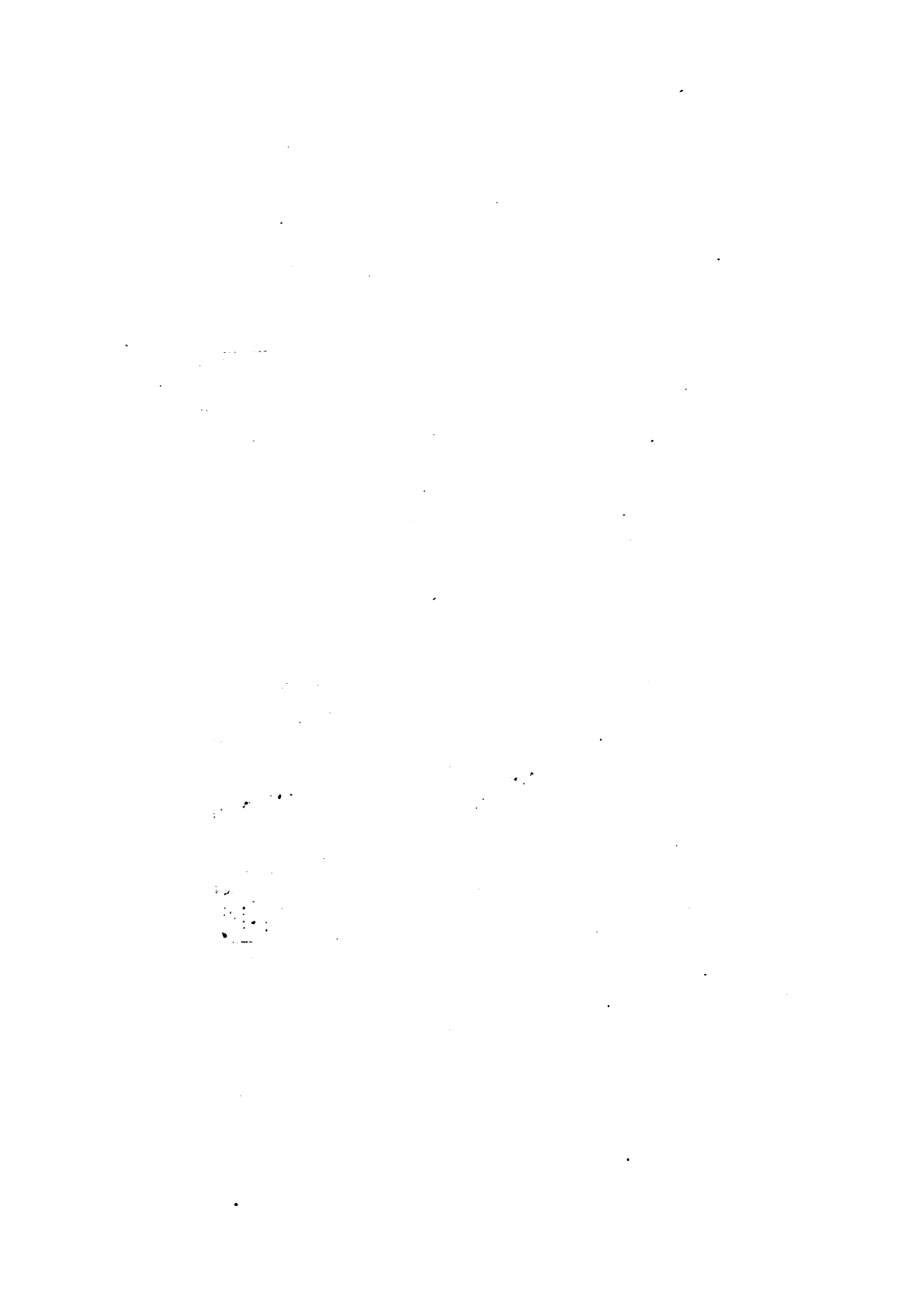
But, my friends, I think during the summer millions of those Democrats will vote our ticket in order to get relief, and when they do not vote it they are in the position illustrated by a delightful story I once heard from our old friend James G. Blaine. (Applause.) He said, "The reason certain people will not do certain things is that they are like my old friend Isaiah Smith, of Bangor. They had a revival in Bangor and Smith, who was anything but a church man, went from curiosity. From the rear seat he got to the middle of the church, and from the middle of the church he got under the pulpit, when one of the Deacons came to him and said, "Isaiah, you seem to be convinced and convicted. Now is the time to join the church." Isaiah said, "Deacon, I am convinced, and I am convicted, but I am in a woman scrape and cannot join just now.'" (Laughter and applause.)

But, my friends, we all here can sing Glory Hallelujah. We all here are convicted, convinced and converted. We all here belong not only to the Republican church, to that church which means unity, civilization, liberty, and good government. (Applause.) But we are all here to do our best, without any prejudices or any passions which would carry away our judgment. And as a veteran of fifty-six years at conventions and as a veteran of sixty-five years on the Republican platform, I ought to have in a way the gift of prophecy, and I prophesy that out of this Convention will come wisdom, both in platform and in nomination; and out of this Convention will come enthusiasm, going to every part of our country, and that one and all, the whole nation, will stand up for the principles of the fathers, for the principles of London, for the principles of McKinley, Taft and Roosevelt. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) And that the result will be the salvation of our country, our taking a proper place in the League of Nations, independent, with our constitution preserved, and our taking the proper place in the affairs of the world as dominant in all those things which lead to liberty, to civilization, and the unity and peace of mankind. (Cheers and applause, loud and prolonged, the Convention rising to its feet.

There were then cries of "Cannon," "We want to hear from Uncle Joe."



PAT SULLIVAN, of Wyoming
Member of Committee on Arrangements



THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—You have heard from one of the veterans of the Republican Party, speaking, as he always does, words of eloquence and of truth. I want you to listen now to a representative of the women, who are with us for the first time as voters and taking part in national party matters. I have the pleasure and honor of introducing Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, of Kansas, a member of our Republican National Women's Committee, well known as a writer and a staunch Republican by inheritance as well as by belief. Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, Mrs. McCarter.

Mrs. McCarter's appearance on the platform was greeted by enthusiastic cheering, delegates, visitors and guests rising.

ADDRESS BY MRS. MARGARET HILL McCARTER, OF KANSAS.

Members of the Republican Convention: It marks an era in the history of Republicanism when an honor such as is conferred upon women at this moment is given here.

I stand here as a representative of twenty million women, nineteen million of whom belong to the Republican party. (Applause.) I come from the good old Sunflower State of Kansas, that in 1916 was magnificently kept out of war. (Laughter.)

I want to speak but one word for the women of America. We are organized, we are trained, we are ready for the duties of citizenship. We stand loyally by the party inaugurated by Abraham Lincoln; the party of Liberty and Light, of morality and love; the party that has never failed in its loyalty to the good old Stars and Stripes. Its banner has been Old Glory waving above, and the crimson of all our sunsets, the blue of our June skies, the white of the eternal snows are gathered into that banner, which the women of America must follow if we would have the strength and power and sweetness and nobility of real government for all the people. (Applause.)

I pledge you here that the womanhood of America will not be found wanting in upholding the great Republican ideals; that, as in the past, we have fought battles, so now with you at the great ballot box we stand ready to fight with you that there may be established again in our country a government that shall protect, a power that shall extend, a strength that shall build up, and that through all the coming years our Nation with its ideals of Republicanism shall continue to endure; that the "Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave." (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

PICTURE FOR THE MOVIES.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will kindly be in order for a few minutes while we endure one of the afflictions of being in public life—having our picture taken for the movies.

Thereupon Senator Lodge and Mrs. McCarter walked out on the extension platform while a picture was taken.

SINGING THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

Then the Convention sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic, to the accompaniment of the Band.

The cries of "Cannon!" "We want to hear Uncle Joe" were renewed.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I wish to state that we had thought of calling on Speaker Cannon to address the Convention, but on making inquiry we find that he is not in the hall.

MAYOR'S ENTERTAINMENT.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (MR. LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, of New York).—I am requested to announce that the Mayor's Entertainment Committee has provided the necessary number of automobiles, to be entered on Wabash Avenue, immediately at the close of the present session to convey delegates and alternates to the plant of the Illinois Steel Company, South Chicago, where Luncheon will be served. It is hoped that as many delegates and alternates as possible will avail themselves of this automobile ride and luncheon.

ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY.

MR. W. W. ATTERBURY, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I move you that the Convention do now adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; whereupon (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the Convention adjourned until Thursday, June 10, 1920, at 11 o'clock a. m.

THIRD DAY

CONVENTION HALL—THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1920.

The Convention met at 11 o'clock A. M. pursuant to adjournment of yesterday.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—His Eminence, Cardinal James Gibbons, will now offer prayer.

INVOCATION BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL JAMES GIBBONS.

We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, through whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted and judgments decreed, vouchsafe to inspire Thy servants, the citizens of the United States, to elect a chief magistrate whose administration will be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he shall preside by encouraging due respect for religion and morality, by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy and by restraining vice and immorality.

May Thy people always realize the truth of the inspired maxim that "righteousness exalteth a nation but sin maketh a people miserable." May they realize and take to heart that if our nation is to be perpetuated in the exercise of authority with liberty our government must rest, not on formidable standing armies, not on dreadnaughts, for the "race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." May they be persuaded that our government must rest upon the eternal principles of truth, justice and righteousness; on downright honesty in our dealings with foreign nations, and in humble recognition of an overruling Providence, who has created all things by His power, governs all things by His wisdom, and whose eternal vigilance watches over the affairs of nations and of men, and without whom not even a bird can fall to the ground. "Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city he watcheth in vain that keepeth it."

Grant, O Lord, that the administration of the new chief magistrate may redound to the spiritual and material welfare of the com-

monwealth; to the suppression of sedition and anarchy; and to the strength and perpetuity of our civil and political institutions.

I have been, O Lord, in my day a personal and living witness of the many tremendous upheavals which threatened to rend the nation asunder, from the inauguration of Thy servant Abraham Lincoln even unto this day. But Thou hast saved us in the past by Thy Almighty power and I have an abiding confidence that Thou wilt deal graciously with us in every future emergency.

Grant that the proceedings of this Convention may be marked by a wisdom, discretion, concord, harmony and mutual forbearance worthy of an enlightened and patriotic body of American citizens.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS REPORTS PROGRESS.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Members of the Convention, I present Senator McCormick, of Illinois, who will make a report from the Committee on Resolutions. (Applause.)

MR. MEDILL McCORMICK, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Republican National Convention: The Committee on Resolutions has commissioned me to make a report to the Convention and to submit for your consideration a resolution. The sub-committee has continued its deliberations throughout yesterday, throughout the night and far into the morning. The members of that committee have been actuated by the purpose which moves the delegates of this Convention, to concert their purposes to find ground for agreement, to achieve a union among Republicans which promises victory in November. (Applause.)

I have to report that the sub-committee unanimously has agreed upon a platform, including the paragraph dealing with the treaty of peace and the League of Nations. (Loud applause.) It will be necessary for the sub-committee to revise the details of the draft and to submit its report to the full committee in order that all the members of the Committee on Resolutions may consider the draft, line by line; that they may be free to offer amendments and to express their full opinions. It is the purpose of this Convention that every delegate shall be heard. To this end I am instructed to move a recess until four o'clock this afternoon.

There were cries of "No, No, No."

RECESS.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Senator McCormick moves that the Convention take a recess until four o'clock this afternoon. Those in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. (A chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will say no. (A chorus of noes, but, apparently, the majority of them from the galleries.) The chair is in doubt and asks that the delegates who favor taking a recess as requested by the Committee on

Resolutions will rise and stand. (It was apparent that a large majority of the delegates stood up.) The ayes will now be seated and the noes will rise. (A very much smaller number of the delegates stood up to indicate a nay vote.) The ayes have it and the Convention stands in recess until four o'clock this afternoon.

Thereupon (at 11 o'clock and 29 minutes a. m.) the Convention recessed until 4 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention reassembled at 4:35 o'clock p. m., pursuant to recess.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair directs the Secretary of the Convention to call the roll of States for nomination of members of the Republican National Committee. The Chairmen of the different State delegations will please respond as the roll is called. The chair understands that a number of State delegations have reported the names of the members of the National Committee elected, which names will be read by the Secretary of the Convention, but in the case of States which have not yet reported the delegation will please report when the roll is called.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The several States have reported with the exception of California, Kansas, Minnesota, Georgia, South Carolina and Vermont. In the event that any names have been wrongly reported or placed upon the list I will be glad if delegations will make corrections when the roll is called. In the case of vacancies appearing on the list State delegations will please report their selections as the names of States are called.

Thereupon the roll was called and names were reported from Georgia and Minnesota and South Carolina, but requests were made by State delegations to be passed for the present in the case of California, Kansas and Vermont.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

State or Territory	Name of Member
Alabama	Oliver D. Street
Arizona	Allen B. Jaynes
Arkansas	H. L. Rimmel
California	Wm. H. Crocker
Colorado	John F. Vivian
Connecticut	J. Henry Roraback
Delaware	T. Coleman du Pont
Florida	George W. Bean
Georgia	Henry Lincoln Johnson
Idaho	John W. Hart
Illinois	Lawrence Y. Sherman
Indiana	Joseph B. Kealing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE—Continued

State or Territory	Name of Member
Iowa	John T. Adams
Kansas	D. W. Mulvane
Kentucky	A. T. Hert
Louisiana	Emile Kuntz
Maine	Guy P. Gannett
Maryland	Wm. P. Jackson
Massachusetts	John W. Weeks
Michigan	Fred M. Warner
Minnesota	I. A. Caswell
Mississippi	M. J. Mulvihill
Missouri	Jacob L. Babler
Montana	D. H. P. Shelley
Nebraska	R. P. Howell
Nevada	Geo. Wingfield
New Hampshire	Fred W. Estabrook
New Jersey	Hamilton F. Kean
New Mexico	H. O. Bursum
New York	Chas. D. Hilles
North Carolina	John M. Morehead
North Dakota	Gunder Olson
Ohio	Rudolph K. Hynicka
Oklahoma	Jake E. Hamon
Oregon	Ralph E. Williams
Pennsylvania	Boies Fenrose
Rhode Island	Fred S. Peck
South Carolina	J. W. Tolbert
South Dakota	Willis C. Cook
Tennessee	John W. Overall
Texas	H. F. MacGregor
Utah	E. Bamberger
Vermont	Earle S. Kinsley
Virginia	C. B. Slemp
Washington	Guy E. Kelly
West Virginia	V. L. Higland
Wisconsin	Alfred T. Rogers
Wyoming	Patrick Sullivan
District of Columbia	Edward F. Colladay
Alaska	J. C. McBride
Hawaii	Robert W. Shingle
Philippines	Henry B. McCoy
Porto Rico	R. H. Todd

During the calling of the roll as above shown so that State delegations might report their selections for National Committeemen, the following occurred:

MR. FRANK P. FLINT, of California (when the State of California was called).—Mr. Chairman, California asks to be passed for the present.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Without objection the request of the California delegation will be acceded to, with request that report be made as quickly as possible.

MR. FRANK P. FLINT, of California.—That will be done.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will continue to call the roll.

When Georgia was called the following occurred:

MR. CHURCHILL P. GORE, of Georgia.—Georgia submits the name of Henry Lincoln Johnson.

MR. D. C. COLE, of Georgia.—Mr. Chairman, Georgia does not submit the name of Henry Lincoln Johnson. The majority of the delegation from Georgia agreed not to nominate a man for the National Committee until after the Presidential candidate was nominated.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Any disputes about names of members of the National Committee will be heard after the roll is called. The calling of the roll of States cannot be interrupted to decide any contest at this time. The Secretary will continue calling the roll.

When the name of Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, was announced, there was loud and prolonged applause.

When Kansas was called the following occurred:

MR. W. J. BAILEY, of Kansas.—Mr. Chairman, Kansas asks to be passed for the present and will announce the name of the member of the National Committee a little later.

When the name of Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, was called as the member of the National Committee re-elected from that State there was loud and prolonged applause, the Pennsylvania delegation standing and cheering.

When Vermont was called the following occurred:

MR. ALEXANDER DUNNETT, of Vermont.—Vermont requests permission to be passed for the present and will report its selection of a member of the National Committee a little later.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question before the Convention is on the approval, as required by the rules, of the persons nominated by the several State delegations for membership on the National Committee, omitting the State of Georgia in which there is a dispute.

The nominations reported for membership on the National Committee were thereupon unanimously ratified by the Convention.

LIMITING SECONDING SPEECHES.

MR. CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I offer the resolution which I now send to the Secretary's desk and ask that same be read.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Hilles, of New York, offers a resolution and asks that the same be read by one of the reading clerks.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—The resolution presented by Mr. Hilles, of New York, is as follows:

Resolved, That the rules be suspended and a new rule for this Convention be adopted as follows:

Two seconding speeches of five minutes' duration each, shall be allowed in support of any candidate whose name has been presented to the

Convention, and if more than two delegates desire to be heard to second the nomination of any candidate whose name has been presented, but two minutes shall be allowed each of such delegates in which to address the Convention.

MR. CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York.—I move the adoption of the resolution.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In order to make a change in the rules it is necessary that two States shall second the motion made by the gentleman from New York. Do two States second the motion?

MR. C. H. MARSH, of Minnesota.—Minnesota seconds the motion.

MR. JOHN M. MOREHEAD, of North Carolina.—North Carolina also seconds the motion.

MR. H. L. REMMEL, of Arkansas.—Arkansas also wishes to second that motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question before the Convention is, Shall the rules be suspended and a new rule for this Convention adopted. Those in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. (A chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify by saying no. (Silence.) It is a vote. More than two-thirds of the delegates having voted therefor the rules are suspended and a new rule governing seconding speeches is adopted for this Convention.

The chair is obliged to announce that the report of the Committee on Resolutions cannot be expected for another hour.

There were cries of "Cannon!" and "Uncle Joe."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I have just received, through the kindness of the press, notice that the members of the Resolutions Committee are just leaving the Auditorium Hotel for the Coliseum. (Applause.)

The cries "Cannon" and "Uncle Joe" were renewed.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair asked ex-Speaker Cannon if he would not address the Convention. He requested to be excused. Mr. Cannon expressed the desire and the hope that the Convention would kindly excuse him as he was not feeling very well.

At this point a sergeant-at-arms who had been dispatched at the first call for Representative Cannon, returned and reported that Mr. Cannon had agreed to address the Convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I am now informed that former Speaker Cannon has very kindly agreed to return and address the Convention.

As ex-Speaker Cannon walked forward on the platform he was greeted by uproarious applause, delegates, alternates and guests of the Convention rising and giving "three cheers for Uncle Joe."



JAMES A. HEMENWAY, of Indiana
Member of Committee on Arrangements



THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair has very great pleasure, even though it is quite unnecessary to formally introduce him, in introducing former Speaker Joseph G. Cannon. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON, OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: (The speaker holds a glass of water above his head, imitating the Statue of Liberty enlightening the world.) The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the legislation putting into full force and effect the prohibitory amendment is constitutional, and as citizens all legislation that is enacted under the Constitution, under our law in this great republic, while so remaining constitutional, whatever we may think about it as individuals, must stand.

Water, brewed in the clouds and filtered through the eternal hills, I drink to your health, and to that of the delegates and alternates and guests of the Convention, as well as all other good Republicans everywhere. (Applause.)

Our New York friend and myself four years ago, with Senator Warren G. Harding presiding, were notified that we were to entertain, or at least to try to entertain the audience while the business of the convention was being matured. Chauncey said "Cannon, you go first." "Why, no," I said, "you are the older." (Laughter.) Chauncey talked for forty minutes, and I never heard a more interesting and entertaining talk in my life. I talked five minutes, and considering the amount that a man knows sometimes five minutes is a long, long time for a man to talk. (Laughter, accompanied by a voice: "But not for you, Uncle Joe.")

I am 84 years of age. I was in the Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) I have been in every National Convention except two from that time to this. I have tried to be at all times a consistent Republican, not because of the name, Republican, but because I believed the policies of that great organization were the policies under which, when enacted and put upon the statute books, the great majority of the people of the United States would make the greatest advancement and have the greatest prosperity. (Applause.)

There are many candidates seeking this nomination today. And that condition has been almost universal from the time of Lincoln down to the present time. And I am not criticising any of them. It is a laudible ambition for a man to ask to be placed upon the Republican ticket as a candidate for the presidency, and it is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon any man to be president of the United States. (Applause.) But whoever is elected President of the United States has a great responsibility. As chief executive he has the power to veto any legislation that might be passed by the House of Representatives and the

Senate; he can cry "halt," and when he cries halt by a veto it takes two-thirds of each body to pass that legislation over his veto. So he has a great responsibility in the matter of legislation. In addition to that he is the commander-in-chief of the Army and the Navy, a great responsibility. Sometimes we have to criticise the President of the United States. I am not going to criticise Woodrow Wilson; God knows from my standpoint as a Republican it is not necessary. (Laughter and applause.)

We have many candidates now of great ability who are seeking this nomination, supported by their friends. I do not know who is going to be nominated. I trust whoever is nominated will be successful at the polls; in fact, I think I can say, although I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, that he will be triumphantly chosen. (Applause.)

I trust and believe that he will be a great success. During my 84 years I have lived through the Civil War. I have lived while the eggs were being unscrambled. When the war closed the Union Army was composed of, counting enlistments and re-enlistments, 2,800,000 people. I have lived and have seen the great Civil War debt, amounting to \$3,000,000,000 when the war closed, gradually wiped out. I have lived to see the paper dollar, that was worth at one time a very much depreciated sum as compared with silver or gold, the silver or gold dollar being worth \$2.65 as compared with the paper dollar—I have lived to see that dollar, backed by the credit of the United States, as good as gold.

In the fullness of time we got back to normal. It took the better part of a generation to get back to normal. But under the wise leadership of the great and good sense of the majority of the people we did get back to normal.

Did I say three billions of dollars of debt when the Civil War closed? Yes; I did, and that was correct. Three billions of dollars of debt! Yet at the close of this great world war we have been and will be by taxation contributing from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 every year; and we will have to keep on doing that same thing for many years to come. Not a very pleasant thing to contemplate. A load; yes; a load, but one that will not strangle us, for even though old men like me will be dead and forgotten before these eggs are unscrambled, yet the people of the United States will during the oncoming generation carry that great load to successful payment; keep all our pledges to the boys who wore the khaki and the blue, of the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps. And as they grow older we will keep all the pledges that were made, and still we will increase in population and in prosperity.

I am not a pessimist. Thank God, I am an optimist. (Applause.) Why, when the war broke out to save the Union all the people, North and South, in the United States, not counting the Indians, totaled 31,000,000. We have carried these great loads, and yet today we number 110,000,000 souls. When this country is fully developed and without any additional

territory; when it is developed as is the case in France in the matter of density of population, as it is in Great Britain, and in Germany and in Italy, we will have 700,000,000 people in the present State and Territorial United States.

Can such a country fail? Can such a people fail? Can the sons and the grandsons and the great grandsons of those men who won our independence, under the leadership of George Washington, the men who have made and are making this great progress; can they fail? There is no such word as fail. (Applause, and cries of "Right.")

Now, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, just a word or two in closing: I have not seen the resolutions nor the platform that the committee has adopted and that we are to be called upon to approve. But I hope and believe, in fact I feel quite sure, that that platform will deserve approval and will receive approval. (Applause.) Sometimes I have found during my long life something in platforms that I would change if I had the preparation of them. You know the old saying, "Many men of many minds," but I believe when the report of the Committee on Resolutions comes to you and the platform is read to this assemblage that it will receive substantially the unanimous approval of this convention, that it will receive substantially the approval of every delegate that sits in this Convention, which means the approval of all the Republicans in the United States. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, is something else ready?

There were cries "Go on, Uncle Joe," and "We want to hear you, Uncle Joe."

MR. CANNON.—I do want to thank you for your patient attention. Frankly, I did not intend nor did I desire on this hot afternoon to address you. I am not a vain man but I appreciate the great compliment that you have paid to me by desiring me to appear and talk for a little while to you. Not vain? No, no; it was not me that you approved of. You approved substantially of my service in public life during 50 years, because I have stood upon the platforms and advocated the policies of that great party of which you and I are members. (Loud applause.)

And now again I want to thank you and say to you, God bless you. (Applause and cries: "Hurrah for Uncle Joe.") God bless those who sent you here. God preserve you in health and preserve the health of those who sent you here; and good afternoon. (Applause, loud and prolonged, the Convention rising, during which time the speaker again raised a glass of water high above his head in imitation of the Statue of Liberty enlightening the world, then drank the toast which he had proposed at the outset of his address, and took his seat on the platform.)

MR. ALBERT EDMUND BROWN, Director of Community Singing, Republican League of Massachusetts.—I will ask the Convention to sing the Long, Long Trail. (Which was done in a very enthusiastic manner.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FROM GEORGIA.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will now call the roll of the Georgia delegates to this Convention so as to determine their wishes as to who shall be the Georgia member of the Republican National Committee. This was passed over when the other National Committeemen were selected.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Georgia delegation, the vote was announced: Johnson, 12; Pickett, 3; not voting, 2; as follows:

GEORGIA			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Pickett</i>	<i>Not Voting.</i>
Henry Lincoln Johnson.....	1	..	..
Churchill P. Goree	1	..	..
Benjamin J. Davis	1	..	..
Joseph H. Watson	1	..	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—Walter S. Scott	1	..	..
2—W. F. Satterwhite	1	..	..
3—E. S. Richardson .....	..	..	1
4—C. D. Williams	1	1	..
5—John W. Martin	1	..	..
6—B. M. Sherard	1	..	..
7—D. C. Cole .....	..	1	..
8—W. H. Harris	1	..	..
9—W. Y. Gilliam .....	..	1	..
10—Roscoe Pickett .....	..	..	1
11—R. C. Williams	1	..	..
12—E. R. Belcher.....	1	..	..
13—S. S. Mincey	1	..	..
	12	3	2

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It appears that Henry Lincoln Johnson has been duly elected by the delegation from the State of Georgia as a member of the National Committee. The question now before the Convention is his election by this body; and as the rules are mandatory it amounts merely to a ratification of the selection by the Georgia delegation, of Henry Lincoln Johnson, as National Committeeman from the State of Georgia. All in favor of the election or ratification of Henry Lincoln Johnson as National Committeeman from the State of Georgia will signify it by saying aye. (A chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify it by saying no. (A chorus of noes.)

Inasmuch as under the rules it is mandatory on the Convention to elect or ratify the choice of a State delegation for membership on the National Committee I declare Henry Lincoln Johnson duly elected.

At this point there were many cries of "No" and a demand made for a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—You are not entitled to a roll call on that question because under the rules the action of the Convention is mandatory.

The confusion continued and the demand for a roll call was repeated.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention may suspend the rules by a two-thirds vote and then take a roll call on this proposition if that is the desire of the Convention. Does the chair hear a motion to suspend the rules in this case?

There were cries of "No, No" followed by "Let us proceed regularly."

MR. D. C. COLE, of Georgia.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the matter of the selection of a member of the National Committee from the State of Georgia be referred for decision to the Republican National Committee.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair begs to inform the gentleman that this nomination having been made by the delegation to this Convention it thereupon becomes mandatory on the Convention to ratify that selection or, in other words, to elect the choice of the delegation. Therefore there is no further action to be taken, the vote of the Georgia delegation having been ascertained.

The Convention marked time for about half an hour while the Committee on Resolutions was finishing its report and preparing to present it to the Convention, the Convention being entertained by the Band and by singing several songs, and at 6:06 p. m. Senator Watson came upon the platform and was greeted by loud applause.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Senator Watson of Indiana will now present the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

MR. JAMES E. WATSON, of Indiana.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions to present to you for your consideration the following platform, and after it is read to move its adoption. It is a somewhat lengthy document and I ask your kind indulgence until I shall have concluded its reading.

THE PLATFORM

The Republican party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and

ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to the war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR WAR.

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparations is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes, and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds, literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burdens and in the high cost of living.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE.

Peace found the administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital need of the country demanded the early and systematic return of a peace time basis.

This called for vision, leadership, and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the government has continued on a war time basis. The administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in the time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial function still undermines our institutions. Eighteen months after the armistice, with its wartime powers unabridged, its wartime departments undischarged, its wartime army of place holders still mobilized, the administration still continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of the government, and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulty of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican party declares its policy and programme to be as follows:

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

We undertake to end executive autocracy and restore to the people their constitutional government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the Federal and State governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unflinching respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

(a) MEXICO.

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as

... the President's message to Congress regarding the situation in Armenia and the need for American intervention.

The President's message to Congress regarding the situation in Armenia and the need for American intervention.

The Republican party is a voice friend of the Armenian people. In its opinion the acceptance of a mandate for Armenia will be rendered the Mexican people's attention for a consideration of present conditions means...

(b) MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

The President's message to Congress for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for rejecting the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

(c) LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and



GEORGE L. HART, of Virginia
Official Reporter of the Convention

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must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peace-makers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic congressional minority,

the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operations of which under the present Democratic administration, has been wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient in the highest degree. The transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the wage board created by the Act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept shipping board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employes—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors we reorganized the Army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent woman's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control Act, for broadening the scope of the war risk insurance Act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the vocational rehabilitation act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve Act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade; and finally,

amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

AGRICULTURE.

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which it holds is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuation; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan Act should be so administered as to become administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interest of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government

ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

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FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unflinching respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

(a) MEXICO.

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as

being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously, or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican government, unless it be a responsible government willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected; that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in accordance with established principles of international law and our treaty rights.

The Republican party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves; for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

(b) MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for refusing the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

(c) LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and



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Official Reporter of the Convention

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must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peace-makers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic congressional minority,

the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operations of which under the present Democratic administration, has been wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient in the highest degree. The transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the wage board created by the Act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept shipping board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employes—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors we reorganized the Army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent woman's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control Act, for broadening the scope of the war risk insurance Act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the vocational rehabilitation act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve Act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade; and finally,

amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

AGRICULTURE.

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which it holds is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuation; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan Act should be so administered as to become administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interest of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government

initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences. We denied the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives and health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunal to be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration supplemented by the full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration almost three billion dollars. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

The Overman Act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the armistice, the United States Government is still on a war-time basis, and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war time extravagance rather than rigid peace time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post war time administration we cite the fact that not including the war and navy departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in pay roll costs contained in the 1921

demands submitted by the Administration is only one per cent. below that of 1920. The annual expenses of Federal operations can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment on a peacetime basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET.

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an Executive Budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and business-like administration of the national finances; and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS.

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distributions of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and over-lapping of work and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic war time powers. His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war time legislation, no longer necessary, evidenced his determination not to restore to the Nation and to the State the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

TAXATION.

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected. The next Republican Administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over three billion dollars—the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial consideration. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of five billion dollars which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and proced-

ure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not, for tax laws which do, excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income returns; authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayers, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law and to make recommendations to the Congress.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The fact is that the war to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation, through certificate borrowings from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who, in good faith, bought liberty bonds and victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion and as a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industry.

The Federal Reserve System should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The prime cause of the "High Cost of Living" has been first and foremost, a fifty per cent. depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power, have been contributing forces in a greater or less degree. We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic Administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to

earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living, by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

PROFITEERING.

We condemn the Democratic Administration for failure impartially to enforce the Anti-Profiteering Laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

RAILROADS.

We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employee operation of the Railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years, and the conclusion which may fairly be drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprise, to restore railway credit, to induce future investment at a reasonable rate, and to furnish a large facility to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution a fair return upon actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time to provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions, at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

We endorse the transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.

WATERWAYS.

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

We approve in general the existing Federal Legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The

Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic Administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission properly organized and its duties efficiently administered should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests. There should be no persecution of honest business; but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF.

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principles and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

MERCHANT MARINE.

The National defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship, flying the American flag, and manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy. We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American Merchant Marine.

We favor the application of the workmen's Compensation act to the Merchant Marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American Merchant Marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without payment of tolls.

IMMIGRATION.

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and the elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government. The immigration policy of the U. S. should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as



CHARLES B. WARREN, of Michigan
Member of Committee on Arrangements

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near the course of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision, all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained.

NATURALIZATION.

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION.

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the government or American institutions.

Every government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

LYNCHING.

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS.

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the

setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

CONSERVATION.

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation Act signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the coal, oil and phosphate leasing act by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the waterpower bill fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the waterpower bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the States and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

RECLAMATION.

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation.

We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

ARMY AND NAVY.

We feel the deepest pride in the fine courage, the resolute endurance, the gallant spirit of the officers and men of our army and navy in the World War. They were in all ways worthy of the best traditions of the nation's defenders, and we pledge ourselves to proper maintenance of the military and naval establishments upon which our national security and dignity depend.

THE SERVICE MEN.

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War.

The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,893. The legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

POSTAL SERVICE.

We condemn the present administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service, and the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government and for its failure to properly compensate employees whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employees, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted on the Suffrage Amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920 which is so important to the welfare of our country.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interest of the nation as a whole. We pledge the

Republican party to the solution of these problems through national and state legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

The public health activities of the Federal government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, States and local health agencies.

CHILD LABOR.

The Republican party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We recommend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

HOUSING.

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory

character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of home owners is the best guaranty of the maintenance of those principles of liberty, law and order upon which our government is founded. Both national and state governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

HAWAII

For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace-time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people, and finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day; to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

At the conclusion of the reading of the platform the delegates and alternates stood up and gave three cheers for the platform and the Grand Old Party.

MR. JAMES E. WATSON, of Indiana.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I move the adoption of the resolutions as read.

The motion was seconded by a number of delegates from the floor.

MINORITY REPORT.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Mr. Chairman, I have a minority report which I would like the opportunity to present.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. Mr. Gross, a member of the Committee on Resolutions, desires to offer a minority report, signed by himself. (Laughter and applause.)

There was evidence of great disapproval on the part of the delegates, some hooting and others asking "Why take up our time with this?"

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I ask the Convention to be in order. Mr. Gross is just as much entitled to a hearing as any other man in this Convention.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—You fought for democracy. You are in favor of freedom of speech, and yet you do not want to give a member of this Committee a fair hearing in presenting something he has a right to present in this Convention.

There were cheers of approval from the Wisconsin delegation accompanied by cries of "Go ahead." From other sections of the Convention there was every evidence of disapproval, accompanied by hooting.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention must be in order. We must proceed in an orderly manner to finish the business we came here to attend to.

Mr. Gross, you may proceed.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Believing that the majority report does not represent the will of the American people, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions from the State of Wisconsin, I submit the following minority report and move its adoption.

We favor the immediate conclusion of peace and resumption of trade with all countries.

We are opposed to the League of Nations as a standing menace to peace, and we denounce the Treaty as a violation of the pledges made to the world and a betrayal of the honor of this nation. It would make us a party to the enslavement of Egypt and India, the rape of China and the ruthless oppression of Ireland.

We would favor a League for Peace, composed of all the nations of the world, provided they were mutually pledged by binding covenants, with proper guarantees, to abolish compulsory military service, and, provided further, that the several nations mutually bind themselves to a speedy disarmament, reducing the land and naval forces of each nation to the strict requirements of a purely police and patrol service.

We demand the immediate restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civil rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

We favor the repeal of the Espionage and Sedition Act, and denounce the attempt to write such laws into the permanent statutes of the country.

We oppose all legislation conferring upon the Postmaster General, or any other governmental agency, the power to deny the mailing privilege to any person without judicial hearing, and the right of appeal.

We oppose compulsory military service in time of peace. We denounce the use of our soldiers in countries with which we are not at war, and we favor the speedy reduction of world armaments.

We oppose the exile of any person lawfully admitted to this country, except for crime fixed by law, and then only upon trial and conviction by jury.

We demand the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

We favor laws permitting labor and farm organizations, for the purpose of collective bargaining, in industry, trade and commerce.

We favor such legislation as may be needful and helpful in promoting direct co-operation and eliminating waste, speculation and excessive profits between producer and consumer, as offering some measure of relief from the oppressive and intolerable economic conditions under which the farmer, the wage earner and people generally suffer at this time.

We favor repeal of the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law, by which the people are forced to guarantee railroads a profit, while such railroads are privately owned, and declare for the ultimate public ownership of railroads, and the gradual acquisition of stock yard terminals, large packing plants, and all other natural resources, the private ownership of which is the basis of private monopoly.

We demand economy in government, to replace the extravagance run riot under the present administration. The expenses of the present year of peace, it has been estimated, will be approximately \$11,000,000,000, or ten times the annual pre-war expense.

We condemn the system that permits 18,000 millionaires to be produced from war profits—one millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in France. We demand that taxes be laid upon wealth in proportion to ability to pay, in such manner as will prevent such tax burdens being shifted to the backs of the poor, in higher prices and increased cost of living.

We denounce the alarming usurpation of legislative power by the Federal courts as subversive of democracy, and we favor such amendments to the Constitution, and thereupon the enactment of such statutes as may be necessary, to provide for the election of all Federal judges, for fixed terms not exceeding ten years, by direct vote of the people.

We favor such amendments to the Constitution, and thereupon the enactment of such statutes as may be necessary to extend the initiative and the referendum to national legislation, and the recall to representatives in Congress and United States Senators.

We favor paying the soldiers of the late war a sufficient sum to make their war wages equal to at least civilian pay, and this as a matter of right, and not as charity or bonus. We favor other laws liberally recognizing the patriotic devotion of our soldiers in all our wars.

We favor a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the Sea. The

Government should, in conjunction with Canada, take immediate action to give the Northwestern States an outlet to the ocean for cargoes, without change in bulk, thus making the primary markets on the great lakes equal to those of New York.

(Signed)

EDWIN J. GROSS,

Member of Committee on Resolutions from Wisconsin.

During the reading of the minority report the following occurred:

When the signer and reader of the report finished the section, "We demand the immediate restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civil rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution," he added: And that applies to some of you in this Convention as well." Thereupon there was a roar of laughter.

When the signer of the minority report read that section in which he favored the repeal of the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law he was greeted with a volley of hisses and cries of "Sit down," "Put him out," "That is enough," and "This is a Republican Convention, not a Socialist gathering."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I hope the Convention will remain quiet until we can dispose of the necessary business.

A VOICE FROM THE GALLERY.—Tell him to hurry up and get through. We have heard enough of that.

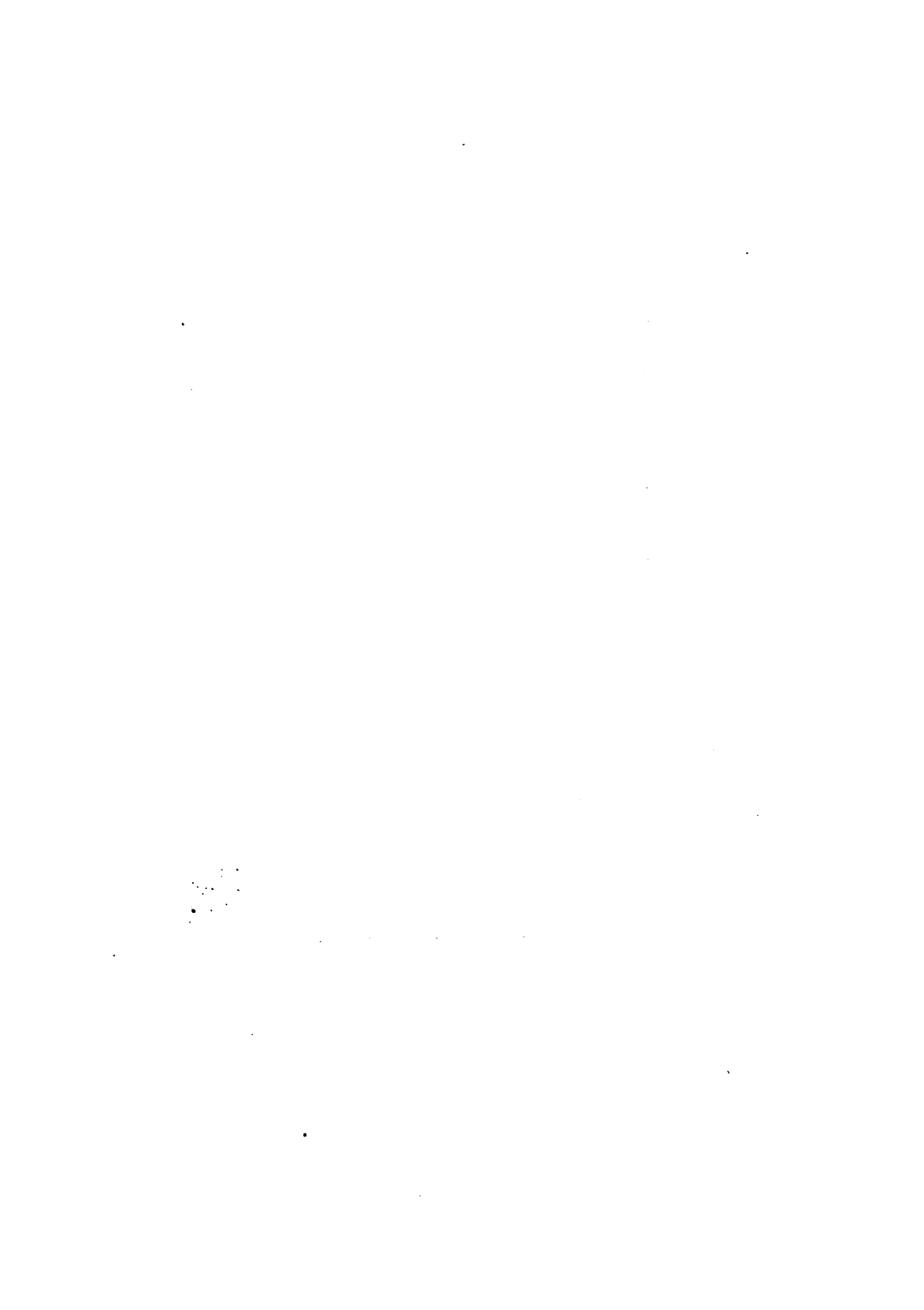
ANOTHER VOICE FROM THE GALLERY.—Go on, Ikey.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair desires to call the attention of the galleries to the fact that they are here as the guests of the Convention. The Convention is composed of delegates and alternates, and they are the only people who can transact business. The business before us is the most important that American citizens can be called on to transact, and I now ask the galleries, who are here as our guests, to help us to transact the business we have come here to transact; and any attempt to vote, as was done this morning when the question of recessing was put, which was for the delegates alone, may call for a motion from the floor to clear the galleries. And if such a motion is made the galleries will be cleared. The galleries must not interfere nor attempt to interfere with the business of the Convention.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin (upon concluding the reading of his minority report).—Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: I am just going to take one minute of your time in speaking on the first plank relating to the League of Nations and the treaty. The members of the Committee told me that, in substance, their plank was the same as mine. The question that the American people will want to know is, whether the Republican party is for or against the treaty. If we are against the treaty and the League of Nations then why not adopt a strong plank



FRED S. STANLEY, of Kansas
Member of Committee on Arrangements



like this and smash the League of Nations? (Applause mingled with laughter and catcalls.)

