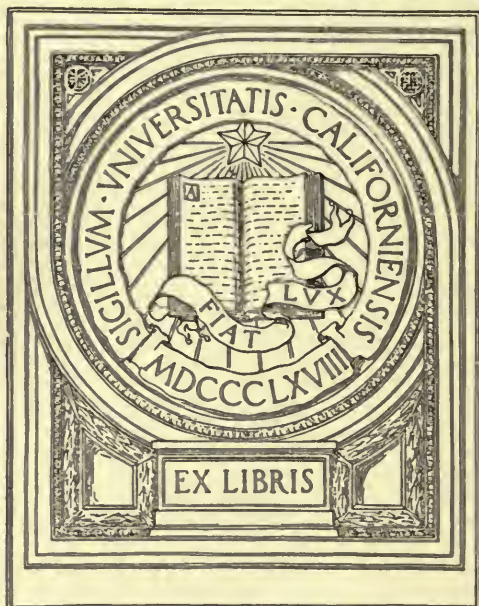


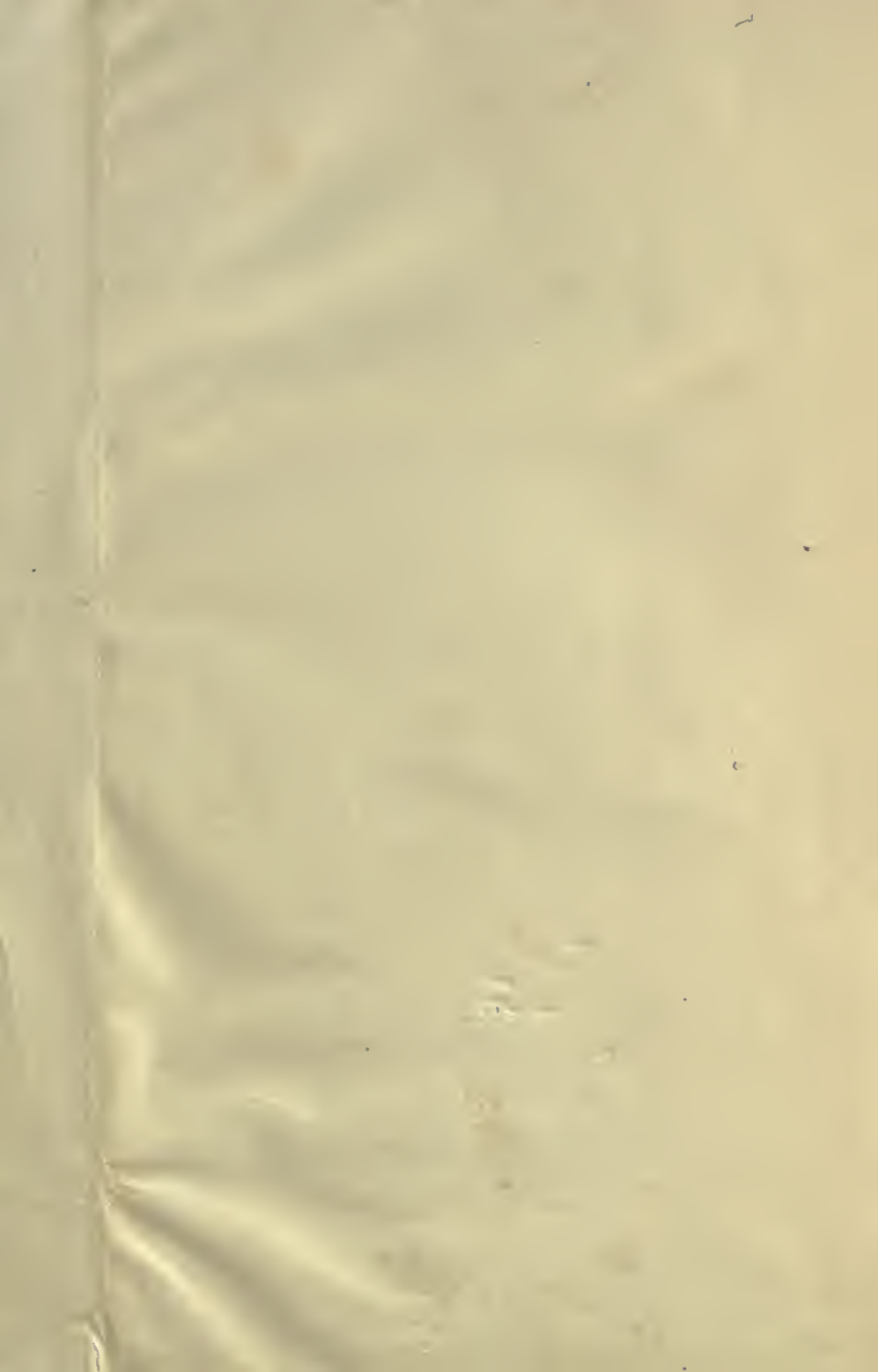
SIXTEENTH
Republican National Convention
CHICAGO
1916