There is one thing you must keep in mind—(the Convention renewed its evidences of disapproval)—it may be I have been subjected to some insult and humiliation, but—

A VOICE FROM THE NEW YORK DELEGATION.—You have insulted us.

A VOICE FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION.—We could not insult you.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—I want to say this to you men, that whatever you may do with this minority report it will be the record of this Convention, and there are thousands and thousands of people outside of his hall who will agree with everything that is stated in this minority report.

A VOICE.—You are a Socialist. We are not holding a Socialist Convention. (Loud laughter and applause.)

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—I wish to move the adoption of the minority report as a substitute for the majority report.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question before the Convention is that of substituting the minority report for the majority report.

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Mr. Chairman, I wish to couple with my motion that the vote be taken by States.

There was a roar of noes and a voice: "Why take up our time with such foolishness?"

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the substitution of the minority report for the report of the majority. Two States are required to second the motion in order to have a roll call. Is that desired?

There were loud cries of "No" and the motion failed to receive a second.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The motion for a roll call made by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Gross) therefore does not become a question to be put to the Convention. The question now comes on the substitution of Mr. Gross's minority report for the report of the majority. Those in favor of the substitution will signify it by saying aye. (A few ayes from the Wisconsin delegation.) Those opposed will signify by saying no. (There was a resounding roar of noes.) The noes appear to have it. (After a pause.) The noes have it, and the substitute is rejected.

The question now recurs on the adoption of the report of the majority. Those in favor of the report of the Committee on Resolutions will signify it by saying aye. (A great chorus of ayes.) Those opposed—

MR. OSCAR DEPRIEST, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—For what purpose does the Gentleman rise?

REQUEST TO AMEND COMMITTEE REPORT.

MR. OSCAR DEPRIEST, of Illinois.—Before the vote is taken on the majority report I wish to offer a resolution or amendment, and will now send it up to the desk and ask the Secretary to read it.

A READING CLERK (MR. H. H. BANCROFT, of Illinois).—The resolution is as follows:

We favor such legislation as will fix and prescribe a uniform qualification of electors throughout the United States for the election of Presidential electors, Senators and Representatives in Congress. If any State should violate or evade the Constitution of the United States by enacting or enforcing any law or regulation which would prevent any citizen from voting at such election, otherwise entitled so to do, then and in that case, the representation in Congress from such State shall be reduced in the manner and form prescribed by Sections 2 and 5, of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

At this point Senator Sherman of Illinois arose and asked recognition.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Senator Sherman of Illinois.

MR. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, of Illinois.—Under the rules adopted by the Convention that resolution must go to the Committee on Resolutions. I make that point of order.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The point of order is sustained. The question recurs on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Those in favor of that report will signify it by saying aye. (A great chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify by saying no. (There were two or three noes.) The ayes appear to have it. (After a pause.) The ayes have it and report is adopted. (Applause.)

ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—I move that the Convention do now adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 7 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, June 11, 1920, at 9:30 o'clock a. m.

FOURTH DAY

CONVENTION HALL—THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 11, 1920.

The Convention met at 9:56 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment on yesterday.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will please be in order. The Chair requests the members of the Convention and its guests to rise while prayer is offered by the Reverend Johnston Myers, Pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois.

INVOCATION BY REVEREND JOHNSTON MYERS,

PASTOR OF IMMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

God of our fathers; the God of Washington; the God of Lincoln, and the God of Roosevelt; our God, we thank Thee for Thy watchcare over this nation from the first moment of its history until the present hour.

We thank Thee for victory, for peace and for the coming prosperity. Never have we as a people needed Thy divine guidance more than we do now.

Bless, we pray Thee, this convention. Give to those who have been appointed to guide its affairs courage and more than human wisdom. We pray that the principles of its platform may please Thee and have Thy divine approval.

We pray that our choice for President may be Thy choice; that our man may be Thy man, for we know full well that the nation or the party or the man that does not give Thee Thy rightful place, must finally fail.

We pray, our Father, that Thou wouldst keep out of this assemblage all sordid and selfish interests. May the unselfish sacrifices of our soldiers and sailors so recently made inspire these delegates to lofty ideals of patriotism.

We pray that Thou wouldst help us to live not for sin or self but for Thy glory and the glory of our flag. And we pray, our Father, that when the story of this Convention has been written, and when our children read it, that there may be no blush of shame, but that there may be the conviction that these delegates were true to their God, true to their country, and true to themselves.

We offer this prayer in the name of our Divine Redeemer. Amen.

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MR. ALEXANDER P. MOORE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer the resolution which I now send to the Secretary's desk and ask that it be read.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Moore, of Pennsylvania, asks unanimous consent to present a resolution which the Secretary will read.

A READING CLERK (MR. THOMAS WILLIAMSON, of Illinois).—The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That this first Republican National Convention since the passing from earth of Theodore Roosevelt records its sense of inexpressible loss in the going of our great leader, wise in counsel, far-seeing, valiant for public righteousness, embodiment of the highest Americanism, irreproachable in private character, loved unalterably now and to be loved as long as our nation cherishes its ablest and noblest patriots.

At the conclusion of the reading of the resolution there was applause, loud and prolonged.

MR. ALEXANDER P. MOORE, of Pennsylvania.—I move the adoption of the resolution, and as a further evidence of our admiration and esteem for the late Theodore Roosevelt I ask that it be adopted by a standing vote. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the adoption of the resolution offered by Mr. Alexander P. Moore. Those in favor of its adoption will please signify it by rising. (All of the delegates and alternates and guests of the Convention rose to their feet.) It is a unanimous vote and the resolution is adopted.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business is the nomination of candidates for the office of President. (Applause.) The Secretary will call the roll of States for nominations for the Presidency.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Alabama, Arizona—

MR. A. M. SAMES, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman, Arizona yields to Kansas. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Arizona has yielded to Kansas. Has Kansas a nomination to present to the Convention?

MR. W. J. BAILEY, of Kansas.—Mr. Chairman, Kansas is represented by Governor Henry J. Allen, who is now on his way to the platform. (Applause.)

At that moment Governor Allen, of Kansas, walked forward on the platform and was greeted with a volley of applause.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair introduces to the Convention Governor Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, who will present the name of Major-General Leonard Wood. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR ALLEN, NOMINATING GENERAL WOOD.

MR. HENRY J. ALLEN, of Kansas.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Citizens, Members of the Convention: We meet in a grave hour, and what we do here will affect the generations. It is more important than it was four years ago—more important than it was eight years ago—more important than it has been at any time since this city saw the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) An unexpected period of confusion has come upon us in the aftermath of the world-struggle.

In a few months we seem to have forgotten its lessons and its sacrifices, and we stand wavering and uncertain in the confusion of stirring forces that seem strange and new. Old ways are lost, and leadership, hesitant and indecisive, drifts upon an uncharted sea.

Under the weak hands of a timorous government the social disorders and class-minded isms caught from the world-struggle have grown to alarming proportions.

The unchecked encroachment of sinister greed, the appalling waste of public money, the immoral pandering to class interest and class prejudice have brought us to a point where the nation demands and the world expects from this great council a leader chosen out of the poignant need and not through the cunning of political expediency.

In seeking for the initiative and the prophetic wisdom to guide us in an hour that must be wholly constructive, we are fortunate in a candidate whose record reveals the qualities needed for the task.

It is not necessary to ask for assurances from Leonard Wood. There is the witness of his service. (Applause.)

The spirit of practical devotion which took him to Cuba in company with his great friend Roosevelt; led him at the conclusion of a successful campaign to volunteer for the undesirable position of military governor of Santiago, then a pest hole on the face of the earth. It was a task new to American effort, but he cleaned the stricken city, buried its dead, cured it of its corruption and raised it from its pestilences.

At the close of a year, in which he had wrought the magic of American common sense and common decency, he was chosen for the governorship of Cuba, then the most responsible position America had to offer. All Santiago came to say good-bye, presenting him their proof of gratitude in these revealing words:

"The greatest of your many successes is to have won the confidence and esteem of a people in trouble."

This tribute of a troubled people comes to us in this day of uncertainty to touch our faith and hope with the confidence based on deeds. (Applause.)

You ask for a business man. We present to you a record of four years as governor of Cuba, a record which gained him international fame as the most successful civil administrator the century has known. Leonard Wood's service in Cuba constitutes a page of history which records the cleanest and most unselfish thing one nation ever did for a needy people. It is the one monument of our foreign policy involving high intelligence without selfishness. Chosen to work out the benevolent policy of McKinley toward the people of the island for whom we had sacrificed our sons, he was given a free hand. His task was to build in that island an expression of government from the ground up and to restore peace with prosperity. Cuba had suffered untold misery, injustice and corruption from the absentee system of Spanish control. The resources of the island were dissipated, its industries ruined, its energies demoralized. Its people were sick and every disease that breeds disorder endangered a starving population.

He reorganized the island and framed a model of government which stands today as a proof of his sanity and constructive genius. His wisdom encompassed all the activities of the people. He touched with his vital interest its dead agriculture, developed its railways, taught the Cubans how to make just laws relating to everything from municipal administration to general taxation. He builded American intelligence into a school system, reorganized the straggling forces of civil life into orderly government, made roads, introduced sanitation and hygiene, stamped out yellow fever and pernicious malaria and fashioned it all with humaneness and a stability that has withstood the strain of the changing years. He took a subject people and made them self-governing. (Applause.)

Possessing the highest degree of business capacity, it was something more than the work of a business man. It was the work of a statesman who had not narrowed his vision to the purely business life. It was the accomplishment of a great national organizer. A President must be a business man and more. He must be a statesman. He must have a broad view of the internal situation. The vague longing for a business man for President will not be satisfied by one who knows only business. The President must understand world affairs and the crossing and re-crossing currents of social and economic aspirations. It was the possession of this broad capacity that brought to Leonard Wood at the conclusion of his work in Cuba the commendation of the leaders of the period. Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, said:

"I felt under a debt of the greatest gratitude to General Wood for what I think is one of the most conspicuous and meritorious pieces of work ever done by any American."

Lord Cromer, the greatest colonial administrator that Great Britain has produced, said:

"General Wood's work in Cuba was the best colonial work of the century." (Applause.)

Theodore Roosevelt said: (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

"Leonard Wood four years ago went down to Cuba and has rendered services to that country of the kind which, if performed 3,000 years ago, would have made him a hero mixed up with the sun-god in various ways; a man who devoted his whole life through those four years, who thought of nothing else, did nothing else, save to bring up the standard of political and social life in that island, to teach the people, after four centuries of misrule, that there were such things as governmental righteousness and honesty and fair play for all men on their merits as men." (Applause.)

The proof of his business ability which he wrote into the Cuban record he repeated through five years of distinguished service in the Philippines, a service in which he taught the Filipinos that the greatest evil of human government is procrastination and that government should be run as a successful business is run. (Applause.) And, my friends, we need someone to come and teach us that our National government should be run as a business is run. (Applause.) He repeated it in his constructive work as chief of staff of the War Department, in his management of the great cantonments and training camps of the war and in all the wide-spread activities of his conspicuously useful life.

A President must be able to interpret the shadow of coming events. We do not need to speculate concerning Leonard Wood's foresight. (Applause.)

When the great war broke upon the consciousness of the American people with a terrific shock, it found that Leonard Wood had been preparing. We heard from him no platitudes about a million men springing to arms over night. (Laughter.) On his own initiative he established the Plattsburg training camps, created the first line of the national defense and gave to thousands of magnificent young American men who volunteered a new definition of loyalty, a new opportunity for service, a new vision of their national obligation. (Applause.)

While other men were preaching the need of keeping out of war he sounded the reveillé that awoke a slumbering nation, and made victory possible. He insisted; he *demandé*, "We must prepare." (Applause.)

We saw him accepting whatever task was given into his hands with the cheerful obedience of those who submerge self in service. In our State, where he trained many of our splendid young men, inspiring them with his spirit, fashioning them into the 89th Division, the people wit-

nessed his work with such pride that when the Governor of our State, my honored predecessor, made him by proclamation a citizen of Kansas, every other citizen applauded. (Applause.)

We watched him go away to the point of embarkation and then at the last moment we read with consternation that his great desire to take his division to the field was not to be granted, (A Voice: "And what a shame it was") and with a new appreciation we read the honest words of farewell to his division:

"I have worked hard with you and you have done excellent work. I had hoped very much to take you over to the other side. The orders have been changed and I am to go back to Funston. I leave for there tomorrow morning. I wish you the best of luck and ask you to keep up the high standard of conduct and work you have done in the past. There isn't anything to be said. These orders stand and the only thing to do is to do the best we can—all of us—to win the war. That's what we are here for; that's what you have been trained for. I shall follow your career with the deepest interest—with just as much interest as though I were you. Good luck and God bless you."

This man was no whimperer. Not an hour was lost in sulking. Not a word was wasted in criticism. Not an instant spent in mourning over his personal disappointment. We see him coming back to train another division. "If we can," he said, "we'll make it even better than the one with which I had hoped to serve in France." (Applause.)

Some men pretend to object to the fact that he wears the uniform of his country. Since when has this uniform become an emblem of disqualification? Washington wore this uniform; so did Jackson and Harrison. Lincoln as a young man in the stirring early days of this great state did not hesitate to put it on. Grant wore it; so did Garfield and McKinley and Roosevelt. Six generations of soldiers of the republic have worn it and no man today, passing the altars upon which have been sacrificed the lives of the brave, can say that it has ever brought menace to the American republic. No man today may contemplate the 60,000 graves we left in France, or the 250,000 men who have come home to bear the scars of war throughout their lives, or the 4,000,000 who have taken off their uniforms and gone back to work, and listen with any patience to the fearsome forebodings of the pacifist who would associate with the American uniform any thought that does not hallow it with gratitude. (Applause.)

The American soldier is a citizen soldier. Leonard Wood holds fast to the traditions of the great citizen soldiers of the Republic. His model of voluntary training camps, expressed in the Plattsburg program and his

valuable educational work at Funston; his well-known belief in a small, but well-trained army; his constant declaration that he believes in the training of citizens for better citizenship; in sound minds for sound bodies, cannot be twisted before an intelligent people into a false shape with which to frighten the timid. (Applause.) A plain, blunt man, with blunt belief in facts, he is today the best known American. In the frank expression of his beliefs there is no hidden motive. No candidate for high office has ever gone to the people of this nation with soul and mind so frankly revealed as Leonard Wood. (Applause.)

No man in America has been given so many constructive things to do in this generation, and no one today denies the fact that whatever he has undertaken he has done superlatively well. (Applause.)

No endeavor of his life presents in truer colors his calm and steady strength than the work at Gary. It was the old quarrel that took him there—the struggle between those who hire and those who toil, the only form of civil strife which government still allows to menace a helpless public. He carried to that district the guarantee of fair play. He could have passed the buck. (Laughter punctuated by a voice: "He's not a buck-passer.") He had been advised not to go to Gary. He was told the situation was full of dynamite. He could have sent a subordinate, but he went in person and dominated the situation by the force of absolute justice. He talked freely to all classes and the fair-minded element among the strikers met his fairness with obedience and co-operation. Not a shot was fired nor a bayonet used. Here, as twenty years before in Cuba, he gained the confidence of the people. (Applause.)

To the strike leader, he said:

"I want to make one thing clear to you and to the workers you represent. We are here to maintain law and order, to see that the citizens of Gary are protected in their peaceful pursuits—that rights under law of the striking employes and of the steel mills are protected as well as the rights of other citizens."

(Applause.)

He spoke, not as a soldier, but as an American charged with the protection of the public. He spoke as Washington might have spoken. His calm decision at that hour not only brought security to Gary, but assurance and profound relief to the waiting country. The success of his sane and just endeavor brought back to men their faith in government. (Applause.)

Again at Omaha, in the racial riots; in West Virginia, in the labor troubles, he visualized not military power, but the peculiar determination which should be always the American pledge to protect the rights of all by firm and righteous government. (Applause.)

No man can know him without recognizing the liberality of his mind, his openness to conviction. As Root once said of him, "He is hospitable to advice." As President he will not seek to create for himself a neutral background out of mediocre men. The nation will have that to which the people are entitled in its councils—the united brain power of real leaders. (Applause.)

He has submitted his candidacy to the American people with complete frankness and the expression of confidence which has come to him from every section of the United States cannot be ignored. The sum total of these expressions clearly mark him as the outstanding national candidate in the minds of the whole people. (Applause.)

All his qualities fit him pre-eminently for the office of President of the United States. His magnificent physical strength, his stability of character, his clear vision of international relations, his wonderful capacity for organizing civil activities, his administrative and executive ability, his sober realization of the fundamental needs of the times—these attributes should appeal to us in this convention. (Applause.)

We are still testing; we are besieged by a confusion of counsellors. We hear the clamor of the demagogue. Opportunists and short-sighted time-servers and men with honeyed sophistry beguile our attention. Meanwhile the clouds of doubt and unrest drift sullenly, as vapors from the ground. Far above the tumult and the shouting is the flag, emblematic of that stalwart, virile Americanism whose self-evident truths have lived through the generations. (Applause.)

Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt sleep, but their spirits brood over this convention, trying this gathering, if it be in tune with the ideals of the republic. The choice that is made now may mould the character of the nation for fifty years and perhaps longer, for restive minds are plastic and the leadership that comes now will go far to determine the character of our government henceforth.

What we do here cannot be recalled for new consideration.

"The moving finger writes, and having writ
Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

(Applause.)

If we make a mistake today, the great party may lose its major importance to the republic. There isn't an American worthy to be here who does not believe in the future leadership of his country. We'll have that leadership when we're worthy, and that leadership will not depend upon any international society we may join—it will depend upon the success which we make of the experiment of human government here, and to that call the instinct of every man must rise. (Applause.)

With full appreciation of the challenge of the hour, I present the name of the man who fits the hour—Leonard Wood.

✓ Governor Allen concluded his nominating speech at 10:26 a. m. and the concluding mention of the name "Leonard Wood" was the signal for uproarious applause. A member of the Kansas delegation seized the Kansas marker and followed by other members of that and other delegations proceeded to march around the hall, delegates carrying flags, pictures of Leonard Wood and blue and red feathers marked "Wood" while thousands of other similarly marked feathers rained down from the roof of the convention hall.

At 10:45 a. m. the Permanent Chairman rapped for order, when there was a slight diminution of enthusiasm, but as it brought forth a fresh volume of cheering he resumed his seat.

At 11 o'clock a. m. the Permanent Chairman walked to the front of the platform and rapped again for order, the cheering having in large measure subsided, but he was again greeted with a great volume of applause and cries of "We want Wood! We want Wood!"

At 11:04 a. m., the cheering having in great measure subsided, the Permanent Chairman rapped for order, and at 11:05 a. m. the majority of the delegates were again in their seats, but the galleries were enthusiastically applauding.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen in the galleries, the delegates are now in their seats and they have the business of this Convention to attend to. I ask that the galleries will be quiet so that the delegates may proceed with their business. (There was a fresh outburst of applause from the galleries.) The chair will have the galleries cleared so that the Convention may attend to its business if that is the wish of the delegates. (Members of the New York and Pennsylvania delegations answered "No; but we want to go on with our business.")

The delegates are now being prevented from carrying on the work of the Convention, and if any delegate will make a motion that the galleries be cleared the chair will entertain it. (There were cries of "No, No," apparently some coming from the delegates and some of the cries from the galleries.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, let us have order in the galleries.

Finally, at 11:08 a. m. order was again restored and the Convention proceeded with nominations, the Wood demonstration having continued for 42 minutes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business is the seconding of the nomination of General Wood. Each candidate is entitled to two seconding speeches, and each of the two delegates seconding the nomination is entitled to five minutes. If other delegates desire to second a nomination each one will be entitled to two minutes.

MR. FRANK KNOX, of New Hampshire.—Mr. Chairman—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Mr. Frank Knox, of Manchester, New Hampshire, to second General Wood's nomination. (Applause.)

MR. KNOX SECONDING GENERAL WOOD'S NOMINATION.

MR. FRANK KNOX, of New Hampshire.—Ladies and Gentlemen and Delegates to the Convention: Speaking in behalf of the people of the State of New Hampshire, his native State, I desire to second the nomination of Leonard Wood. (Applause.)

While the people of New Hampshire feel a great pride in Leonard Wood as the greatest living son of that State yet we recognize that he comes before you today not as a son of New Hampshire but as a citizen of the whole United States. (Applause.)

We recognize in him qualities of no provincial kind. We believe that he possesses qualifications peculiarly necessary in this critical hour of our nation's history. (Applause.) We believe he has the courage to meet the situation. We believe he has the vision to meet the situation, and while possessed of that vision he has his feet on the ground of solid practical facts.

And so we come to you solidly instructed, those of us who are here in a representative capacity, from the State of New Hampshire to support and second the nomination of Leonard Wood. (Applause.)

May I now speak as a former member, a private soldier in the regiment he led overseas in 1898; and on behalf of the men of that expedition to Cuba second the nomination of one of the two men who came out of that war with a wonderful record and a wonderful reputation. (Applause.)

And then again may I, if you will permit me, as a graduate of one of the Plattsburg Camps, and because of that given the opportunity and high privilege of service with the A. E. F., speak for the four million and more citizens who became soldiers and soldiers who are now again citizens and who see in Leonard Wood the exponent and exemplar of the citizen-soldier of their country. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, on behalf, then, of my State; on behalf of the men who followed Roosevelt and Wood in 1898 (applause); and in behalf of the men who went overseas in the last war, may I offer to you the name of Leonard Wood? (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson to second the nomination of General Wood. (Applause, delegates and alternates rising.)

MRS. ROBINSON SECONDING GENERAL WOOD'S
NOMINATION.

MRS. CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON, of New York.—Delegates and fellow Republicans: (Applause.) As a woman of New York State I can say "Fellow Republicans." (Applause and cries of "Good" and "That's like Teddy.") As a woman of New York State I can voice the feelings of thousands of American mothers, who feel that because of the foresight, the vision and the splendid work of Leonard Wood their sons went overseas fit fighting machines instead of cannon fodder. (Applause.)

People often say to me in these last days, "You wish to have Leonard Wood as President because he was a friend of your brother, Theodore Roosevelt." (Applause.) But I wish every delegate in this great hall to understand that that is not the reason I wish Leonard Wood for President. I want Leonard Wood for President, not because he was my brother's friend—although he was my brother's devoted friend, as was my brother his devoted friend; I want Leonard Wood for President not because he was his friend, but because he is his type. That is why I want Leonard Wood for President. (Applause.)

Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt have great characteristics in common—a great combination of unusual characteristics. Leonard Wood has, as Theodore Roosevelt had, courage combined with that most uncommon thing in the world, common sense. (Applause.) Leonard Wood has, combined with vision, a sense of proportion which makes him know how far to let that vision go. We do not want any more visionaries. We do not want a fleeting glance of a fleecy, dissipating cloud. We want realizable ideals, and we want to realize them. That is what we want. We want beyond almost anything else a great self-sacrificing patience. The man who comes into the White House now must have the mantle of Lincoln as well as the mantle of Roosevelt fall upon his shoulders. He must not only have courage and ardor, he must have that great patience that carried Lincoln through those days of trial, for no days could be so grave with portent as the days of the upbuilding and rebuilding of this great country. (Applause.)

I am only going to take one minute more, (chorus of "Go on! Go on") but I want to say that not only do we want the characteristics of which I have spoken, but we must have the kind of man who looks from America out and not from Europe in. (Laughter and applause.) We must have a man who combines with being a great nationalist a great international reputation. He must be known not only in his State or in his country; he must be known throughout the great countries of the world. And so he is. (Applause.)

No one need say to me that if Theodore Roosevelt or Leonard Wood

had been in the White House there would not have been ringing words of protest as a tune for the Germans to march through Belgium. (Applause.) The admirers of Mr. Wilson say that he had to wait for the psychological moment to get the country behind him. Does America have to wait upon neutrality between right and wrong? Never again, fellow citizens; never again shall we accept the man who waits for the psychological moment; we want the man who makes the psychological moment. (Great applause.)

There are three kinds of men: The man who uses only words; the man who uses the brawn and blood of another man by saying "Go!" and the man, the kind of man we want, who says "Come!" (Applause.)

Leonard Wood is the kind of man who says "Come!" and I want Leonard Wood. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will continue calling the roll for further nominations for the office of President.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Arkansas—
MR. H. L. REMMEL, of Arkansas.—Arkansas yields to Illinois. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Has Illinois a candidate to present to the Convention?

MR. FRANK L. SMITH, of Illinois.—Representative Rodenberg is now on his way to the platform.

At this moment Representative Rodenberg advances to the front of the platform and is greeted with vociferous applause.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents Representative William A. Rodenberg of Illinois to present the name of Governor Lowden. (Great applause.) The Convention will please be in order and listen to Representative Rodenberg.

MR. RODENBERG NOMINATING GOVERNOR LOWDEN.

MR. WILLIAM A. RODENBERG, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the National Republican Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire to thank my friend from Arkansas for his courtesy in yielding to the State of Illinois, and I wish to assure him and his fellow delegates that his kindness is appreciated by the delegation to which I have the honor to belong. (Applause from the Illinois delegation.)

At no time since the birth of the Republican party has there been greater need for the exercise of calm, deliberate and dispassionate judgment in the selection of a standard bearer than there is today. A spirit of rebellious unrest is abroad in the land. On all sides are heard murmurings of discontent. The times are pregnant with the prophecy of gloom and despair. Confidence has disappeared and the splendid opti-

mism of former days, once our proudest national asset, has given way to an ever present fear of impending disaster.

For seven years the ship of state, straining in every timber, has been drifting in a sea of uncertainty, its pilot confused and bewildered by strange voices in the air and lured on in its vacillating course by false lights along the shore. Nine anxious months still lie before us, and if, perchance, it should be our good fortune to avoid the rocks of destruction it will be due solely to the mysterious workings of a merciful Providence that guides and protects the destiny of a chosen people in their time of trial and tribulation. (Applause.)

I know that I voice the sentiment of every patriotic American when I express the hope that God will speed the day when a better and braver pilot shall be placed at the helm—one who is ready and willing in times of stress and storm to read the chart and compass of experience; one who can restore discipline among officers and crew and inspire the courage that is born of confidence; one who will steer a straight and steady course through the troubled waters of national disorder and again find refuge in the harbor of national safety and security. To find such a pilot is the imperative duty of the Republicans assembled in convention today. (Applause.)

My friends, three score years ago, at a time when the passions of men were stirred to the depths, when the horizon of the republic's future was darkened by the clouds of approaching conflict, when the very perpetuity of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" was trembling in the balance, the nation turned for leadership to the state of Illinois. (Applause.) Here, on the broad and fertile prairies of this great state, so open that truth could find no hiding place, was found a man of the people, a leader of leaders, the apotheosis of freedom's holy light, our Lincoln, the world's Lincoln. (Applause.) Grandly, nobly, sublimely he met the test. Patiently he pressed forward in the great task that lay before him and today he stands acclaimed as America's grandest contribution to the world's heritage of great and noble men. (Applause.)

Illinois, the State whose soil has been sanctified by the blood of the immortal Lovejoy, our first great martyr to the cause of free press and speech, gave Abraham Lincoln to the nation in 1860, and Illinois, the State that is still the wellspring of Republican hope and inspiration, stands ready in 1920 to consecrate to the service of the republic another of her great sons—one, whose brilliant record of public and private achievements is the very best and surest guaranty that under his leadership our beloved country will be raised from the obloquy into which it has fallen and again placed on the road that leads to national honor and national glory. (Applause.)

We present him to you because we believe in his rugged Americanism, the Americanism that comes from the close contact with the plain peo-

ple. Born of humble parentage in the State of Minnesota, his early youth and young manhood were spent on a farm in the State of Iowa. It was there, close to nature and nature's God, the great school of human experience, the school that has given to the nation its best and truest men, that he formed those sterling traits of character that have ruled his life and have left their impress upon his every act. (Applause.)

We present him to you because we know him to be a manly man of courage and conviction, endowed with the genius of common sense, faithful and fearless, whose every heart beat is in full sympathy with the noblest aspirations of his fellowmen. (Applause.)

We present him to you because he stands for law and order and constitutional government. Of fine legal mind and training, with both legislative and executive experience, he believes in re-establishing the powers and prerogatives of every branch of the federal government as set forth by the fathers in the constitution itself and he is unalterably opposed to executive usurpation of any legislative or judicial function. (Applause.)

We present him to you because his records demonstrate that he has a clear and comprehensive conception of the proper relations of capital and labor to each other. His work as member of Congress and as governor of a great industrial State, with all its complex and diversified interests, stamps him as the living embodiment of the doctrine of the "square deal." He believes in the interdependence of employé and employer and in all of his official acts he has accorded to each exactly the same measure of protection under the law. (Applause.)

We present him to you because he typifies more than any one of the distinguished gentlemen who will be placed in nomination before this Convention the great, vital issue of economy in the administration of public affairs. He believes in the application of sound and practical business principles to the conduct of government and as proof of that belief we point to the decreased tax rate and the increased administrative efficiency of the state over whose destinies he presides today. (Applause.)

We present him to you because he is in full accord with the true spirit of America which still prefers the nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt to the internationalism of Woodrow Wilson. He believes that the sovereignty of the United States must be kept free and inviolate from European influence or dictation and that, while maintaining a friendly attitude toward all nations, we owe it to those who have gone before and to those who are to follow us to enter into partnership with none. (Applause.)

We present him to you because to him the American flag, whose stars and stripes have been baptized in the best blood of American patriotism, symbolizes the strength and the power and the majesty of a mighty nation and he believes that that flag should command respect at home



WM. HALE THOMPSON, of Illinois
Member of Committee on Arrangements

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and abroad and give full and ample protection to the humblest American citizen, wherever it may be unfurled to the breeze. (Applause.)

Delegates, a solemn responsibility rests upon the Republican party today. Many difficult and perplexing problems, social, economic and industrial, growing out of the world war are pressing for solution. The best constructive ability of our great constructive party must be utilized in the solution of these problems. In the crucial and critical period upon which we have now entered the nation demands as its chief executive a man of clear brain and steady nerve, a man of visions but not a visionary, a man of ideals but not an idealist, a man of works and not of words. (Applause.)

Illinois has such a man.

We present him to you as our candidate for President.

We present the patriotic governor of a patriotic State, Frank Orren Lowden.

Representative Rodenberg concluded his speech at 11:34 a. m., and as he uttered the words "Frank Orren Lowden" there was a tremendous outburst of applause. A member of the Illinois delegation grabbed the Illinois standard and started around the hall, other members of the delegation carrying flags and pictures of Lowden, and in their train came the delegates from Iowa, Kentucky, Virginia, Connecticut, Oklahoma, carrying the State's standards. Hundreds of pictures of Lowden, large and small, were carried by members of the several delegations. The Kentucky delegation carried a banner bearing the words "Every traveling man wants a business man for President—Lowden." As the delegates marched around the hall they chanted "Lowden, Lowden, Frank O. Lowden."

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana) rapped for order at 12:15 p. m. but was met by an increased volume of cheering and cries "Lowden, Lowden, Frank O. Lowden." Order was finally restored at 12:20 p. m., the demonstration having continued for 46 minutes.

MR. PICKETT SECONDS GOVERNOR LOWDEN'S NOMINATION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—The chair recognizes Mr. Charles E. Pickett of Iowa who will second the nomination of Governor Lowden. (Applause.)

MR. CHARLES E. PICKETT, of Iowa.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the solid delegation from Iowa, I rise to second the nomination of Governor Lowden. (Applause.)

The imperious demand of this Convention is for the nomination of a man who will secure the loyal, unreserved, aggressive support of every Republican. Governor Lowden comes to this Convention, not

as a candidate of any class, element, or section—his candidacy is not urged on any single issue. He comes as the representative of the Republican party and all its broad principles and policies. His campaign has been characterized by the spirit of Lincoln—"with malice toward none." The close of the pre-convention campaign finds him the outstanding candidate whose broad leadership every Republican would follow. (Applause.)

We should be guided in our deliberations by cool and clear judgment. That the conditions in this country are grave, not only from a business and economic standpoint, but such as to impair the very integrity of our representative form of government is manifest.

The platform adopted yesterday decided in favor of our national sovereignty through whatever agency exercised, and it will be confirmed by the people in November. (Loud applause.) The predominant issues in the minds and hearts of the people in the coming campaign will be centered on the administration of government, which alone will give the relief demanded by the people and restore normal conditions. What the people demand and what we must have is practical statesmanship. Governor Lowden answers every test. (Applause.) He combines rare practical judgment with unswerving firmness of purpose, the power to lead and, if necessary, to fight. He is versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of government. His service in Congress will enable him to sense the congressional mind and bring into harmonious co-ordination the executive and legislative branches. His record as Governor has made a deep impression on the minds of our people. His campaign would be based, not on promises, but on the record of things done. His achievements in Illinois stand out boldly in their originality and constitute a model for every state and for the nation as well. Consider what he did. One hundred and twenty-five separate commissions and bureaus consolidated into nine departments with one central responsible head. And what was the result? In two years the tax burden on the people was reduced one-third. If the same thing could be done in our nation, it would be the greatest achievement in our history. (Loud applause.)

Governor Lowden has done it for Illinois and he can do it for the nation. (Applause.) The high cost of living cannot be reduced without reducing taxes. This is the supreme, the most vital domestic issue. It comes home to every fireside. It must be considered by this Convention. We cannot solve wage problems and labor troubles without it. We cannot return to stable and normal business conditions without it; we cannot perfect reconstruction plans without it. This Convention has the opportunity of picking the man to do it, and Governor Lowden is pre-eminently the man. (Applause.) He believes in applied patriotism at home and honor abroad. (Applause.) His robust Americanism will

never tolerate any surrender or impairment of American sovereignty. He is enfolded with love of our Constitution, the great traditions of our history and the principles upon which our government rests. He will preserve in this critical period the Republic of Washington, Hamilton, Franklin and Madison and not permit the forces now at work to change this, the only genuine, the greatest Republic of the world, into a direct Democracy with its inevitable chaos. (Applause.)

He advances without reluctance in every righteous cause and strikes without restraint every abuse of government. He never compromises with wrong for personal advantage. He is constructive and forward looking. He is a master builder. He has the confidence of every class. The great agricultural and stock raising interests look to him as one of their own leaders. Business interests will have renewed faith, stability and progress. The great army of the employed consider him fair and impartial. He is in the fullness of his physical and intellectual power. He will enter upon the discharge of his duties with no obligation except to his God, his county and his party. (Applause and cheers.)

Never have the Republicans of Iowa been so unanimous, so earnest, so devoted to the cause of any candidate as they are in the support of Governor Lowden. We know him, we believe in him, we trust him. We feel that we have simply loaned him to a sister state and now his record has given him to the nation. Iowa seconds the nomination of Governor Frank O. Lowden. (Applause continuing some minutes.)

MRS. DOBYNS SECONDING GOVERNOR LOWDEN'S NOMINATION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—Mrs. Fletcher Dobyns, of Illinois, will make the next seconding speech for Governor Lowden.

The speaker is greeted as she advances to the front of the platform by delegates and alternates rising to their feet and cheering loudly.

MRS. FLETCHER DOBYNS, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: In the name of the women of America who believe that effective and ordered administration is essential to social progress; for those who realize that business efficiency and common sense are a vital necessity of our government in this hour; for those who hope to lighten the burdens of the women as well as of the men on the farm; for those who believe that he will lead Congress to write a program of humanitarian and social legislation to serve the welfare of the future citizens of America, I have honor in seconding the nomination of Frank Lowden, of Illinois. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MORROW SECONDING GOVERNOR LOWDEN'S
NOMINATION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—I present Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky who will second the nomination of Governor Lowden.

Applause, loud and prolonged, punctuated with cries of "Tell them about it, Ed," and "You know how to do it, Ed."

MR. EDWIN P. MORROW, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: Fully conscious of every responsibility of this great hour but with unshaken faith and the best belief of our heads and hearts Kentucky Republicans (applause) bring you this message: Give us to lead the hosts of the people in November, Frank Lowden (applause) and with him to lead we will smash the Hindenburg line of Southern democracy forever. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

Kentucky is the neighbor of Illinois. It is said in the Holy Book that "Blessed is the man who is loved by his neighbor. (Applause.) Without division, of one heart and of one mind, Kentucky will vote for Frank Lowden until he is nominated in this Convention. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) Frank Lowden is an everyday man. He is great enough to know that a man does not have to be solemn to be wise. (Laughter.) He is human. He is friendly. He has demonstrated his powers and his capacity. Give him this nomination and he will bring home the bacon in November. (Applause.) I thank you. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—The Secretary will continue calling the roll.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—California. (Applause from the California delegation.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—Has California a nomination to make?

MR. FRANK P. FLINT, of California.—Mr. Wheeler is on his way to the platform to present the name of Hiram Johnson. (Great applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana).—I present Mr. Charles Stetson Wheeler, of California, who will put in nomination the name of Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause.)

MR. WHEELER NOMINATING SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

MR. CHARLES STETSON WHEELER, of California.—Mr. Chairman and you, Men and Women of the Republican National Convention: You have called the name of California, and without hesitation, without a single mental reservation, California makes answer that now, after seventy years of loyal and devoted Statehood, she at last has brought forth upon

her own soil a son fitted in every quality that becomes a man to carry forward the triumphant standard of the Republican party and to fill worthily the exalted office of President of the United States. (Applause.)

The people of California to a degree not duplicated by the population of any other State in the Union, are a composite of the whole American people. In the golden days of forty-nine and fifty, California was dedicated to the Nation at an assemblage of one hundred thousand American men and women completely representative, not only of every other State, but of every city and of every hamlet and of every township in the Nation.

There was thus infused into her very life blood an intense national feeling. California knows no East; she knows no West; she knows no North and she knows no South. What she does know is that we are one great people, under one flag. Today, with her millions of population, just as on the day when she first took her place in the American galaxy, she is really but a vast convocation of the people of the nation rejoicing, under the constitution of our fathers, in the blessings that are theirs and chanting the immortal music of American liberty. (Applause.)

We hold that it should not be a matter of surprise that from such an environment there should now step forth full panoplied an American thoroughly representative of the whole nation—a defender of the constitution, a devoted worshiper of American ideals and traditions, a natural leader of men, a leader destined through the grace of a united and triumphant Republican party to be the first President of the United States to come out of the Great West.

And yet we are told that there are on the floor of this convention a few narrow-visioned men who are whispering from delegation to delegation that California is so remote from the center of American activities, who say that she dwells in such hopeless isolation, that it is presumptuous for her even to dream that she can now or hereafter furnish to any political party an available Presidential candidate.

California would say to such men, if any there be, that this progressive world of ours has been moving right along; that the course of empire has steadily pursued its westward way; that space and distance have been annihilated; that the lightnings of the Atlantic have been laced with invisible threads to the lightnings of the Pacific; that the hand and brain of man have not only spanned rivers and leveled hills and cleaved lofty mountain chains asunder, but they have now leaped athwart the ether and hewn highways through the very heavens themselves—

“Til the East and the West are one.” (Applause.)

Let us bear to these provincials the news that the range of the human voice has been so amplified that today a whisper can span a

continent, that the Californian now holds easy converse with every city in the land. And let us also carry to these Troglodytes the glad tidings that when California's son responds to the call of the people, he can arrive at his desk in the White House in fewer hours than it took to travel from Chicago on that momentous day when the Republican party sent forth the immortal son of Illinois to become the savior of the Nation.

The California delegation claims the right to speak authoritatively for the rank and file of the Republican party. It bases that claim upon the fact that after a hotly contested battle, fought honorably in the light of day against well-organized and amply munitioned forces, it was sent to this convention by the stupendous majority of 160,000 American citizens, who in literal truth hailed from every nook and cranny corner of the nation. We, therefore, without arrogance, hold ourselves authorized to present to you in language that shall be unmistakable, the situation as the rank and file of the Republican party see it.

By every sign of the Zodiac, this should be a Republican year. (Applause.) The disgust for the party in power is universal. But notwithstanding all this, there never has been a time in the history of the Republican party when a failure to name the right candidate would so surely spell party defeat.

This proposition may be laid down with axiomatic certainty:

The November election will not be won by the platform of either political party. The personality of the candidate, not party affiliation, is going to elect the next President of the United States. The man who will enter the White House on the 4th of March, 1921, will be that Republican or that Democrat in whom the average American voter places the most faith. (Applause.)

Do you want another four years of economic chaos? (Voices: "No! No!")

Do you want another four years of the Wilson family in the White House? (Voices: "No! No!")

If you insist that the Father of the Dynasty shall abdicate do you want the people then to take up the Crown Prince? (Laughter. Voices: "No! No!")

If you do not, then why gamble with chance? Why close your eyes to the obvious? Why not admit to yourselves, what every man of political vision already knows, that there is one Republican who can sweep the country, whose nomination will carry with it the absolute certainty of his election. (Applause.)

It may be true that our near-officer class, the captains of industry, the disbursing officers of the primary army, and the colonels of commissary, who advance the sinews of war, would prefer a military leader.

But I am here to say for the rank and file of the Republican party that,—

The plain Yanks
Who fill the ranks
That have the votes
Are calling for the son of California!

(Cheers and applause.)

If you want to know why it is that thousands and tens of thousands of people, have written in this man's name where he has had no nomination; if you would know why it is that with an utterly inadequate campaign fund for legitimate needs (laughter and cries of No! No!); and without the publicity (laughter mingled with applause)—without the publicity that has been accorded to any other prominent candidate; if you ask why it is that he has received the tremendous vote all over this land that he has received; if you ask why he has under these conditions made the showing that he has upon the floor of this convention, I hold the mandate of the people of California to tell you here and now why it is.

The speaker was here interrupted by confusion on the floor of the Convention. Laughter mingled with applause; cries of "No! No! Go on!" etc.

MR. BEVERIDGE (presiding).—Gentlemen of the Convention, it is not only right but it is necessary that the Convention should give the speakers as nearly as possible an uninterrupted hearing. The day is progressing, and I trust that hereafter while the present occupant of the chair holds the gavel he will not have to wield it any more emphatically.

MR. WHEELER.—Be assured of one thing, the speaker takes these interruptions with the utmost good nature. (Applause.)

I have said that I hold the mandate of California to tell you why this man has the hold that he has upon the people. Newspaper publicity is a great medium, but it is not the only medium whereby the American citizen can get an understanding of the men whom God has ordained to be their leaders. (Applause; laughter. A Voice: "How about Hearst?")

If you do not know the truth I want you now to know it, that the human sympathies have a wireless all their own whereby the fellow heart speaks to the fellow heart. Through its unobstrusive but all-powerful workings, the word has been passed along by the average American to the average American. Thus it has permeated that vast body of men and women all over the land who know that the greatest American of our generation is dead, feel the need of another great-hearted, two-fisted leader to fight their battles. (Applause. Cries of "No! No!" and "Wood! Wood!")

Where is the man that cries "no"? Does he know what he is talking about? I know whereof I speak, and I speak for the people of a sovereign state. Theodore Roosevelt, in the presence of 15,000 of his fellow countrymen, said of California's son: "He is at the moment fit to be President of the United States." (Applause.) And on the 26th day of January, 1917, Theodore Roosevelt used of California's son these unmistakable words, over his own signature:

"Of all the public men in the country today he is the one with whom I find myself most in sympathy."

(Cheers and applause.)

Some things you may deny, some things you may confute, but you cannot confute the written words of Theodore Roosevelt. I say to you men and women of this Convention that never in human words has a nobler tribute been paid to any candidate. Never in language has any candidate been more gloriously seconded.

Men and women everywhere have learned to know California's son and they have taken his just measure. They see in him a man of action, a great constructive executive, a leader to whom a platform promise is a solemn obligation, a man who keeps the faith, who enacts his promised word into the law of the land, an executive who gave to his own native State a government so clean, so efficient and so uplifting that it challenges comparison, a leader who knows how so to wield the cudgel of political power that even party knaves are forced to play the game squarely with the people.

Not only have the people seen and marked these things, but their confidence in the man has been emphatically confirmed by campaign disclosures of very recent date. The supreme test of human greatness, the acid test of a man's character, comes only when the man is brought face to face with ambition's lure.

In the presence of ambition's lure, angels have fallen. In the presence of ambition's lure, soldiers and civilians since time began have lowered their ethical standards.

In the presence of ambition's lure—for so runs the history of civilization—guardians of the Roman granaries, brave generals who have trained a nation's cohorts, and governors who have ably administered the business economy of an imperial State, have accepted the proffered carriages of the favored few that they might ride into places of power over the many. Aye! they have permitted themselves to be lifted by the gilded hands of Croesus into his golden chariot dragged by the expectant stallions of obsequious and favor-hunting wealth.

In the past few weeks, the American people have seen this son of California brought face to face with the highest ambition that can possess the hope of mortal man. They have seen him put to the acid test. And they have seen him return from his great campaign with head



RALPH E. WILLIAMS, of Oregon
Member of Committee on Arrangements



Small cluster of dots or artifacts.

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erect, with no blot on his escutcheon, and with eyes that can still look straight into the faces of his fellow countrymen—with head so erect and with gaze so proud that as was said of Sumner, so men must say of him:

“He placed the standard of his life upon a pedestal so high that scandal standing on tiptoe could not touch the soles of his shoes.” (Applause.)

This Convention cannot afford to turn its back upon the banner of certainty to follow the dubious fortunes of a candidate for whom it must apologize.

The time has come when a doubting nation is asking the Republican party to say whether or not the highest office in the whole world is to be treated as the bauble of rich men. You can answer that question by nominating the man whom the people want.

Where are the traducers, the base calumniators, who have dared to call this forthright son of California a “red” and a “radical”?

The only red in his whole being is the same red blood “that tingled in our fathers’ veins as they trod the fields of Lexington”—the same pure shade of red that merges with the white and the blue to make the glory of the Stars and Stripes. (Applause.)

Radical? Yes; but only in his fervor for the right in private and in official life; radical in his faith in social justice; radical in his devotion to America’s noblest traditions; radical in his reverence for the teachings of Roosevelt, of Lincoln and of Washington; radical in his belief that “government of the people, by the people and for the people” is not an empty phrase; radical in his determination that predatory wealth equally with rioting anarchy shall bow to the law of the land; radical in his pity for human misery and human sorrow; radical in his belief that the hand that produces wealth is a thing more precious than the wealth it produces; radical in his sympathetic understanding of the world-old truth that the grave of a soldier is the grave of a soldier and a woman’s heart is a woman’s heart whether she sobs out her sorrow in a marble palace, or pours forth her anguish by a lowly hearth; radical, therefore, in his soul-worn steadfast oath that the sons of American mothers shall not be needlessly sacrificed (applause); that the warning words of Washington shall not be forgotten; that no entangling alliances shall enmesh us; and that no power on earth which is not wholly American shall ever order one drop of American blood to be spilled to maintain the war-won boundaries of a foreign nation. (Applause.)

If there are men and women upon the floor of this Convention who are the spokesmen of legitimate business, big or little; if you, and you, and you, represent the honest wealth of the nation; if you belong to that large and good class of genuinely conservative men and

women of wealth who want only the square deal, who revere the Constitution of the United States, who believe in upholding and enforcing impartially the law of the land against rich and poor alike, then be of good cheer; for California's son believes in the same things as earnestly, as steadfastly as you can possibly believe in them. He recognizes it as fundamental that the protection and safeguarding of private property as well as the protection of life and liberty is a basic principle on which the pillars of our nation rest and without which it cannot endure.

Ten years ago big business men in California and our conservative millionaires were fearful of him; they feared that his ideas were dangerous and they fought him bitterly; but when the power was in his hands he used it so sanely and the reforms for which he stood and which he put through were so humane and so just that today he has no supporters in the land more outspoken and enthusiastic in his praise than the bankers and the big business men of his home State. Big business, if it is honest, will have nothing to fear from him though it measures its capital in millions and tens of millions.

You doubtless do not know it, but in the California delegation are men who represent practically every big business interest on the Pacific Coast. Among them are men who dominate great electric light and power interests and the presidents of three of San Francisco's largest banks—banks whose deposits aggregate more than \$240,000,000.

You men of honest big business; take just once from your stubborn ears the plugs of prejudice, so that you may permit yourselves to learn what this man's creed really is.

He sees organized society as a structure of laws. You and I pass away. Generations come and go; but the law lives on. So long as the law lives, so long do our institutions live. When respect for the law dies, our civilization itself is dead. Therefore, all law-breakers must be forced to bow before the law of the land.

Whether the law-breaker is the petty thief or the thief of millions; whether he commits his murders in a blind alley with a bludgeon or in some tenement or factory with the slow poison of polluted air; whether the criminal is the bomb-hurling anarchist or the food-hoarding capitalist; whether the law-breaker is capital organized or unorganized, or is labor organized or unorganized—all, all must be forced to obey the law of the land. (Applause.) He holds that a failure to adhere to that great principle means that our social fabric will surely fall, and that our civilization will perish from the face of the earth.

The man who cannot subscribe to that doctrine—and that doctrine is the very essence of the creed of California's son,—is not fit to be an American. (Applause.)

My fellow Americans, the hour has struck, the time has come to scourge the last of the bosses from this great temple of the Republican party.

Men of the South, if it be true that there are among your number hand-picked delegates who have forgotten the obligation they of all men owe to the flag of freedom; men of the North, if it be true that there are in your ranks political slaves who are being lashed into line by the blacksnake of some party Legree, tell them that they hold within themselves the power to strike the shackles from their own limbs. Say to them that the future of the institutions of our common country is here involved; that they with us are the custodians of a sacred trust which rises transcendent over any obligation that any man has ever owed to any political boss who has ever attempted to dominate the conscience of a delegate to a Republican National Convention. Tell that delegate, wherever you may find him, to sink a shaft to the bedrock of his being, down to the rich black sands of his soul where the golden grains of self-respect and patriotism are found in every decent man, then bid him to arise to the full height of his manhood and shout the slogan till these rafters ring:

"A Republican and a free man, I came into this Convention; and by the grace of God, a Republican and a free man, I shall go forth from it." (Applause.)

Men and women of the Convention, the great responsibility is yours. The American voter everywhere is saying of California's son just as Roosevelt said of him,—

"Of all the public men in this country today, he is the one with whom I find myself in most complete sympathy."

And they, too, are adding, just as Theodore Roosevelt added,—

"You may safely follow his lead."

To the end that men and not masters shall administer the great trusteeship of the Republican party; to the end that this convention may make no mistake; to the end that you who hold in your hands the party's destiny may go forth from these halls, triumphant in the assurance of certain victory; to the end that a Republican administration may once again broadcast the nation with happiness and prosperity; to the end that the Constitution of our fathers and the highest traditions of the American people shall endure; to the end that the patriotic principles and the lofty ideals of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Roosevelt shall live on and on and on, the sovereign State of California now places before you in formal nomination Hiram W. Johnson.

Mr. Wheeler finished his speech at 1.14 p. m., whereupon the California delegation, the leader carrying a staff draped with the national colors and surmounted by a golden eagle, another member carrying the State marker, started a parade around the hall, other delegates carrying flags, pictures of Johnson, and many placards as follows: "The people want Johnson," "America wins in the first round," "Johnson" "I am for Hiram" "Johnson and victory," "Johnson a sure winner." The marchers were singing, "Hiram, we want Hiram." From the far galleries facing the platform there was let down over the railing a large portrait of Johnson; also there was displayed a large picture of Johnson at the left and back of the platform.

At 1:37 p. m. the Permanent Chairman, who had resumed the chair, walked to the front of the platform and rapped for order. The demonstration was redoubled and he stood for a few minutes, giving the demonstrators a chance to enjoy themselves. Then there arose a cry from the delegates, "We want to continue and finish our business." Thereupon the Permanent Chairman said:

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Inasmuch as it seems to be the desire of a majority of the delegates to resume our deliberations I ask the delegates to be seated and direct the Sergeant-at-arms to clear the aisles.

Finally at 1:41 p. m. quiet was restored, after a demonstration continuing for 37 minutes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order and Representative Schall of Minnesota will second the nomination of Senator Johnson. (Applause.)

Thereupon Representative Thomas D. Schall, who is blind, advanced to the front of the platform, escorted on the right by Senator Lodge and on the left by Secretary Gleason, led by his little 7-year-old boy, he being greeted by a big demonstration by the delegates.

MR. SCHALL SECONDING SENATOR JOHNSON'S NOMINATION.

MR. THOMAS D. SCHALL, of Minnesota.—My Friends: Sometime ago my little son, who is about four years of age, crawled upon my lap and said: "Daddy, can you see me with your eyes?" I said, "No, Darling, I cannot." After a moment's reflection he said, "But you can see me with your heart, can't you, Daddy?" (Applause.)

In his innocent prattle he had struck the keynote of life. It is with the heart that we all see. It is with the heart that we all understand. The heart is the source of power, the source of love, the source of everything that is good in the world; and men and women and nations are great as their hearts are great.

It is the great heart of the enlisted soldier that is today behind Hiram Johnson. (Applause.) It is the great heart of the American people that demand the nomination of Hiram Johnson in this Convention. (Applause.)

The spirit of Theodore Roosevelt and of Abraham Lincoln here among us admonishes us not to repeat the mistakes that we made in 1912 and in 1916. (Applause.)

The other day this Convention received word from that great prophet, from the bedside of that great prophet in Philadelphia, who said that this Convention should nominate the man in whom the people have the greatest confidence. (Applause.) That can mean no other man than Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause.) Everywhere Hiram Johnson's name appeared that the people could get a chance at it he was approved overwhelmingly to be the man in whom they placed their confidence. In the centers of great industrial unrest, even here in Chicago 50,000 men wrote the name of Hiram Johnson upon the ballot, a thing that never before had been done in the case of any man in this country. (Applause.)

Oh, my friends, there is no question, and this Convention knows it, but that this Convention has already nominated Hiram Johnson. They have adopted a platform that will not fit any other candidate before this Convention. If they do nominate any other man it will be a case of the robe of the lion draped upon some other animal. (Laughter.) This Convention has already pledged itself to Hiram Johnson; it has shaped a platform that fits only Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause, especially from the California delegation.)

Christ came to teach mankind. So, my friends, the government of the United States was built upon the teachings of Christ to guide the governments of the world. Forty republics have followed our example since 144 years ago when this government of liberty and of justice and of the people was set up on this continent. The shot that was fired at Lexington has been heard round the world. It was heard in Holland. It was heard in Switzerland. It was heard in France and in England and in Italy. France has sung the Marseillaise and waded through blood because of the disillusionment of the United States. The Italian people, tempest tossed through the influence of the United States, are now under a monarch of their own choice. England has advanced with hesitating steps toward ameliorating the condition of the less favored class through the inspiration of the United States. The chain lightning flashed civilization to the home of the Pyramids. The American form of government has been the guiding star for growing nations everywhere. (Applause.)

King Solomon, when asked what he most desired, answered that he wished the Lord to give him a heart that he might discern between right and wrong. The teachings of Christ are that man should be less free

to choose between right and wrong. This country, God's country, was built for the purpose of showing other nations the path to the thousand years of peace, the path of peace and good will toward men on earth. This country, in all fairness, should be less free to choose between right and wrong. It must stand for the right; it must help the right and condemn the wrong. It should stick closely to the Ten Commandments and be freer to forget, if you please, the Fourteen Points. (Laughter and applause.)

America, born in travail, baptized in the blood of patriots, reared amid privation and hardship, mastering civil dissension, breathed forth the might of justice in this great war and stands today a Hercules among nations. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the gentleman's time has expired.

Cries of "Go on, Go on."

MR. THOMAS D. SCHALL, of Minnesota.—May I have just a few minutes?

There were renewed cries of "Go on" and "Give him just a minute or two more."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the chair is here simply to enforce the rules which the Convention has established. They have limited the time of speakers to five minutes for each seconding speech. The time has been kept and the gentleman has already spoken over six minutes. If it is desired by the Convention to take off the limitation rules it is for you to say.

There were cries of "No, No," accompanied by "Just give him a minute or two more."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the circumstances I suggest unanimous consent that the time of Representative Schall may be extended for two minutes. (This statement of the Chairman was greeted by shouts of approval.) Representative Schall is granted two minutes additional.

MR. THOMAS D. SCHALL, of Minnesota.—I thank you. My friends, there is no word so sweet as the cry that comes from the fevered lips of the patriot. And as surely as the sun rises it will shine upon millions and millions of open hearts ready to pour out the last drop of devoted blood that freedom's home may be purified. Our defense today lies not in armies and navies. Not, my friends, even in the perfection of the laws, for laws may be disregarded, and constitutions may be set aside; and disregard of the laws is the poison that eats away the very pillars upon which rise the temples of Liberty, undermines our independence, and is standing today like an evil spirit behind the Stars and Stripes

ready to strike when the moment shall come even liberty to the earth and hoist in its place the black flag of international imperialism.

You have the illustration in the action of our President, fresh from the vision he gained on the mountain top of autocratic Europe, making an attempt to trade our birthright for a mess of pottage. But history is the handwriting of God. Men are the instruments with which He writes. On the banks of every nation's rubicon there stands a czar, but from the shadow of every Valley Forge He brings forth a Washington; at the sound of every Sumter's gun He sends a Lincoln; and when the traditions, the independence, the liberty, the very sovereignty of your country was being ruthlessly shoved aside by autocratic power He raised Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair now presents to the Convention Mr. Richard Doherty of Jersey City, New Jersey, to second the nomination of Senator Johnson. (Applause.)

MR. DOHERTY SECONDING SENATOR JOHNSON'S NOMINATION.

MR. RICHARD DOHERTY, of New Jersey.—It is my fervent hope that, during the brief time that I will enjoy and be honored by the attention of the convention, I may not be the object of its suspicion or impatience because of hailing from New Jersey, whose melancholy distinction it is to have contributed to American, and un-American history the activities of the eminent publicist who monopolizes the sinister allusions of your platform. (Laughter.)

And it is my further trust that the generosity of those delegates within hearing, who have come unpledged and uninstructed, will respect the obligation that controls the course of one who takes his place in this Convention, not with full personal liberty of action and utterance, but to carry out the mandate that a constituency has very plainly and solemnly expressed.

I come hither a delegate instructed and pledged, content with a status that is eloquent of advancement in popular government and wholly unenvious of the greater freedom breathed by the majority of this Convention—a freedom indeed which many might contemplate as the precarious heritage of a by-gone day when the imprudence and improvidence of Republican conventions explained the defeat of the very candidates they produced.

And to vitalize the preference expressed by 52,000 discriminating Republicans of New Jersey, whose good fortune it was to have their

ballots counted and credited, I avail myself of the present privilege not to offer for your consideration a candidate hitherto unnamed to deliver the message that a great unselfish electorate on the board of the Atlantic awaits, and awaiting, demands the opportunity to sustain a candidate from the distant coast of the Pacific; that the harbor of New York have spoken those who would rely for future thrift on the proven patriotism and incomparable statesmanship of the Golden Gate, that for the security and promotive American commercial dominance, the law-abiding industrial interests of the East cultivate a common patriotic cause with the honest productive interests of the West, that the judicious and untrammelled Republicans of New Jersey are prepared to link their country's fate with the aspirations of a generous and untrammelled son of Nevada. And in this it has not been the distance of 3,000 miles least enchantment to their view of the personality and public performance of Frank W. Johnson. Applause, especially enthusiastic among California delegates.

Across the broad expanse of a continent, persistent, increasing pervading, outside the superannuated methods of organized power and the insulated privileges of organized wealth invoked to paralyze the free enterprise that honored the behest of old California to provide its name has extended by latitude and longitude over the face of its country a general aspect to banish all rays of our national independence and compose the fears that have so Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt and the towering figures of a later day, might be supplanted by a new and sinister regime of Asiatic onslaught.

It is a conviction that engenders a renaissance that is a national sentiment of Republicans some love of country jealous America against the substitution of constitutional government and the substitution of rights that would imperil its ascendancy in the world and our economic preponderance, and I grieve to believe that there is the ultimate purpose of this Convention is to restore the nation to a stable republicanism, or that it is to be a mere party machine with no other end in view.

The time is the historic moment of their party, that a message of their platform has received millions of our people, and it is the duty of the party to respond to its aspirations and to the people's demand for a government that will be devoted to the interests of the people and the welfare of the nation, of the form of government that is the best for the national economy and the well-being of the people, and to the people's demand for a government that will be devoted to the interests of the people and the welfare of the nation, and to the people's demand for a government that will be devoted to the interests of the people and the welfare of the nation.



EDWIN P. THAYER, of Indiana
Sergeant-at-Arms

ballots counted and credited, I avail myself of the present privilege, not to offer for your consideration a candidate hitherto unnamed, but to deliver the message that a great unselfish electorate on the seaboard of the Atlantic awaits, and awaiting, demands the opportunity to sustain a candidate from the distant coast of the Pacific; that in the harbor of New York have spoken those who would rely for its future thrift on the proven patriotism and incomparable statesmanship of the Golden Gate; that for the security and promotion of American commercial dominance, the law-abiding industrial interests of the East cultivate a common patriotic cause with the honest productive interests of the West; that the judicious and untrammelled Republicans of New Jersey are prepared to link their country's destiny with the aspirations of a judicious and untrammelled son of California. And in this it has not been the distance of 3,000 miles that lent enchantment to their view of the personality and public performances of Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause, especially enthusiastic among California delegates.)

Across the broad expanse of a continent, persistent, increscent and pervading, despite the superannuated methods of organized politics and the innovated prodigalities of organized wealth invoked to disparage it, like the surging tide that ignored the behest of old King Canute to recede, his fame has extended by latitude and longitude over the face of his country, a grateful auspice to banish all misgivings of our national independence and compose the fears that the land of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland and Roosevelt under its unwitting rulers of a later day, might ever be sacrificed a prey to European intrigue or Asiatic onslaught.

His is a candidacy that engenders a reassurance that is not the patriotic comfort of Republicans alone; love of country jealousy of American progress, the sanctification of constitutional government and the discouragement of aught that would imperil its ascendancy are not in this age our exclusive profession; and I grieve for that delegate who fancies that it is the ultimate purpose of this Convention to exercise the function of crabbed partisanship, or that his duty is done when he consults mere party expediency.

The lapse of the historic principles of their party, blasted and superseded by weird propaganda, has bereaved millions of magnanimous Democrats, lovers of country and of its institutions and sentiments, of a recognizable agency through which henceforth to evince their civic allegiance. And these today, forgetful of the former differences resulting from old questions of internal economy that kept them asunder, focus their attention and converge their anticipations on the candidate of this convention prayerful that it may produce, under the Providence of the God of Nations, a savior of American



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Sergeant-at-Arms

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ideals endowed with the head and heart, the mind and morals and the character and career that give earnest of his fidelity to the ineffable traditions of the first republic of earth.

Already has this Convention outgrown its identity as a smug party council. The august power here resident of naming the one who, in all likelihood shall shape the destiny of our own nation during the years of the immediate future, and who in consequence of the present correlation of international affairs, may likewise influence or divert the projects of many a sovereign neighbor, charges this body with a duty more impressive, and freights it with a responsibility more supernal than any cast upon it since the first conclave wherein this party of our veneration and devotion had its beginning in the travail of human equality.

The prophet does not sit among you who can foretell the immensity of the tasks of statesmanship and national protection that may devolve upon the next Guide of the Nation. But we here know that they will be great, grave and manifold, and will call for a genius, a patriotism, an honesty and a vision no less than those possessed by the great master American of glorious memory, Theodore Roosevelt.

No Roosevelt moves among us, but if it be true, as many are wont to believe, that between those of earth and one who passes on there survives a mystic chain of sympathy of which the links are the common thoughts and interests and aspirations which once held them in the bond of humanitarian fellowship, then over this convention assuredly hovers the spirit of Roosevelt—fostering, encouraging, and justifying the struggles here made in behalf of his country's security, and if his noble spirit does hover above us, to whom I ask does it point us in this moment of unprecedented doubt? (Applause, and the answer from the California delegation, "Hiram Johnson.")

Who of all who have received mention here represents the principles which he represented? Who will wage for righteousness the fight that he would wage? And who of all men in this broad land in any vigorous measure incarnates the spirit of Roosevelt and his teachings? The needs of the hour indeed demand a Roosevelt, and while we would not if we could draw him from the serenity of his Father's bosom, we can and do offer you a Johnson. (Applause.)

No man who is now seeking this great presidential honor has demonstrated so impressive a popular approval. His marvelous vote at the primaries is nothing short of a national call to public service. To him all classes and sections look with feelings of trustfulness and hope. The scrupulous leaders of industry and the scrupulous leaders

of labor know his record writ in the imperishable scroll of his legislative and executive accomplishments.

To the worker in the mills, the laborer in the mine, the trainman at the throttle, the farmer in the field, the clerk in the countinghouse his figure looms large as a guaranty of personal and political rectitude. To the man of affairs to whom order and stability are pre-possessions, and who by actual contact with his regulative genius or by impartial scrutiny of his record are capable of a judicious estimation of Hiram Johnson, he is the anchor of honest business, morally conducted; and if there are exponents of other businesses whether called big or little, who do not know it, it is because they do not choose to know.

To the millions of mothers and sisters throughout the land roused to a realization of the appalling project to send their loved ones to the carnage of every European squabble, he is the preserver of home, and the patron of life's tenderest affections.

I do not, after the usual manner of such occasions, tell you of the important or pivotal States he can carry. If the political poise of the country permits the unmolested expression of free choice, our curiosity need concern only the States that he will lose if any; and this convention can name no other candidate whose success can be attained without straining effort and close contest.

We propose him as a candidate not for hoped election but for that certain inauguration which will constitute the next event in the fortunes of the Republican party and the country of its love and unremitting endeavor. (Applause.)

I second the nomination of Hiram W. Johnson of California. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

MR. O'NEIL SECONDING SENATOR JOHNSON'S NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will now hear Mr. Charles P. O'Neil, of Michigan, to second the nomination of Senator Johnson, and his limit of time is two minutes.

MR. CHARLES P. O'NEIL, of Michigan.—Mr. Chairman, Members of the Convention: The State of Michigan, through me as its spokesman, is proud to support one whose ability is admitted by all; whose conviction

tions on great public questions can be found without the aid of a search warrant. (Applause, especially from the California delegation.) And whose courage has permitted him to stand up against the foes of progress and popular rights like the oak that the withering blast cannot uproot or destroy. (Applause.)

You have seen him in his own commonwealth rise from obscurity to scourge the grafters and debauchers from the sacred temples of public office. (Applause.) You have seen him give to his own State, a safe, sound and wholesome business-like administration. They together with millions of others refuse to believe he is radical unless to be right is to be radical. (Applause.) They together with millions of others will not spend one sleepless night of worry with this man in the White House. You saw him come to our own State, the old State of Michigan, with neither organization nor money, with nothing but his own sterling character and unanswerable logic win to himself the support of their people as no one has ever done since death laid its heavy hand upon the immortal Roosevelt. (Applause.) The delegates from the State of Michigan are here to carry out the trust that the people of the State have placed in them. They are here not to break faith with their own people but to support Hiram W. Johnson, not on one ballot or two ballots but loyally and steadfastly until he is nominated by this Convention. (Applause, especially from the California delegation.) They recall how our party in its faltering infancy took from the then far west and placed upon the seat of the mighty, the greatest of all Americans, Abraham Lincoln; and the people of the State of Michigan with the same devotion to our party principles and ideals have taken from the now far west and present to this Convention the greatest living American, California's illustrious son, Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause.)

MRS. EDSON SECONDING SENATOR JOHNSON'S NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents Mrs. Katherine Philip Edson, of California, to second the nomination of Senator Johnson. She is entitled under the rules to two minutes.

Mrs. Edson's appearance on the platform was greeted by enthusiastic applause, the convention rising.

MRS. KATHERINE PHILIP EDSON, of California.—Delegates of the Republican National Convention: As a co-worker with Hiram Johnson for the last eight years in the great State of California I present him to you as the only man before this Convention who understands the human problem confronting the American people. (Applause.) Hiram Johnson when

governor of our State forced through the legislature the amendment which gave to the women of the State equal suffrage. (Applause.) Before women had the vote he gave to our State the first eight-hour law for women in this nation's history. Not only did he do that but he put upon the statute books of California the greatest industrial legislation of any State in the union. This legislation is accepted today by both employers and workers of the State, and today I think California holds the proud position of having enjoyed more industrial peace with less industrial unrest than any other State in the union of anything like its industrial development. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, I wish to call your attention to a very practical Republican problem: During the last campaign when we went before this nation we lost ten of the twelve suffrage States of the union. We therefore ask you to nominate a man who understands the great humanitarian problems of this country in which the women of the nation are interested, and therefore we ask you to send us out into the nation with a candidate we can support with whole heart and clean hands,—Hiram W. Johnson. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will resume calling the roll of States for nominations for the presidency.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Colorado, Connecticut—

MR. J. HENRY RORABACK, of Connecticut.—Mr. Chairman, Connecticut yields to Massachusetts. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Has Massachusetts a candidate to present?

Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives, advanced to the front of the platform, and was greeted by great applause.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Honorable Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives, will present the name of Governor Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

MR. GILLETT NOMINATING GOVERNOR COOLIDGE

MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman, members of the Convention: Our candidate is a man of few words, and in that respect I shall imitate him. (Applause.) And I only wish that I could imitate his effective use of words.

A year ago hardly a person outside of New England knew, or perhaps cared, who was governor of Massachusetts. Today every man and woman in this vast audience, every lover of order and liberty throughout the United States, knows and rejoices that the Governor of Massachusetts is Calvin Coolidge. (Applause.)

Opportunity—which knocks once at every man's door—came to him and found him waiting her summons; calm, courageous, resolute to do his duty though the Heavens fall. And he did it so well, he met his great opportunity with so masterful a spirit as to send a thrill of admiration through every community in the land, and every honest man felt safer because there was such a Governor as Coolidge. (Applause.)

Isn't that the type of man you want for President today? Nominate him and you rally behind him that underlying devotion to our public security, that faith in our Republican institutions which when once aroused is over-powering and irresistible. He is supported by no special class or interest, but he attracts all those who believe that "obedience to law is liberty," who wish this to be "a government of laws and not of men." (Applause.)

Just to do his duty well has been his life's characteristic. None has been too small for his painstaking, conscientious care; none has risen too large for his ability or his courage. I believe there is no burden or honor you can place on him of which he is not worthy. (Applause.)

A boyhood on a lonely farm in Vermont bred in him industry, frugality, self-reliance. The granite hills seem to have moulded his grave, indomitable character. Family self-denial gave him a college education at Amherst to broaden his native talents. Then he practiced law. But his neighbors soon recognized the value of this quiet, sagacious man, and drafted him into public service, and he glided from one useful station to another till he reached the highest office of our State. He is not showy, or spectacular, but he never disappoints. The limelight attracts him less than the midnight oil. (Applause.) No audiences ever fail to listen to his weighty sentences, and when they go away they vote as he has talked. A poor man, living in the most frugal simplicity, he always had the confidence and support of the working people, yet rich and poor are to him alike equal before the law. He never "crooks the pregnant hinges of the knee" before pretentious power, nor stiffens his neck in pride before lowly weakness; but he holds the even tenor of his upright way, following his pol-star of duty. (Applause.)

Would it not be a restful change to see such a man in the White House today? (Applause.) His straight-forward personality would clear the murky atmosphere of Washington like a bracing northern breeze. We

have been fed long enough on glittering rhetoric and extravagant novelties and rainbow-tinted dreams. We need an era of hard sense and old freedom. We need to re-invigorate the homely, orderly virtues which have made America great. (Applause.)

Do you demand for your candidate a man of native ability? Take him who, an unknown country lawyer, won the confidence of the legislature in his first term. Do you want a profound political thinker? Take the author of that inspiring volume "Have Faith in Massachusetts." Do you want courage? Take the Governor who, just before an election, sent the dauntless message: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody anywhere any time." (Applause.) Do you want a winner? Take the man who has never concealed his convictions, who has never lowered his standards and who has never known defeat.

I have not a word of depreciation for the splendid men whose names have been put in nomination. (Applause.) I can follow any one of these veterans with enthusiasm and confidence. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) But it is to the glory of the Republican Party that there constantly emerge from the ranks young men able to bear forward our banner to new glory. Such a man is our Governor. He is patient as Lincoln, silent as Grant, diplomatic as McKinley, with the political instinct of Roosevelt. His character is as firm as the mountains of his native State. Like them his head is above the clouds and he stands unshaken amid the tumult and the storm.

I nominate for President, Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. (Applause, loud and prolonged, the Massachusetts delegation rising and giving "three cheers for Coolidge.")

MRS. PFEIFFER SECONDING GOVERNOR COOLIDGE'S NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I present Mrs. Alexandra Carlisle Pfeiffer, who will second the nomination of Governor Coolidge. Under the rules she is entitled to five minutes.

As Mrs. Pfeiffer advanced to the front of the platform the delegates and alternates stood and cheered.

MRS. ALEXANDRA CARLISLE PFEIFFER, of Massachusetts.—Calvin Coolidge, a real American, born on the fourth of July (applause) has endeared himself to every man, woman and child in the State which he governs.

because of his steadfast belief in the real things of life—home, people, country. (Applause.)

He is a man of deeds, not words.

He believes in courage, in co-operation, not domination.

He has faith—faith in Lincoln's plain people. (Applause.)

He is a student of men; he has become a leader of men by being a follower of truth.

He is as simple in his private life as any other working man.

He has walked humbly in high places without pomp or ceremony.

Because he has remained a plain human man, lived as plain people live, felt the same difficulties, hoped the same hopes, he is not merely trusted, he is loved. (Applause.)

He has used his influence and authority for social progress, not for social oppression.

In Calvin Coolidge every home, high or low, has a friend.

Every working man and working woman has not merely a Governor, but a brother. (Applause.)

And every mother thinks of him as the first Governor in America to demand the establishment of a system of maternity benefits for mothers and care for their children, our future citizens.

He stands on the threshold of America, Plymouth Rock; his feet firmly placed, his eyes sweeping the national horizon with complete understanding.

His love of his country is like the love of mother.

He serves her tenderly, loyally, faithfully, with respect for her best traditions. He guards her glorious future jealously. He is such a son as any mother would be proud to own. (Applause.)

Stand by him, as the real spirit of Americanism, such as we would teach to our children.

If you ask what the nation most needs today, it is the simplicity in private and in public life of Calvin Coolidge; the fidelity in public service of Calvin Coolidge; the loyalty to American institutions of government of Calvin Coolidge; and the humanity in public deeds of Calvin Coolidge. (Applause, members of the Massachusetts delegation standing and giving three cheers for Calvin Coolidge.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will continue the calling of the roll of States for nominations for candidates for the Presidency.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Taking up where I left off I will read: Delaware?

MR. L. HEISLER BALL, of Delaware.—Delaware passes.

THE READING CLERK.—Florida?

MR. THOMAS GEROW, of Florida.—Florida yields to North Carolina. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Has North Carolina a nomination to present?

MR. E. A. LINNEY, of North Carolina.—Yes; and former Senator Marion Butler is now in his way to the platform.

MR. BUTLER NOMINATING JUDGE PRITCHARD.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents former Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, who will nominate Judge Pritchard as a candidate for President.

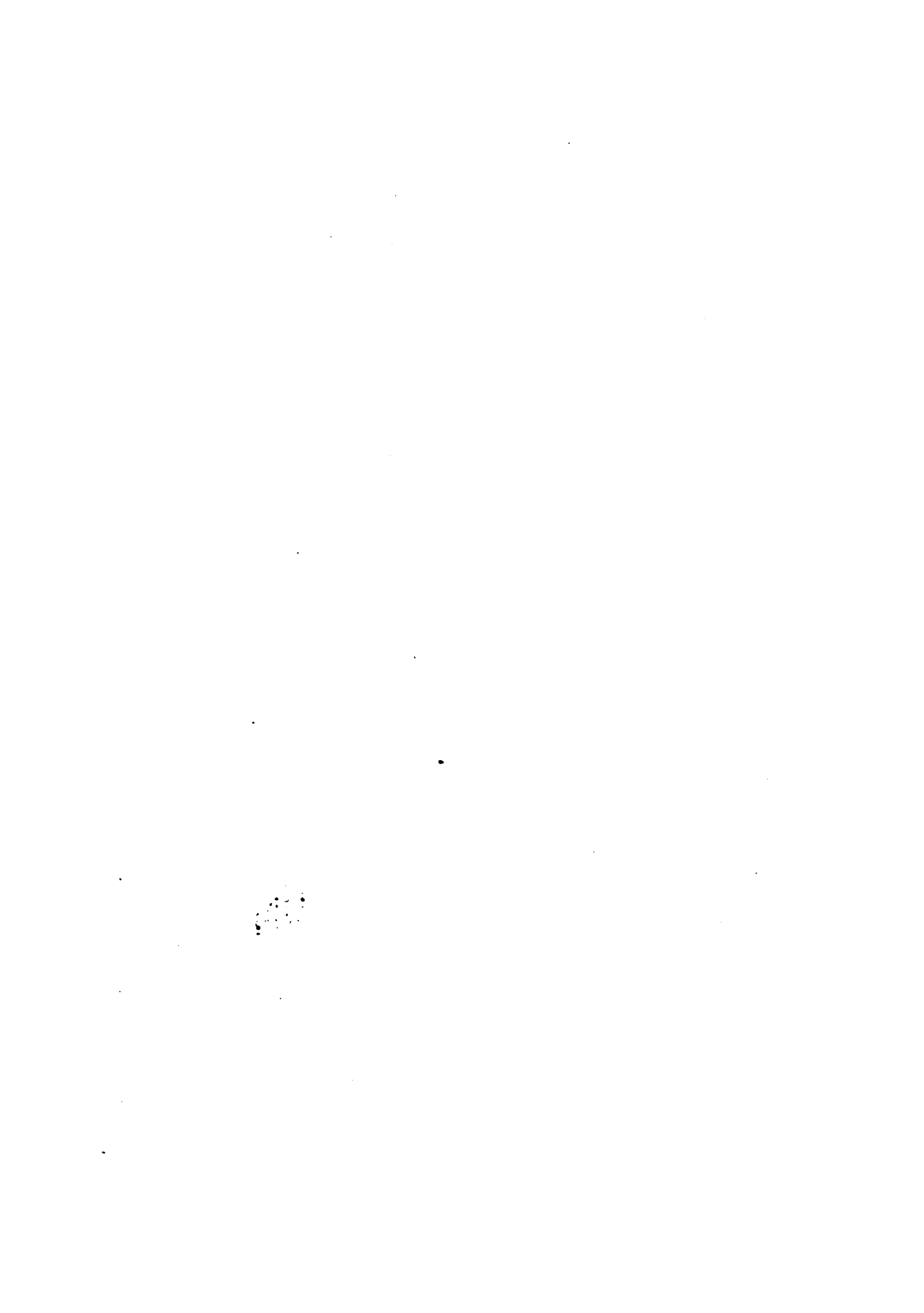
MR. MARION BUTLER, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention. The South since the Civil War has lifted itself from the depths of economic prostration to a high plane of material prosperity. We are, however, still the victims of political conditions growing out of that war, the evil consequences of which affect not only us, but the whole country. The health of the national body politic, the welfare of the whole nation demands that those evil conditions be removed, demands the political emancipation of our great section, in order that our people may be in a position to help do their part through national unity for the preservation of our institutions and for the protection forever of our sovereignty. When the Blue and the Gray joined hands for the Stars and Stripes to deliver the oppressed people of Cuba from bondage, we thought sectionalism was dead.

When President McKinley, placing flowers upon Confederate graves in the South on Decoration Day, said that the courage and heroism and patriotism of the Southern soldier, together with the courage and patriotism of the Northern soldier, were alike the proud heritage of a common country, he sent a thrill through every heart in the nation. Again we felt sure that sectionalism was dead. Again, the descendants of the Gray joined hands with the descendants of the Blue and vied with each other in national unity to win the great World War, and win it we did.

Marshal Foch, the Commander-in-Chief of our Allied Forces, has dedicated to the world, and placed upon the walls of the Invalides around the tomb of the great Napoleon, his field maps showing the movements of the Allied Forces each day after the arrival of the American troops



JACOB L. BABLER, of Missouri
Member of Committee on Arrangements



on the scene of action. That series of field maps show that at every point where the American soldiers were placed, the advance of the allied lines each day was steady as fate. There is one great star point on that farthest advance line which will forever hold the attention of every citizen in the world. It is the point where the 30th American Division, composed of Southern Infantry regiments made up of the flower of the manhood of North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, (applause), with the Stars and Stripes aloft, charged and broke the impregnable Hindenburg line. Those heroes in that hour and by the same token wiped out the last vestige of Mason's Dixon's line (applause) and wrote in their own blood "Union, One and Indestructible, Now and Forever." (Applause.)

If this did not kill sectionalism, then in God's name let us do it here today. The opportunity is before us and duty calls upon the Republican Party to seize it.

One who has not been in the South during the past two years can not realize the breadth and depth of independent thought and feeling that has grown out of this great World War. The soldier boys of the South have returned home and become leaders in every neighborhood for Americanism, and they are ready to dedicate their efforts at home and join in a great civic army to perform the same patriotic service to our country and institutions at home which they performed on foreign battlefields. The fathers and mothers of those boys have also today the same patriotic spirit. They are now seeking a way to help serve America at home. They realize that during this great World War and, indeed, during the last eight years, this country has suffered from the most monumental maladministration ever recorded in history. (Cries of "Good.") They are not only aroused at such maladministration, but they are today tremendously aroused at the effort on the part of a Democratic administration to surrender our sovereignty to a foreign power. (Cheers and applause.) The Southern men and women, the parents of our soldiers, are ready today to enlist under the banner of the Republican Party in the interest of Americanism.