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



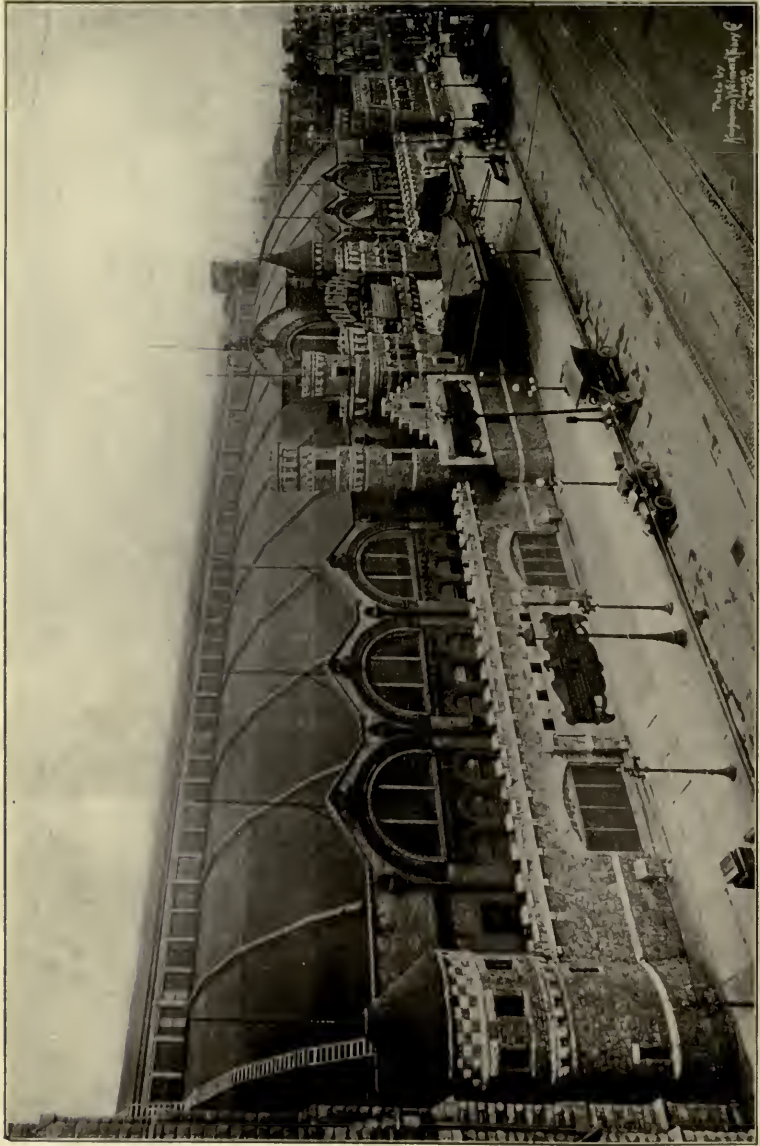
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THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, WHERE THE CONVENTION WAS HELD

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Sixteenth Republican
National Convention

HELD IN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 7, 8, 9 AND 10, 1916

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, of New York, for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS, of Indiana
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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OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION

CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CHARLES D. HILLES
OF NEW YORK

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
JAMES B. REYNOLDS
OF MASSACHUSETTS

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION
WARREN G. HARDING
OF OHIO

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION
WARREN G. HARDING
OF OHIO

GENERAL SECRETARY
LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON
OF NEW YORK

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS
WILLIAM F. STONE
OF MARYLAND

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Republican National Convention

HELD IN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
June 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1916

FIRST DAY

CONVENTION HALL

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 7, 1916.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (Mr. Charles D. Hilles, of New York).—The hour of 11 o'clock having arrived, and a quorum being present, the Convention will be in order. Paraphrasing a remark made by the late President McKinley, this is a year—whatever may have been true of past years—when politics is patriotism and patriotism is politics. (Applause.) Therefore, the audience will please rise and sing two verses of "America."

SINGING OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Thereupon the officers, delegates, alternates, and guests of the Convention, occupying the more than twelve thousand seats in the Coliseum, rose, and the band played "America" while the immense audience sang the first two verses of the National Anthem, led by the Columbus Quartet, composed of Benjamin Churchill, Tenor; William Ballew, Lead; Forest Chaffer, Baritone; John Nankevis, Bass.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.—Prayer will be offered by the Rev. John Timothy Stone, D. D., Pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, of Chicago.

PRAYER OF REV. JOHN TIMOTHY STONE, D.D.

Rev. John Timothy Stone, D.D., Pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago, Ill., offered the following prayer:

Most holy and eternal God, we bow before Thee with reverent hearts and thoughtful minds. Thou art our God; Thou art the God of all nations; Thou art the God of our nation; Thou hast been the God of our fathers. Thou hast been our Guide in times of peace and amid the perplexities of war. Thou hast given to us freedom, liberty, purpose and prosperity.

Although the immediate interests which now control our gathering together have reference to our own national issues, we would not forget the warring, suffering nations of the earth. We pray Thee to bring them speedily, if it be Thy holy will, to terms of peace and conditions of adjustment.

We bow before Thee, and pausing quietly, ask Thy blessing before entering upon the deliberations of this convention. As Thou dost order the affairs of men, so frame the doings of this great body. Save from all hasty and ill-spoken word. Control judgments, purposes, plans and platform, that all may have Thy pure mind of wisdom and strength. May the men of Thy choice be our choice, and may motive, method and result center in Thy sure laws of right and in Thy lasting victories of truth and righteousness.

"Direct, suggest, control, this day,
All we design, or do, or say;
That all our powers, with all their might,
In Thy full glory may unite."

We ask all in the name of our common Master and Lord. Amen.

PHOTOGRAPH OF CONVENTION

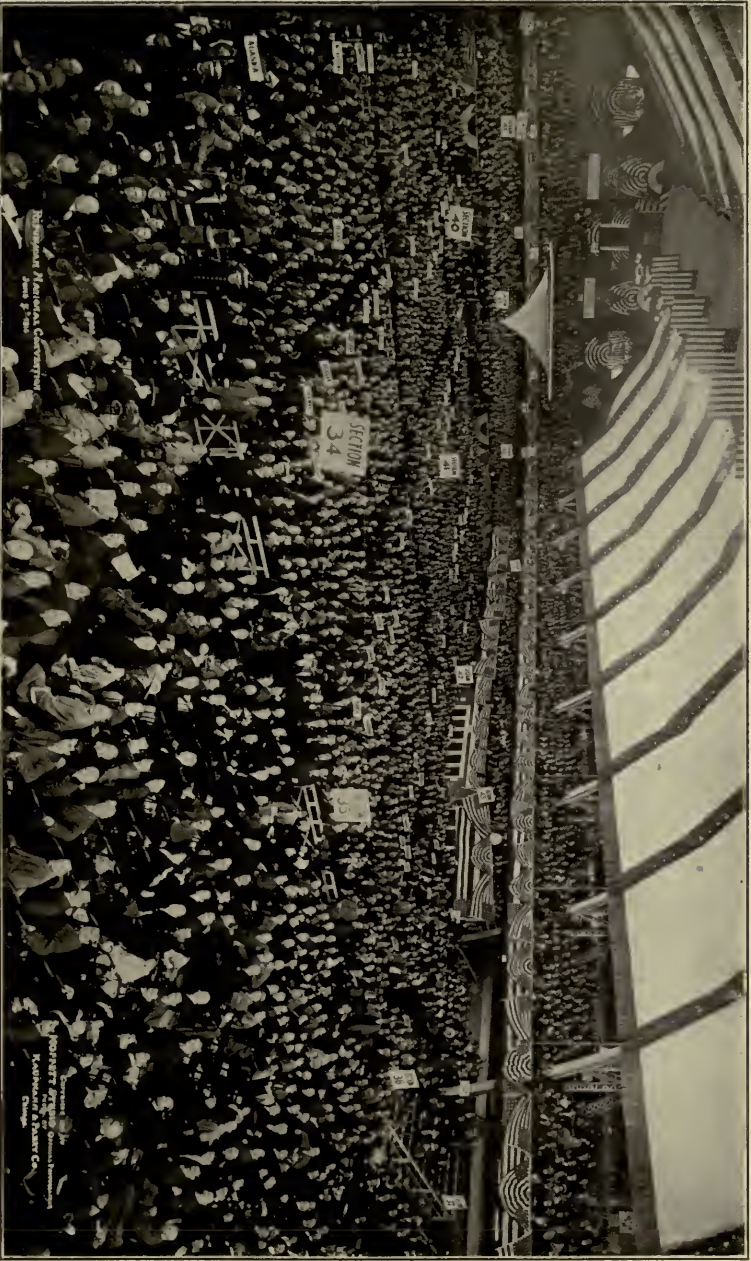
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.—The official Photographer of the Convention wishes at this time to take a picture of the Convention and I trust that all present will make an effort to face the camera as well as they can and be very quiet while the picture is being taken.