There is but one thing, my friends, that will make the South Republican. Thousands of our most patriotic men and women are still deterred by the cry of the Democratic politician that the Republican party is a sectional party and hates the South and our people. If the Republican Party today can wrest from those Democratic leaders that last weapon of falsehood and prejudice, the solid South is ready to crumble. (Applause.) The Republican Party can do this country and the South that service today, but it requires action and not words. The one thing that would knock the shackles from the South would be the recognition of the South on the national Republican ticket.

Today we offer you a man from the South. We offer you a man born in the Appalachian Mountains of Tennessee, who brought himself up in the mountains of North Carolina, a man who is a full-sized American, an American without reservations—Judge Jeter Conley Pritchard, of North Carolina. (Cheers.) He is the peer of any man in these United States today (applause) in character, ability, and every qualification for the great office of President. (Applause.)

Judge Pritchard carried North Carolina and was elected twice to the United States Senate. In the Senate he was not only North Carolina's Senator, but he was the Senator of the whole South, a Senator that North Carolina and the whole South is proud of.

Judge Pritchard today serves as presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, a position to which he was appointed by President Roosevelt, and a place which he graces with distinction to himself and the bench and bar to the far ends of the country.

Fellow citizens, this Southern man is a typical American of full size, who has not only performed his duty in the high office of United States Senator and in the great position of Circuit Judge, but he has served on a number of the most important arbitration boards settling contests between capital and labor that have ever been convened in this country. In 1914 when a great labor strike on all the great railroads from Chicago to the Pacific Ocean was threatened, that would have tied up half the railroads of the country, we looked over this whole country for the man to act as neutral arbitrator and chairman of the board. The man selected was Judge Jeter C. Pritchard. He sat here in this town for six months performing that great duty to his country. His decision in settling that strike was so wise and just that it commanded the confidence of both labor and capital. A great duty was thrust upon this man. He rose to it; he met it and he served labor and he served capital, and he served the whole country. (Applause.)

A man who can perform such a service as that has proved himself to be the kind of man needed for President of these United States today and tomorrow.

Fellow citizens, there is a situation in this country today that demands the attention of the leaders of the Republican Party and all patriots and statesmen. We have a condition in this country today that threatens a number of Republican states. For reasons that I will not take time to mention, we know that there are certain Republican states that we may lose. Where are we going to get the states to take their place? In the great South, blessed with a great people and a wonderful citizenship, the states are ready and ripe for Republicanism. The Repub-

lican Party needs these states. Nominate on your national ticket today Judge Jeter C. Pritchard, and he will carry not only North Carolina, his native state, which he has carried twice before, but he will carry his own state of Tennessee, where he first saw the light. He will not only carry those two great states, but the states of Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland will also line up in the Republican column. (Applause.) And not only those states, but the states of Alabama, Georgia and Texas will be on the way. (Applause.)

Fellow Citizens, the time is ripe for Republican principles and policies, and such recognition under the leadership of such a man will bring them into the Republican column.

His rugged character, his native wisdom, his big heart and his supreme courage are stamped on every act of his public and private life, and Judge Jeter Conley Pritchard would today make the greatest running platform which the Republican Party can offer to the country. The party needs him for its candidate and the country needs him for President. Nominate him and the supremacy of our party is assured. (Applause; the North Carolina delegation rising and cheering for Pritchard.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will continue the call of states.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Ogden Mills, of New York, who will present the name of Nicholas Murray Butler. (Applause.)

MR. MILLS NOMINATING MR. BUTLER.

MR. MILLS, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: Two outstanding facts stamp this Convention as almost unique in character and more momentous in its consequences than any that have preceded it. Never since the election of Lincoln have problems of such vital import to our national life demanded wise leadership and awaited solution. While met ostensibly to nominate a candidate, we shall before we separate have in reality chosen a President. (Applause.)

This is, my friends, as great a responsibility as ever confronted a gathering of patriotic Americans. We must approach our task in a

spirit which transcends all narrow, selfish or sectional regards and rises superior to personal prejudice, political enmity, even to lifelong friendship. We are not concerned with any man's place of residence, or his occupation, or his previous public offices. We are concerned with fitness alone. Fitness is availability.

A mighty war has shaken the foundations of civilization, destroyed the political structure of a great continent, shattered the highly developed and sensitive economic system of the modern world, and left in its train economic, social and political problems, national and international, so fundamental and complex that the world today may be said to be groping in its search for light. This is more true of Europe than of the United States; but even our victorious, powerful and independent nation is not free from the heavy burdens of the day, as evidenced by widespread unrest, industrial strife, a high cost of living that bears with constantly increasing weight on every family, a staggering load of taxes, decreased production and business hesitation, and a feeling of doubt and lack of direction experienced not only in respect of domestic questions but of international policy, and which has led some in despair to question our institutions themselves.

Face to face with these problems, what manner of man must this new President be?

First and foremost, an American to the bone (applause), not merely an American by birth or education, but one so imbued with the underlying moral and political principles upon which America rests, so steeped in her traditions, so devoted to her ideals and institutions, that no power on earth can cause him to abandon the secure foundations established by the Fathers.

He must be constructively-minded; a builder, not a destroyer. There has been enough of destruction. The courageous critic, the merciless exposé of abuses is a valuable public servant, but he is at his best in opposition, and the next President will lead a powerful majority and must do more than expose abuses; he must reform them.

The shock of war has shaken the established order and let loose many strange cross currents and eddies; but basic, economic forces continue to exert their enduring influence. No man can deal with the business, financial and economic problems of today in their wider aspects in the light of the mere personal experience of yesterday, unless that experience is fortified by knowledge which comes only from intense study of fundamental factors and laws. The problems of the high cost of living, of increased agricultural and industrial production, of the future of our transportation system, of the development of our foreign com-

merce, and of the general business prosperity—all demand a trained mind of the highest order.

He must be a tried executive, but he must be much more than an administrator; for the raising of our educational standards, the protection of the health of the nation, the harmonizing of apparently conflicting interests, the calming of unrest, and the promotion of the general welfare, call not only for a sympathetic attitude, but a social understanding based on experience and a direct and intimate contact with the life of the people.

No man should be President today who has not a clean-cut conception of our international relations and of our traditional foreign policy. Ours has never been a position of isolation, nor can it be in the future. Charged as he is with the difficult duty of directing our foreign policy and of dealing with foreign governments, a President who has not at his disposal a knowledge of world politics and of diplomatic practice, will be seriously handicapped, and to that extent will handicap the nation. Never again must the United States suffer as it has in the last eighteen months from unbalanced and inexperienced leadership. If America's duties to the world are to be performed, if American rights are at all times to be preserved, our Chief Executive must have thought, and thought deeply, not of America splendidly isolated and immersed in domestic concerns, but of America in its relations to the peoples of the earth struggling and striving as we are toward the dawn of a better day.

Finally, he can not be sectional, but must be national in his antecedents and interests. He can not belong to any one part of the country, but must know and be known to all.

Of all the distinguished names presented to you for your consideration, there is only one candidate who satisfactorily meets all of these tests.

Nicholas Murray Butler does! (Applause.)

He was born in New Jersey, was brought up under the tradition of Alexander Hamilton in the very city which Hamilton himself founded to illustrate how the nation could establish economic as well as political independence. The product of the American public school and college, he has since his earliest days been an earnest student of the American Constitution, and no layman in his writings and utterances has contributed more to a proper understanding of the value and fundamental principles of that basic instrument of government, nor has any man been more earnest in its defense against the attacks of those who sought to undermine it. His book, "Why Should We Change Our Form of Government," has

been described as the most important contribution to political theory in many years, while his words in 1919 are a ringing declaration of faith:

"The Declaration of Independence rings as true today as it did in 1776. The Constitution remains the surest and safest foundation for a free government that the wit of man has yet devised. Faithful adherence to these strong and enduring foundations and a high purpose to apply the fundamental principles of American life, with sympathy and open-mindedness to each new problem that presents itself, will give us a people increasingly prosperous, increasingly happy and increasingly secure."

I know of no man who is more constructively-minded than Dr. Butler. Throughout many years of public and private activity in dealings with far-reaching problems in education, in business, in social organization and in practical politics, he has never rested content with mere destructive criticism, but has ever sought a positive solution. In many of our party platforms, with which you are familiar, he has invariably contributed the note of construction and progress in definite and concrete language. This quality has been recognized by every President since Harrison with the exception of Cleveland and Wilson. A leading advocate of the reform of our Federal finances for many years, he has led the fight for the establishment of an executive budget, and has had the satisfaction of seeing this great measure of fiscal reform adopted by a Republican Congress. While repeatedly declining to accept public office, for many years the Republican Party in the State of New York has turned to him for advice and suggestion when confronted with difficult problems of government. In national affairs he has been aptly termed "the wheel-horse of the Republican Party."

He is a tried and proved executive. He has been the executive head for longer or shorter periods for a dozen different organizations or undertakings, all of which have been successful. As president of Columbia University for more than twenty years, he has been the administrator of a great business—a business comprising a group of corporations representing an investment of \$70,000,000, engaging the services of approximately 2,500 persons, with an annual budget of more than \$6,500,000, for the care and instruction of 30,000 men and women. This is not the work of an academic specialist, but one requiring rare qualities of judgment and executive ability. Twice he has been urged to become the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York; he has been urged twice to become the candidate for Governor of New York, and twice he has declined. That is what we think of him as an executive and leader in the Empire State. (Applause.)

The following words taken from his "Program of Constructive Progress" are those of a man of a progressive social point of view and one

who has reached his conclusions through personal contacts and knowledge of men:

"Quickened public intelligence and enlightened public conscience are moving steadily throughout the world toward a fuller appreciation of man's obligation to his fellow and of society's responsibility for the unfortunate, the dependent, and the unemployed. These are not, as is often taught, problems of a class or for a class; they are problems of and for a true democracy inspired by human kindness and human sympathy."

For example, as President of the University Settlement on the East Side of New York, Butler acquired years ago that intimate association with the East Side population which enabled him to understand their habits of thought, traditions and aspirations. Read "The Real Labor Problem" by Butler, and you will read the words of one who approaches the problem of industrial unrest, not as a partisan, not as a theorist, but as an optimistic American who knows what he is talking about, is satisfied that the differences between capital and labor are not irreconcilable, but that with courage and constructive thought we can achieve that unity which is essential to the national welfare. (Applause.)

Butler's grasp of economic facts and forces is thorough and intimate. He knows the nation's basic industries in manufacturing, in agriculture, and in mining, at first hand throughout the United States, and is personally familiar with business and labor conditions as well as with plans of industrial organization in all the leading industries East and West. For years he has insisted upon the shifting of emphasis from questions of mere political organization to questions of economic organization, production and distribution, and has pointed out the danger to a constitutional form of government unless these new tendencies were grasped, understood and properly directed.

I have said that no man should be President who has not a clean-cut conception of our international relations, and of our traditional foreign policy. For thirty years Murray Butler has been a serious student of international relations and policies. He knows Europe, European problems and European politics, as a man can only know who has visited Europe with that end in view. He knows the leading statesmen, not only of the great powers of Europe, but of the leading South American republics personally, and he is on such intimate terms with them that he is able to estimate their force, their character and their intentions. He has been one of the active members of that group that has steadfastly advocated the establishment of international co-operation around an international court, which we may truly describe as a Republican doctrine. No man is better qualified by training and experience to give that wise leadership that is so necessary to the re-establishment of a sound, consistent and vigorously American foreign policy.

My friends, it has been said on this platform today that only one man can stand on the platform which you adopted yesterday. I am glad that the candidate from California can consistently stand on that platform. (Applause.) But I want to say this, that Nicholas Murray Butler can stand on the plank written by Elihu Root and accepted by this Convention without crossing a "t." (Applause.)

Few, if any, Americans, not in high public office, are so well known throughout the United States, and few have traveled so completely in all the States and Territories. Before he was thirty he had spoken in public in every State and Territory in the Union, and he has made it a lifelong practice to keep in close touch with business, social and political conditions of all parts of the United States. It may fairly be said that he is as well known in the States of California and Washington as in the States of New York and New Jersey.

A thinker who does not make his thoughts his master; an idealist who does not make dreams his aim; a man whose ambition is deeds, not words, and who has realized that ambition in practice; a believer first and last in his country and its institutions, Nicholas Murray Butler is a truly representative American citizen, worthy of the high esteem in which he is held by his countrymen and of the high position to which he aspires, and to the respect and confidence of his fellow countrymen. With a full realization of the enormous responsibility which rests upon all of us, the State of New York presents for your earnest consideration as the Republican candidate for the Presidency of the United States the name of Nicholas Murray Butler. (Applause; particularly by the New York delegation.)

MISS BOSWELL SECONDING MR. BUTLER'S NOMINATION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The chair presents Miss Helen Varick Boswell, of New York, who will second the nomination of Honorable Nicholas Murray Butler. (Applause.)

MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL, of New York.—Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention. As an elected delegate from the State of New York (applause) I rise to second the nomination of a man sound in body, mind and Republican principles. (Applause.) The men and women of New York have a just pride in presenting this name which stands for a mental equipment not excelled by that of any man in the country. It stands for a knowledge of government in its every phase.

Louis XIV was not the only man in high place who said—and thought—"I am the State." We have had much demonstration of that attitude in



L. W. HENLEY, of Indiana
Secretary of the Committee on Arrangements



the present administration. (Laughter.) Our candidate says "We, the people, are the State," and we the voters, know that he understands the State. (Applause.)

Nicholas Murray Butler has not, thank Heaven, a "single track mind." (Laughter.) Collisions occur on a single track. His mind is broad gauge, standard, and there are no open switches. He can be safely trusted in the transportation of ideas, men and materials. He is not color blind—he would observe signals, and would deliver the goods to a *known* destination. (Applause.) No wrecks, smooth running, ball bearing. That is the kind of engineer of public affairs this country needs now, and that is the kind we offer in this candidate.

We need a chief executive with imagination, with vision; but with the knowledge born of experience, that imagination, that vision, that even the very highest patriotism in thought, is of small use to one hundred millions of people, unless the chief executive can lay out practical channels through which these great attributes may be applied.

Our candidate has come up from the ranks politically and he knows political needs and how to best use political opportunities for the advancement of the whole people. His varied achievements have wrought him into material equal to meeting and mastering the tremendous problems, social, economic and political confronting us today.

We, the plain citizens of this country want to express *ourselves* in the next President of the United States. We want as our representative in the White House a man great enough in mental stature and human interest to see and meet world needs—a diplomat in keenness of perception and adjustment of our relations with other nations, yet full of the spirit of America first, America safeguarded, America prepared! We have this representative of the hopes, the aspirations of every man and woman in our candidate—Nicholas Murray Butler. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

MR. MILLER NOMINATING HERBERT HOOVER.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The chair presents Judge Nathan L. Miller of New York, who will present the name of Honorable Herbert Hoover. (Applause.)

MR. NATHAN L. MILLER, of Syracuse, New York.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I speak for no State, for no section, for no group of delegates in this Convention, but in the nomination I am about to make I believe I express the wish and voice the hope of great numbers of Republicans in every part of this country, of great

numbers of patriotic men and women everywhere, who are now anxiously waiting for the Republican party to satisfy their hopes and aspirations and to give them a leadership which they can loyally follow to certain victory in November. (Applause, mostly from the galleries.)

I urge the nomination of the candidate for whom I deem it my patriotic duty to vote because I believe that he stands pre-eminently in his country today as the man possessing the qualities, the equipment and the ability to deal with the problems which are confronting us. (Applause, principally from the galleries.) What are these problems, or some of them, and what are the reasons why I make that statement? I take it that the first duty of the incoming administration will be to establish peace. What is the record of my candidate on the peace treaty, (A voice from the New York delegation, "Yes, what is it?") And what is his special fitness to deal with this problem? (Another voice: "Well, what is his record on the peace treaty?") I refer to his public utterances, clear and unequivocal. I refer, sir, to the official record to which I am about to call attention, and I say to you that if you take that official record and lay it side by side with the platform which we have adopted you would think that they were drawn by the same author. (Applause, principally from the galleries.)

And the record to which I refer was made fifteen months ago. As a member of the Supreme Economic Council, it was his duty to advise the President at the peace conference. On the 11th of April, 1919, at Paris, he gave such advice in writing. As strongly as words could put it he advised against our becoming involved in European intrigue, European dispute, in purely European affairs. He advised against assuming responsibilities which might entail the cost and risk of military enforcement. He pointed out that, to allow ourselves to become thus involved was contrary to the traditions, the desires and the sentiment of the American people.

With clear vision and prophetic insight he predicted our loss of prestige and credit and the unsatisfactory compromises at variance with out the peril of being dazzled by the glamour of world leadership, alluring as that might be, and that the true role of America, the true hope of the world, lay in our preservation of our independence and freedom of action so as to be able to sit as an impartial judge in the great supreme court of the nation, so as at all times to be able to cast the moral weight and the moral strength and the moral force of the American people on the side of right and justice. (Applause.) And I say that that exactly expresses the plank which has succeeded in securing the unanimous support of this Convention.

Has my candidate special qualifications to deal with our foreign relations and to restore our lost prestige? I do not exaggerate when I say

that there is probably no man in this country today who has his knowledge, his first-hand knowledge, of conditions the world over. And there is no other American who to the same extent possesses the confidence, the respect and the admiration of all the world. (Applause.)

With peace established, the next task will be to establish order, efficiency and economy in the public administration. Has my candidate demonstrated special fitness for that task?

Called upon suddenly to head the great work of saving a nation from starvation he organized and conducted, under adverse and difficult conditions, the most stupendous charitable relief work ever undertaken. (Applause.)

He fed, clothed and kept in health ten millions of people, and he did it with a precision, an economy and a judgment which left them, after five years of enemy occupation, the most self-dependent people in Europe. Summoned because of proved exceptional fitness to head our food administration during the war, he performed that difficult work in a way to make it appear easy. He conducted that great work, with its almost infinite ramifications, and from corporate activities which he found it necessary to organize he turned into the treasury of the United States fifty million dollars more than the entire cost of the food administration. (Applause.)

When that work was done and upon the collapse of the Central Empires a condition existed in Europe which he alone more than any other man foresaw. He warned the Allies of the danger. He warned of the necessity of raising the flood gates against the tides that were threatening to engulf Central Europe. He could not look on complacently while women and children even of our enemies died of hunger. He appealed to the Congress for an appropriation of a hundred million dollars. He appealed to the Allies to lift the flood gates. Many doubted that the great task could be done at all. All agreed that there was one man and one man alone in all the world who could do it if it could be done at all, and he was selected. (Applause.)

It took time to obtain the necessary consent, the necessary authority, but women and children were dying of hunger and he did not wait. Anticipating the necessary consent, anticipating the lifting of the blockade, he took his measures and when the consent was granted the food ships were already on the ocean bound for Hamburg.

At this point the delegates evinced some impatience.

If you will give me your attention for but one moment more I will be done. Just one moment more. I appreciate the fact that you are

not in a temper or a mood to listen to all that could be said in behalf of the candidate whom I am to nominate. (From the delegates, "You're right!") But if you will listen for a moment I will stop.

In one sentence, he has carried the American flag farther than it has ever been carried before. He has planted it in the homes of the humble, the poor and the lowly in the new democracies of the world, where unborn generations will forever pay it honor. (Applause.)

A new figure, a new character conspicuous in American life, distinguished throughout the world, has arisen. This figure I refer to has appealed to the American people, to the youth of America, to all Americans who are looking up and forward to higher and better and finer things; he has an appeal such as no other living man can make. (Applause.)

Great emergencies have a way of finding the right man. The greatest emergency in history arose; the voice of humanity called for an unusual man, with unusual equipment, with unusual ability, and Herbert Hoover heard that call. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

The great problems with which the next administration will have to deal are economic.

Outstanding among these problems are the problems of production and distribution, the present state of which, together with inflation, are the chief causes of the high cost of living, and the overshadowing problem of establishing and promoting better industrial relations. The views of my candidate on these questions are known, and they are sane, practical and consistent with the true philosophy of American life.

I have heard—you doubtless have heard—the Americanism of my candidate questioned, his Republicanism questioned, his residence and eligibility even questioned. He has been serving the cause of humanity. For six years he has been ministering to the needs of humanity. For six years he has been adding honor and lustre and dignity and prestige to the American name.

For six years my candidate has been under the eyes of the people and every act that he has done, every word that he has uttered, breathes living, virile, true Americanism. The women of the country went into partnership with him to help win the war, and I want to say to you that they are only waiting now for an opportunity to resume that partnership, to help serve their country.

Other voices and other services are now calling him. Those voices though plainly audible now if given a chance will swell and grow to a mighty chorus. Will you deny them the chance? Can not you hear them? Will not you heed them? Can you disregard them?

I nominate Herbert Hoover as our candidate for the great office of

President of the United States. (Applause, principally from the galleries. A man in the galleries with a megaphone thunders out "We want Hoo-ver, We want Hoo-ver.")

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I present Hugh Henry Brown, of Nevada, who will second the nomination of Herbert Hoover.

MR. BROWN SECONDING MR. HOOVER'S NOMINATION.

MR. HUGH HENRY BROWN, of Nevada.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies of the Convention: Born at the eastern end of the Overland Trail and educated at its terminus on the Pacific Coast, son of a pioneer family in the Mississippi Valley, and graduate of a pioneer university in California, Herbert Hoover is first, last, and all the time, an American.

The spirit of the American pioneer has been at the heart of all his labors. He did pioneer work when he fed the people of Belgium. He did pioneer work when he organized the United States Food Administration. He did pioneer work when he forged American womanhood into a powerful engine of war.

During those long months of battle every American home was in partnership with him. Never in our history, or perhaps in any history, had there been such universal and successful co-operation between the people on one side and a high public servant on the other. It was the patriotism of the American people, together with the executive and administrative skill of the Food Administrator, which made that nation-wide program a potential factor in the final issue of arms.

In the vexed juncture of our national life, as it fronts us today, the same leadership is still available to us.

To those who say we are confronted with grave international problems, we reply that he has matched his brains with the chancelleries of Europe and been acknowledged their peer. He emerged from the Belgium relief admittedly the world's foremost unofficial diplomat. He knows world forces and world politics as it has been given to few Americans to know them.

To those who rightly stress the gravity of our domestic problems—industry, wages, high prices, taxation—the clash and confusion of economic forces and the clutter of cumbersome or crude legislation, we say that he brings to this field of politics and state-craft the master mind of a business genius and the broad sympathies of a warm-hearted humanitarian.

He knows the machinery of world trade. In his war work over seas he commanded a vast mercantile fleet. He bought merchandise in practically all the open markets of the globe. Uncle Sam expects and must have his share of world trade. Fortunate is our country if the next President is an expert in this intricate field of international competition,—a president who is a master of markets, not a maker of maxims; a President who is a dealer in realities, not a high priest of dogma.

He has met the great test. A man meets the great test when he puts aside his own profit to serve his fellows. Six years ago his personal affairs were sailing fair waters. He put them aside to serve others. Since 1914, so far as I know, he hasn't hit a lick for his own pocket-book or for his own children, but what a lot he has done for the children of other fathers!

He has accepted no foreign decorations, though many have been offered him. Why he has declined them I know not, unless it be a stern sense of American simplicity inherited from four generations of American Quakers descended from a great-grandfather who built a cabin on our Atlantic Seaboard in 1750.

If the name "American" has been scoffed in Mexico, in other quarters of the earth Hoover has made it a symbol of benevolent capability devoted unselfishly to the service of mankind. From other borders than our own has come the verdict of millions and millions of people that the most useful man in all the world today is an American named Hoover.

Beyond the walls of this convention hall one hundred million Americans await your decision. They want to know what we propose to do about the grinding, gripping problems that come home daily to every man's fireside and pocket-book. Our platform tells them that we propose to ameliorate those conditions. Let us take the next logical step and put that program into the hands of the man whose past performances definitely demonstrate that he is the best equipped man in our ranks for that particular kind of a job.

The people of this country expect American politics and American Government to step to the music of a new day. Hoover is the captain of a new era in which men and governments must work and serve up to the level of their capacities and fulfill their obligations in the neighborhood of nations. He has the trust and confidence of the American people. They followed him in the War. They will follow him in Peace. I wish to second the nomination of Herbert Hoover for President of the United States.

The demonstration for Herbert Hoover, begun in the galleries immediately upon the conclusion of Judge Miller's speech, was continued throughout the seconding speech by Mr. Brown, drowning practically every sentence he uttered.

MRS. MORRISON SECONDING MR. HOOVER'S NOMINATION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The chair presents Mrs. Mary Miller Morrison, of Illinois.

MRS. MARY MILLER MORRISON, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: There are seventeen million women who can vote this fall, the enormous majority of them for the first time. They have, as yet, no political affiliations. They are not used to thinking along political lines. It is going to make a great difference how they vote this fall; not merely in this election, but if you want them as loyal members of the Republican party, in the elections to come.

The organized women of the country may differ about the candidate they prefer, but what about the unorganized? The millions of quiet, inarticulate women on farms and prairies and mountains, in little towns, in crowded cities? Of all the men whose names have been presented to you today, there is only one whom all women know, whose name has been a household word for years; whose direct instrument they have been in the accomplishment of a great task. (Applause.)

They admire his ideals. They respect his integrity. And they know from experience that he can and does accomplish what he sets out to do. (Applause.) They know that when on America's entry into the war the allied food administrators met to determine how America could solve the problem of sending to Europe from her savings the absolutely necessary food, those administrators told Mr. Hoover that the task was too great to be accomplished by any but compulsory means. Mr. Hoover replied that he realized the emergency but that the American people did not like governmental interference in their private lives. They were capable of any voluntary sacrifice for a great ideal and he added, "I want to see my own people solve this problem in their own way." (Applause.) They did so, voluntarily, with the assistance of the women and those women will come out by the millions next fall to cast their first vote for the man who has been to all the world the symbol of an American—Herbert Hoover. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The Secretary of the Convention will continue calling the roll of States for nominations for President of the United States.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio— (Applause.)

At this point former Governor Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, walked out on the platform and was greeted by enthusiastic applause.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The Honorable Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, who will place the name of Senator Harding, of Ohio, before the Convention. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIS NOMINATING SENATOR HARDING.

MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The scenes which we have witnessed here this day, these tributes to great men, any one of whom is entitled to receive the votes of the people of the United States (applause); these tributes that have been witnessed here today are such as to move the heart of the dullest man. And yet may I make this one suggestion to these men and women, to these delegates and guests: Let us go out from this convention hall not only with the enthusiasm that we have manifested for our several candidates but let us go out from this convention hall resolved that whoever is nominated here shall be the next President of the United States. (Applause, loud and prolonged, delegates and alternates rising.)

It is not necessary that I occupy any considerable time in presenting the name of Ohio's candidate because you know his record, because his record is the record of the Republican party for the past 15 years. (Applause.) By the side of McKinley and Mark Hanna he fought the battles for American prosperity. Long before the voices of other statesmen rang out in favor of an American merchant marine this stalwart son of America was battling for a system that would give to us an American merchant marine that would carry, under the American flag, the commerce of this republic to all parts of the earth. (Applause.)

Four years ago he stood upon this platform, the chairman of this Convention, the choice of both William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) I speak of that because I desire to call your attention to the fact that in his service in the Senate he enjoyed the intimate friendship and co-operation that was afforded by both these great leaders. (Applause.) And as a member of the Senate it was his honor and privilege to introduce into the Senate of the United States and to secure the passage of the legislation that provided for the Roosevelt Division for service in France (applause) legislation that was greatly welcomed by patriotic people, but it was not availed of because of an executive partisan bigotry absolutely without parallel in all the annals of war. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, Ohio bids me mention this, not because she acclaims our candidate the successor of Theodore Roosevelt, for that great leader is gone and he left no successor, his mantle fell upon no earthly shoulders, no chieftain remains to bend the bow

of Ulysses, but the fragrant memory of his great life abides. May we not take from it the lesson of devotion to the republic and unadulterated Americanism without which party fealty is an empty thing and a free republic only a fragrant memory.

In the Senate of the United States this son of Ohio battled for the very program of national independence that has been endorsed by this Convention and which will be the battle cry in the campaign that is just ahead of us.

At this point Mr. Willis leaned over the railing of the speaker's runway, and said:

Say, boys—and girls, too—why not name as the party's candidate—Whereupon there was a spontaneous outburst of laughter and applause, a part of the Ohio delegation rising, and voices "That's right; we are all boys and girls," and "The girls are in politics now as well as the boys."

Why not name as the candidate the man whose record is the platform of the party? There need be no explanations or apologies because, as I have said, for 15 years the record of this man has been coincident and synonymous with the record of the party.

In personality he has the dignity, the quiet modesty, the urbanity of that knightly son of Ohio, William McKinley; he is Ohio's second McKinley. (Applause.)

Will you pardon a personal word, as I have seen this quiet, modest citizen at work in the shop by the side of his men: There he has worked for 25 years without ever having one single hour of labor trouble. This man working side by side with his men understands the real problems of the hour, and will bring to their solution that poise and self-control and understanding that has enabled him to make a success of his own private affairs. (Applause.)

Aye! Another thing I want you to think about, my fellow delegates: We are here as I have suggested not simply to pay tribute to great characters but we are here to nominate a man we can elect. Did you ever think of this? There was never a Republican President elected without the vote of Ohio. Did you ever think of this? That out of seven Republicans that have been elected President since the days of Lincoln six of them came from Ohio. (Applause.)

Do not misunderstand me. I believe that no matter who is nominated in this Convention we shall be able to carry the great State of Ohio for him and for the ticket. I pledge you our best efforts in that direction. (Applause.) But listen! In 1912 the enemy carried the State of Ohio by 100,000 majority. In 1916 the enemy carried the State of Ohio by 90,000 majority. But in between times, in 1914, a great stalwart, modest, patriotic American citizen was elected United States Senator from

Ohio by 103,000 majority. (Applause.) And he carried the whole Republican ticket, with me on it, right along to victory. (Laughter and Applause.)

My friends, during this year the old ship of State may have to sail some tempestuous seas before she comes again into her calm course of progress. And in that time what we want as a captain is not so much one who may be able to execute brilliant maneuvers; we want no more one-man government in this country. (Applause.) What we want is not brilliant maneuvers but safe and sane seamanship by a captain who knows the way, by a captain who as he walks the deck working with officers and men in these troublous times can say, "Steady boys, steady." (Applause.) That is the type of man Ohio is presenting today. He understands the viewpoint of the Congress. McKinley was a great President because he understood Congress, and could co-operate with it. This man understands the viewpoint of Congress, and can co-operate with it.

My friends, in the name of the Republicans of Ohio I present for your deliberate consideration this great stalwart American-thinking Republican; not a professing progressive but a performing progressive. He delivers the goods. He is a man of sane statesmanship, with eyes fixed on the future, a great typical American citizen. Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I name for the office of President of the United States that stalwart son of Ohio, Senator Warren G. Harding. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

Mr. Willis concluded his nominating speech at 4:02 p. m., and immediately a portion of the Ohio and New York delegations rose and cheered. Pictures of Harding rained down from the roof falling among the delegates. Several members of the Ohio delegation stood on chairs and holding flags aloft gave three cheers for Harding.

The Permanent Chairman rapped for order at 4:10 p. m. and the demonstration ceased at 4:12 p. m.

MR. CREAGER SECONDING SENATOR HARDING'S NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Mr. R. B. Creager, of Brownsville, Texas, who will second the nomination of Senator Harding. (Applause.)

MR. R. B. CREAGER, of Texas.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I recognize the fact that this Convention is in no frame of mind to listen to long seconding speeches, and I am not going to

trespass upon your time. I speak to you in behalf of the man who has just been nominated in such fitting and eloquent language; and I speak to you as one who, from the distant State of Texas, proudly followed the banner of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. (Applause.)

Eight years of Democratic misrule—or, rather, eight years of Wilsonian dictatorship—have left our nation confronting the most serious problems since the Civil War. These problems must be solved by the Republican party and must be solved sanely and wisely. They are not to be solved by plunging recklessly out along untried paths; neither can they be properly solved without a full realization of the fact that world conditions have changed and are changing.

“Back to Normal” should be our slogan and “America first” our watchword. (Applause.)

To paraphrase the language of a great man, uttered on a similar occasion, “We are about to turn the Democrats out of power until God, in His wisdom, charity and mercy, sees fit to once more chastise a loving people.” (Laughter.)

Let us pray that the recurrence of this chastisement may be long delayed, and let us strive, by the wisdom of our choice in this convention, to render remote the chances of another visitation. (Applause.)

During the critical four years to come, the United States needs, above all things, safe and sane leadership. Neither a radical nor a reactionary should occupy the President’s chair. The one is as dangerous as the other.

We need sanity, we need experience, breadth of view; knowing sympathy for those who have them not, yet respect for the rights of those who have. We need an abiding faith in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, of the Bill of Rights and of the American Constitution.

In this day of sickly sentimentality and poisonous internationalism in high places, we must demand a candidate who, in every fiber of his being, believes that the interests of our country must come first and the interests of the balance of the world second.

Such a man we have, and this man we can not only nominate but can elect. (Applause.) He is universally respected and admired and has the warmest affection of those who are privileged to know him personally. No party enmities or jealousies exist to militate against his success. This man can carry Ohio. This man can carry Texas and break the solid South. (Applause.) This man can carry the nation.

It is my great privilege to second the nomination of the Honorable Warren G. Harding of Ohio. (Applause, loud and prolonged, followed by “Three cheers for Harding, our next President.”)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will continue the calling of the roll of States.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—Oregon, Pennsylvania—

The calling of the roll was interrupted at this point by enthusiastic applause from the Pennsylvania delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Has Pennsylvania a nomination to make?

At this juncture Mr. J. Hampton Moore, Mayor of Philadelphia, advanced to the front of the stage, and was greeted by enthusiastic applause on the part of the Pennsylvania delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents the Honorable J. Hampton Moore, Mayor of Philadelphia, who will present the name of Governor Sproul as a candidate for the nomination for the office of President. (Applause.)

MR. MOORE NOMINATING MR. SPROUL.

MR. J. HAMPTON MOORE, of Penn.—Pennsylvania extends greetings to her sister Commonwealths. From that proud old mother city of American patriotism on the banks of the Delaware, where the first Continental Congress met, where the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, where Independence Hall houses the Liberty Bell, where the Stars and Stripes were adopted as a National emblem, across the Alleghenies to the busy industrial cities on the western border, Pennsylvania, keystone of the thirteen original States, when the nation was in the making, felicitates the great union of States beyond upon the opportunity which now presents itself to restore a safe and sane government in the United States. As it was the keystone of the arch in the beginning, so it is the keystone of the Republican arch today, always true, always faithful to the principles of the great Republican party, which held its first National convention yonder in Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia, sixty-four years ago, a convention that first brought into national prominence the name of the Immortal Lincoln, who was then presented for nomination for Vice-President. During all the years that have intervened Pennsylvania has been the bulwark of Republicanism, the anchor of our destiny in every National campaign. Her majorities have always been assured to every candidate of the party no matter from what State he hailed. And yet, Pennsylvania, second in population and influence when the nation was born, and second now, with a population equal to that of the entire Dominion of Canada, loyal as she has been unto others in all crises,

has never been accorded a Republican candidate for President. It is not that other States do not appreciate the support of Pennsylvania. The rich red blood of that State has gone forth in every State blazing its way through the forests, making fertile the plains, cutting through the rocks and mountains until in every State and island possession there are teeming thousands grown strong from pioneer days, and growing stronger through individual incentive and enterprise, who owe remembrance and acknowledge their obligation of loyalty and friendship to their mother State. In all fairness, the time has come when a candidate of the Republican Party qualified to be President of the United States should hail from Pennsylvania; and we know we have the man. (Applause.)

And why should not Pennsylvania put forth her claims? Rich in agriculture and industry, never faltering in peace or in war or in measuring up to the full stature of a great Commonwealth; she has prospered as have her sister States when the Republican party was in control of National affairs, and suffered as others have suffered when the nation, against her judgment and her vote, has submitted to Democratic rule. Now, after seven years of unwise, wasteful, and inefficient Democratic management, Pennsylvania feels her great responsibility in aiding the country to the end that these deplorable national conditions may cease and the business of the country be restored to normal.

In common with her sister States, Pennsylvania seeks the overthrow of this seven years' blight that has shocked our American institutions and burdened our people.

And there are strong political reasons for this. Republican supremacy is actually threatened in the eastern States, and without intending to reflect upon our neighbors these facts should be stated: The great Empire State now has a Democratic Governor, and so have New Jersey, Ohio, Maryland, and West Virginia. The situation is embarrassing to national Republicanism. Pennsylvania is now in reality a Republican oasis surrounded by normally Republican States in a desert of Democratic Executives. And this on the Eastern front, where Republicanism hitherto has been regarded as impregnable. East of the Appalachian Chain, we have one-third of the entire population of this country. We cannot afford to further weaken this Republican stronghold. Party wisdom would dictate at this momentous period the closest scrutiny of these unusual conditions. The selection of an eastern candidate, therefore, becomes a matter of grave importance.

Pennsylvania realizes that a strong man is needed; that he must be a thorough-going, one hundred per cent. American; that he must be experienced in business and state-craft, familiar with the methods of those

who would have the government serve their selfish ends and be able to check them; sympathetic with those who labor on the farm, in the factory, in the mine or upon the sea; healthy enough in physique, and liberal enough in mentality, to adequately and wisely meet the expectations of those who elected him to office.

Pennsylvania presents a candidate who is in good health; (applause) who is physically fit; who mixes with the people and knows their hopes and ambitions. We cannot too strongly emphasize the value of sturdy and strong manhood in the executive office. Youth is upon the side of our candidate. He has not attained the meridian of life, yet he is old enough to have builded far beyond the ordinary in the constructive sense; and he has yielded to the service of his country a gallant son who was wounded on the fields of France.

Ability, as well as youth and strength is a prime consideration. This Quaker boy who was born on a farm in Lancaster County, the richest in agriculture in the United States, and who for a brief period attended school in Michigan, resumed his farm life in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where he has since remained an honored citizen ever increasing in popularity and influence. Our candidate branched out early into enterprises calculated to tax the mettle of any man. He became the publisher of a newspaper, which he still directs; he engaged in industrial pursuits, becoming a factor in the production of iron and steel, the very weather vane of progress, and he interested himself in ship-building, studying the problems of commerce and war from the viewpoint of a constructor. He also applied himself to transportation and banking. Going into the Pennsylvania senate at the age of twenty-four, he realized the importance to the farmer and to the urbanite of improved roads. This was one of his great achievements in the Legislature, and so intelligently did he labor that in Pennsylvania he has earned the title of "Father of Good Roads." His legislative career was an exceptional one; a mere youth when first elected to the Senate, he remained in that body a quarter of a century, recognized everywhere as a manly, clean legislator, and a statesman of ability whose motives could not be honestly assailed. He became the Governor of the Commonwealth and is now serving in that capacity. Since his induction into office, the laws of the Commonwealth have been simplified, revenue difficulties adjusted, archaic methods have given way to a system more in keeping with modern state requirements; the revenues have been increased by the introduction of business methods, and the educational system has been revolutionized so vastly to the benefit of those who patronize the public schools.

In the Pennsylvania candidate, therefore, we have an educated man who is not pedantic; not afflicted with excessive intellectuality, but a business man who has been a lawmaker, a plain man who has practical

business experience; a sane man who has been successful; a protectionist and an expansionist who believes in the development of his own country and in the extension of our foreign trade; in short, a modern McKinley whose election to the Presidency would assure the country of an early and sane resumption of normal business everywhere. In his hands, the government would be neither wasteful nor inefficient. His election would be an assurance of the return of sanity and stability in our governmental and business affairs.

On behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, and in the name of the citizens of that great Commonwealth, I nominate for President, William Cameron Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania. (Applause, loud and prolonged, members of the Pennsylvania delegation standing on chairs and waving flags, concluding by giving three rousing cheers for Governor Sproul.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Judge William I. Schaffer, of Pennsylvania, to second the nomination of Governor Sproul.

MR. SCHAFFER SECONDING MR. SPROUL'S NOMINATION

MR. SCHAFFER, of Pennsylvania.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I am delegated to come here by all of my colleagues in the Pennsylvania delegation to assure you in the first instance that from the moment the candidate shall be named in this Convention you can put Pennsylvania's electoral votes in the Republican column. (Applause.)

I come here as a herald for a real leader of men; I come here to voice the aspirations and the hopes of my State, that you will recognize its stalwart Republicanism in making its candidate your standard bearer in this great campaign now ahead. (Applause.) The delegates of this Convention are playing in a drama on the greatest stage that there is in the world, with all civilized mankind as the audience. It is your right to have as your candidate a man of tried experience, of broad view, understanding the problems of the future and capable of working them out.

So Pennsylvania presents to you a great business man, with experience as broad as the land, a great executive who has made government in Pennsylvania a pattern for all the rest of the country (cheers and applause), a great leader in the full advantage of vigorous manhood, who will inspire the Republicans in this campaign; and a man so big himself that he will not be afraid to call around him all the talent and all the brains and all the capacity that is available in the Republican party to aid him in the coming four years. (Applause.)

So, on behalf of that stalwart Republicanism of Pennsylvania which never wavers, I second the nomination of Governor Sproul. (Continued applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will continue the calling of the roll.

The Secretary of the Convention resumed the call of States.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (when Washington was called).—Mr. George H. Walker, of Washington, who will present the name of Senator Miles Poindexter. (Applause.)

MR. WALKER NOMINATING MR. POINDEXTER.

MR. WALKER, of Washington.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

Sixty years ago the Republican Party met in national convention not far from this spot. It was at the cross-roads of Destiny. (Applause.) In that hour it called a man out of the West to lead its hosts to victory. History has stamped with the seal of its approval the action of that convention. Pray Almighty God that what we do here today may receive a like sanction. (Applause.)