Thereupon a photograph was taken of the Convention.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.—The Secretary of the Republican National Committee will read the Call for the Convention.

MR. JAMES B. REYNOLDS, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, read the call as follows:



RECORDED BY NATIONAL CONVENTION
JAMES J. WELLS

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
KATHLEEN A. HANCOCK CO.
CHICAGO

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



To the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the Republican National Convention of 1912, the Republican National Committee now 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 Wednesday, the 7th day of June, 1916, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1916, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Republican electors of the several States and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and all other electors without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican Party and indorse its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said Convention. Said National Convention shall consist of four Delegates at Large from each State, and two Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress; one Delegate from each Congressional District; an additional Delegate for each Congressional District in which the vote for any Republican elector in 1908, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in 1914, shall have been not less than 7,500; two Delegates each from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. 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 this Convention for each unit of representation equal to the number of Delegates elected therein. In the absence of any Delegate at Large or Delegate from a Congressional District, the roll of alternates for the State or the district shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention.

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

(1) By primary elections, 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, Territorial or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional Territorial or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the call for such Conventions

shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the District, Territory or State. In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

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

Delegates presenting certificates of election from the Canvassing Boards or officer created or designated by State law to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to the National Convention shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by this Committee.

The election of Delegates from the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction and supervision of an Election Board composed of Charles Linkins, Charles H. Bauman and Jesse H. Foster, of the District of Columbia. This Board shall have authority to fix the date of said Convention, subject to the provisions of this call, and to arrange all details incidental thereto; and shall provide for a registration of the votes cast, such registration to include the name and residence of each voter.

The delegates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall be elected in conformity with the rules and regulations adopted by this Committee, copies of which will be furnished to the Governing Committee of the Republican Party in such Territory and insular possessions.

All Delegates and 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 the Republican National Convention, for which this call is issued, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

The credentials of each Delegate and alternate elected prior to May 24, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at the office of the National Committee, Wilkins Building, Washington, D. C., promptly upon such election. The credentials of each Delegate or alternate elected after the 23d day of May, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. Where more than the authorized number of Delegates is 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 credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing accompanied

by a printed statement setting forth the ground of contest, which must be filed with the Secretary of the Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in cases where Delegates are chosen by law within that period, and then at any time prior to the meeting of the National Convention.

In promulgating this call the Secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to send a copy to the member of the National Committee from each state, and enclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary of the State Committee to be forwarded to said Chairman and Secretary by the member of the National Committee.

The apportionment of Delegates to the National Convention called hereby shall be as adopted by the National Committee at its meeting December 16, 1913, and ratified by Republican State Conventions of States which cast a majority of votes in the Electoral College, schedule of which is appended hereto.

UPON THE BASIS OF OFFICIAL ELECTION FIGURES FURNISHED TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, THE APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

ALABAMA	6 Delegates at Large; 2 from the 7th Congressional District; 1 from each of the other Congressional Districts—total 16.
ARIZONA	6 Delegates at Large.
ARKANSAS	4 Delegates at Large; 2 each from the 3d, 4th, 5th and 7th Congressional Districts; 1 from each of the other districts—total 15.
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 7th 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; 1 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; 2 from each Congressional District —total 36
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	8 Delegates at Large.
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, 13th and 20th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total 87.
NORTH CAROLINA	4 Delegates at Large; 1 each from the 1st, 2d and 6th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts —total 21.
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	2 Delegates at Large; 2 from each Congressional District —total 10.
TENNESSEE	4 Delegates at Large; 1 each from the 5th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total 21.
TEXAS	8 Delegates at Large; 2 each from the 14th and 15th Congressional Districts; 1 from each of the other districts —total 26.

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	
PHILIPPINES	2 Delegates each (without vote except by action of the Convention).
PORTO RICO	

JAMES B. REYNOLDS,
Secretary.

CHARLES D. HILLES,
Chairman.

Washington, D. C.,
December 14, 1915.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.—By the direction of the National Committee and in accordance with the rules and precedents of the Party, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee has the honor to present for your temporary chairman the name of a delegate from the State of Ohio, Hon. Warren G. Harding. (Applause.) Are there any other nominations After a pause.) No further nominations being offered as many as are in favor of the election of Senator Harding as temporary chairman will say aye. (A chorus of ayes.) And as many as are opposed to his election will say no. (Silence.) The motion is carried unanimously. (Applause.)

The chair will appoint as a committee to escort the temporary chairman to the platform, former Senator W. Murray Crane of Massachusetts, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, and Representative William B. McKinley, of Illinois.

As the Committee proceeded to that portion of the Coliseum where the Ohio delegation were seated, and escorted Senator Harding to the platform, there was loud and prolonged applause on the part of delegates, alternates and guests of the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor to present as your temporary chairman Senator Harding. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Mr. Warren G. Harding, of Ohio).—Chairman Hilles, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention:

It is good to greet this representative body of that American Republicanism on which is centered the high hopes of the republic. (Applause.) I can believe—nay, I know—that a vast majority of the people of our United States is expecting the party sponsors here assembled to write anew the sacred covenant of Republicanism, and reconsecrate the party to the nation's service and the people's advancement. (Applause.) That same majority expects you to select a standard-bearer who shall not only typify our expression of faith but shall so enlist the confidence and trust of our American citizenship that the work of this convention will be confirmed overwhelmingly at the ballot-box next November. (Applause and cries of "Right you are.")

The country, wearied afresh by a disappointing and distressing Democratic administration, is calling for Republican relief, and there is every inspiration, every encouragement, every confidence that the light of Republican conscience, set aflame in this convention, will illumine the way to the country's restoration.

LET US FORGET 1912

We did not do very well in making for harmony the last time we met. (Laughter and applause.) The country has regretted, let us forget—and make amends to our country. (Applause.) We did not divide over fundamental principles, we did not disagree over a national policy. We split over methods of party procedure and preferred personalities. Let us forget the differences, and find new inspiration and new compensation in an united endeavor to restore the country. (Applause.)

The essential principles of Republicanism are unchanged and unchanging; the lofty intent, the indestructible soul and the undying spirit of Republicanism are as dominant today as in the destined beginning sixty years ago, or at any time during the intervening years, and they are emphasized today by the proof recorded to Republican credit in the matchless chapters of American progress. (Applause.)

PRINCIPLES ARE ABIDING

No political party ever has builded or ever can build permanently except in conscientious devotion to abiding principles. Time never alters a fundamental truth. Conditions do change, popular interest is self-asserting, and "paramounting" has its perils, as the Democratic party will bear witness, but the essentials of constructive gov-



WARREN G. HARDING, of Ohio
Chairman of the Convention

1872

1872

1872

1872

ernment and attending progress are abiding and unchanging. For example, we ought to be as genuinely American today as when the founding fathers flung their immortal defiance in the face of old-world oppressions and dedicated a new republic to liberty and justice. We ought to be as prepared for defense as Washington urged amid the anxieties of our national beginning, and Grant confirmed amid the calm reflections of union restored. (Applause.)