The choice of that convention for the exalted office of President was in his early fifties. He was richly endowed by nature physically, mentally and morally for the storm and stress the future held in store. He was the generous product of the frontier, of the free and open spaces of the expanding West. His character had been shaped and molded by the broadening life of a new community into which were pouring the strong, ambitious sons and daughters of the older States of the Union. His also was the incomparable training of a lawyer who throughout his career had actively participated in public life. Thus had Divine Providence prepared him for his work. (Applause.)

And now, sixty years after those never-to-be-forgotten days of the Republic, we face again the parting of the ways. We are gathered here from the four quarters of this mighty land in a representative capacity, and not in our own behalf. A solemn duty rests upon us to search well the past and be guided by the light of experience. The unprecedented uncertainty of the times admonishes that we make no mistake in the choice of the man who is to lead this fight. (Applause.)



WILLIS C. COOK, of South Dakota
Member of Committee on Arrangements



The State of Washington is the peer of any of her sisters, whether in resource, in culture or in patriotism. This great State has a man strikingly possessed of the qualities of the leader of the years gone by, whose memory is the heritage, not alone of the Republican Party, but of the World. No matter who or what the man, times and events conspire to fix his place in history. None may foresee how any one of the distinguished men contending for the honors of this convention might meet the requirements of the days that are to come. But so surely as a man's past is an earnest of his future, this man will measure up to the performances of the great Presidents who have gone before. (Applause.)

He also is in his early fifties. A stalwart physically, we believe he has the mind and heart for which you search. He, too, is the generous product of the frontier, of the free and open spaces of the expanding West. His character has been shaped and molded by the broadening life of a new community. It is characteristic of his initiative and self-reliance that in his youth he put the expanse of a continent behind him, and unaided and alone, cast in his lot with those who had set themselves the task of building an American Commonwealth on the shores of the North Pacific. Granted no odds of fortune, neither wealth, no station, no influential friends—only an opportunity in competition with all comers in that new land of great promise—he hewed out a place for himself. Of such stuff are the leaders of men. (Applause.)

A lawyer by profession, he has served as Prosecuting Attorney, Judge at Nisi Prius, Member of Congress and Senator of the United States now well towards the end of his second term. He stands at the forefront in debate in that greatest of deliberative assemblies. Ten and twelve and fourteen years ago he pioneered in the liberal movement within the party. In these latter days of ferment and unrest, he has thrown himself without reserve athwart the forces of sedition and revolution.

He believes in popular sovereignty. He trusts the people. He never moves by indirection. He is the first man in all our history to announce directly to the people his ambition to serve them as President, and to declare himself on all questions in such plain and simple language that all who ran might read. The announcement and declaration thus made reflect the man. With him the shortest distance between two points is a straight line. (Applause.)

He is no clanging militarist. Yet he believes that when on a fair and lawful errand, no matter where throughout the world, a man stands up and says: "I am an American Citizen," that man should

know and should rest assured that he will be protected in his property and in his person and that behind him are the whole majesty and power of his country and his hundred million countrymen.

Fear has never laid its palsy hand upon him. As well as any man in all this land he knows that the well being of all of us is grounded in the well being of those whose lives are devoted to physical toil. He also knows that there must needs be labor of the mind and of the spirit. As well as any man in all this land he knows that those who eat their bread in the sweat of their faces are as devoted, as loyal and as true to country as any within the confines of the Republic. He also knows that moving among them are those who preach the specious but noxious doctrine of class. These soft-handed Brahmins of labor, with intolerable insolence and effrontery, issued their imperious mandate to an American Congress, and therewith drunk with power, threw down the gauntlet of further aggression. This Senator from the Northwest, without reckoning the cost and without a moment's hesitation, took it up. In clear and forceful defiance he declared their demands to be incompatible with our liberty, our freedom and our self-respect. (Long continued applause.)

His capacity and genius for leadership appear throughout his public life. He, first and foremost amongst the Senators, and weeks in advance of any of them, and while we were yet under the spell of the Magician of the White House, sounded the alarm and protested the proposed venture into the Unknown. He it was who first called upon his countrymen not to accept the Covenant for a League of Nations until they had read once more Washington's Farewell Address and the Declaration of Independence. The American people paused and read. They have not yet accepted the Covenant. Come what may, they will never forget his great service of statesmanship in helping to save the country from precipitate action on the most tremendous question that has confronted it since Abraham Lincoln refused to permit this Nation to be divided against itself. (Applause.)

This, then is the manner of the man. At the zenith of his powers, simple in his tastes, approachable, direct, self-reliant, courageous, masterful, trained and experienced in public life, one who has never known defeat, one upon whom the Fates have bestowed the habit of success. For President of the United States the State of Washington offers you and the Nation the name of its junior United States Senator, the Honorable Miles Poindexter. (Applause long continued.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Jules S. Bache, of New York, to second the nomination of Senator Poindexter.

MR. BACHE SECONDING MR. POINDEXTER'S NOMINATION.

MR. JULES S. BACHE, of New York.—From New York, but not for New York, whose representatives have already put their magnificent candidate in nomination (applause), but for the thousands of business men in the East who believe that in this crisis in the nation's affairs the great Western section may be counted upon to uphold its best traditions, I am here to second the nomination of a great legislator, jurist and citizen, who will combine the virile, sane, progressive demands of the West, with a full appreciation of the hope, ideals and aims of the great manufacturing centers of the East, and who in welding all these great interests together into a harmonious whole will prove a worthy successor to Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt, with the latter of whom he held such intimate relationship. I cannot believe that the American people want a President sent by divine right to rule the United States, but rather one who, when honored with a mandate of the great Republican party, will proceed to become President of all the people. Such a man I think the people will find in the Honorable Miles Poindexter, of Washington, whose name I have great pleasure in seconding. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will continue the calling of the roll of States for nominations for the office of President of the United States.

A READING CLERK (MR. WILL A. WAITE, of Michigan).—West Virginia. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Has West Virginia a name to present to the Convention?

MR. JOHN S. DARST, of West Virginia.—Yes, Mr. Chairman, Judge Sanders is now on his way to the platform.

As Judge Joseph M. Sanders appeared on the platform he was enthusiastically cheered by the West Virginia delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair presents Judge Joseph M. Sanders, of West Virginia, who comes to present the name of Senator Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia. (Applause.)

MR. SANDERS NOMINATING SENATOR SUTHERLAND.

MR. JOSEPH M. SANDERS, of West Virginia.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, fellow members of this great Republican Convention: We are about drawing to the close of our nominating program, and I want to please you by the announcement that I only desire ten or fifteen minutes to talk about West Virginia and her candidate. (Applause.)

This magnificent Convention brings to me the view that the people of this nation are hungry for a Republican administration. It brings to me the conviction that the people of this land are longing to hover under the protecting wing of the Republican party. (Applause.) When the life of this nation was at stake more than half a century ago, West Virginia strongly opposed secession and was born into Statehood because she stood for the preservation of the Union, for the Stars and Stripes purchased by the blood of our ancestors. (Applause.)

West Virginia is not a sectional State. Her geographical location is such that she cannot be said to be particularly identified as a Southern, Northern, Eastern, or Western State. She was born into Statehood because she strongly opposed secession and stood for the preservation of the Union and the Stars and Stripes, purchased by the blood of our ancestors. Early after her birth she became a thoroughly entrenched Republican State, until today she is one of the most dependable Republican States in the Union, and is giving great importance to the nation as a State. She has contributed to the political life of the nation many prominent public men. She is small in area, but she is the nation's greatest storehouse of wealth, and her population and industrial development are increasing with leaps and bounds. She is the second greatest coal-producing State in the Union, and that, together with her other many natural resources, makes her one of the richest States in the nation, although in point of development of her natural resources she is only in her infancy. (Applause.)

It is said that West Virginia is too small from which to select a candidate for President. While it is true she is small in area, yet in wealth and in strong men she is immensely rich. In selecting a candidate for the high office of President we should not measure his worth and fitness by the size of his State. Fitness and qualifications should be looked to in making such selection, independent of particular location. It must not be said that the young men of the small States of the Union can have no hope of aspiring to the Presidency, and that their aspirations must be stifled and destroyed because of their particular geographical location. (Applause.)

West Virginia is a dutiful State. When the declaration of the World War came she cheerfully and speedily responded to the call by furnishing her men, women and money, and firmly took her stand among the States of the nation in prosecuting the war. On all great public questions she has been found to take a prominent and correct position. On the equal suffrage resolution, providing for the enfranchisement of half of the voting population of the country, and which is one among the greatest questions ever presented to the American people, she took a stand in favor of equal suffrage. She believed in giving to the women of the

country their inalienable rights. She believed that the governed should participate in the government, and that women should be no longer political slaves, but that the shackles placed about them by selfish men should be removed and that they should be given their entire political freedom. (Applause.)

This nation is now facing the greatest crisis of its history, brought upon it by the unsound policies and untold extravagance of the present administration, and the people are looking to the Republican party to lead them safely through this crisis and re-establish in this nation peace, order and contentment. The Republican party has always been equal to this occasion—it has always faithfully discharged the trust reposed in it by the people, and if this Convention will dispel from its consideration all selfish thoughts, and look alone to the welfare of the nation, the present unsettled condition of the country can soon be overcome and former business conditions restored.

While war-time legislation was once justified, the reason for it no longer exists. The people of this country want the hand of tyranny removed from about their throats, that they may enjoy the freedom guaranteed to them by the Constitution. (Applause.) The rule of despotism should not be allowed to longer stand, and the people of this country should be allowed to prosecute their legitimate business pursuits without being unduly hampered and obstructed by governmental interference.

To accomplish this end we must be fair with the people and exercise great wisdom in the selection of a candidate for President. We must offer to them a man who possesses the highest qualities, both from a standpoint of integrity and business qualifications, and with the strength of manhood to do exact and complete justice to all, regardless of position, and one who possesses sufficient diplomacy and good judgment to bring about and maintain just and friendly relations between labor and capital.

In our relations with foreign countries we must reserve to ourselves the right to dictate our own policies. We must not make treaties that may result in entanglements with foreign countries, to the injury of our own people. We must not allow ourselves to be drawn into war between foreign countries against our will. The right to determine the question as to when we shall go to war must be reserved unto ourselves. It must be left to us to say when we shall send our boys to foreign countries to fight their battles.

There must be no infringement upon the Monroe doctrine, but it must remain inviolate; and I want to congratulate our representatives who so ably and courageously opposed the ratification of the League of Nations and who so ably supported and adopted the peace resolution, which was afterwards vetoed by the President.

We have a man who measures up to these requirements, from West Virginia, whom I propose to place in nomination here today. (Applause.) West Virginia has never presented to a convention a candidate for the nomination of President, and I am proud to have the honor of being the first man to present the name of a West Virginian for such nomination.

West Virginia's candidate has risen from an editor of a newspaper to the exalted position of United States Senator, filling during his career many offices, in the county, State and nation, and is now serving a term in the United States Senate, acquitting himself with credit and bringing honor to the people he has so ably represented. His experience as a public official and a successful business man, and his comprehensive vision of governmental matters, eminently fits him to serve the people and discharge with credit the duties of this high office. (Applause.)

I now have the honor of presenting to you, for your consideration in selecting a candidate for President, Honorable Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia. (Applause, loud and prolonged, the West Virginia delegation standing on their chairs, waving flags and cheering for Sutherland for President.)

MR. MARSHALL SECONDING SENATOR SUTHERLAND'S
NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. John Marshall, of West Virginia, who will second the nomination of Senator Howard Sutherland of that State. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN MARSHALL, of West Virginia.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: For the first time in the history of the State, West Virginia comes to the Republican National Convention with a mandate to present a candidate, and I shall be but one minute in seconding his nomination. (Applause, interspersed with cries of "Good! Good!")

West Virginia has an abiding place in the Republican party. We have most profound respect for the wisdom of this Convention, and from among this great field of candidates your choice will be made and will have an enthusiastic response on our part. (Applause, interspersed with cries of "That's right.")

Our Senator and candidate left the business field a few years ago, after making a most distinguished success, in order to enter politics, and he has become a statesman in the truest and best sense. If this Conven-

tion should see fit to nominate him you would have a standard bearer who requires no apologies, no glossing over, no sectional explanation.

The old commonwealth of Virginia has offered many acceptable sons for this great office. West Virginia has forfeited that birthright, has given up that tradition in order to follow Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party. We nominate, therefore, in the same spirit of patriotism, with the same devotion to the Republican party, a man eminently worthy of our best traditions, Howard Sutherland. (Applause).

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will resume the calling of the roll of States for nominations for the office of President.

A READING CLERK (MR. THOMAS WILLIAMSON, of Illinois).—Wisconsin, Wyoming, Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico.

FIRST BALLOT FOR SELECTION OF CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—That concludes the calling of the roll of States for nominations. Under the rules, nominations having been closed, the next business of the Convention is that of balloting on these names in order to make a nomination of a candidate for the office of President of the United States. (This announcement was greeted with enthusiastic applause.) The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States, and as the name of each State is called the chairman of the delegation will announce the number of votes, within its quota, that the State wishes to cast for one or more of the names now before the Convention.

The Secretary of the Convention proceeded to call the roll of States, and during the calling of the roll the following took place:

MR. JOHN L. RAND, of Oregon (when Oregon was called, the vote having been announced as 9 for Johnson and 1 for Wood).—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the correctness of that vote. The primary held in the State of Oregon instructed us to vote for Hiram W. Johnson.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—You can ask for a poll of the delegation if you wish?

MR. JOHN L. RAND, of Oregon.—Then I demand a poll of the Oregon delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the roll of delegates for the State of Oregon and let each answer to his name.

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of the Oregon delegation, the result was announced: Johnson, 9; Wood, 1; as follows:

OREGON			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>	
Wallace McCamant .....	..	1	
Conrad P. Olson	1	..	
Charles H. Carey	1	..	
John L. Rand	1	..	
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—Walter L. Tooze, Jr.	1	..	
E. J. Adams	1	..	
2—W. H. Brooke	1	..	
D. J. Cooper	1	..	
3—Dow Walker	1	..	
Hamilton Johnstone	1	..	
	9	1	

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, the result was announced:

Wood, 287½; Lowden, 211½; Johnson, 133½; Sproul, 84; Butler, 69½; Harding, 65½; Coolidge, 34; Poindexter, 20; LaFollette, 24; Pritchard, 21; Sutherland, 17; du Pont, 7; Hoover, 5½; Borah, 2; Warren, 1; not voting, 1; total, 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF FIRST BALLOT

<i>States.</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Sproul</i>	<i>Coolidge</i>
Alabama	14	4	6	3	1	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	6	6	..	1	..	..
California	26	..	..	26	..	..	..
Colorado	12	9	2	..	1	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	14	..	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	4½	2½	..	1	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	5	..	1	..	..	..
Illinois	58	14	41	3	..	..	..
Indiana	30	22	..	8	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	14	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	20	1	2	1	1
Louisiana	12	3	3	1	2	1	..
Maine	12	11	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	7	..	..	..	..	28
Michigan	30	..	..	30	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	19	3	2	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	4½	2	2	1½	2	..
Missouri	36	4½	18	3	5	3½	..



EARLE S. KINSLEY, of Vermont
Member of Committee on Arrangements



TABULATION OF FIRST BALLOT—Continued

<i>States</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Sprout</i>	<i>Coolidge</i>
Montana	8	..	..	8	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	3	..	13	..	..	..
Nevada	6	2	1½	2	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	11	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
New York	88	10	2	..	2	..	2
North Carolina	22	..	..	1	..	..	..
North Dakota	10	2	..	8	..	..	..
Ohio	48	9	..	..	39	..	..
Oklahoma	20	1½	18½	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	1	..	9	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	76	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	8	..	1	..	2
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	20	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	23	8½	5	1½	5	½	1
Utah	8	5	2	..	1	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	..	3	..	3	..	..
Alaska	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	984	287½	211½	133½	65½	84	34

Scattering votes not tabulated above:

HERBERT HOOVER: 1 vote from Maine; ½ vote from Nevada; 3 votes from New York; 1 vote from Wisconsin, a total of 5½ votes.

COLEMAN du PONT: The 6 votes of Delaware and 1 vote from Louisiana; a total of 7 votes.

PETER C. PRITCHARD: 21 votes from North Carolina.

ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 votes from Wisconsin.

HOWARD SUTHERLAND: The 16 votes of West Virginia, and 1 vote from Missouri; a total of 17 votes.

WILLIAM E. BORAH: 2 votes from Idaho.

CHARLES B. WARREN: 1 vote from Texas.

MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 votes of Washington, 2 votes of Alaska, 2 votes of Hawaii, 1 vote from New York and 1 vote from Louisiana; a total of 20 votes.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 68 votes from New York, 1 vote from Kentucky, and ½ vote from Texas, a total of 69½ votes.

NOT VOTING: Missouri, 1.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Convention and therefore no nomination of a candidate for the Presidency having been made, the Secretary will call the roll of States for the second ballot.

SECOND BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In order to expedite as much as possible on this hot afternoon the taking of the second ballot I would suggest to the chairmen of the several delegations that they be prepared to announce the vote of their delegations when their States are called.

During the balloting the following occurred:

MR. ROSCOE PICKETT, of Georgia (when Georgia was called and the chairman of the delegation announced the vote as 9 for Lowden and 8 for Wood).—I ask for a poll of the Georgia delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Request having been made to poll the Georgia delegation the Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of delegates of that State.

The Secretary having called the roll of the Georgia delegates, the result was announced: Lowden, 9; Wood, 8; as follows:

GEORGIA		
AT LARGE		
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
Henry Lincoln Johnson	1	..
Churchill P. Goree	1	..
Benj. J. Davis	1	..
Joseph H. Watson	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>		
1—Walter S. Scott.....	1	..
2—W. F. Satterwhite	1	..
3—E. S. Richardson .....	..	1
4—C. D. Williams .....	..	1
5—John W. Martin	1	..
6—B. M. Sherard .....	..	1
7—D. C. Cole .....	..	1
8—W. H. Harris .....	..	1
9—W. Y. Gilliam .....	..	1
Roscoe Pickett .....	..	1
10—R. C. Williams	1	..
11—E. R. Belcher .....	..	1
12—S. S. Mincey	1	..
Totals	9	8

The Secretary of the Convention resumed the calling of the roll of States.

A NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATE (when the State of North Carolina was called and the vote announced as 10 for Lowden, 10 for Pritchard, 2 for Wood).—As a member of the North Carolina delegation I desire a poll of the delegates from this State.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The roll will be called.

The Secretary having called the roll of the North Carolina, the

result was announced: Pritchard, 10; Lowden, 10; Wood, 2, as follows:

NORTH CAROLINA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Pritchard.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
John M. Morehead	1	..	..
Frank A. Linney .....	..	1	..
E. Carl Duncan .....	..	1	..
Marion Butler .....	..	1	..
DISTRICTS—<i>Delegates</i>			
1—Isaac M. Meekins .....	..	1	..
2—Dan W. Patrick .....	..	1	..
3—George E. Butler .....	..	1	..
D. M. Jones .....	..	1	..
4—R. W. Ward	1	..	..
J. J. Jenkins	1	..	..
5—David H. Blair	1	..	..
J. H. Harden .....	..	..	1
6—Irvin B. Tucker	1	..	..
Alexander L. McCaskill	1	..	..
7—P. E. Brown	1	..	..
Cadius Dockery .....	..	1	..
8—R. A. Kohloss	1	..	..
T. O. Teague	1	..	..
9—John C. McBee .....	..	..	1
J. J. George .....	..	1	..
10—Charles J. Harris	1	..	..
Brownlow Jackson .....	..	1	..
Totals	10	10	2

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, etc., the result was announced:

Wood, 289½; Lowden, 259½; Johnson, 146; Sproul, 78½; Harding, 59; Coolidge, 32; Butler, 41; La Follette, 24; Poindexter, 15; Sutherland, 15; Pritchard, 10; du Pont, 7; Hoover, 5½ Borah, 1; Knox, 1; a total of 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF SECOND BALLOT

	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Sproul</i>	<i>Coolidge</i>
Alabama	14	4	6	3	1	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	2½	10½	..	..	..	..
California	26	..	..	26	..	..	..
Colorado	12	9	2	..	1	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	13	1	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	5½	2½	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	5	1	1	..	..	..
Illinois	58	..	41	17	..	..	..
Indiana	30	22	..	8	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	14	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	6	..	2	1	..

TABULATION OF SECOND BALLOT—Continued

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Johnson	Harding	Sprawl	Coolidge
Maine	12	11	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	7	..	..	..	..	28
Michigan	30	..	..	30	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	19	3	2	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	5½	3½	1	1	..	..
Missouri	36	5	19	3	5½	2½	1
Montana	8	..	..	8	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	5	..	11	..	..	..
Nevada	6	2	1½	2	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	11	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
New York	88	19	16	4	2	..	3
North Carolina	22	2	10	..	..	..	..
North Dakota	10	3	1	6	..	..	..
Ohio	48	9	..	..	39	..	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	1	..	9	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	75	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	10	..	1	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	17	..	1	..	..	..
Texas	23	9	7½	1	4½	..	..
Utah	8	5	2	..	1	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	3	3	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	..	1	1	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	984	289½	259½	146	59	78½	32

Scattering votes not tabulated above:

- HERBERT HOOVER: 1 vote from Maine; ½ vote from Nevada; 3 votes from New York; 1 vote from Wisconsin; a total of 5½ votes.
- COLEMAN du PONT: The 6 votes of Delaware and 1 vote from Mississippi, a total of 7 votes.
- PETER C. PRITCHARD: 10 votes from North Carolina.
- ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 votes from Wisconsin.
- HOWARD SUTHERLAND: 15 votes from West Virginia.
- WILLIAM E. BORAH: 1 vote from Idaho.
- MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 votes of Washington and 1 vote from New York; a total of 15 votes.
- NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 40 votes from New York and 1 votes from Texas; a total of 41 votes.
- PHILANDER C. KNOX: 1 vote from Pennsylvania.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Convention there is no nomination.

VOTE ON ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY

MR. J. HAMPTON MOORE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I move that we adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The motion was duly seconded.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the gentleman from Pennsylvania moves that the Convention adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. Those in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. (A chorus of ayes.) Those opposed no. (A larger volume of noes.) The noes appear to have it. (A pause.) The noes have it, and the Convention will continue.

THIRD BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States for a third ballot for the nomination of a candidate for the office of President of the United States, no choice having been made on the second roll call.

The Secretary of the Convention proceeded to call the roll of States, and during the calling of the roll the following took place: (See tabulated vote.)

AN OREGON DELEGATE (when Oregon was called).—Mr. Chairman, the vote of Oregon having been announced as 2 for Wood and 8 for Johnson, and the delegation having been instructed to vote for Johnson, I challenge the vote and ask that the delegation be polled.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Request being made by a member of the Oregon delegation for a poll of the delegates of that State the Clerk will call the roll for that purpose.

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of the Oregon delegates, the result was announced: Johnson, 8; Wood, 2, as follows:

OREGON		
AT LARGE		
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
Wallace McCamant .....	..	1
Conrad P. Olson	1	..
Charles H. Carey	1	..
John L. Rand	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>		
1—Walter T. Tooze, Jr.	1	..
E. J. Adams	1	..
2—W. H. Brooke	1	..
W. D. Cooper .....	..	1
3—Dow Walker	1	..
Hamilton Johnstone	1	..
Totals	8	2

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, etc., the result was announced:

Wood, 303; Lowden, 282½; Johnson, 148; Sproul, 79½; Harding,

58½; Coolidge, 27; Butler, 25; La Follette, 24; Poindexter, 15; Sutherland, 9; Hoover, 5½; du Pont, 2; Knox, 2; Watson, 2; Borah, 1; a total of 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF THIRD BALLOT

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Johnson	Harding	Sprout	Coolidge
Alabama	14	4	6	4	..	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	2½	10½	..	..	..	..
California	26	..	..	26	..	..	..
Colorado	12	9	2	..	1	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	13	1	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	1	..	2	1	..
Florida	8	5½	2½	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	5	1	1	..	..	..
Illinois	58	..	41	17	..	..	..
Indiana	30	18	2	8	2	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	14	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	6	..	2	1	..
Maine	12	11	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	13	..	..	..	..	22
Michigan	30	..	..	30	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	17	6	1	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	6½	3½	..	2	..	..
Missouri	36	4½	20	4	3	2½	..
Montana	8	..	..	8	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	6	..	10	..	..	..
Nevada	6	2	1½	2	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	11	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
New York	88	23	26	5	2	..	3
North Carolina	22	2	15	4	..	..	1
North Dakota	10	3	1	6	..	..	..
Ohio	48	9	..	..	39	..	..
Oklahoma	28	2	18	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	2	..	8	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	75	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	10	..	..	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	19	1	..	..	..	..
Texas	23	9	8½	1	4½	..	..
Utah	8	5	2	1	..	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	6	..	1	..	..	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	3	3	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..	..	..

Totals 984 303 282½ 148 58½ 79½ 27

Scattering votes not tabulated above:
 HERBERT HOOVER: 3 votes from New York, 1 vote from Maine, 1 vote from Wisconsin, and ½ vote from Nevada, a total of 5½ votes.

COLEMAN du Pont: 2 votes from Delaware.
 ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 votes from Wisconsin.
 HOWARD SUTHERLAND: 9 votes from West Virginia.
 WILLIAM E. BORAH: 1 vote from Idaho.
 MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 votes of Washington, and 1 vote from New York;
 a total of 15 votes.
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 25 votes from New York.
 JAMES E. WATSON: 1 vote from Missouri, and 1 vote from South Carolina; a
 total of 2 votes.
 PHILANDER C. KNOX: 1 vote from Pennsylvania, and 1 vote from Missouri; a
 total of 2 votes.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes in the Convention, there is no nomination. The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States for a fourth ballot.

MR. FRANK P. FLINT, of California.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—I second the motion. There were cries of "No, No," and "Yes, Yes" from many of the delegations.

MR. WILLIAM S. VARE, of Pennsylvania.—I demand a roll call on that motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In order to have a roll call the rules require that one State shall make the call and two States shall second it. The State of California asks for a roll call and it has been seconded by the State of Pennsylvania. Does the chair hear any other State second that motion?

MR. THADDEUS LANE, of Washington.—Washington also seconds the motion for a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The State of California having asked for a roll call on the motion to adjourn, which request for a roll call has been duly seconded by Pennsylvania and Washington, the Secretary of the Convention will call the roll.

Amidst much confusion there were cries of "We do not want to adjourn; let us have another vote," interspersed with cries of "Yes, let us adjourn for the day."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, we must proceed in an orderly way. We have important business here to attend to, perhaps the most important that comes before

any convention held in the United States, and this Convention is going to be conducted according to the rules. The rules give the right of roll call when one State requests it and two States second it. The Secretary of the Convention will now call the roll. (Applause.) The question before the Convention is, shall we adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock? Those in favor of adjourning will vote aye as the roll is called, and those opposed will vote no. The roll will be called.

ROLL CALL ON MOTION TO ADJOURN

The Secretary of the Convention proceeded to call the roll of States, etc., and at the conclusion thereof the vote was announced: Noes, 701½; Ayes, 275½; not voting, 7; total, 984, which vote in detail is as follows:

ROLL CALL ON ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. of Delegates.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>	<i>Not Voting.</i>
Alabama	14	..	14	..
Arizona	6	..	6	..
Arkansas	13	..	13	..
California	26	26	..	..
Colorado	12	..	12	..
Connecticut	14	..	14	..
Delaware	6	6	..	..
Florida	8	..	8	..
Georgia	17	..	17	..
Idaho	8	..	8	..
Illinois	58	17	41	..
Indiana	30	10	20	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..
Kansas	20	..	20	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..
Louisiana	12	..	12	..
Maine	12	..	12	..
Maryland	16	..	16	..
Massachusetts	35	2	33	..
Michigan	30	..	30	..
Minnesota	24	7	17	..
Mississippi	12	12	..	..
Missouri	36	14	17	5
Montana	8	8	..	..
Nebraska	16	..	16	..
Nevada	6	4	2	..
New Hampshire	8	..	8	..
New Jersey	28	5	23	..
New Mexico	6	..	6	..
New York	88	36	50	2
North Carolina	22	1	21	..
North Dakota	10	4	6	..
Ohio	48	..	48	..
Oklahoma	20	..	20	..
Oregon	10	..	10	..
Pennsylvania	76	50	26	..
Rhode Island	10	..	10	..



H. C. REMMEL, of Arkansas
Member of Committee on Arrangements



ROLL CALL ON ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY—Continued

States	No. of Delegates.	Ayes.	Noes.	Not Voting
South Carolina	11	..	11	..
South Dakota	10	..	10	..
Tennessee	20	..	20	..
Texas	23	12½	10½	..
Utah	8	..	8	..
Vermont	8	..	8	..
Virginia	15	..	15	..
Washington	14	14	..	..
West Virginia	16	15	1	..
Wisconsin	26	24	2	..
Wyoming	6	6	..	..
Alaska	2	2	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	..	2	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..
Philippine Islands	2	..	2	..
Porto Rico	2	..	2	..
Totals	984	275½	701½	7

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The motion to adjourn is lost. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States for a fourth ballot for the nomination of a candidate for the President of the United States. (Applause.)

FOURTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of States, etc., the fourth ballot was announced:

Wood, 314½; Lowden, 289; Johnson, 140½; Harding, 61½; Sproul, 79½; Coolidge, 25; LaFollette, 22; Butler, 20; Poindexter, 15; Hoover, 5; Watson, 4; du Pont, 2; Sutherland, 3; Knox, 2; Borah, 1; total, 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF FOURTH BALLOT

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Johnson	Harding	Sproul	Coolidge
Alabama	14	4	6	4	..	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	1	2½	10½	..	..	..	..
California	26	..	..	26	..	..	..
Colorado	12	9	2	..	1	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	13	1	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	2	..	2	..	..
Florida	8	6½	1½	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	5	1	1	..	..	..
Illinois	58	..	41	17	..	..	..
Indiana	30	18	3	6	3	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	14	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	6	..	2	1	..
Maine	12	11	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..

TABULATION OF FOURTH BALLOT—Continued

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Johnson	Harding	Sprunt	Coolidge
Massachusetts	35	16	..	..	..	..	19
Michigan	30	..	..	30	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	17	5	2	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	7½	2½	..	2	..	..
Missouri	36	8½	19	1	..	3½	..
Montana	8	..	..	8	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	6	..	10	..	..	..
Nevada	6	2½	2	1½	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	11	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
New York	88	20	32	5	2	..	5
North Carolina	22	3	15	2	1	..	..
North Dakota	10	3	1	6	..	..	..
Ohio	48	9	..	..	39	..	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	5	..	5	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	75	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	11	..	..	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	19	1	..	..	..	..
Texas	23	8	9½	1	4½	..	..
Utah	8	5	2	..	1	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	8	..	1	4	..	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	2	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	3	3	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	984	314½	289	140½	61½	79½	25

Scattering votes not tabulated above:

HERBERT HOOVER: 1 vote from Maine, 3 votes from New York, and 1 vote from Wisconsin; a total of 5 votes.

COLEMAN du PONT: 2 votes from Delaware.

ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 22 votes from Wisconsin.

HOWARD SUTHERLAND: 3 votes from West Virginia.

WILLIAM E. BORAH: 1 vote from Idaho.

MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 votes of Washington, and 1 vote from New York; a total of 15 votes.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 20 votes from New York.

JAMES E. WATSON: 1 vote from North Carolina, and 3 votes from Missouri, a total of 4 votes.

PHILANDER C. KNOX: 1 vote from Pennsylvania, and 1 vote from Missouri; a total of 2 votes.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Convention, there is no nomination.

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—For what purpose does the Senator rise?

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—I rise to make a motion. I move that the Convention do now adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The motion was seconded from various parts of the hall and there were cries of "Yes" and "No."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—A motion to adjourn is always in order. A motion having been made and duly seconded that the Convention do now adjourn until tomorrow morning, the chair will put the question. Those in favor of the motion to adjourn will signify it by saying aye. (A mighty chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify it by saying no. (Quite a number of noes.) The ayes seem to have it. (A pause.) The ayes have it and the Convention is adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon (at 7 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday, June 12, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.

FIFTH DAY

CONVENTION HALL—THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, Saturday, June 12, 1920.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment on yesterday.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. The chair requests the delegates, alternates and guests to rise while prayer is offered by Bishop Thomas Nicholson, of Chicago.

INVOCATION BY BISHOP THOMAS NICHOLSON

Of the Chicago Area of the Methodist Episcopal Church

O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, whose spirit searcheth all things, whose love beareth all things, and whose light and leading are offered for the aid of our infirmities, help us to draw near to Thee with sincerity and in truth; wise enough to comprehend the wisdom and the strength of Thy program for society. Help us to have done with all falsehood, all pretence, all hypocrisy, that we may see things as they are and do things as they ought to be done.

Our Father, we have met here at the call of a great party, which was born of a great moral purpose and which has furnished the Nation betimes great statesmen, leaders of vision, of moral courage and of unselfish patriotism. May we here so act that the future historian must write a record of even nobler achievements. We are sobered by the consciousness that never did this party or this Nation face graver problems or greater issues. We pray that Thou wilt breathe into us the spirit of departed heroes and inspire us with Thine own Spirit. Impress these delegates with a due sense of responsibility to Thee, to the Republic, to the other Nations of the world and to all mankind as they frame the platform and choose the standard bearers of this party for the coming national campaign. May they continually take counsel of Thee, who giveth wisdom liberally; and may they so walk in the light of Thy countenance that every decision shall be a right decision and every choice of men or of measures be a right choice. So may they prove themselves worthy of a triumphant victory at the polls. To this end bless the Presiding Officer and all the Officers and Com-

mittees. May the moral, the spiritual and the patriotic values which are to be conserved be ever before them. Preserve the health of the delegates and grant them every one safe return to their homes and to their hearthstones.

We pray that Thou wilt bless this whole Nation. We desire for it not material wealth alone, not chiefly power by land or sea, but unity of counsel, steadfastness of purpose, high moral and spiritual achievements and large service to humanity. Crown our republic with a noble glory of intelligence, with a love for liberty regulated by righteous law, with a spirit of obedience to law, with reverence toward God and an attitude of mercy toward the weak. Grant unto us a spirit of generous and kindly feeling to all nations and all peoples. Give to each individual man the power of personal self-mastery and of victory according to the highest moral and spiritual standards. Grant that we may wisely, courageously and willingly do our part of the world's work and accept our share of the world's burdens.

Grant to the rulers of the nations the possibility of peace through justice. Strengthen our own sense of justice and our regard for the equal worth of other peoples and races. Show us how we may wisely take and maintain our rightful and proper place in the family of the nations.

Bless the soldiers and sailors who with the swift obedience to the call of freedom's need maintained the honor of our Nation and wrought deeds of valor worthy of the noblest traditions of mankind, but who returned with a new hatred of war and of its devastating influences. Teach our age nobler methods of matching strength and more effective ways of giving life for freedom and that for which our glorious national ensign stands.

Thou Great Father of all nations, give peace within our borders, prosperity within cottage and palace alike, wise counsel to our rulers, loftiness of ideal and purpose to all our citizenship; and grant that this great national convention may aid in the consummation of all these worthy purposes. Our Master, once more we make Thy faith our prayer as we say with Thee: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven." Amen.

FIFTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order and proceed to another ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll.

The Secretary of the Convention proceeded to call the roll of States, etc., and during the calling of the roll the following took place: (See tabulated vote.)

MR. MYRON T. HERRICK, of Ohio (when Ohio was called).—Mr. Chairman, request is made that the Ohio delegation be polled.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—In accordance with the request of the Ohio delegation the Secretary will call the roll so that there may be made an individual poll of the votes of the delegates of that State.

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of the Ohio delegates, the result was announced: Harding, 39; Wood, 9, as follows:

OHIO

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Harding.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
Myron T. Herrick	1	..
John B. Galvin	1	..
Frank B. Willis	1	..
William H. Boyd .....	..	1
DISTRICTS—Delegates		
1—Myers Cooper	1	..
Rudolph K. Hynicka	1	..
2—Albert Bode	1	..
John J. Burchenal	1	..
3—Robert Patterson	1	..
Frank I. Brown	1	..
4—Wilson W. Wood, 3d	1	..
J. W. Halfhill	1	..
5—H. B. Franks	1	..
Jacob Longnecker	1	..
6—Chas. E. Hard	1	..
James O. McManus	1	..
7—L. E. Evans	1	..
George U. Wilbur	1	..
8—Charles M. Lewis	1	..
Hoke Donithen	1	..
9—Walter F. Brown	1	..
Wm. W. Knight	1	..
10—R. M. Switzer	1	..
A. R. Johnson	1	..
11—S. F. McCracken	1	..
LaBert Davie	1	..
12—George R. Hedges .....	..	1
John B. Miles .....	..	1
13—Earl Ash	1	..
F. A. Knapp	1	..
14—W. E. Pardee	1	..
C. K. Whitney	1	..
15—Wm. P. Sharer	1	..
Beeman G. Dawes	1	..
16—Thomas F. Turner .....	..	1
Edwin Morgan .....	..	1
17—Grant Dowds	1	..
E. B. Capeler	1	..
18—W. H. Mullens	1	..
Chas. T. Coleman .....	..	1
19—W. P. Barnum .....	..	1
Joseph G. Butler, Jr.	1	..
20—Paul Howland	1	..
W. S. Fitzgerald	1	..
21—Harry L. Davis	1	..
Clayton C. Townes	1	..
22—William L. Day .....	..	1
William F. Eirick .....	..	1
Totals	39	9

During the poll of the State delegation the following occurred:

MR. THOMAS F. TURNER, Canton, Ohio (when his name was called).—Mr. Chairman, Senator Harding having retired from the race for the Presidential nomination and filed his name as a candidate to succeed himself as Senator from the State of Ohio, I do not see why we should vote for him. I vote for General Wood.

During the making of this statement there arose quite a tumult in the Ohio delegation, delegates crying "No, No" and "Shame" and "Hurrah for Harding!"

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—No gentleman has the right to interrupt the taking of the ballot in order to make a speech.

MR. TURNER.—I was only explaining my vote.

AN OHIO DELEGATE.—Any explanation of that kind is wholly unnecessary. Cast your vote if you see fit to do it that way and that's enough.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary of the Convention will continue calling the Ohio delegates.

AN OREGON DELEGATE (when Oregon was called).—Mr. Chairman, the Oregon delegation requests a poll.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary will call the roll of the Oregon delegation.

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of the Oregon delegates the result was announced: Johnson, 5; Wood, 4; Lowden, 1; as follows:

OREGON			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood.</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>
Wallace McCamant	1	..	..
Conrad P. Olson .....	..	1	..
Charles H. Carey .....	..	..	1
John L. Rand .....	..	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—Walter L. Tooze, Jr. ....	..	1	..
E. J. Adams .....	..	1	..
2—W. H. Brooke	1	..	..
D. J. Cooper	1	..	..
3—Dow Walker	1	..	..
Hamilton Johnstone .....	..	1	..
Totals	4	5	1

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, the result was announced:

Wood, 299; Lowden, 303; Johnson, 133½; Harding, 78; Sproul, 82½; Coolidge, 29; La Follette, 24; Poindexter, 15; du Pont, 6;

Hoover, 6; Butler, 4; Sutherland, 1; Kellogg, 1; W. L. Ward, 1; Knox, 1; a total of 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF FIFTH BALLOT

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	McClure	Johnson	Harding	Spruiell
Alabama	14	4	6	4	..	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	1½	11½	..	..	..	..
California	26	..	..	26	..	..	..
Colorado	12	7	2	..	2	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	13	1	..	..	..
Dalaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	6½	1½	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	5	1	1	1	..	..
Illinois	58	..	41	17	..	..	..
Indiana	30	18	3	5	4	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	10	6	..	4	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	7	..	2	..	..
Maine	12	11	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	13	..	30	..	..	..
Michigan	30	..	5	30	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	16	5	2	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	9	1½	..	1½	..	..
Missouri	36	3½	18½	1	6½	6½	..
Montana	8	..	..	8	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	6	..	10	..	..	..
Nevada	6	1½	2	2½	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	10	1	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
New York	88	24	42	3	5	..	..
North Carolina	22	3	17	1	1	..	..
North Dakota	10	3	2	5	..	..	..
Ohio	48	9	..	..	39	..	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	4	1	5	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	75	..
Oregon	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	11	..	..	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	18	2	..	..	..	..
Texas	23	6	10	1	6	..	..
Utah	8	5	2	..	1	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	9	..	1	3	1	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	2	3	..	1	..	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	984	299	303	133½	78	82½	..

Scattering votes not tabulated above:

CALVIN COOLIDGE: 22 from Massachusetts, 5 from New York, 1 from West Virginia, and 1 from Alaska; a total of 29 votes.

MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 of Washington, 1 from New York; a total of 15.
 ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 from Wisconsin.
 HOWARD SUTHERLAND: 1 from West Virginia.
 COLEMAN du PONT: The 6 of Delaware.
 HERBERT HOOVER: 1 from Colorado, 1 from Maine, 3 from New York, and 1 from Wisconsin: a total of 6.
 FRANK B. KELLOGG: 1 from Minnesota.
 WILLIAM L. WARD: 1 from New York.
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 4 from New York.
 PHILANDER C. KNOX: 1 from Pennsylvania.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of votes in the Convention there is no nomination. The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll for the sixth ballot.

SIXTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States, etc., and the result of the sixth ballot was announced:

Wood, 311½; Lowden, 311½; Harding, 89; Johnson, 110; Sproul, 77; Coolidge, 28; du Pont, 4; Butler, 4; Poindexter, 15; Hoover, 5; W. L. Ward, 2; Knox, 1; La Follette, 24; Kellogg, 1; James E. Watson, 1; total, 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF SIXTH BALLOT

<i>States</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Johnson</i>
Alabama	14	4	6	..	4
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	1½	11½	..	..
California	26	..	..	..	26
Colorado	12	6	3	3	..
Connecticut	14	..	13	..	1
Delaware	6	1	..	1	..
Florida	8	6½	1½	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..
Idaho	8	4	2	1	1
Illinois	58	..	41	..	17
Indiana	30	16	7	5	2
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..
Kansas	20	10	6	4	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	7	2	..
Maine	12	12	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	12	..	..	..
Michigan	30	11	1	..	18
Minnesota	24	16	5	..	2
Mississippi	12	9½	1½	1	..
Missouri	36	2½	18½	13	..
Montana	8	..	..	..	8
Nebraska	16	12	..	..	4
Nevada	6	2	2	..	2
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..

TABULATION OF SIXTH BALLOT—*Continued*

<i>States</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Johnson</i>
New Jersey	28	17	..	1	10
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..
New York	88	23	44	5	3
North Carolina	22	2	16	2	1
North Dakota	10	3	3	..	3
Ohio	48	13	..	35	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	..
Oregon	10	4	..	..	5
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	11	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	17	3	..	..
Texas	23	5½	8½	8	1
Utah	8	4	2	2	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	8	1	5	2
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	2	3	1	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..
Totals	984	311½	311½	89	110

Scattering votes not tabulated above were as follows:

COLEMAN du PONT: 4 from Delaware.
 CALVIN COOLIDGE: 23 from Massachusetts, 3 from New York, 1 from North Dakota, and 1 from Alaska, a total of 28 votes.
 WILLIAM C. SPROUL: 75 from Pennsylvania and 2 from Missouri; a total of 77 votes.
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 4 from New York.
 MILES POINDDEXTER: The 14 of Washington and 1 from New York; a total of 15 votes.
 HERBERT HOOVER: 3 from New York, 1 from Oregon, and 1 from Wisconsin; a total of 5 votes.
 WILLIAM L. WARD: 2 from New York.
 PHILANDER KNOX: 1 from Pennsylvania.
 ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 from Wisconsin.
 FRANK B. KELLOGG: 1 from Minnesota.
 JAMES E. WATSON: 1 from North Carolina.

During the balloting the following occurred:

MR. HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, of Georgia (when Georgia was called).

—Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask a poll of the delegates representing the State of Georgia.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLET, of Massachusetts).

—On request of a delegate from the State of Georgia the roll will be called so as to record the vote of each individual delegate.

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Georgia delegation, the vote was announced: Lowden, 9; Wood, 7; not voting, 1.

However, before finally concluding the roll of States the absent

delegate from Georgia, E. R. Belcher, returned, and announced that he cast his vote for Wood, whereupon the vote was then announced: Lowden, 9; Wood, 8, as follows:

GEORGIA			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Wood</i>	
Henry Lincoln Johnson	1	..	
Churchill P. Goree	1	..	
Benjamin J. Davis	1	..	
Joseph H. Watson	1	..	
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—Walter S. Scott	1	..	
2—W. F. Satterwhite	1	..	
3—E. S. Richardson .....	..	1	
4—C. D. Williams .....	..	1	
5—John W. Martin	1	..	
6—B. M. Sherard .....	..	1	
7—D. C. Cole .....	..	1	
8—W. H. Harris .....	..	1	
9—W. Y. Gilliam .....	..	1	
Roscoe Pickett .....	..	1	
10—R. C. Williams	1	..	
11—E. R. Belcher .....	..	1	
12—S. S. Mincey	1	..	
Totals	9	8	

The Secretary of the Convention resumed the calling of the roll of States, etc., and upon reaching Michigan the following occurred:

A MICHIGAN DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, we ask for a poll of the Michigan delegation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary of the Convention will poll the Michigan delegation.

The Secretary having concluded the roll call of the Michigan delegation, the vote was announced: Johnson, 18; Wood, 11; Lowden, 1, as follows:

MICHIGAN			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>
Charles W. Burton	1	..	..
Mrs. Grace Greenwood Browne	1	..	..
Claude T. Hamilton .....	..	1	..
Robert H. Shields	1	..	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—John W. Smith	1	..	..
Jerome H. Remick	1	..	..
2—William G. Gutmann	1	..	..
Albert S. Glasgow .....	..	1	..
3—John C. Davis	1	..	..
Donald Osborne .....	..	1	..
4—W. R. Cook .....	..	1	..
W. A. Cavin .....	..	1	..
5—Frank D. McKay .....	..	1	..
Arthur Van Buren .....	..	1	..
6—Thaddeus D. Seeley	1	..	..
Leonard Freeman	1	..	..
7—John H. Hands .....	..	..	1
Burt D. Cady	1	..	..
8—William F. Gallagher	1	..	..
Fred W. Green	1	..	..

MICHIGAN—Continued

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>
9—Martin Brown	1	..	..
Harris E. Galpin	1	..	..
10—James E. Davidson	1	..	..
Alfred J. Doherty	1	..	..
11—Richard E. MacLean .....	..	1	..
William J. Pierson .....	..	1	..
12—O. C. Davidson .....	..	1	..
E. C. Bowers .....	..	1	..
13—Robert Oakman	1	..	..
Ira W. Jayne	1	..	..
Totals	18	11	1

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed the calling of the roll of States, etc., on reaching Ohio, the following occurred:

AN OHIO DELEGATE.—Ohio asks for a poll of the delegation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLET, of Massachusetts).
—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of the Ohio delegates.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Ohio delegation, the vote was announced: Harding, 35; Wood, 13, as follows:

OHIO
AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Harding.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
Myron T. Herrick	1	..
John B. Galvin	1	..
Frank B. Willis	1	..
William H. Boyd .....	..	1
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>		
1—Myers Cooper .....	..	1
Rudolph K. Hynicka .....	..	1
2—Albert Bode .....	..	1
John J. Burchenal .....	..	1
3—Robert Patterson	1	..
Frank I. Brown	1	..
4—Wilson W. Wood, 3d	1	..
J. W. Halfhill	1	..
5—H. B. Franks	1	..
Jacob Longnecker	1	..
6—Chas. E. Hard	1	..
James O. McManus	1	..
7—L. E. Evans	1	..
George U. Wilbur	1	..
8—Charles M. Lewis	1	..
Hoke Donithen	1	..
9—Walter F. Brown	1	..
Wm. W. Knight	1	..
10—R. M. Switzer	1	..
A. R. Johnson	1	..
11—S. F. MacCracken	1	..
La Bert Davie	1	..
12—George R. Hedges .....	..	1
John B. Miles .....	..	1
13—Earl Ash	1	..
F. A. Knapp	1	..
14—W. E. Pardee	1	..
C. K. Whitney	1	..

OHIO—Continued

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Wood</i>
15—Wm. P. Sharer	1	..
Beeman G. Dawes	1	..
16—Thomas F. Turner .....	..	1
Edwin Morgan .....	..	1
17—Grant Dowds	1	..
E. B. Capeler	1	..
18—W. H. Mullens	1	..
Chas. T. Coleman .....	..	1
19—W. P. Barnum .....	..	1
Joseph G. Butler, Jr.	1	..
20—Paul Howland	1	..
W. S. Fitzgerald	1	..
21—Harry L. Davis	1	..
Clayton C. Townes	1	..
22—William L. Day .....	..	1
William F. Eirick .....	..	1
Totals	35	13

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes in the Convention on the sixth ballot, there is no nomination. The Secretary of the Convention will proceed to call the roll for the seventh ballot.

SEVENTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

The Secretary of the Convention proceeded to call the roll of States, etc., and the result of the seventh ballot was announced:

Wood, 312; Lowden, 311½; Harding, 105; Johnson, 99½; Coolidge, 28; Sproul, 76; du Pont, 3; Butler, 2; Poindexter, 15; Hoover, 4; Lenroot, 1; Kellogg, 1; Knox, 1; La Follette, 24; W. L. Ward, 1; a total of 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF SEVENTH BALLOT

<i>States</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Johnson</i>
Alabama	14	4	6	2	2
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	1½	11½	..	..
California	26	..	3	..	26
Colorado	12	6	3	3	..
Connecticut	14	1	12	..	1
Delaware	6	..	1	2	..
Florida	8	7	1	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..
Idaho	8	4	2	1	1
Illinois	58	..	41	..	17
Indiana	30	17	5	8	..

TABULATION OF SEVENTH BALLOT—Continued

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Harding	Johnson
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..
Kansas	20	10	6	4	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	7	2	..
Maine	12	12	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	12	..	..	..
Michigan	30	13	1	..	16
Minnesota	24	16	5	..	2
Mississippi	12	9½	1½	1	..
Missouri	36	2½	16½	16	..
Montana	8	..	..	..	3
Nebraska	16	13	..	..	3
Nevada	6	2	2	..	2
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	17	..	1	10
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..
New York	88	24	45	8	..
North Carolina	22	3	15	3	1
North Dakota	10	3	4	..	3
Ohio	48	13	..	35	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	..
Oregon	10	4	..	1	5
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	11	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	9½	7	2	1½
Texas	23	6	9	7	1
Utah	8	4	2	2	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	12	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	9	..	6	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	2	3	1	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..
Totals	984	312	311½	105	99½

Scattering votes not tabulated above were as follows:

CALVIN COOLIDGE: 23 from Massachusetts, 3 from New York, 1 from West Virginia, and 1 from Alaska; a total of 28 votes.

COLEMAN du Pont: 3 from Delaware.

WILLIAM C. SPROUL: 75 from Pennsylvania and 1 from Missouri; a total of 76 votes.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: 2 from New York.

MILES POINDEXTER: The 14 votes of Washington and 1 vote from New York; a total of 15 votes.

HERBERT HOOVER: 3 votes from New York and 1 from Wisconsin; a total of 4 votes.

IRVINE L. LENROOT: 1 from New York.

FRANK B. KELLOGG: 1 from Minnesota.

PHILANDER C. KNOX: 1 from Pennsylvania.

ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: 24 from Wisconsin.

WILLIAM L. WARD: 1 from New York.

During the balloting the following occurred:

A DELEGATE FROM FLORIDA (when Florida was called and the Chairman of the delegation announced the vote, for Wood, 6½; for Lowden, 1½).—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the vote of Florida and ask for a poll of the delegation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of delegates from the State of Florida in order that each individual member thereof may announce his vote.

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Florida delegation, the vote was announced: for Wood, 7; for Lowden, 1, as follows:

FLORIDA		
AT LARGE		
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
George W. Bean .....	..	½
Daniel T. Gerow .....	..	½
W. H. Northup .....	..	½
Fred C. Cubberly (first alternate in place of Joseph E. Lee, deceased) .....	..	½
E. C. Smith .....	..	½
H. L. Anderson	½	..
D. D. Powell	½	..
E. M. Brelsford (third alternate in place of J. H. Blodgett, delegate, who was temporarily absent) .....	..	½
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>		
1—Henry W. Bishop .....	..	1
2—W. H. Bryan .....	..	1
3—Peter H. Miller .....	..	1
4—Z. T. Beilby .....	..	1
Totals	1	7

During the balloting by the Florida delegation, the following occurred:

MR. GEORGE W. BEAN (when the name of J. H. Blodgett, delegate-at-large was called).—Mr. Blodgett is absent. Call the name of the second alternate delegate-at-large, the first alternate delegate-at-large, Fred C. Cubberly, having taken the place of Joseph E. Lee, delegate-at-large, deceased.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary will call the next alternate delegate-at-large.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next alternate delegate-at-large is W. M. Gober.

MR. GEORGE W. BEAN, of Florida.—Mr. Gober is also absent. Will you call the name of the next alternate delegate-at-large?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).
—That may be done.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next alternate delegate-at-large is E. M. Brelsford.

MR. E. M. BRELSFORD, of Florida.—I cast one-half vote for General Wood.

The Secretary having resumed the roll call of the States, etc., the following occurred when Michigan was reached:

A DELEGATE FROM MICHIGAN.—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the announcement of the vote of Michigan as 30 for Johnson and ask for a poll of the delegation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts).
—The Secretary will poll the Michigan delegation in order that each individual delegate may announce his choice.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Michigan delegation, the vote was announced: Johnson, 10; Wood, 13; Lowden, 7, as follows:

MICHIGAN			
AT LARGE			
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Wood.</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>
Charles W. Burton	1	..	..
Mrs. Grace Greenwood Browne	1	..	..
Claude T. Hamilton .....	..	1	..
Robert H. Shields .....	..	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—John W. Smith	1	..	..
Jerome H. Remick	1	..	..
2—William G. Gutmann	1	..	..
Albert S. Glasgow .....	..	1	..
3—John C. Davis .....	..	..	1
Donald Osborne .....	..	1	..
4—W. R. Cook .....	..	1	..
W. A. Cavin .....	..	1	..
5—Frank D. McKay .....	..	1	..
Arthur Van Buren .....	..	1	..
6—Thaddeus D. Seeley .....	..	..	1
Leonard Freeman .....	..	..	1
7—John H. Hands .....	..	..	1
Burt D. Cady	1	..	..
8—William F. Gallagher .....	..	..	1
Fred W. Green	1	..	..
9—Martin Brown .....	..	1	..
Harris E. Galpin	1	..	..
10—James E. Davidson .....	..	..	1
Alfred J. Doherty .....	..	..	1
11—Richard E. MacLean .....	..	1	..
William J. Pierson .....	..	1	..
12—O. C. Davidson .....	..	1	..
E. C. Bowers .....	..	1	..
13—Robert Oakman	1	..	..
Ira W. Jayne	1	..	..
Totals	10	13	7

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed the roll call of the States, etc., the following occurred when he reached Texas:



THOMAS A. MARLOW, of Washington
Member of Committee on Arrangements

1000

A DELEGATE FROM TEXAS (the Chairman of the delegation having announced the vote as: for Lowden, 9; for Wood, 6; for Harding, 7; for Johnson, 1).—Texas asks for a poll of the delegation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FREDERICK H. GILLET, of Massachusetts).—The Secretary will call the roll of the Texas delegation in order that each individual delegate may have an opportunity to announce his choice when his name is called.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Texas delegation, the vote was announced: for Harding, 7; for Lowden, 9; for Wood, 6; for Johnson, 1; as follows:

TEXAS				
AT LARGE				
	<i>Harding.</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>
H. F. MacGregor.....	..	1	..	..
Phil A. Baer.....	..	1	..	..
C. A. Boynton.....	..	..	1	..
John E. Elgin.....	..	..	..	1
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>				
1—J. J. Dickerson.....	..	½	..	..
G. T. Bartlett.....	..	..	½	..
3—R. H. Dunn.....	..	½	..	..
Charles F. Adams.....	..	½	..	..
3—George C. Hopkins.....	½	..	..	..
D. W. Gulick.....	..	½	..	..
4—C. A. Duck.....	..	½	..	..
M. A. Taylor.....	..	½	..	..
5—George F. Rockhold.....	..	½	..	..
J. M. McCormick.....	..	½	..	..
6—J. Wed. Davis.....	..	..	½	..
E. W. Thomas.....	..	..	½	..
7—R. W. Humphreys.....	½	..	..	..
U. W. Allen (Alternate Willis Woods voting).....	½	..	..	..
8—Roy B. Nichols.....	..	½	..	..
T. P. Lee.....	..	..	½	..
9—Irvin Kibbe (Alternate J. Hy. Quota voting).....	½	..	..	..
C. G. Franz.....	..	..	½	..
10—E. P. Wilmot.....	1	..	..	..
11—James W. Bass.....	½	..	..	..
E. R. Misener.....	..	½	..	..
12—Henry Zweifel.....	..	..	½	..
Sam Davidson.....	..	½	..	..
13—J. L. Hickson.....	..	½	..	..
J. B. Schmitz.....	..	½	..	..
14—F. E. Scobey.....	1	..	..	..
Eugene Nolte.....	..	..	1	..
15—R. B. Creager.....	½	..	..	..
H. H. Jefferies.....	½	..	..	..
16—C. O. Harris.....	½	..	..	..
J. G. McNary.....	..	..	½	..
17—R. F. Robey.....	½	..	..	..
C. A. Warnken.....	..	½	..	..
18—Frank Exum.....	½	..	..	..
W. C. Kenyon.....	..	½	..	..
Totals	7	9	6	1

During the balloting by the Texas delegation the following occurred:

A TEXAS DELEGATE (when the name of U. W. Allen was called).—Mr. Allen is absent. Call the name of his alternate.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Call the name of the first alternate from the seventh district.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The name of the first alternate is T. G. W. Tarver.

A TEXAS DELEGATE.—He also is absent.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Call the name of the next alternate.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The name of the next alternate is Willis Woods.

WILLIS WOODS, of Texas.—I cast my one-half vote for Harding.

When the name of Irvin Kibbe, one of the delegates from the ninth district of Texas, with one-half vote, was called, the following occurred:

A TEXAS DELEGATE.—Mr. Kibbe is absent at the present time. Call his alternate.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the name of the first alternate from the ninth Congressional district of Texas.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The name of the first alternate is J. Hy Quota.

MR. J. HY. QUOTA.—I cast my one-half vote for Harding.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO NOMINATE.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of votes in the Convention on the seventh ballot there is no nomination. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll for the eighth ballot.

EIGHTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

The Secretary having called the roll of the States, etc., the eighth ballot was announced: Wood, 299; Lowden, 307; Harding, 133½; Johnson, 87; Sproul, 75½; Coolidge, 30; du Pont, 3; Kellogg, 1; La Follette, 24; Poindexter, 15; Lenroot, 1; Hoover, 5; Butler, 2; Knox, 1; total, 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF EIGHTH BALLOT

States.	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Harding	Johnson
Alabama	14	4	6	4	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..
Arkansas	13	1½	11½	..	..
California	26	..	..	..	26
Colorado	12	6	3	3	..
Connecticut	14	1	11	..	1

TABULATION OF EIGHTH; BALLOT—Continued

States	Delegates	Wood	Lowden	Harding	Johnson
Delaware	6	..	..	3	..
Florida	8	7	1	..	..
Georgia	17	8	9	..	..
Idaho	8	4	2	1	1
Illinois	58	..	41	..	17
Indiana	30	15	4	11	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..
Kansas	20	10	6	4	..
Kentucky	26	..	26	..	..
Louisiana	12	3	7	2	..
Maine	12	12	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..
Massachusetts	35	11	..	..	..
Michigan	30	13	7	..	10
Minnesota	24	16	5	..	2
Mississippi	12	8½	1½	2	..
Missouri	36	2½	15½	17½	..
Montana	8	..	..	..	8
Nebraska	16	14	..	..	2
Nevada	6	1½	..	3½	1
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	16	..	2	10
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..
New York	88	23	45	8	..
North Carolina	22	2	16	4	..
North Dakota	10	3	4	..	3
Ohio	48	9	..	39	..
Oklahoma	20	2	18	..	5
Oregon	10	4	..	1	..
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	..	11	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..
Tennessee	20	10	7	3	..
Texas	23	5	8½	8½	1
Utah	8	4	2	2	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..
Virginia	15	3	10	2	..
Washington	14	..	..	7	..
West Virginia	16	9	..	7	..
Wisconsin	26	1	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	..	..	6	..
Alaska	2	1	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	2	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	2	..	..
Philippine Islands	2	2	..	..	..
Porto Rico	2	1	1	..	..
Totals	984	299	307	133½	87

Scattering votes not tabulated above were as follows:

CALVIN COOLIDGE: Connecticut, 1; Massachusetts, 24; New York, 4; Alaska, 1; total, 29.

COLEMAN du PONT: Delaware, 3.

FRANK B. KELLOGG: Minnesota, 1.

WILLIAM C. SPROUL: Pennsylvania, 75; Missouri, ½; total, 75½.

ROBERT M. La Follette: Wisconsin, 24.

MILES POINDEXTER: New York, 1; Washington, 14; total, 15.

IRVINE L. LENROOT: New York, 1.

HERBERT HOOVER: New York, 4; Wisconsin, 1; total, 5.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: New York, 2.

PHILANDER C. KNOX: Pennsylvania, 1.

Just before the result of the eighth ballot was announced the following occurred:

A MISSOURI DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, Missouri wishes to change her vote to 36 votes for Harding.

There were immediate cries of "No, No" and of "Yes, Yes."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Missouri delegation asks permission to change the vote of Missouri before the result of the ballot is announced, desiring now to record same as 36 for Harding.

The Convention was in disorder, and there were cries of "No" answered by cries of "Yes, Yes."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Inasmuch as there seems to be objection and the Secretary is ready to announce the ballot just taken, it will be allowed to stand and any change desired may be made when the next ballot is taken.

When the result of the ballot was announced the Ohio alternates began cheering and shouting "We want Harding" joined in by a considerable number of the Ohio delegates, which was taken up by considerable numbers of delegates from other States, portions of the galleries joining in a demonstration.

MR. ALVIN T. HERT, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Mr. Hert, of Kentucky.

MR. HERT.—Mr. Chairman, I move you that this Convention do now take a recess until 4 o'clock p. m.

The motion was seconded by delegates from Pennsylvania and New York.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Kentucky moves a recess until 4 o'clock p. m. Does the chair hear a second?

A DELEGATE FROM NEW YORK.—New York seconds the motion.

A DELEGATE FROM CALIFORNIA.—California joins in the motion.

MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, I demand a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Those in favor of a roll call on the question of a recess until 4 o'clock will signify it by saying aye. (A chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will say no. (A chorus of noes.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair is in doubt. Those in favor of a recess will rise and stand to be counted, by the Secretary. (What appeared to be a considerable majority of the delegates rose and stood for a few moments.) Those in favor of taking a recess will now be seated while those opposed will stand. (A very much smaller

number of delegates stood up.) The ayes have it and the Convention will stand in recess until 4 o'clock p. m.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Convention recessed until 4 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Permanent Chairman called the Convention to order at 4 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m. pursuant to recess.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention not having made nomination of a candidate for the office of President the Secretary will proceed to call the roll for the ninth ballot.

NINTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

The Secretary having proceeded with and concluded the roll call of the States, etc., the ninth ballot was announced:

Harding, 374½; Wood, 249; Lowden, 121½; Johnson, 82; Sproul, 78; Coolidge, 28; Hoover, 6; LaFollette, 24; Poindexter, 14; Knox, 1; Lenroot, 1; Butler, 2; Hays, 1; MacGregor, 1; absent and not voting, 1; total, 984, as follows:

TABULATION OF NINTH BALLOT

<i>States</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Lowden</i>	<i>Johnson</i>
Alabama	14	4	4	6	..
Arizona	6	..	6	..	..
Arkansas	13	1	1½	10½	..
California	26	..	..	..	26
Colorado	12	5	6	1	..
Connecticut	14	13	..	..	1
Delaware	6	3	..	..	..
Florida	8	7	1	..	..
Georgia	17	1	8	8	..
Idaho	8	1	5	1	1
Illinois	58	..	..	41	17
Indiana	30	11	15	4	..
Iowa	26	..	..	26	..
Kansas	20	20	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	26	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	12	..	..	..
Maine	12	..	12	..	..
Maryland	16	..	16	..	..
Massachusetts	35	1	11	1	..
Michigan	30	1	15	6	8
Minnesota	24	..	17	5	2
Mississippi	12	4½	7½	..	..

above referred to broke out anew. One of the Kansas delegates took the State standard or marker, raised it high in the air, having fastened a picture of Harding and a flag on same, and started marching around the hall, followed by the entire Kansas delegation bearing pictures of Harding and flags, and joined by numerous delegates from other delegations.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The Convention will please be in order so that the calling of the roll may proceed.

Thereupon, at the request of a number of the Ohio delegates, the Kansas delegation and others resumed their seats so that the balloting might be resumed.

When the name of Kentucky was called and the Chairman of the delegation arose and announced the entire 26 votes of Kentucky for Harding, the announcement was greeted with uproarious applause.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—The Convention will please be in order so that the roll call may proceed. It is very important that we should proceed in as expeditious a manner as possible as this is Saturday and the hour is late.

When Louisiana was called and the Chairman of the delegation cast the entire 12 votes for Harding, there was another demonstration. The Ohio delegates greeting Louisiana, and the Ohio alternates in the rear of the hall echoing the greeting which had been extended by the delegates from Ohio.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah).—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, we must have order so that the calling of the roll may be proceeded with.

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed the calling of the roll and reached the State of Michigan, request was made for a poll of the delegates from that State.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Request having been made for a poll of the Michigan delegation the Secretary will call the roll of delegates so that each individual member of the delegation may announce his choice when his name is called.

MICHIGAN

AT LARGE

	<i>Wood.</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Lowden.</i>	<i>Harding.</i>
Charles W. Burton.....	..	1	..	..
Mrs. Grace Greenwood Browne.....	..	1	..	..
Claude T. Hamilton.....	1	..	..	..
Robert H. Shields.....	1	..	..	..
DISTRICTS— <i>Delegates</i>				
1—John W. Smith.....	..	1	..	..
Jerome H. Remick.....	..	1	..	..
2—William G. Gutmann.....	1	..	..	..
Albert S. Glasgow.....	1	..	..	..

MICHIGAN—Continued

AT LARGE

No.	Delegation	Wood	Harding	Conrad	Harding
3-	John C. Davis	1			
	Donald Osborne	1			
4-	W. R. Cook	1			
	W. A. Gevin	1			
5-	Frank D. McKay	1			
	Arthur Van Buren	1			
6-	Thaddeus D. Seeley	1			1
	Leonard Freeman	1		1	
7-	John H. Hands	1			
	Bert D. Carly	1			
8-	William F. Gallagher	1			
	Fred W. Green	1			
9-	Martin Brown	1			
	Harris E. Galpin	1	1		
10-	James E. Davidson	1		1	
	Alfred J. Doherty	1		1	
11-	Richard E. MacLean	1			
	William J. Pierson	1			
12-	O. C. Davidson	1			
	E. C. Bowers	1			
13-	Robert Oakman	1			
	Ira W. Jayne	1			
	Totals	15	8	6	1

When New York was reached on the roll call and the Chairman of the delegation cast 66 votes for Harding there was a tremendous demonstration, the Ohio delegates standing on their chairs and cheering vociferously, the demonstration being joined in by members of a number of other delegations.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, we must proceed with our business. Let us have order so that the calling of the roll may be resumed and concluded.

When the name of Ohio was called and the Chairman of the delegation announced 39 votes for Harding and 9 votes for Wood there was considerable hissing by delegates from other States and portions of the gallery.

The calling of the roll was resumed and when Oklahoma was reached and the Chairman of the delegation announced 20 votes for Harding, but one or two members of the Oklahoma delegation demanded a poll of the delegates from that State.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Request having been made for a poll of the Oklahoma delegation the Secretary will call the roll so that each individual member of said delegation may announce his choice when his name is called.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the

Oklahoma delegation, the vote was announced: Harding, 18; Will H. Hays, 1; Wood, ½; Absent and not voting, ½; total, 20; as follows:

OKLAHOMA				
AT LARGE				
<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Hays</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Absent and not voting</i>
Bird McGuire	½	..	..	..
Henry E. Asp	½	..	..	..
J. E. Dyche	½	..	..	..
Alva McDonald	½	..	..	..
Vernon Whiting	½	..	..	..
W. H. Hills	½	..	..	..
John Dillon	½	..	..	..
D. C. Malernee	½	..	..	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>				
1—Chas. B. Rogers	1	..	..	..
S. E. Wallen	1	..	..	..
2—L. G. Disney	1	..	..	..
G. O. Grant	1	..	..	..
3—E. A. McGowan	1	..	..	..
F. E. Kennamer	1	..	..	..
4—Hugh Scott	1	..	..	..
Albert Kelly	1	..	..	..
5—W. H. P. Trudgeon .....	..	..	..	½
Chris Madsen .....	..	..	½	..
Mrs. Frank P. Northup .....	..	½	..	..
Mrs. J. S. Pearson .....	..	½	..	..
6—Wm. Newer	1	..	..	..
Rex Galbrith	1	..	..	..
7—Zack T. Pryse	1	..	..	..
C. R. Strong	1	..	..	..
8—Everett Purcell	1	..	..	..
S. B. Richards	1	..	..	..
Totals	18	1	½	½

During the balloting by the Oklahoma delegation the following occurred:

When the name W. H. P. Trudgeon, of Oklahoma City, was called, his absence was announced by the Chairman of the delegation.

A VOICE FROM THE OKLAHOMA DELEGATION.—I have a proxy which was given to me by Mr. Trudgeon and I wish to cast a vote for him.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I find from the roll that four delegates with one-half vote each were elected from the fifth district of Oklahoma, and that no alternate delegates were elected. Under the rules and precedents of the party no vote may be cast by or counted for a proxy; only a regularly elected alternate can cast a vote in the absence of a delegate.

When Texas was called the following occurred: The vote of Texas was announced by the Chairman of the delegation as, for Harding, 22; for H. F. MacGregor, 1; whereupon some confusion arose in the Texas delegation, and there seemed to be a demand for a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—What is the request that comes from the Texas delegation?

Mr. G. T. BARTLETT, of Linden, Texas.—Mr. Chairman, I ask for a poll of the Texas delegation.

There were cries of "No, No" and "Why take up the time calling the roll?"

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Any member of any delegation has the right to demand a roll call. The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of the Texas delegates so that each one may express his choice when his name is called.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Texas delegation, the vote was announced: Harding, 19½; Lowden, 1; MacGregor, 1; Wood, 1; absent and not voting, 1; a total of 23, as follows:

TEXAS				
AT LARGE				
	Harding	Lowden	MacGregor	Wood
<i>Delegates</i>				
H. P. MacGregor.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Phil E. Baer.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. A. Boynton.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jno. E. Egan.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Districts—Delegates</i>				
1—J. J. Dickerson.....	½	.....	.....	.....
G. T. Bartlett.....	.....	.....	.....	½
2—R. H. Dunn.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Charles F. Adams.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3—George C. Hopkins.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
D. W. Grilick.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4—C. A. Dyck.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
M. A. Taylor.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5—George F. Rockhold.....	.....	½	.....	.....
J. M. McCormick.....	.....	.....	½	.....
6—J. West Davis.....	½	.....	.....	.....
E. W. Thomas.....	.....	.....	.....	½
7—R. W. Humphreys.....	½	.....	.....	.....
T. W. Allen (absent)*.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8—Roy B. Nichols.....	½	.....	.....	.....
T. P. Lee.....	.....	.....	½	.....
9—Irvin Kibbe.....	½	.....	.....	.....
C. G. Franz.....	½	.....	.....	.....
10—E. P. Wilmot.....	1	.....	.....	.....
11—James W. Bass.....	½	.....	.....	.....
E. R. Misener.....	½	.....	.....	.....
12—Henry Zweifel.....	½	.....	.....	.....
Sam Davidson (Joe Kingsberry, alternate voting).....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13—J. L. Hickson.....	½	.....	.....	.....
J. B. Schmitz.....	.....	½	.....	.....
14—P. E. Scobey.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Eugene Nolte.....	1	.....	.....	.....
15—R. B. Creager.....	½	.....	.....	.....
H. H. Jeffries.....	½	.....	.....	.....
16—C. O. Harris.....	½	.....	.....	.....
I. G. McNary.....	½	.....	.....	.....
17—B. F. Robey.....	½	.....	.....	.....
C. A. Warnken.....	½	.....	.....	.....
18—Frank Exum.....	½	.....	.....	.....
W. C. Kenyon.....	½	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	19½	1	1	1

(*Not voting—½.)

The Secretary of the Convention having resumed and concluded the roll call of States, and while the vote was being tabulated ready for announcement, the following occurred:

MR. ALFRED J. DOHERTY, of Clare, Michigan.—Mr. Chairman, I want to change the vote of the State of Michigan to 27 for Harding and 3 for Johnson.

This announcement was greeted by a tremendous outburst of applause, begun by the Ohio delegates and alternates and joined in by many others.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Does the Michigan delegation desire to change the vote which was announced when that State was reached on the roll call?

A MICHIGAN DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the right of the gentleman to announce the vote of Michigan. He is not the Chairman of the delegation. If any attempt is made to change the vote as announced I demand a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Inasmuch as there is objection the vote of the State of Michigan heretofore announced will stand for this ballot, and the Secretary of the Convention will announce the result of the ballot.

Thereupon the Secretary made the announcement heretofore shown, preceding the tabulated vote of States.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes in the Convention on this the ninth ballot, there is no nomination. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States, etc., for the tenth ballot.

TENTH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

The Secretary of the Convention having proceeded with and concluded the calling of the roll of States, Territories and Territorial Possessions, the tenth ballot was announced:

Harding, 692 1/5; Wood, 156; Johnson, 80 4/5; Lowden, 11;

22

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

House of Delegates of the State of New York, in Session at Albany, on the 10th day of June, 1908.

RECORD OF VOTES

Yeas	Nays	Present	Absent	Excused
Alabama	1	1	1	1
Arizona	1	1	1	1
Arkansas	1	1	1	1
California	1	1	1	1
Colorado	1	1	1	1
Connecticut	1	1	1	1
Delaware	1	1	1	1
District of Columbia	1	1	1	1
Florida	1	1	1	1
Georgia	1	1	1	1
Idaho	1	1	1	1
Illinois	1	1	1	1
Indiana	1	1	1	1
Iowa	1	1	1	1
Kansas	1	1	1	1
Kentucky	1	1	1	1
Louisiana	1	1	1	1
Maine	1	1	1	1
Maryland	1	1	1	1
Massachusetts	1	1	1	1
Michigan	1	1	1	1
Minnesota	1	1	1	1
Mississippi	1	1	1	1
Missouri	1	1	1	1
Montana	1	1	1	1
Nebraska	1	1	1	1
Nevada	1	1	1	1
New Hampshire	1	1	1	1
New Jersey	1	1	1	1
New Mexico	1	1	1	1
New York	1	1	1	1
North Carolina	1	1	1	1
North Dakota	1	1	1	1
Ohio	1	1	1	1
Oklahoma	1	1	1	1
Oregon	1	1	1	1
Pennsylvania	1	1	1	1
Rhode Island	1	1	1	1
South Carolina	1	1	1	1
South Dakota	1	1	1	1
Tennessee	1	1	1	1
Texas	1	1	1	1
Utah	1	1	1	1
Vermont	1	1	1	1
Virginia	1	1	1	1
Washington	1	1	1	1
West Virginia	1	1	1	1
Wisconsin	1	1	1	1
Wyoming	1	1	1	1
Alaska	1	1	1	1
Island of Columbia	1	1	1	1
Hawaii	1	1	1	1
Philippines	1	1	1	1
Porto Rico	1	1	1	1
Total	984	692½	156	11

*Corrected vote. See explanation on next page.

Scattering votes not tabulated above were cast as follows:
 HERBERT HOOVER: Kansas, 1; Maryland, 1; Nevada, 1½; New Jersey, 1; New York, 4; and Wisconsin, 1; total, 9½.
 CALVIN COOLIDGE: Massachusetts, 1; New York, 4; total, 5.
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER: New York, 2.
 IRVINE L. Lenroot: New York, 1.
 WILL H. HAYS: Oklahoma, 1.
 PHILANDER C. KNOX: Pennsylvania, 1.
 ROBERT M. La FOLLETTE: Wisconsin, 24.
 ABSENT: Oklahoma, ½.

The following States when first called announced their choice as shown below, but requested permission to change their votes as shown in the tabulation of the tenth ballot before the result of said ballot had been announced. (See tabulated vote, tenth ballot):

- Arizona—6 for Wood.
- Colorado—6 for Wood, 5 for Harding, and 1 for Lowden.
- Illinois—17 for Lowden, 18 4/5 for Johnson, and 22 1/5 for Harding.
- Indiana—20 for Harding and 8 for Wood; 2 absent.
- Mississippi—2½ for Wood and 9½ for Harding.
- New Mexico—6 for Wood.
- North Dakota—9 for Harding, 1 for Wood.
- Washington—6 for Harding, 5 for Wood, 2 for Poindexter, and 1 for Hoover.

During the balloting the following occurred:

MR. BLANCHARD RANDALL, of Maryland (when Maryland was called).—We request a poll of the Maryland delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Does the gentleman from Maryland demand a poll of his delegation?

MR. RANDALL.—We do.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of delegates from the State of Maryland so that each individual member of that delegation may announce his choice when his name is called.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the Maryland delegation, the vote was announced: Wood, 10; Harding, 5; Hoover, 1; a total of 16, as follows:

MARYLAND

AT LARGE

<i>Delegation</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Hoover</i>
Galen L. Tait.....	½	..	..
Felix Agnus	½	..	..
W. Bladen Lowndes.....	½	..	..
A. W. W. Woodcock.....	½	..	..
William F. Browning.....	½	..	..
Blanchard Randall	½	..	..
John W. Garrett.....	½	..	..
Harry W. Nice.....	½	..	..

MARYLAND—Continued
AT LARGE

DISTRICTS—Delegates.	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Hoover</i>
1—Lawrence Towers	1	..	..
Thomas Bartlett .....	..	..	1
2—Walter R. Rudy.....	..	1	..
Jacob France	1	..	..
3—Charles W. Maine.....	..	1	..
John A. Janetzke.....	1	..	..
4—James A. Gary, Jr.....	1	..	..
Warner T. McGuinn.....	..	1	..
5—R. Frank Smith.....	1	..	..
Jeremiah Hawkins	1	..	..
6—Charles H. Holtzman.....	..	1	..
Reno S. Harp.....	..	1	..
Totals	10	5	1

MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts (when Massachusetts was called).—Mr. Chairman, we ask that Massachusetts be passed temporarily.

A NEW YORK DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, we object. The rule is that when the roll is called a delegation must announce its vote, and no delegation may decline to do so unless the rule is suspended.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It is customary to allow a State to pass its vote temporarily if it so requests.

THE NEW YORK DELEGATE.—But that must only be by unanimous consent.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It can be done by unanimous consent. Does the chair hear objection.

THE NEW YORK DELEGATE.—I object.

MR. GILLETT.—We will be ready in a moment. We are merely announcing our delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will wait a few moments until the vote can be announced.

MR. GILLETT (after a delay of two or three minutes).—Massachusetts now announces its vote as, for Harding, 17; for Wood, 17; for Coolidge, 1; total, 35.

When Pennsylvania was called and the Chairman of the delegation announced 60 of its 76 votes for Harding, the delegates immediately realized that Harding had been nominated. It was then 6:05 o'clock p. m., and, following a volley of applause, the Ohio delegation seized their standard, pictures of Harding and flags, and began

a parade around the aisles. Amidst the din of cheering could be heard cries of "Hurrah for the next President," "Hurrah for Ohio," "Hurrah for the Mother of Presidents," but after the Ohio delegation, joined by delegates from other delegations, had encircled the inclosure marking off the delegates, the Chairman began rapping for order. Thereupon the Ohio delegation took the lead in helping to restore order, and at 6:13 o'clock the calling of the roll was resumed.

And at the conclusion of the roll call the following occurred:

MR. HARRY S. NEW, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman, the two absent delegates from Indiana returned and expressed their choice. The vote of Indiana on this ballot will therefore be, Wood, 9; Harding, 21. We request that when the ballot is announced that Indiana be so recorded.

A NORTH DAKOTA DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, North Dakota desires to change its vote, announced during the roll call, and to cast the unanimous vote of the State, 10, for Senator Harding. (Applause.)

AN ARIZONA DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, Arizona desires to change its vote from Wood to Harding. (Applause.)

A WASHINGTON DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, the State of Washington now wishes to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Harding. (Applause.)

A NEW MEXICO DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, the New Mexico delegation desires to change its vote and to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Harding. (Applause.)

A COLORADO DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, Colorado wants to change its vote and cast a solid ballot for Senator Harding. (Applause.)

A voice then rang out amidst the din of shouting, "Mr. Chairman, don't let them all get on the band wagon," which was greeted by loud laughter and applause.

MR. FRANK L. SMITH, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, Illinois desires to change its vote. Sixteen of the seventeen votes cast for Governor Lowden on the roll call should be changed to Senator Harding. (Applause.)

A MISSISSIPPI DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, Mississippi wants to cast its solid ballot for Senator Harding.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order so that the Secretary may announce the ballot.

Thereupon the ballot was announced as heretofore shown just preceding the tabulation of the vote.

MOTION TO MAKE NOMINATION UNANIMOUS.

MR. JOSEPH S. FRELINGUYSEN, of New Jersey.—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the State of New Jersey, I now move that the nomination of Senator Harding be made unanimous.

MR. FRANK L. SMITH, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, Illinois seconds that motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the question is, shall the nomination of Senator Harding be made unanimous? Those in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. (A loud chorus of ayes.) Those opposed will signify it by saying no. (A few noes apparently from the Wisconsin delegation, greeted by a storm of hisses from other delegates and the galleries.) The Chair declares Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio unanimously nominated for President. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

NOMINATIONS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the next business before the Convention is the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President.

MR. MEDILL McCORMICK, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Senator McCormick of Illinois.

MR. McCORMICK NOMINATING MR. LENROOT.

MR. MEDILL McCORMICK, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, members of the Republican National Convention: You have adopted a great and constructive platform. You have nominated for the presidency of the United States a man of ripe experience, of deep learning, of great power, Warren G. Harding, of Ohio. (Applause.)

There remains to be discharged by this Convention a duty of grave importance—the nomination of a candidate for the vice-presidency, who, in the event of disability or death of the President, would be worthy to fill that great office. It is your duty to nominate and to present to the voters of the country a candidate for the vice-presidency whose experience, whose learning, whose ability, whose sterling Americanism, will stand by that of the candidate for the presidency. Therefore, I present the name of Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin. (Applause.)



J. J. McGRAW, of Oklahoma
Member of Committee on Arrangements

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12



V. L. HIGHLAND, of West Virginia
Member of Committee on Arrangements

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MR. ALVIN T. HERT, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. Hert.

MR. HART SECONDING MR. LENROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. ALVIN T. HERT, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the delegates from the State of Kentucky I wish to second the nomination of Senator Lenroot for the office of Vice-President.