PARTY SOLIDARITY

It is not my understanding that the remarks of the temporary chairman are to be taken as an expression of the party faith. Such expression must come from this convention, made up of delegates who believe in popular, representative government through the agency of political parties. You come directly from the people, commissioned to speak their hopes and aspirations, to utter their patriotic desires and pledge their abiding faith. Out of the convictions and judgment and wisdom as expressed by the majority will come the sacred and sincere covenant of the Republican party.

We are a voluntary organization and must find our strength in the enlistment of volunteers who find the nearest or best expression of their individual convictions in our party declarations, and there can be no treason in withdrawal if our declarations fall short in their appeal. But I am old-fashioned enough to believe that in popular government party success and party capacity for service to the nation must lie in making the will of a righteous majority the willing pledge of all. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

NO FORSWEARING REQUIRED

Ladies and Gentlemen of the convention, the first and foremost wish in my mind is to say that which will contribute to harmony of effort and add to the assurance of victory next November. (Applause.) I wish that because we believe Republican success to be for the best interests of our common country. (Applause.) The allied hosts of the believers in Republican principles are in a vast majority in this country—when the banners of harmony are unfurled. We have witnessed the comeback of our party in various states. We have seen the reenlistment of those who believe in Republican doctrines, and victory has followed and rejoicing has attended. No apology has been asked, no forswearing required. This is not the time for recrimination, it is the day of reconsecration. (Applause and cries of "You are right!")

Rededicating here and now the Republican party to the progress and glory of the republic, let us bury party prefixes with the admin-

istration which our differences put in power. I do not believe there is a really reactionary Republican bearing credentials to this convention. (Applause.) If there is, he will depart, after our deliberations, solely and proudly a Republican, with heart aglow with the party spirit of 1916. And the welcome delegate who emphasizes his progressivism, is expected to do his part in making our party a reflex of the best thought and best intent of sincere committal to the uplift and progress of the American people, thereby strengthening party purpose instead of magnifying individual belief, and he, too, will find new rejoicing in being a Republican. (Applause.) No party can endure which is not progressive. I know the Republican party is genuinely progressive as well as effective, else it would not rivet the expectations of the American people today on the most important convention held since the party formulated a new political decalogue and gave to union and nationality the immortal Abraham Lincoln. (Enthusiastic applause.)

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

In building the surpassing temple of the Republic, which we have been doing to the astonishment, sometimes the envy, sometimes the admiration of the world, and oftentimes inspiring others by our example, there ever will be modifications and additions to meet the public need and conform to popular ideals. We do not fear to imitate nor fail to originate, but there can be no discord about underlying foundations or essential walls or proven arches or stately columns. Mine is a deep conviction that the founding fathers were divinely inspired, and the wisdom of representative popular government is proven in the surpassing achievement. (Applause.)

It is not alone the miracle of accomplishment which deepens our reverence; it is not alone the conviction that we have builded the first, seemingly dependable, popular government on the earth and exalted all its citizenship, which adds to our faith; but we are the oldest of existing civilized nations, with one passing exception, continued under one form of government, and under that form we have developed the highest standard of living in all the world. Surely we must be right. (Applause.)

Recalling that the mightier forward strides have been taken under a half century of Republican control, after we led in fixing the indissoluble ties of union, the retrospection, the contemplation and the anticipation combine to fill the Republican breast with pride and hope, and trust and faith, and magnify our obligations in this crucial year of our national life. (Applause.)

Much of the discussion of the hour is hinged upon a world at war. We need not wonder thereat, because the enormity of the con-

flict and the influence of its horrors have set mankind in upheaval. The traditions of civilization have been broken and international laws have been ignored. There is a tidal wave of distress and disaster, there are violent emotions and magnified fears. There are the extremes of incalculable sacrifices and measureless new fortunes—not all American. There are new wonders and new hindrances in commerce, changed balances of trade, new marvels in finance and utterly changed economic conditions. These have attended embarrassments in our foreign relations as difficult as those which the individual citizen experiences whose every neighbor is involved in deadly quarrel. Everything is abnormal except the depleted condition of the federal treasury, which is characteristic of Democratic control, and the facility of the administration for writing varied notes without effective notice. (Laughter and applause.)