MR. REMMEL SECONDING MR. LENROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. H. L. REMMEL, of Arkansas.—Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention: On behalf of the delegates from the State of Arkansas I want to second the nomination of Senator Lenroot.

MR. WILLIAM M. CALDER, of New York.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes the gentleman from New York, Senator Calder.

MR. CALDER SECONDING MR. LENROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. WILLIAM M. CALDER, of New York.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: In behalf of the State of New York I wish to very heartily second the nomination of Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin (a voice, "not on your life") for the office of Vice-President.

MR. MYRON T. HERRICK, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Governor Herrick.

MR. HERRICK SECONDING MR. LENROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. MYRON T. HERRICK, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Ohio desires to second the nomination of Senator Irvine L. Lenroot.

At this time Mr. Wallace McCamant, of the Oregon delegation, arose and sought recognition.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes Mr. Wallace McCamant of the Oregon delegation.

MR. McCAMANT NOMINATING MR. COOLIDGE.

MR. WALLACE McCAMANT, of Oregon.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: When the Oregon delegation came here instructed by the people of our State to present to this Convention as its candidate for the office of Vice-President a distinguished son of Massachusetts he requested that we refrain from presenting his name. But there is another son of Massachusetts who has been much in the public eye in the last year, a man who is sterling in his Americanism and stands for all that the Republican party holds dear, and on behalf of the Oregon delegation I name for the exalted office of Vice-President Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts.

This nomination received an outburst of applause of short duration but of great power, being joined in by the Massachusetts and a number of other delegations.

MR. CLAUDE T. HAMILTON, of Michigan.—I second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

MR. LAWRENCE TOWERS, of Maryland.—Maryland wishes to second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A NORTH DAKOTA DELEGATE.—North Dakota proudly seconds the nomination of Governor Coolidge for the office of vice-president.

MR. H. L. REMMEL, of Arkansas.—I had consulted with the Chairman of the Massachusetts delegation and told him that Arkansas wanted to vote for Coolidge for Vice-President and he said he did not want his name presented. Therefore I seconded the nomination of Senator Lenroot. But in view of the fact that another State has placed in nomination the name of Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, I now wish to withdraw my second of the nomination of Senator Lenroot and to second the nomination of Governor Coolidge. (Applause.)

A KANSAS DELEGATE.—I second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A CONNECTICUT DELEGATE.—I second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATE.—I desire to second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A COLORADO DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, I move that nominations be closed and that we proceed to a ballot.

MR. WILLIS J. BAILEY, of Kansas.—I beg the gentleman to withhold his motion for a moment in order that I may make a nomination.

THE COLORADO DELEGATE.—I will temporarily withdraw the motion to close nominations but wish to renew it as soon as the gentleman from Kansas has addressed the Convention.

MR. BAILEY, of Kansas.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes former Governor Bailey of Kansas.

MR. BAILEY NOMINATES MR. ALLEN.

MR. WILLIS J. BAILEY, of Kansas.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the State of Kansas I wish to place in nomination as our candidate for Vice-President of the United States, Kansas' great Governor, Henry J. Allen. (Applause.)

He is the first man since the days of Lincoln who understands the people and understands the economic problems of the day. You may say to yourselves that he might be opposed by some organized labor movements, but there is nothing to it.

Governor Allen brings a message to the people of this country, and the people will be proud to vote for him. He will settle the present conditions of unrest, and meet the situations which confront us today in a way that no other man can meet them. (Applause.)

Kansas nominates Henry J. Allen for the office of Vice-President. (Applause.)

AN ILLINOIS DELEGATE.—On behalf of the State of Illinois I second the nomination of Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts.

A NEBRASKA DELEGATE.—I second the nomination of Coolidge.

MISS DELLE BOYD, of Nevada.—On behalf of Nevada I wish to second the nomination of Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for the office of vice-president.

A VERMONT DELEGATE.—I rise to have the very great pleasure of seconding the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A NEW YORK DELEGATE.—I second the nomination of Governor Coolidge.

A WISCONSIN DELEGATE.—I also wish to second the nomination of Senator Lenroot.

MR. GRONER NOMINATING MR. ANDERSON

MR. D. LAWRENCE GRONER, of Virginia.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The chair recognizes the delegate from Virginia.

MR. D. LAWRENCE GRONER, of Virginia.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The responsibilities of this Convention are nearly over, the greater part of its obligations have been discharged, and before the hour of midnight its services to the nation will have become a part of history. (Applause.)

Perhaps never before has the destiny of mankind for weal or woe, been so dependent upon the manner of the discharge of the duties which brought it into being, and certainly never before, from amid contending passions and conflicting interests, has order and sympathy of purpose more splendidly resulted. It has prepared and promulgated a program and principles which throughout the Republic will impel the enthusiastic support of its friends, and command the respect and silence the criticisms of its enemies. It has placed its standard, undimmed and untarnished, in the hands of a distinguished son of a great commonwealth, and there remains now of all of the duties which brought it into being only the selection of a candidate for Vice-President. (Applause.)

This duty is no less high and this responsibility no less pressing than any which it has performed. Had Lincoln lived or had the Convention in which he was nominated chosen as his second on the ticket a man after his own image, the tragedy of Reconstruction would have been avoided. Or had a weakling instead of that great American succeeded to the chair left vacant by the assassination of McKinley, those great reforms and that awakening of the conscience of the people which occurred in the administration of Roosevelt would have been postponed a decade. (Applause.)

For more than fifty years the people of the South have sought with a singleness of purpose unexampled in history to wipe out the desolation of four years of fratricidal struggle. Conscious of the integrity of purpose under which they had acted, they asked neither for pity nor for succor. The bitterness of defeat lingered but a little while. The ripening harvest and the restored homestead brought them peace and plenty. As a people they have expanded and grown prosperous, and with their prosperity has come a breadth of view never before possessed. The viewpoint of the provincial has been lost sight of in the broad-minded grasp of the true nationalist, and in the great World War their loyalty to the nation and their devotion to the flag effaced forever all prejudice of the past and all bitterness against any other section of the country. In that spirit the thoughtful men of the South everywhere are seeking an opportunity of alignment with that national party which more nearly reflects their views of constitutional government as it came from the fathers; and to the end that sectionalism may be effaced forever, that the line marking the North

and the South may leave not even a shadow in its course, they present to this Convention a favorite son of that great State of the South whose ancient glories made her first and whose later suffering endeared her beyond all others in the affections of the South; a man of spotless integrity; of great breadth of view and of wide political and historical knowledge; a lawyer known from one end of the country to the other for his profound knowledge of the science of the law; a patriot whose willingness to sacrifice led him to accept position in the leadership of the Red Cross in the Balkans; an American who, while yielding to no one in his love of Virginia and her traditions, is yet in his breadth of view an American—Henry W. Anderson of Virginia. (Applause.)

THE COLORADO DELEGATE.—I now renew my motion that nominations be closed.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. WILLIS, of Ohio).—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Secretary will now call the roll in order that the several States and other delegations may announce their choice for a candidate for vice-president.

A DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman, who are the persons placed in nomination for the office of vice-president?

A READING CLERK (MR. HORACE H. BANCROFT).—Before calling the roll the names of the gentlemen nominated for Vice-President will be read. They are as follows:

Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin. (Applause.)

Henry J. Allen, of Kansas. (Applause.)

Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts. (Prolonged applause and cheers.)

Henry W. Anderson, of Virginia. (Applause.)

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of the States on the ballot for Vice-President. When California was called the following occurred:

A DELEGATE FROM CALIFORNIA.—Mr. Chairman, I request that the California delegation be polled.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio).—The Secretary will call the roll of the California delegation.

The Secretary then called the roll of the California delegation, and announced the result as follows: Coolidge, 19; Allen, 2; Anderson, 1; absent, 4. The vote was as follows:

CALIFORNIA

AT LARGE

	<i>Coolidge</i>	<i>Allen</i>	<i>Anderson</i>	<i>Absent</i>
Frank P. Flint.....	1	..	..	..
George I. Cochran.....	1	..	..	..
Ralph W. Bull.....	1	..	..	..
Charles E. Clinch.....	1	..	..	..
Mrs. C. K. McClatchy (also called R. R. Byrne, her alternate, but he was absent)	..	..	..	1
Michael H. de Young.....	1	..	..	..
P. H. McCarthy (also called name of Ed. Kay, alternate, who was absent).....	..	..	..	1
Mrs. J. B. Hume.....	..	1	..	..
W. A. Sutherland.....	1	..	..	..
William H. Crocker.....	1	..	..	..
John B. Miller.....	1	..	..	..
Mrs. Catherine Philips Edson (also called name of Theodore F. Roche, alternate, who was absent).....	..	..	..	1
C. D. Ball.....	1	..	..	..
Herbert Fleischhacker	1	..	..	..
John Francis Neylan (P. E. Bowles, alternate) .....	..	..	..	1
Albert E. Boynton.....	1	..	..	..
Mrs. Bradford Woodbridge.....	1	..	..	..
Charles L. Neumiller.....	1	..	..	..
John H. Rosseter.....	1	..	..	..
James Rolph, Jr.....	1	..	..	..
Joseph R. Knowland.....	1	..	..	..
Mrs. M. C. Zumwalt.....	1	..	..	..
T. S. Montgomery.....	1	..	..	..
Joseph Scott .....	..	..	1	..
Meyer Lissner.....	1	..	..	..
Fred A. Heilbron.....	..	1	..	..
Total	19	2	1	4

The Secretary resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, etc., and announced the result: Absent or not voting, 9; Pritchard, 11; Johnson, 22½; Gronna, 24; Anderson, 28; Allen, 68½; Lenroot, 146½; Coolidge, 674½; total, 984; the vote by States, etc., being as follows:

TABULATION OF BALLOT

<i>States</i>	<i>No. of votes</i>	<i>Pritchard</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Gronna</i>	<i>Anderson</i>	<i>Allen</i>	<i>Lewroot</i>	<i>Coolidge</i>
Alabama	14	..	..	..	..	..	12	2
Arizona	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Arkansas	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
California	26	..	..	..	1	2	..	19
Colorado	12	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Connecticut	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Delaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	5	1
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Georgia	17	..	..	..	..	..	8	9
Idaho	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Illinois	58	..	16	..	..	1	4	36
Indiana	30	..	..	..	..	3	11	16
Iowa	26	..	..	..	1	4½	3	17½
Kansas	20	..	..	..	..	20	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	..	..	1	..	24	1
Louisiana	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Massachusetts	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
Michigan	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Minnesota	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Mississippi	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Missouri	36	..	6½	..	..	..	21½	8
Montana	8	..	..	..	..	..	7	1
Nebraska	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Nevada	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
New Jersey	28	..	..	..	1	..	2	25
New Mexico	6	..	..	..	..	..	5	1
New York	88	..	..	..	..	8	21	59
North Carolina	22	..	..	..	..	7	4	9
North Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Ohio	48	10	..	..	9	10	9	10
Oklahoma	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Oregon	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Pennsylvania	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	76
Rhode Island	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
South Carolina	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
South Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Tennessee	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Texas	23	..	..	..	..	1	..	22
Utah	8	..	..	..	..	..	1	7
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia	15	..	..	..	15	..	..	..
Washington	14	..	..	..	..	..	7	7
West Virginia	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16

MEETING OF NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE (MR. WILL H. HAYS).—
A meeting of the new National Committee will be held at ten o'clock
tonight in the rooms of the National Committee in the Coliseum.

ADJOURNMENT WITHOUT DAY.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes the Chairman of
the Republican National Committee, Mr. Hays, for a motion.

MR. WILL H. HAYS.—Mr. Chairman, I move that this Convention do
now adjourn without day.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and (at 7 o'clock and 30
minutes p. m.) Saturday, June 12, 1920, the Convention adjourned
without day.

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

Warren G. Harding, United States Senator from Ohio, was born on his grandfather's farm, where his father then resided, just outside the village of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, November 2d, 1865. He was the eldest of eight children, some of whom had achieved more than ordinary distinction; one in medicine, one as a public school instructor, and one as a missionary in a foreign field.

He is the son of George T. Harding, then the young village doctor, who found no night too dark and dreary and no journey too long to travel the almost impassable roads of that day to go to the relief of a suffering patient, however poor and unable to pay for the services rendered.

The Hardings are of good old Colonial stock, coming originally from Scotland, settling first in Connecticut, removing later to the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, where some of them were massacred and others fought in the Revolutionary War. The mother of Warren, Phoebe Dickerson, was descended from an old-time Holland Dutch family, the Van Kirks; so that in Warren G. Harding is found the blending of the blood of the hardy Holland Dutch and the fearless, alert and liberty-loving Scotch. The country roundabout was mostly woodland when Warren was born. His grandfather owned a small tract of land and was neither better nor worse off than his neighbors. They were all engaged in cutting away the timber and transforming a primitive forest into cultivated farms. In those early days every child must contribute his share of toil in overcoming the obstacles of nature in this transforming process. As Warren grew up, he learned to fell the trees, chop wood, split rails, plant and hoe corn, and do all things incident to farm life when crops were raised between roots and stumps, and the labors of the farm were performed by hand. He early acquired the habit of industry.

He was just a natural, healthy, robust boy, of humble but honest and pious parentage, endowed with the supremest gifts of nature—good, hard, common sense, a rugged constitution, a sunny disposition, and a heart full of the milk of human kindness.

He attended the village school until fourteen years of age, when he entered the Ohio Central College of Iberia, from which he was graduated, standing high in scholarship; and it was there, as editor of the college paper, that he first displayed a talent for journalism.

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WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

Warren G. Harding, United States Senator from Ohio, was born on his grandfather's farm, where his father then resided, just outside the village of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, November 2d, 1865. He was the eldest of eight children, some of whom had achieved more than ordinary distinction; one in medicine, one as a public school instructor, and one as a missionary in a foreign field.

He is the son of George T. Harding, then the young village doctor, who found no night too dark and dreary and no journey too long to travel the almost impassable roads of that day to go to the relief of a suffering patient, however poor and unable to pay for the services rendered.

The Hardings are of good old Colonial stock, coming originally from Scotland, settling first in Connecticut, removing later to the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, where some of them were massacred and others fought in the Revolutionary War. The mother of Warren, Phoebe Dickerson, was descended from an old-time Holland Dutch family, the Van Kirks; so that in Warren G. Harding is found the blending of the blood of the hardy Holland Dutch and the fearless, alert and liberty-loving Scotch. The country roundabout was mostly woodland when Warren was born. His grandfather owned a small tract of land and was neither better nor worse off than his neighbors. They were all engaged in cutting away the timber and transforming a primitive forest into cultivated farms. In those early days every child must contribute his share of toil in overcoming the obstacles of nature in this transforming process. As Warren grew up, he learned to fell the trees, chop wood, split rails, plant and hoe corn, and do all things incident to farm life when crops were raised between roots and stumps, and the labors of the farm were performed by hand. He early acquired the habit of industry.

He was just a natural, healthy, robust boy, of humble but honest and pious parentage, endowed with the supremest gifts of nature—good, hard, common sense, a rugged constitution, a sunny disposition, and a heart full of the milk of human kindness.

He attended the village school until fourteen years of age, when he entered the Ohio Central College of Iberia, from which he was graduated, standing high in scholarship; and it was there, as editor of the college paper, that he first displayed a talent for journalism.

Like most aspiring young men of that age, he was obliged to stop for a time now and then, and earn the money with which to pursue his college course. At one time we find him cutting corn. At another, painting his neighbors' barns. At still another, driving a team and helping to grade the roadbed of the T. & O. C. Railroad, which was then building through that community. At the age of seventeen we find him teaching a district school, and "tooting a horn" in the "brass band" of the village.

At odd times he worked in the little printing office in the village. He seemed to love the odor of printer's ink and to have a passion for everything pertaining to a newspaper office, even down to the minutest detail of the mechanical equipment. He became an expert typesetter by hand, and when the linotype was first introduced he learned to operate the machine. He is a practical pressman, job printer, and as a make-up man has few equals. The "luck piece" he carries as a Senator of the United States is the old printer's rule he used when he was yet "sticking type."

When he was nineteen, having completed his college course, his father, Dr. Harding, seeking a wider field, removed to Marion, Ohio, the county seat of an adjoining county, where he still resides, and despite his seventy-six years, is in active practice of his profession.

"The Star" was a struggling daily paper, diminutive in size, in a struggling county-seat town of four thousand inhabitants. Young Harding yearned to possess it. Though it had had such a precarious existence that it was difficult to tell whether it was an asset or a liability, his father, having faith in the boy and wishing to gratify this supreme desire of his young ambition, lent his credit in assisting him in taking it over—the consideration being little more than the assumption of its indebtedness. The county was then Democratic, and this paper not even the official organ of the minority party.

With the enthusiasm of youth, and the inspiration of one who has his foot upon the first rung of the ladder of his ambition, the young man bent his energies to the task of making "The Star" a beacon light which should shine out of the darkness, and to lift it out of the depths of all but bankruptcy and give it a financial standing above reproach.

He lived with it by day, and oft-times far into the night. He dreamed of it. At times he performed every function from "devil" to managing editor. Thorny was the road and sometimes the coffers were so depleted that it was necessary to request advertiser to make advance payment of bills in order to keep the enterprise afloat. But the story of how it grew and expanded, ultimately outgrowing and taking over its competitor, is too long to be written here. It is the same old story of love, devotion, energy, resourcefulness and deter-

mination winning against all odds and coming out triumphant in the end.

"The Star" today is a prosperous, money-making plant. It could not be purchased at any price. It has the widest circulation of any newspaper in a city of thirty thousand inhabitants in the Middle West. It is quoted more often than any other paper outside the great cities. It has not only grown with the development of the city, but has kept in advance. It has been always a "booster" and never a "knocker"; but in all of his political career not a line has ever appeared in "The Star" boosting his own candidacy. Always conservative, always fearless, it has fought for high ideals and won its way to a place of prestige and power; and the guiding spirit is, and was, Warren G. Harding. There has never been a strike or threatened strike in "The Star" office. His employees found him always liberal and ever generous, and they love him as a brother. After he had established his paper on a firm foundation, he organized a stock company, distributing shares to permanent employees, and he and they still own it.

Mr. Harding is closely identified with many large business enterprises. Since he took over "The Star" Marion has grown from a country town of four thousand inhabitants to a flourishing manufacturing city of thirty thousand, and he has been a prime factor in this industrial development. He has been a "booster" for every new industry which has located there, taking shares of stock in each to the limit of his ability. Because of his recognized business sagacity he has been made, at one time or another, a member of the Board of Directors of most of these enterprises, lending his counsel and advice, and in turn gathering much valuable information concerning the difficulties which beset the various lines of industry. He is at present a director of a bank, director of several large manufacturing plants, and is also a trustee of the Trinity Baptist Church, of which he is a member, and upon whose services he is a regular attendant when in the city.

During the last score of years, Senator Harding has been three times abroad, visiting most of the European countries, not on pleasure bent, but to study at close range their systems of government and the economic problems with which we have to deal—such as the tariff, the standard of wage paid to labor in the different countries, and the varied conditions surrounding their mode of life; but always he has returned with a deeper love for his own land and a firmer conviction that its form of government is the best which was ever devised by the brain of man.

After his election to the United States Senate, and before taking his seat, he visited the Hawaiian Islands to get some first-hand information upon the production and distribution of sugar. He has spoken

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Mr. Harding has twice represented the Thirteenth Senatorial District of Ohio in the State Legislature, served one term as lieutenant governor, refusing to stand for re-election; and he is now nearing the close of his first term as United States Senator from Ohio.

When he came into this wider sphere of action his experience in the State Legislature served a good purpose, and he speedily arose to a commanding place. His fund of knowledge, and his wide experience with men and affairs gave him a comprehensive grasp of the problems with which the public service has to deal; and on his first entrance into the arena it became apparent to his fellow Senators that he was no novice, but one well qualified to render valuable service; and his utterances on the floor of the Senate have invariably commanded respectful attention.

Senator Harding has ever the courage of his convictions, even though his stand should engender serious opposition. He early advocated preparedness while others were clamoring for peace at any price. He sponsored the bill for preparedness which had the endorsement of Colonel Roosevelt, and he was so closely associated with him during its pendency that it came to be widely rumored through the press that Colonel Roosevelt regarded him the coming man of 1920. This close contact gave each a high regard for the sincerity and singleness of purpose of the other in arousing an unsuspecting people to a sense of impending danger in those crucial hours; and this intimacy continued until the lamented death of this most flaming and strenuous advocate of Americanism.

The recent utterance of Senator Harding on the peace treaty, and other questions which are now pressing for solution, prove him to be a man of poise, not easily swayed by clamor or passionate appeal, and capable of exercising deliberate judgment even amidst the turmoil of bitter, partisan strife.

Two years after the unfortunate schism which resulted in turning Ohio into the Democratic column in 1912, Senator Harding was elected to the United States Senate by a majority of more than one hundred thousand, running seventy-three thousand ahead of the next highest on the ticket. In his case there was a complete cementing of the opposing factions.

His selection as Chairman of the National Convention soon after he entered the Senate, and without factional strife, bore evidence of his high standing in the party throughout the nation.

The important work which he has done on the Committee on Foreign Relations, and other committees of which he is a member, has brought him in close touch with the great questions, both foreign and domestic, with which the next administration will have to deal.

As a public speaker he is calm, yet forceful. His voice is mellow, yet has wonderful carrying power. He has a commanding presence, and an almost inexhaustible vocabulary, but his utterances are never verbose. His appeals are always to the head and to the heart; never to passion or prejudice. He is quick at repartee, ready in debate, but never acrimonious; even in the fever-heat of discussion he never forgets to be a gentleman. He has a charm of expression, and a winning manner which assures him an attentive hearing, and carries conviction.

In his masterly presentation of the name of President Taft for renomination at Chicago to the most turbulent convention in the annals of Republicanism, overcoming massed opposition and irritating interruption with good humor and the persuasive power of his eloquence, and in his keynote address at the last national convention, he acquired a nation-wide reputation as an orator and as a safe and sane thinker. In presiding over the deliberations of the last-named convention he proved himself a man of poise, and an able parliamentarian.

In many respects Mr. Harding resembles that other favorite son of Ohio—William McKinley. Both were of Scottish descent. In presence, in manner of speech, in ability to judge of men, in careful, painstaking mastery of detail and tact in bringing together opposing factions on some common ground, there is a remarkable similarity.

Mr. Harding is first of all a patriot. He believes in America; in its form of government; is proud of her past and hopeful for her future; and he believes that our highest obligation is to our own, and that the problems which vitally concern us are domestic and not foreign.

His father was a soldier in the Civil War, and the Senator grew up amidst the afterglow of that flaming patriotism which preserved the Union and broke the chains of slavery. His youth was spent around a fireside aflame with the love of liberty and the love of country.

In the year 1891 Mr. Harding was married to Florence Kling, daughter of Amos Kling, now deceased, who was one of the leading business men of the city of Marion. Mrs. Harding inherited the business acumen of her father, and has been a tower of strength to her husband in all of his business relations and political aspirations.

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In the fullest sense she has been, and is, a helpmate. With all, she is an efficient homemaker. Their home life is ideal, and their friends in the "old home town" are legion. They are simple and unaffected in their associations and tastes, and their hospitality has been dispensed far and wide. Mrs. Harding's ambition is for the success of her husband, but she laughingly remarked, "a man must be well-fed and well-groomed if he would succeed," and she looks well to these matters.

The president of one of the largest manufacturing concerns in Marion says of him:

"To the older residents of Marion the life of Senator Harding is an open book, showing his development from young manhood to mature years; from a position of obscurity to one of prominence; from comparative poverty to reasonable affluence, and on no page of that book is there a line that his best friend could wish obliterated.

"In later years it has been my pleasure to serve with him on various Boards of Directors. His counsel and advice have always been sought and valued, and his judgment on matters of importance has been invariably sound."

The president of another large industrial concern says of him:

"Were he elected President, the country would have a good listener, a man capable of selecting a strong cabinet of good advisers; a sane, sound and sensible business man, safe as to our financial system, reasonable in tariff requirements, but unyielding in the demand for protection to American ideals of right living. A wholesome man of good physical proportions, a man loving peace, but one who under no circumstances would permit the rights and dignity of the American nation to be trampled upon. A just and able, and an honest man."

The manager of another of Marion's largest enterprises says of him: "Harding is not rich, except in generosity, but his publishing success has given him a competence. The big thing about him is his unflinching common sense, and his marked ability to listen to others and promptly reach wise decisions out of the conflict of opinions. Those who know him most intimately think he fits the needs of the hour with nothing less than prophetic qualities to restore this country to rational and normal ways."

Congressman Simeon D. Fess, who has represented the Seventh Ohio District, which adjoins the district in which Marion is located, for four consecutive terms, says of the Republican candidate in the "Review of Reviews" for July, 1920:

"His nomination was the climax of a conjunction of forces both political and personal. His strong position for law and order; his defense of national honor; his struggle as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee to safeguard national sovereignty and indepen-

dence; his sound philosophy of economics and finance; his sturdy insistence upon the integrity of American initiative in business enterprise for the investment of capital in the employment of labor at a scale of wages to maintain the American standard of living; his determination to maintain equal opportunity under the law upon the basis of the square deal, with due regard for the rights of all; his consistent advocacy of the extension of American trade through the establishment of a merchant marine under the American flag to carry our foreign commerce; his varied experience which has given him the sympathetic touch with all classes of our population; his fearless demand that the public interest must first be subserved, together with his sturdy yet mild-mannered personality which universally commands favor—all combined make him the logical nominee of his party at this hour of commanding need.

"The progress of the Chicago convention from start to finish epitomized this leader's political growth. Starting with no advantage of organization, and even with a slight defection in certain quarters in his home State (not to be regarded seriously save as a handicap in a convention), his assets were hosts of friends and no enemies among the delegates, who hoped the time would come when they could get back of him."

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Born, July 4, 1872, at Plymouth, Vermont.

Son of John C. and Victoria J. (Moor) Coolidge.

Descendant of John and Mary Coolidge, who settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, about 1630.

Educated in the public school of Plymouth, Vermont; Black Rock River Academy, at Ludlow, Vermont; St. Johnsbury Academy, Vermont; Amherst College (A. B. 1895).

Studied law in the office of Hammond and Field, Northampton, Mass. Admitted to the bar after twenty months' study. His law office and home are in Northampton, Massachusetts.

Married Grace A. Goodhue of Burlington, Vermont, October 4, 1905. Has two sons, John, 13 years, and Calvin, Jr., 12 years. The family lives in Northampton.

Member of the Northampton City Council, 1899; Northampton's City Solicitor, 1900 and 1901; State Representative, 1907 and 1908; Mayor of Northampton, 1910 and 1911; State Senator, 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1915; President of the Senate, 1914 and 1915; Lieutenant Governor, 1916, 1917 and 1918; Governor, 1919, and re-elected Governor for the year 1920.

Honary degrees: L.L. D., Amherst, Tufts, Williams, 1919.

Author of "Have Faith in Massachusetts."

Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, the son of John C. and Victoria J. (Moor) Coolidge, was born Independence Day, 1872, in Plymouth, a typical, small remote country village, nestled in the rugged hills of Vermont. Descended from John and Mary Coolidge, who about 1630 settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, his ancestry runs through a long line of farmers who lived in Massachusetts until the Governor's great great grandfather moved from Lancaster, Massachusetts, into that section of Vermont which was called by the settlers Salt Ash, from the product obtained by the burning of trees, and soon afterwards christened Plymouth, but locally known even now as The Notch. Here the Coolidge family through the generations tilled the soil, raised livestock, produced maple syrup and sugar, played a large part in the making of American history and continued always as people of importance and influence in the community.

To him in boyhood came the usual experiences of a country boy who lived on a lonely farm, and who happened also to be the son of the village storekeeper, and here was bred in him industry, fru-

gality and self-reliance, and a capacity for hard work. He was blessed with a good father and mother. At thirteen years of age his mother passed away, and at seventeen he lost his only sister, but his step-mother, who recently died, exerted a beneficial influence over him, and between them there was always deep affection and a warm bond of sympathy.

To the ungraded country school in Plymouth, with its small, single room, its wood stove and wooden bucket of spring water, he daily tramped the distance from his home. On Sunday he attended in the same narrow quarters religious services of an unestablished church. Early mastering the educational requirements of the Plymouth school he continued his studies in the nearby town of Ludlow at Black Rock River Academy, and afterwards attending for a while the academy at St. Johnsbury. Then he came over the hills into Massachusetts to the little college of Amherst in the hills of Massachusetts. Mindful always of the family self-denial, his college career was marked with persistent conscientiousness. He paid three dollars a week for his board, but only because he could not find a cheaper eating house. He was a quiet, unassuming man, unknown to many men during his first two years, but gradually winning the respect of the whole college. He was a keen student of the men about him—whether they were professors, fellow students, or the people of the town. He had a fine sense of humor which he rarely used. He was a great reader of books, especially on history and government. His diligence in study precluded him from taking much of any part in the activities of the college outside of the regular work. Only in a modest way and as his leisure would permit did he enter into the so-called college life. He took no active part in sports. In his senior year in open competition with all the American colleges he won the first prize offered for the best essay on the principles for which the Revolutionary War was fought. He graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1895, and at Commencement was the Grove Orator. He did not have enough money to go to a law school, and although he had no acquaintance in Northampton, the nearest place where law was studied or practiced, he applied and secured a position in the office of Judge Hammond, the leading lawyer in that part of the State. In this old-fashioned American law office he learned to know and reverence the meaning and the purpose of the law, and to have a passionate belief in its supremacy.

With the steadfastness of purpose which had characterized him in his native village and in college he devoted his attention so assiduously to the study of law that after only twenty months' study he was admitted to the bar. He opened his own law office shortly after his admission and has continued to practice in Northampton since that

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gality and self-reliance, and a capacity for hard work. He was blessed with a good father and mother. At thirteen years of age his mother passed away, and at seventeen he lost his only sister, but his stepmother, who recently died, exerted a beneficial influence over him, and between them there was always deep affection and a warm bond of sympathy.

To the ungraded country school in Plymouth, with its small, single room, its wood stove and wooden bucket of spring water, he daily tramped the distance from his home. On Sunday he attended in the same narrow quarters religious services of an unestablished church. Early mastering the educational requirements of the Plymouth school he continued his studies in the nearby town of Ludlow at Black Rock River Academy, and afterwards attending for a while the academy at St. Johnsbury. Then he came over the hills into Massachusetts to the little college of Amherst in the hills of Massachusetts. Mindful always of the family self-denial, his college career was marked with persistent conscientiousness. He paid three dollars a week for his board, but only because he could not find a cheaper eating house. He was a quiet, unassuming man, unknown to many men during his first two years, but gradually winning the respect of the whole college. He was a keen student of the men about him—whether they were professors, fellow students, or the people of the town. He had a fine sense of humor which he rarely used. He was a great reader of books, especially on history and government. His diligence in study precluded him from taking much of any part in the activities of the college outside of the regular work. Only in a modest way and as his leisure would permit did he enter into the so-called college life. He took no active part in sports. In his senior year in open competition with all the American colleges he won the first prize offered for the best essay on the principles for which the Revolutionary War was fought. He graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1895, and at Commencement was the Grove Orator. He did not have enough money to go to a law school, and although he had no acquaintance in Northampton, the nearest place where law was studied or practiced, he applied and secured a position in the office of Judge Hammond, the leading lawyer in that part of the State. In this old-fashioned American law office he learned to know and reverence the meaning and the purpose of the law, and to have a passionate belief in its supremacy.

With the steadfastness of purpose which had characterized him in his native village and in college he devoted his attention so assiduously to the study of law that after only twenty months' study he was admitted to the bar. He opened his own law office shortly after his admission and has continued to practice in Northampton since that

time. His work has consisted of the varied practice of a country lawyer, constantly interrupted by an unusually wide political career.

On October 4, 1905, he married Miss Grace A. Goodhue, of Burlington, Vermont, and shortly after his marriage moved into an unpretentious but comfortable half of a two-family house, which he continues to occupy with his family in the City of Northampton. They have two sons, John and Calvin, Jr.

He was a member of the Northampton City Council in 1899, and City Solicitor in 1900 and 1901. In 1904, to fill a vacancy, he served as County Clerk of Hampshire under appointment by the Supreme Court, but declined to accept his party's nomination for election to succeed himself. During the years 1907 and 1908 he served Northampton as its Representative to the General Court, but returned to become Mayor of that city for the years 1910 and 1911. The district of which Northampton was a part elected him as its Senator for the years 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915. The President of the State Senate of the sessions of 1912 and 1913 unexpectedly failed of re-election, and Senator Coolidge with the same degree of promptness and precision which has always marked his course, became at once an active candidate for the vacancy. So vigorously did he campaign that within a few days he had sufficient pledges to assure himself of the place as presiding officer. He filled this office with marked ability for the years 1914 and 1915. His acceptance speech of forty-two words on re-election as President of the Senate has become a classic in Massachusetts state craft. In this and in the speech of acceptance the preceding year he uttered the two phrases that best indicated his creed, namely—"Do the day's work," and "Be brief." To do his duty well has been his life's characteristic. No duty has been too small for his painstaking, conscientious care; none has arisen too large for his ability or his courage.

Elected each year with increased pluralities, he served the State of Massachusetts as Lieutenant Governor for the years 1916, 1917, and 1918. He was actively instrumental in putting Massachusetts in the lead in preparation and later in the execution of plans which resulted in the big part Massachusetts played in the World War.

Always a good party man and with a record of real public service behind him he was nominated by the Republicans without opposition and on election day, 1918, elected as Governor of the Commonwealth by a lead of approximately 17,000 votes. Running under the now famous slogan of "Law and Order" he was re-elected as Governor for the year 1920 by more than 125,000 votes over his Democratic opponent, and by the largest vote ever given a Massachusetts governor. While the Governor is best known throughout the country for his

prompt and effective action in the Boston police strike, he is well known in Massachusetts for his clearness of vision in all matters, his sterling honesty, his absolute fairness to all sides and his ability to think and speak clearly, quietly, calmly and directly.

During his entire career he was worked with the Republican Party. He believes in the philosophy of party government because he has been a profound student of history, and believes it the most effective method of achieving the ideals of democracy. He knows his Burke almost as well as he knows his idol—Lincoln. He has worked through party organization all his life. He has a deep and reverent faith in the principles of our government, and that faith has been builded out of priceless experience. He sees the good in men and quickly puts it to work. He has the gift of co-operating with other men, and a talent in the selection of competent fellow workers.

His executive service as Mayor and as Governor has been marked with the accomplishment of keeping the taxes at a reasonable levy, in some cases obtaining a reduction in rate, and at the same time not neglectful of the governmental institutions. In both capacities he has been instrumental in getting increased pay for school teachers, a class of public servants he has always felt were underpaid.

In his legislative service he has shown a remarkable talent, in the House of Representatives he was instrumental in getting upon the statute books an anti-monopoly law of far-reaching importance, and his work in codifying the banking laws of the State was a notable achievement. In the Senate he secured the passage of the anti-discrimination law which has proven of big advantage. He backed the "full crew bill," and since that time has had the united support of the trainmen. His service as Lieutenant Governor and Governor has been noted for the steadfast devotion to his oath of office that has characterized his every move. His virile vetoes, his messages, his addresses, all are pregnant with the principles enunciated in our Constitutions. The simple truths he expounds exemplifies the splendid Americanism of his character.

When the Boston police crisis occurred, he was prepared. He was scrupulously careful to respect law and order by not exceeding the powers of his office. He showed that he considered the police commissioner of Boston a responsible public official, not a rubber stamp; he was as jealous of Mayor Peters' rights as the Mayor was himself.

He did not rush in and violate the law. When the responsibility was finally passed to him, he accepted it quickly, cheerfully and quietly. He did not indulge in any apologies or threats or prayers. He immediately picked out the only issue that really was vital—the

spirit of public officials in strike. When the correct time came, he called the strike a desertion, not with ringing denunciations or imputes of worth, but with calm precision, like a physician discovering a disease and determining the remedy. He issued a proclamation, aptly and tersely summarizing and defining the entire issue. He took his stand upon the rock of Massachusetts institutions.

Compromise was suggested in the great drama behind the scenes that took place before the desertion of duty in conference after conference between Governor Mayo, Police Commissioner Quinn, labor officials, citizens' Committee, and representatives of the Police. From the standpoint of political expediency, it might have seemed wise to take back the striking policemen and leave the question of unionizing to the voters. Such compromise was suggested by many parties; but the Governor determined that he was confronted with a duty, not a political problem, and scorned to deviate one hair breadth from his duty.

In physique he is spare of figure and vigorous in health. His features are strong; his nose prominent and well-shaped, his eyes gray and purposeful, with a twinkle ready to show on occasion; his lips thin, but breaking easily into a smile; his manner dignified and reserved, but always gracious. He has one hobby—study. He devotes spare time—when he has any—to reading works on law, government and history. If he has a moment's respite from duty, in his office, he frequently turns to Macaulay or some similar work, and reads for five or ten minutes, the book lying ready at hand on his desk.

Because he would be independent, and because his material resources have always been meagre, his manner of living has been marked with frugal simplicity.

He is not a communicant, but is a member of the governing board and attends regularly when at home the Edwards Congregational Church at Northampton, of which his wife and two sons are members. He is in hearty sympathy with but has never joined a fraternal society.

Because he would be independent, and because his material resources have always been meagre, his manner of living has been marked with frugal simplicity. His service at the State House requiring his presence in the city of Boston, which is more than one hundred miles from his home in Northampton, practically stopped his law practice, and being without means he has lived in large part upon his salary as a public officer. During the major part of his term as Lieutenant Governor and during all of his term as Governor he has been unable to give any attention to his law practice. Small quarters in a small unpretentious hotel in Boston has been sufficient for his simple, modest wants. He has devoted his entire energies to the office to

which the people of Massachusetts elected him, and has allowed no outside demands to interfere in the proper and full discharge of the duties of that office.

In 1919 he received from Amherst College, Tufts College and Williams College the honorary degree LL.D., and in 1920 a like degree from Wesleyan University, Bates College and the University of Vermont.,

He is the author of a volume entitled "Have Faith in Massachusetts."

Official Notification of Candidates

**ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE
OF MASSACHUSETTS**

**Notifying Senator Harding of His Nomination
for the Presidency**

Senator Harding, we are assembled here as a committee representing the States, Territories and possessions of the United States to make to you formal announcement of your nomination for the office of President of the Republic on June 12th last, at Chicago, by the Republican National Convention. This duty is to us as pleasing as it is honorable, but we are also deeply conscious of its far-reaching importance. We fully appreciate that what you say to us today will not only be read and pondered by all the American people within the confines of the United States, but also by all other civilized nations. Here today you will chart the course to be followed by the Republican party in the great electoral contest which lies before us and will declare your purposes and those of the party you lead when the authority of Government is once more committed to our keeping.

We await this declaration untroubled by any doubts and with the most entire confidence. All who are familiar with your character and career and most especially those who have taken part with you in public service know beyond a peradventure that you are a patriotic American, imbued with the spirit of the great leaders of the past, of Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt, whose services to the American people have become forever memorable in our history. You will always, and instinctively, in meeting the difficult questions and weighty responsibilities which confront you, think with complete unselfishness of your country and your country's interests first, a high qualification for an exalted office not too familiar to us of late and therefore peculiarly necessary at this moment. You will, we are certain, be ever faithful to the finest traditions of the Republican party and at the same time we are equally sure that you are wisely tolerant and open-minded, in sympathy with the best movements of the time, looking forward to the future and its needs, but never unmindful of the great basic principles upon which the builders of the Republic laid the foundation of our Government. Your public life has shown to us and all your fellow citizens that you believe in the system of Government designed by the framers of the Constitution. They established a rep-

representative democracy and had no sympathy with any scheme which would turn the Government of the United States into an autocracy based upon a plebiscite and with all the intervening representative features disregarded or effaced. You have abundantly shown your unwavering conviction that the government of the United States should be one of laws and not of men and that the three branches of that Government should all work together in the exercise of the powers conferred upon them severally by the Constitution, for the common purpose of advancing the general welfare of the people. The makers of the Constitution intended to coordinate the three great elements of Government and strove to guard against either usurpation or trespass by one branch at the expense of the other two. In that spirit, we all know well, you will enter upon your great responsibility.

Domestic and economic questions of extreme complexity and difficulty must be dealt with at once in such a way as to meet the needs of the time. We shall not attempt to discuss these questions in any detail, because we know that you will declare your policies in regard to them in accordance not only with the life-long principles of the Republican party, but also with the opinions recently declared by the Republican Convention at Chicago. It is not for us to enumerate them to you, for it is to you that we look to set forth the proper policies to be pursued by the Republican party both in the campaign and when charged with the responsibility of administration and legislation. Our immediate duty and that of all Republicans and all true Americans who are thinking of the problems and perils of the present and of the future is to give you such generous and complete support that when you take up the duties of the great office for which you have been nominated you will find a House and Senate in full sympathy with your purposes and ready to aid you in every way in carrying them to fulfillment.

The present situation however brings with it far-reaching questions of foreign policy to a degree never known in our previous history. At our own doors we have Mexico in a state of disorder and disintegration to which our Government has, unhappily, most liberally contributed. Here is a grave responsibility not to be evaded or escaped. We rightly insist upon the supremacy in the American Hemisphere of the Monroe doctrine, which was declared by us in order to guard the safety of the United States and save the New World so far as possible from the wars and misfortunes of the Old. We justly demand the abstention of Europe from any interference with American questions, but this doctrine of ours brings with it not only its benefits but its duties. The condition of Mexico, owing in large measure to the shortcomings of our government, could not well be worse, and we must make up our minds that we not only owe it to ourselves to protect there, as all over the world, American rights

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and interests so long neglected, but to reach out a helping hand to the Mexican people to the end that law and order may be established in that country which has been plunged into anarchy and cursed with continuous civil war. It is of the highest importance to the United States that Mexico should be both prosperous and peaceful, and we must face the fact that without our aid the Mexican people cannot properly or speedily bring about the improved conditions and the reign of law and peace, which, we are convinced, they desire as much as we do.

In defense of freedom and civilization and to vindicate our own invaded rights we entered upon the war with Germany, and although we were tardy in taking part in that great conflict, we came upon the field of action in time to turn the scale for right and liberty. Not content with aiding Europe to bring to pass the peace which all desired after victory was won, Mr. Wilson undertook to make us members of an alliance with foreign powers indefinite in extent and containing provisions which threatened the independence, the sovereignty and the safety of the United States. This effort on the part of the President was arrested by the action of the Republicans of the Senate who proposed protecting reservations which he defeated together with the treaty itself. In that work, you, sir, took a conspicuous part, and we know that you were in full accord with the belief of your Republican colleagues that the League of Nations as proposed by Mr. Wilson and upon which he and his party still insist ought never to be accepted by the American people. We have been and are quite ready to join in agreement with other nations, for the extension of the Hague Conventions; for the upbuilding and codification of international law and the establishment of a world court of justice; for international conferences in regard to non-justiciable questions, and for arrangements to bring about a general reduction of armaments. All these constructive measures are in accord with the traditional policy of the Republican party which has done so much in the past to forward the cause of international arbitration. But when we are called upon to become an integral part of a permanent alliance of foreign powers, to put ourselves in a position where the youth of the country can be summoned by foreign nations to fight and die in quarrels not their own, to entangle ourselves in all the conflicts and disputes of Europe where we have no interest, to permit foreign interference with our domestic questions and with the Monroe Doctrine, and to sit in an assembly where our vote is not the equal of that of every other country, we absolutely decline the proposition. We stand for the policies of Washington and the doctrine of Monroe, and against the internationalism and the permanent alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. If the world needs us as they needed us in 1917 we shall not fail in our duty, but we can help other nations far

better if we are free and untrammled and do not permit our strength and our resources to be wasted and worn away and the lives of our young men to be sacrificed in endless hostilities with which we have no concern. Such has been the policy of the Republican party as represented in the Senate and such its policy will remain. We are certain that you who helped so largely to frame this policy will, when the executive authority comes into your hands, carry it out in such manner that we can fulfill all our responsibilities to the world without binding ourselves by any obligations to a League which as submitted by the President is but another name for the evil combination which was attempted a hundred years ago by the ill-omened Holy Alliance.

No national campaign for the presidency has ever involved graver issues than this one, which now lies before us. Upon you, sir, will rest the great duty and heavy burden of executive authority. We look to you in full confidence to lead us and the people of our beloved country out from the darkness and confusion which the war has brought upon mankind into the light which shines upon a nation where peace reigns and the love of justice, of law and of order rules in the hearts of the people. Then we can again take up the work of advancing the United States along the broad road that leads to success, the road which we have followed for more than a century. Then indeed we shall not only rise to still loftier heights of achievement for ourselves, but be enabled to render the largest and finest service to humanity.

SENATOR HARDING'S REPLY

Chairman Lodge, Members of the Notification Committee, Members of the National Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The message which you have formally conveyed brings to me a realization of responsibility which is not underestimated. It is a supreme task to interpret the covenant of a great political party, the activities of which are so woven into the history of this Republic, and a very sacred and solemn undertaking to utter the faith and aspirations of the many millions who adhere to that party. The party platform has charted the way, yet, somehow, we have come to expect that interpretation which voices the faith of nominees who must assume specific tasks.

Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning: I believe in party sponsorship in government. I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not. In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions. Parties

are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this Republic a dependable and enduring popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties, not only the preserving sponsors, but the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

Popular government has been an inspiration of liberty since the dawn of civilizations. Republics have risen and fallen, and a transition from party to personal government has preceded every failure since the world began. Under the Constitution we have the charted way to security and perpetuity. We know it gave to us the safe path to a developing eminence which no people in the world ever rivalled. It has guaranteed the rule of intelligent, deliberate public opinion expressed through parties. Under this plan, a masterful leadership becomingly may manifest its influence, but a people's will still remains the supreme authority.

The American achievement under the plan of the fathers is nowhere disputed. On the contrary, the American example has been the model of every republic which glorifies the progress of liberty, and is everywhere the leaven of representative democracy which has expanded human freedom. It has been wrought through party government.

No man is big enough to run this great Republic. There never has been one. Such domination was never intended. Tranquillity, stability, dependability—all are assured in party sponsorship, and we mean to renew the assurances which were rended in the cataclysmal war.

It was not surprising that we went far afield from safe and prescribed paths amid the war anxieties. There was the unfortunate tendency before; there was the surrender of Congress to the growing assumption of the executive before the world-war imperilled all the practices we had learned to believe in; and in the war emergency every safeguard was swept away. In the name of democracy we established autocracy. We are not complaining at this extraordinary bestowal or assumption in war, it seemed temporarily necessary; our alarm is over the failure to restore the constitutional methods when the war emergency ended.

Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the Constitution, through the agency of the Republican Party. Our vision includes more than a Chief Executive; we believe in a Cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the Vice-President, second official of the Republic, shall be asked to participate. The same vision includes a cordial understanding and co-ordi-

nated activities with a House of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial co-operation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional Government. The resumption of the Senate's authority saved to this Republic its independent nationality, when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

It is not difficult, Chairman Lodge, to make ourselves clear on the question of international relationship. We Republicans of the Senate, conscious of our solemn oaths and mindful of our constitutional obligations, when we saw the structure of a world super-government taking visionary form, joined in a becoming warning of our devotion to this Republic. If the torch of constitutionalism had not been dimmed, the delayed peace of the world and the tragedy of disappointment and Europe's misunderstanding of America easily might have been avoided. The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence, which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our Party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered.

The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this Republic to world civilization. There is no hate in the American heart. We have no envy, no suspicion, no aversion for any people in the world. We hold to our rights, and mean to defend, aye, we mean to sustain the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun. Yet there is the concord of amity and sympathy and fraternity in every resolution. There is a genuine aspiration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

More we believe the unspeakable sorrows, the immeasurable sacrifices, the awakened convictions and the aspiring conscience of human kind must commit the nations of the earth to a new and better relationship. It need not be discussed now what motives plunged the world into war; it need not be inquired whether we asked the sons of this Republic to defend our national rights, as I believe we did, or to purge the old world of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed, the sacrifices will be in vain if we cannot acclaim a new order, with added security to civilization and peace maintained.

One may readily sense the conscience of our America. I am sure I understand the purpose of the dominant group of the Senate. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration, we were resolved to safeguard America. We were resolved then, even as we are today, and will be tomorrow, to preserve this free and independent Republic.

Let those now responsible, or seeking responsibility, propose the surrender, whether with interpretations, apologies or reluctant reservations—from which our rights are to be omitted—we welcome the referendum to the American people on the preservation of America, and the Republican Party pledges its defense of the preserved inheritance of national freedom.

In the call of the conscience of America is peace, peace that closes the gaping wound of world war, and silences the impassioned voices of international envy and distrust. Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

I can hear in the call of conscience an insistent voice for the largely reduced armaments throughout the world, with attending reduction of burdens upon peace-loving humanity. We wish to give of American influence and example; we must give of American leadership to that invaluable accomplishment.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspirations and the Republican committal for an association of nations, co-operating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

This Republic can never be unmindful of its power, and must never forget the force of its example. Possessor of might that admits no fear, America must stand foremost for the right. If the mistaken voice of America, spoken in unheeding haste, led Europe, in the hour of deepest anxiety, into a military alliance which menaces peace and threatens all freedom, instead of adding to their security, then we must speak the truth for America and express our hope for the fraternized conscience of nations.

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the League Covenant, which was conceived for world super-government, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intolerantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected it when such safeguards were inserted. If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the League compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be

shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world.

No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

When the compact was being written, I do not know whether Europe asked or ambition insistently bestowed. It was so good to rejoice in the world's confidence in our unselfishness that I can believe our evident disinterestedness inspired Europe's wish for our association, quite as much as the selfish thought of enlisting American power and resources. Ours is an outstanding, influential example to the world, whether we cloak it in spoken modesty or magnify it in exaltation. We want to help; we mean to help; but we hold to our own interpretation of the American conscience as the very soul of our nationality.

Disposed as we are, the way is very simple. Let the failure attending assumption, obstinacy, impracticability and delay be recognized, and let us find the big, practical, unselfish way to do our part, neither covetous because of ambition nor hesitant through fear, but ready to serve ourselves, humanity and God. With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant but offering friendship to all the world.

If men call for more specific details, I remind them that moral committals are broad and all-inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own viewpoint the program is specifically American, and we mean to be American first, to all the world.

Appraising preserved nationality as the first essential to the continued progress of the Republic, there is linked with it the supreme necessity of the restoration—let us say the revelation—of the Constitution, and our reconstruction as an industrial nation. Here is the transcending task. It concerns our common weal at home and will decide our future eminence in the world. More than these, this Republic, under constitutional liberties, has given to mankind the most fortunate conditions for human activity and attainment the world has ever noted, and we are today the world's reserve force in the great

contest for liberty through security, and maintained equality of opportunity and its righteous rewards.

It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restless, much of the world is in revolution, the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great Red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law, and it is ours to call the Sons of Opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences, and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil, and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition.

When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of inspiration, and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common sense truths of human development.

The chief trouble today is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibilities that mark this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage-earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the Republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission. We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings,

disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground, and fortify it with general good-fortune.

Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

The human element comes first, and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the Republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the viewpoint of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less, in fact, than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to re-establish God's plan for the great tomorrow.

Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people, mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government, with liberty under the law, to be our avoidance of chaos, and we call upon every citizen of the Republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

The menacing tendency of the present day is not chargeable wholly to the unsettled and fevered conditions caused by the war. The manifest weakness in popular government lies in the temptation to appeal to grouped citizenship for political advantage. There is no greater peril. The Constitution contemplates no class and recognizes no group. It broadly includes all the people, with specific

recognition for none, and the highest consecration we can make today is a committal of the Republican Party to that saving constitutionalism which contemplates all America as one people, and holds just government free from influence on the one hand and unmoved by intimidation on the other.

It would be the blindness of folly to ignore the activities in our own country which are aimed to destroy our economic system, and to commit us to the colossal tragedy which has both destroyed all freedom and made Russia impotent. This movement is not to be halted in throttled liberties. We must not abridge the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, or the freedom of assembly, because there is no promise in repression. These liberties are as sacred as the freedom of religious belief, as inviolable as the rights of life and the pursuit of happiness. We do hold to the right to crush sedition, to stifle a menacing contempt for law, to stamp out a peril to the safety of the Republic or its people, when emergency calls, because security and the majesty of the law are the first essentials of liberty. He who threatens destruction of the Government by force or flaunts his contempt for lawful authority, ceases to be a loyal citizen and forfeits his rights to the freedom of the Republic.

Let it be said to all of America that our plan of popular government contemplates such orderly changes as the crystallized intelligence of the majority of our people think best. There can be no modification of this underlying rule, but no majority shall abridge the rights of a minority. Men have a right to question our system in fullest freedom, but they must always remember that the rights of freedom impose the obligations which maintain it. Our policy is not of repression, but we make appeal today to American intelligence and patriotism, when the Republic is menaced from within, just as we trusted American patriotism when our rights were threatened from without.

We call on all America for steadiness, so that we may proceed deliberately to the readjustment which concerns all the people. Our party platform fairly expresses the conscience of Republicans on industrial relations. No party is indifferent to the welfare of the wage-earner. To us his good fortune is of deepest concern, and we seek to make that good fortune permanent. We do not oppose but approve collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. Any American has the right to quit his employment, so has every American the right to seek employment. The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that government's obligations are alike to all the people.

I hope we may do more than merely discourage the losses and sufferings attending industrial conflict. The strike against the Government is properly denied, for Government service involves none of the elements of profit which relate to competitive enterprise. There is progress in the establishment of official revelation of issues and conditions which lead to conflict, so that unerring public sentiment may speed the adjustment, but I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity.

I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges. For public protection we have enacted laws providing for a regulation of the charge for service, a limitation on the capital invested and a limitation on capital's earnings. There remains only competition of service, on which to base our hopes for an efficiency and expansion which meet our modern requirements. The railway workmen ought to be the best paid and know the best working conditions in the world. Theirs is an exceptional responsibility. They are not only essential to the life and health and all productive activities of the people, but they are directly responsible for the safety of traveling millions. The government which has assumed so much authority for the public good might well stamp railway employment with the sanctity of public service and guarantee to the railway employees that justice which voices the American conception of righteousness on the one hand, and assures continuity of service on the other.

The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insufficiency and inefficiency of transportation are due to the withering hand of government operation that we emphasize anew our opposition to government ownership; we want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.

It is little use to recite the story of development, exploitation, government experiment and its neglect, government operation and its failures. The inadequacy of trackage and terminal facilities, the insufficiency of equipment and the inefficiency of operation—all bear the blighting stamp of governmental incapacity during Federal operation. The work of rehabilitation under the restoration of private ownership deserves our best encouragement. Billions are needed in new equipment, not alone to meet the growing demand for service, but to restore the extraordinary depreciation due to the strained service of war. With restricted earnings, and with speculative profits removed, railway activities have come to the realm of conservative and constructive service, and the government which impaired must play its part in restoration. Manifestly the returns must be so gauged

that necessary capital may be enlisted, and we must foster as well as restrain.

We have no more pressing problem. A state of inadequate transportation facilities, mainly chargeable to the failure of governmental experiment, is losing millions to agriculture, it is hindering industry, it is menacing the American people with a fuel shortage little less than a peril. It emphasizes the present-day problem, and suggests that spirit of encouragement and assistance which commits all America to relieve such an emergency.

The one compensation amid attending anxieties is our new and needed realization of the vital part transportation plays in the complexities of modern life. We are not to think of rails alone, but highways from farm to market, from railway to farm, arteries of life-blood to present-day life, the quickened ways to communication and exchange, the answer of our people to the motor age. We believe in generous federal co-operation in construction, linked with assurances of maintenance that will put an end to criminal waste of public funds on the one hand and give a guaranty of upkept highways on the other.

Water transportation is inseparably linked with adequacy of facilities, and we favor American eminence on the seas, the practical development of inland waterways, the upbuilding and co-ordination of all to make them equal to and ready for every call of developing and widening American commerce. I like that recommittal to thoughts of America first which pledges the Panama Canal, an American creation, to the free use of American shipping. It will add to the American reawakening.

One cannot speak of industry and commerce, and the transportation on which they are dependent, without an earnest thought of the abnormal cost of living and the problems in its wake. It is easy to inveigh, but that avails nothing. And it is far too serious to dismiss with flaming but futile promises.

Eight years ago, in times of peace, the Democratic Party made it an issue, and when clothed with power that party came near to its accomplishment by destroying the people's capacity to buy. But that was a cure worse than the ailment. It is easy to understand the real causes, after which the patient must help to effect his own cure.

Gross expansion of currency and credit have depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. We inflated in haste, we must deflate in deliberation. We debased the dollar in reckless finance, we must restore in honesty. Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the 100-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice, but plans

were lacking or courage failed. The unpreparedness for peace was little less costly than unpreparedness for war.

We can promise no one remedy which will cure an ill of such wide proportions, but we do pledge that earnest and consistent attack which the party platform covenants. We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at government borrowing which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity. We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance, and the renewal of the practice of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens, but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

I have already alluded to the necessity for the fullness of production, and we need the fullness of service which attends the exchange of products. Let us speak the irrefutable truth—high wages and reduced cost of living are in utter contradiction unless we have the height of efficiency for wages received.

In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills.

Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice, if need be, for a nation-wide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommittal to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the Republic. There hasn't been a recovery from the waste and abnormalities of war since the story of mankind was first written, except through work and saving, through industry and denial, while needless spending and heedless extravagance have marked every decay in the history of nations. Give the assurance of that rugged simplicity of American life which marked the first century of amazing development, and this generation may underwrite a second century of surpassing accomplishment.

The Republican Party was founded by farmers, with the sensitive conscience born of their freedom and their simple lives. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence, and it has ever been our policy purpose and performance, to protect and promote that essential industry.

New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a new and forward-looking program. The American farmer had a hundred and twenty millions to feed in the home market, and heard the cry of the world for food and answered it, though he faced an appalling task, amid handicaps never encountered before.

In the rise of price levels there have come increased appraisals to his acres without adding to their value in fact, but which do add to his taxes and expenses without enhancing his returns. His helpers have yielded to the lure of shop and city, until, almost alone, he has met and borne the burden of the only insistent attempts to force down prices. It challenges both the wisdom and the justice of artificial drives on prices to recall that they were effective almost solely against his products in the hands of the producer, and never effective against the same products in passing to the consumer. Contemplating the defenselessness of the individual farmer to meet the organized buyers of his products, and the distributors of the things the farmer buys I hold that farmers should not only be permitted but encouraged to join in co-operative association to reap the just measure of reward merited by their arduous toil. Let us facilitate co-operation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban world so little understands, and a like co-operation to market their products as directly as possible with the consumer, in the interests of all. Upon such association and co-operation should be laid only such restrictions as will prevent arbitrary control of our food supply and the fixing of extortionate price upon it.

Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective expression in law and practice. We will hail that co-operation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.

America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity, either through the Government's neglect or its paralysis by socialistic practices. A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

Becomingly associated with this subject are the policies of irrigation and reclamation, so essential to agricultural expansion, and the continued development of the great and wonderful West. It is our purpose to continue and enlarge Federal aid, not in sectional partiality, but for the good of all America. We hold to that harmony of relationship between conservation and development which fittingly appraises our natural resources and makes them available to developing America of today, and still holds to the conserving thought for the America of tomorrow.

The Federal Government's relation to reclamation and development is too important to admit of ample discussion today. Alaska, alone, is rich in resources beyond all imagination, and needs only closer linking, through the lines of transportation, and a government policy that both safeguards and encourages development, to speed it to a foremost position as a commonwealth, rugged in citizenship and rich in materialized resources.

These things I can only mention. Within becoming limits one cannot say more. Indeed, for the present, many questions of vast importance must be hastily passed, reserving a fuller discussion to suitable occasion as the campaign advances.

I believe the budget system will effect a necessary, helpful reformation, and reveal business methods to government business.

I believe Federal department should be made more business-like and send back to productive effort thousands of Federal employees, who are either duplicating work or not essential at all.

I believe in the protective tariff policy and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

I believe in a great merchant marine—I would have this Republic the leading maritime nation of the world.

I believe in a navy ample to protect it, and able to assure us dependable defense.

I believe in a small army, but best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

I believe in our eminence in trade abroad, which the Government should aid in expanding, both in revealing markets and speeding cargoes.

I believe in established standards for immigration, which are concerned with the future citizenship of the republic, not with mere manpower in industry.

I believe that every man who dons the garb of American citizenship and walks in the light of American opportunity, must become American in heart and soul.

I believe in holding fast to every forward step in unshackling child-labor and elevating conditions of woman's employment.

I believe the Federal Government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America.

I believe the Federal Government should give its effective aid in solving the problem of ample and becoming housing of its citizenship.

I believe this Government should make its Liberty and Victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them.

I believe the tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised to the needs of peace, and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden.

I believe the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battle-fields of the Republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands.

I believe there is an easy and open path to righteous relationship with Mexico. It has seemed to me that our undeveloped, uncertain and infirm policy has made us a culpable party to the governmental misfortunes in that land. Our relations ought to be both friendly and sympathetic; we would like to acclaim a stable government there, and offer a neighborly hand in pointing the way to greater progress. It will be simple to have a plain and neighborly understanding, merely an understanding about respecting our borders, about protecting the lives and possessions of Americans citizens lawfully within the Mexican dominions. There must be that understanding, else there can be no recognition, and then the understanding must be faithfully kept.

Many of these declarations deserve a fuller expression, with some suggestions of plans to emphasize the faith. Such expression will follow in due time, I promise you.

I believe in law-enforcement. If elected I mean to be a constitutional President, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinkable to evade the law, when our every committal is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is divided opinion respecting the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws enacted to make it operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law-enforcement.

Neither government nor party can afford to cheat the American people. The laws of Congress must harmonize with the Constitution, else they soon are adjudged to be void; Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of the Government is charged with enforcement. We cannot nullify because of divided opinion, we cannot jeopardize orderly government with contempt for law-enforcement. Modification or repeal is the right of a free people whenever the deliberate and intelligent public sentiment commands, but perversion and evasion mark the paths to the failure of government itself.

Though not in any partisan sense, I must speak of the services of the men and women who rallied to the colors of the Republic in the World War. America realizes and appreciates the services rendered, the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured. There shall be no distinction between those who knew the perils and glories of the battle-front or the dangers of the sea, and those who were compelled to serve behind the lines, or those who constituted the great reserve of a grand army which awaited the call in camps at home.

All were brave, all were sacrificing, all were sharers of those ideals which sent our boys thrice-armed to war. Worthy sons and daughters, these, fit successors to those who christened our banners in the immortal beginning, worthy sons of those who saved the Union and nationality when Civil War wiped the ambiguity from the Constitution, ready sons of those who drew the sword for humanity's sake the first time in the world, in 1898.

The four million defenders on land and sea were worthy of the best traditions of a people never warlike in peace and never pacifist in war. They commanded our pride, they have our gratitude, which must have genuine expression. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege, to see that the sacrifices made shall be requited, and that those still suffering from casualties and disabilities shall be abundantly aided, and restored to the highest capabilities of citizenship and its enjoyment.

The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration, and the potent uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. Insofar as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction, I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed State vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction this tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship, and give to the best in the Republic their suffrage and support.

Much has been said of late about world ideals, but I prefer to think of the ideal for America. I like to think there is something more than the patriotism and practical wisdom of the founding fathers. It is good to believe that maybe destiny held this New

World Republic to be the supreme example of representative democracy and orderly liberty by which humanity is inspired to higher achievement. It is idle to think we have attained perfection, but there is the satisfying knowledge that we hold orderly processes for making our government reflect the heart and mind of the Republic. Ours is not only a fortunate people but a very common-sensical people, with vision high, but their feet on the earth, with belief in themselves and faith in God. Whether enemies threaten from without or menaces arise from within, there is some indefinable voice saying, "Have confidence in the Republic! America will go on!"

Here is a temple of liberty no storms may shake, here are the altars of freedom no passions shall destroy. It was American in conception, American in its building, it shall be American in the fulfillment. Sectional once, we are all American now, and we mean to be all Americans to all the world.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations, or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul and mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause. I can only pray to the Omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose. One can not give more.

Mindful of the vast responsibilities, I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. With an unalterable faith and in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God, and accept the nomination of the Republican Party for the Presidency of the United States.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR EDWIN P. MORROW OF KENTUCKY

Notifying Gov. Coolidge of His Nomination for the Vice-Presidency

Governor Coolidge:

As a committee representing the Republican Party, we are here to discharge the altogether pleasing and honorable duty of giving you formal notification of your nomination by the Republican Party for the high office of Vice-President of the Republic. This nomination is tendered you as the spontaneous and overwhelming wish of your party. The West called to the East—North and South heard the call, and the Nation made answer. The Republic has faith in Massachusetts, and its sons and daughters have full and unswerving confidence in the known character, demonstrated capacity, and the tried and proven courage of Massachusetts chief executive.

We are met on sacred soil—hallowed by the memory of sacrifice and service in the cause of liberty, the formation of representative government, and the establishment and perpetuation of our free institutions. Today, as children of the heritage, we make grateful acknowledgment to the old State that gave to the annals of freedom Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill and Boston Commons. In this hour so vital to our future as a great free people—in this hour of strange beliefs and far, far driftings from the old known landmarks of national policy, it is altogether well and peculiarly fitting that here at this fountain of American inspiration we, who hold all from those who gave all, should rededicate and reconsecrate “our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor” to the preservation of those principles with which, and for which, the nation was born, and that we solemnly determine that the heritage which has made us free, independent and prosperous shall not be bartered for a mess of unknown pottage.

Sir, you are called to serve your country in a time of your country's need. At home grave economic, industrial, social and governmental problems have too long in the past, and now continue to, press for and demand solution, and upon their proper solution depends the prosperity, security, commercial and financial welfare of our people. But, confronted at home with high duties and most serious responsibilities, the present

national administration, entrusted with the great powers of government, has halted and hesitated and blundered, while it bent all of its energies and all of its stubborn determination upon the task of fastening upon our country all of the ills of the world. The President and all those who in the past have bowed to his will, and he whom he has covered with his mantle, committed to his policies, and whom he now seeks to place in his stead, have for more than a year, and now, seek to strip us of our nationalism, by clothing the Nation in the multicolored garments of internationalism, to take from us our sovereignty by surrendering to a super-sovereignty—and so, through a League of Nations to bind us to the blood feuds of Europe, to make us the guarantors of shifting, vanishing boundary-lines to the ends of earth, and to involve us in the greed and strife and confusion of the old world. In such a time, and with such issues confronting us, you are called to the co-leadership of a great party. In you is reposed the confidence of your fellow citizens—the full trust of patriotic men and women who believe in your unswerving devotion to America, and in your capacity to lead the fight of the right for the preservation of representative government under the charter of our ancient liberties, and who believe that when entrusted with great power you will seek always and everywhere the restoration of prosperity, confidence, and certainty at home, and the maintenance of national honor, and dignity abroad. In the coming campaign, and in the administration to follow, you are to serve as the altogether worthy and acceptable associate of our party's leader. He has spoken clearly, bravely and convincingly. His voice rings now like a bugle through the land. We now await your message, convinced that it will be in full accord with the time-honored, time-proven policies of the Republican Party, and that it will proclaim our party's principles of service to the Nation and its people. When you have spoken, America will know that Captain and Mate have turned the old Ship of State from her wanderings,—Home—Home to the needs of the hour—Home to keep all and to save all that the past gave, and which the future promises,—Home to solve our problems here, and to fulfill as we have always done, our full share of world responsibility. Wishing you God-speed on this voyage throughout the land, today millions of patriots with one accord, exclaim:

“In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore;
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers and cheers,
Are all with thee, are all with thee.”

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE'S REPLY

Governor Morrow and Members of the Notification Committee:

To your now formal notification I respond with formal acceptance. Your presence tells me of a leader and a cause; a leader in Warren G. Harding, the united choice of a united party, a statesman of ability, seasoned by experience, a fitting representative of the common aspirations of his fellow citizens, wise enough to seek counsel, great enough to recognize merit, and in all things a stalwart American; the cause of our common country, as declared in the platform of the Republican Party, the defence of our institutions from every assault, the restoration of constitutional government, the maintenance of law and order, the relief of economic distress, the encouragement of industry and agriculture, the enactment of humanitarian laws, the defence of the rights of our citizens everywhere, the rehabilitation of this nation in the estimation of all peoples, under an agreement, meeting our every duty, to preserve the peace of the world, always with unyielding Americanism—under such a leader, such a cause, I serve.

No one in public life can be oblivious to the organized efforts to undermine the faith of our people in their government, foment, discord, aggravate industrial strife, stifle production, and ultimately stir up revolution. These efforts are a great public menace, not through danger of success, but through the great amount of harm they can do if ignored. The first duty of the government is to repress them, punishing wilful violations of law, turning the full light of publicity on all abuses of the right of assembly and of free speech; and it is the first duty of the public and press to expose false doctrines and answer seditious arguments. American institutions can stand discussion and criticism, only if those who know bear for them the testimony of the truth. Such repression and such testimony should be forthcoming, that the uninformed may come to a full realization that these seditious efforts are not for their welfare, but for their complete economic and political destruction.

To a free people the most reactionary experience, short of revolution, is war. In order to organize and conduct military operations a reversion to an autocratic method of government is absolutely necessary. In our own case it was no less autocratic because voluntarily established by the people. It was a wise and successful process for the purpose of winning the victory of freedom, to which all else was a secondary consideration. But voluntary autocracy was established temporarily that freedom might be established permanently. Men submitted their persons and their property to the complete dictation of the government that they might conquer an impending peril.

This has always been fraught with the gravest dangers. It is along this path that rides the man on horseback. Avarice for power finds many

reasons for continuing arbitrary action after the cause for which it was granted has been removed.

The government of the United States was not established for the continued prosecution, or the perpetual preparation, of all its resources for war. It has been and intends to be a nation devoted to the arts of peace. Fundamentally considered, its abiding purpose has been the recognition of the rights and the development of the individual. This great purpose has been accomplished through self-government. To the individual has been left power and responsibility, the foundation for the rule of the people. In time of emergency these are surrendered to the government in return for providing the necessities of life, and national safety. But these are and must be temporary expedients, if we are to keep our form of government, and maintain the supreme purpose of Americans.

The greatest need of the nation at the present time is to be rescued from all the reactions of the war. The chief task that lies before us is to repossess the people of their government and their property. We want to return to a thoroughly peace basis because that is the fundamental American basis. Unless the government and property of the nation are in the hands of the people, and there to stay as their permanent abiding place, self-government ends and the hope of America goes down in ruins. This need is transcendent.

The government of the nation is in the hands of the people, when it is administered in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, which they have adopted and ratified, and which measures the powers they have granted to their public officers, in all its branches, where the functions and duties of the three co-ordinate branches, executive, legislative, judicial, are separate and distinct and neither one directly or indirectly exercises any of the functions of either of the others. Such a practice and such a government under the Constitution of the United States it is the purpose of our party to re-establish and maintain. All authority must be exercised by those to whom it is constitutionally entrusted, without dictation, and with responsibility only to those who have bestowed it, the people.

The property of the nation is in the hands of the people when it is under their ownership and control. It is true that the control of a part of the property taken for war purposes has been returned, but there hangs over private enterprise still the menace of seizure, blighting in its effect, paralyzing in its result, to the public detriment. But it matters not whether property can be taken by seizure, or through the process of taxation for extravagant and unnecessary expenditures, there should be an end to both operations. The reason is plain. Ultimately the control of the resources of the people is control of the people. Either the people must own the government or the government will own the people. To

sustain a government of the people there must be maintained a property of the people. There can be no political independence without economic independence.

Another source of the gravest public concern has been the reactionary tendency to substitute private will for the public will. Instead of inquiring what the law was and then rendering it full obedience, there has been a disposition on the part of some individuals and of groups to inquire whether they liked the law, and if not, to disregard it, seek to override it, suspend it, and prevent its execution, sometimes by the method of direct action, for the purpose of securing their own selfish ends.

The observance of the law is the greatest solvent of public ills. Men speak of natural rights, but I challenge any one to show where in nature any rights ever existed or were recognized until there was established for their declaration and protection a duly promulgated body of corresponding laws. The march of civilization has been ever under the protecting aegis of the law. It is the strong defence of the weak, the ever-present refuge of innocence, a mighty fortress of the righteous. One with the law is a majority. While the law is observed the progress of civilization will continue. When such observance ceases, chaos and the ancient night of despotism will come again. Liberty goes unsupported or relies in its entirety on the maintenance of order and the execution of the law.

There is yet another manifest disposition which has preyed on the weakness of the race from its infancy, denounced alike by the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and repugnant to all that is American, the attempt to create class distinctions. In its full development this means the caste system, wherein such civilization as exists is rigidly set, and that elasticity so necessary for progress, and that recognition of equality which has been the aim and glory of our institutions, are destroyed and denied. Society to advance must be not a dead form but a living organism, plastic, inviting progress. There are no classes here. There are different occupations and different stations, certainly there can be no class of employer and employed. All true Americans are working for each other, exchanging the results of the efforts of hand and brain wrought through the unconsumed efforts of yesterday, which we call capital, all paying and being paid by each other, serving and being served. To do otherwise is to stand disgraced and alien to our institutions. This means that government must look at the part in the light of the whole, that legislation must be directed not for private interest but for public welfare, and that thereby alone will each of our citizens find their greatest accomplishment and success.

If the great conflict has disturbed our political conditions it has caused an upheaval in our economic relations. The mounting prices of

all sorts of commodities has put a well nigh unbearable burden on every home. Much of this is beyond relief from law, but forces of the government can and must afford a considerable remedy.

The most obvious place to begin retrenching is by eliminating the extravagance of the government itself. In this the Congress has made a commendable beginning, but although the Congress makes the appropriations, the departments make the expenditures which are not under legislative but executive control. The extravagant standards bred of recent years must be eliminated. This should show immediately in reduced taxation. The great breeder of public and private extravagance, the excess profits tax, should be revised and recourse had to customs taxes on imports, one of the most wholesome of all means of raising revenue, for it is voluntary in effect, and taxes consumption rather than production. It should be laid according to the needs of a creditor nation, for the protection of the public, with a purpose to render us both economically and defensively independent.

A revision of taxation must be accompanied with a reduction of that private extravagance which the returns from luxury taxes reveal as surpassing all comprehension. Waiving the moral effect, the economic effect of such extravagance is to withdraw needed capital and labor from essential industries, greatly increasing the public distress and unrest.

There has been profiteering. It should be punished because it is wrong. But it is idle to look to such action for relief. This class profit by scarcity, but they do not cause it.

As every one knows now, the difficulty is caused by a scarcity of material, an abundance of money, and insufficient production. The government must reduce the amount of money as fast as it can without curtailing necessary credits. Production must be increased. All easy to say but difficult of accomplishment.

One of the chief hindrances to production is lack of adequate railroad facilities. Transportation must be re-established. A few glaring instances in the past of improper management joined with an improper public attitude thereby created, wrought great harm to our railroads. Government operation left them disintegrated, disorganized, and demoralized. On their service depends agriculture and industry, the entire public welfare. They must be provided with credit and capital and given the power to serve. This can only be done by removing them from speculation, restoring their prosperity by increased revenues where necessary, thereby re-establishing them in the confidence of the investing public. Their employees must be compensated in accordance with the great importance of the service they render. The whole railroad operation must be restored to public confidence by public support.

There must be a different public attitude toward industry, a larger comprehension of the interdependence of capital, management, and labor,

and better facilities for the prompt and reasonable adjustment of industrial disputes. It is well to remember, too, that high prices produce their own remedy under the law of supply and demand. Already in the great leather and woolen industries there is a recession in the basic elements which must soon be reflected in retail prices. When buying stops prices come down.

This condition has borne with especial severity on the agricultural interests of the nation. To cope with it the farmers need an enlarged power of organization whereby the original producer may profit to a larger degree by the high prices paid for his produce by the ultimate consumer, and at the same time decrease the cost of food. The economic strength of a country rests on the farm. Industrial activity is dependent upon it. It replenishes the entire life of the nation. Agriculture is entitled to be suitably rewarded and on its encouragement and success will depend upon the production of a food supply large enough to meet the public needs at reasonable cost.

But all these difficulties depend for final solution on the character and moral force of the nation. Unless these forces abound and manifest themselves in work done there is no real remedy.

There has been a great deal of misconception as to what was won by the victory in France. That victory will not be found to be a substitute for further human effort and endeavor. It did not create magic resources out of which wages could be paid that were not earned, or profits be made without corresponding service, it did not overcome any natural law, it did conquer an artificial thralldom sought to be imposed on mankind and establish for all the earth a new freedom and a larger liberty. But that does not, cannot, mean less responsibility, it means more responsibility, and until the people of this nation understand and accept this increased responsibility and meet it with increased effort there will be no relief from the present economic burdens.

In all things a return to a peace basis does not mean the basis of 1914. That day is gone. It means a peace basis of the present, higher, nobler, because of the sacrifices made and the duties assumed. It is not a retreat, it is a new summons to advance.

Diminishing resources warn us of the necessity of conservation. The public domain is the property of the public. It is held in trust for present and future generations. The material resources of our country are great, very great, but they are not inexhaustible. They are becoming more and more valuable and more and more necessary to the public welfare. It is not wise either to withhold water power, reservoir sites, and mineral deposits from development or to deny a reasonable profit to such operations. But these natural resources are not to be turned over to speculation to the detriment of the public. Such a policy would soon remove these resources from public control and the result would be that

soon the people would be paying tribute to private greed. Conservation does not desire to retard development. It permits it and encourages it. It is a desire honestly to administer the public domain. The time has passed when public franchises and public grants can be used for private speculation.

Whenever in the future this nation undertakes to assess its strength and resources, the largest item will be the roll of those who served her in every patriotic capacity in the world war. There are those who bore the civil tasks of that great undertaking, often at heavy sacrifices, always with the disinterested desire to serve their country. There are those who wore the uniform. The presence of the living, the example of the dead, will ever be a standing guaranty of the stability of our republic. From their rugged virtue springs a never-ending obligation to hold unimpaired the principles established by their victory. Honor is theirs forevermore.

Duty compels that those promises, so freely made, that out of their sacrifices they should have a larger life, be speedily redeemed. Care of dependents, relief from distress, restoration from infirmity, provision for education, honorable preferment in the public service, a helping hand everywhere, are theirs not as a favor but by right. They have conquered the claim to suitable recognition in all things. The nation which forgets its defenders will be itself forgotten.

Our country has a heart as well as a head. It is social as well as individual. It has a broad and extending sympathy. It looks with the deepest concern to the welfare of those whom adversity still holds at the gateways of the all-inclusive American opportunity. Conscious that our resources have now reached a point where there is an abundance for all, we are determined that no imposition shall hereafter restrain the worthy their heritage. There will be, can be, no escape from the obligation of the strong to bear the burdens of civilization, but the weak must be aided to become strong. Ample opportunity for education at public expense, reasonable hours of employment always under sanitary conditions, a fair and always a living wage for faithful work, healthful living conditions, childhood and motherhood, cherished, honored, rescued from the grasp of all selfishness and rededicated to the noblest aspiration of the race, these are not socialistic vagaries but the mark of an advancing American civilization, revealed in larger social justice, tempered with an abounding mercy. In this better appreciation of humanity the war carried the nation forward to a new position, which it is our solemn duty not only to maintain but amplify and extend.

There is especially due to the colored race a more general recognition of their constitutional rights. Tempted with disloyalty they remained loyal, serving in the military forces with distinction, obedient to the draft to the extent of hundreds of thousands, investing \$1 out of every \$5 they

possessed in Liberty Bonds, surely they hold the double title of citizenship, by birth and by conquest, to be relieved from all imposition, to be defended from lynching, and to be freely granted equal opportunities.

Equal suffrage for which I have always voted is coming. It is not a party question, although nearly six-sevenths of the ratifying legislatures have been Republican. The Party stands pledged to use its endeavor to hasten ratification, which I trust will be at once accomplished.

There are many domestic questions which I cannot discuss here, their solution is amply revealed in the platform, such as merchant marine, an adequate army and navy, the establishment of a Department of Public Works, support of the classified civil service laws, provision for public waterways and highways, a budget system and other equally pressing subjects. I am not unmindful of their deep importance.

The foreign relations of our country ought not to be partisan, but American. If restored to the limitations of constitutional authority on the one hand, and to the protection of the constitutional rights of our citizens on the other, much of their present difficulty would disappear. There can be no sovereignty without a corresponding duty. It is fundamental that each citizen is entitled to the equal protection of the laws. That goes with his citizenship and abides where he lawfully abides, whether at home or abroad. This inherent right must be restored to our people and observed by our government. The persons and property of Americans, wherever they may lawfully be, while lawfully engaged, must forever have protection sufficient to insure their safety and cause the punishment of all who violate it. This is theirs as a plain constitutional duty. A government disregarding it invites the contempt of the world and is on the way to humiliation and war. Rejecting the rule of law is accepting the sword of force.

The country cannot be securely restored to a peace basis in anything until a peace is first made with those with whom we have been at war. The Republicans in Congress, realizing that because of the necessary reliance of one nation on another, there was, more than ever before, mutual need of the sustaining influence of friendly co-operation and rapprochement, twice attempted the establishment of such peace by offers of ratification, which were rejected by the Democratic administration. No one knows now whether war or peace prevails. Our Party stands pledged to make an immediate peace as soon as it is given power by the people.

The proposed League of Nations without reservations as submitted by the President to the Senate met with deserved opposition from the Republican Senators. To a League in that form, subversive of the traditions and the independence of America, the Republican Party is opposed. But our Party by the record of its members in the Senate and by the solemn declaration of its platform, by performance and by promise, ap-

proves the principle of agreement, among nations to preserve peace, and pledges itself to the making of such an agreement, preserving American independence, and rights, as will meet every duty America owes to humanity.

This language is purposely broad, not exclusive but inclusive. The Republican Party is not narrow enough to limit itself to one idea, but wise and broad enough to provide for the adoption of the best plan that can be devised at the time of action. The Senate received a concrete proposition, utterly unacceptable without modifications, which the Republican Senators effected by reservations, and so modified twice voted for ratification, which the Democratic administration twice defeated. The platform approves this action of the Senators. The Republicans insisted on reservations which limit. The Democratic platform and record permit only of reservations unessential and explanatory.

We have been taking counsel together concerning the welfare of America. We have spent much time discussing the affairs of government, yet most of the great concourse of people around me hold no public office, expect to hold no public office. Still in solemn truth they are the government, they are America. We shall search in vain in legislative halls, executive mansions, and the chambers of the judiciary for the greatness of the government of our country. We shall behold there but a reflection, not a reality, successful in proportion to its accuracy.

In a free republic a great government is the product of a great people. They will look to themselves rather than government for success. The destiny, the greatness of America lies around the hearthstone. If thrift and industry are taught there, and the example of self-sacrifice oft appears, if honor abide there, and high ideals, if there the building of fortune be subordinate to the building of character, America will live in security, rejoicing in an abundant prosperity, and good government at home, and in peace, respect, and confidence abroad. If these virtues be absent there is no power that can supply these blessings. Look well then to the hearthstone, therein all hope for America lies.

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