Amid these conditions has stood this unarmed giant, typifying the American republic, neutral and sane, to whom the neutral nations have turned for leadership. Our national unselfishness had been proven, our devotion to humanity had been established, our commitment to international justice had long been proclaimed. The world had previously heard the voice of American fearlessness, and all the conditions single us out for leadership among the neutral powers, but the administration at Washington spoke with more rhetoric than resolution (laughter and applause), and we came to realize what the warring powers soon came to know, that the official American voice lacked the volume of determined expression that once demanded international heed, and we lacked the strength of confidence in our own defenses. (Applause.)

It is too early to estimate the debit and credit account of the European war with civilization. Out of measureless cost and inestimable heroism must come a rebirth of individual spirituality, reawakened national hopes, new liberties and new baptisms in patriotism which must prove some compensation. But we have seen civilization stripped of the pretenses which clothed man's savagery, and we have seen elemental man, developed in genius and more formidable because of that, intoxicated with power or impassioned in the greed of conquest, offending or defending, contradicting every evidence of mankind's humane advancement. In the envy or jealousy or rivalry or hatred, refined by boasted civilization, are the barbarities of primitive man, and the seal of obsolescence is not yet stamped upon the warrior's sword.

FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Perhaps it is a reminder more than a discovery, but there has come to us a conviction that this great nation, rich in resources and strong in patriotic manhood, has been negligent concerning its own

defense. We have dwelt in fancied rather than real security. Pride mingles with regret in this, because it suggests the mind of a nation so free from intended offense that there was no cultivated thought of needed defense. Our righteousness of purpose is portrayed in our trust in unarmed safety. But there is a warning in bleeding Europe, and there is call today for prudent, patriotic and ample national defense. These is no mistaking the sentiment. We are not thinking of the hysterical, we need not be moved by a preparedness which is partisan in conception. We need not believe in a defense propaganda inspired by those who aim to wax fat in the production of arms and munitions, because there is none. I deplore the teaching that an anxiety about our national defense is inspired by greed. We rejoice in free speech and free press and untrammelled opinion, but patriotism is illy promoted by the imputation of false motives, whether aimed at those who believe in defense or those who doubt its wisdom. Such a teaching rends the concord of citizenship, which may develop a worse peril from within than from any enemy without. (Applause.)

Though we do not pretend to be exclusive in our devotion, we Republicans believe, sincerely and soberly, in adequate national defense. We have always believed in an ample navy, as invincible in modern might as John Paul Jones builded in our freedom's earliest fight. We have in mind a protected commerce on the waters, and a seacoast secure in strong naval defense. We were building to high rank among naval powers when the Democratic party interrupted, and we subscribe to a stronger committal now, because of a new realization of the envy which our wealth and our commerce invite, and a new appreciation of our commanding place in the affairs of the world. I shall not say that it is ours to have the greatest navy in the world, but noting the elimination of distance and the passing of our onetime isolation, we ought to have a navy that fears none in the world, and can say any time and anywhere—These are American rights and must be respected. (Applause and cries "That's right.")

ECONOMY IN SECURITY

It is not for me to specify the provisions for naval defense. Since modern warfare is in large part a conflict of brains, so must naval defense be devised in highest intelligence. Let us strengthen every arm—aerial, submarine, fleet cruisers and great dreadnoughts. Let him who is anxious about the cost remember that Republican policies afford the ample means without conscious burdens upon the people. Every forehanded American citizen, whatever his activity, knows that the cost of insurance against accident, theft, fire, flood or thunderbolt, assessed as a fixed charge upon his income, is worth its cost, in peace

of mind, though loss never attends. Moreover, under any system security is economy itself.

There are manifest differences about our developments for military defense. The President made a trip from the coast to the valley of the Missouri to tell the American people the need of preparedness. It might have been more seemly to tell the story to Congress, for that body was in session and empowered to act, and seemingly ever ready to testify obedience. However, Congress undertook to provide an army for defense and the majority wobbled between pacification and preparedness until the Republican minority in the Senate put something real in the pending measure. (Applause.) We Republicans made a rational response to the call of the land, but Democratic insufficiency and inefficiency are recorded in the Conference-amended act, and a federal nitrate plant to supply powder to the patriots and pap to the paternalists and federal fertilizer to the farmers in competition with private enterprise is the great constructive offering of a Democratic majority. (Laughter and applause.)

Until the civilized world is pledged and repledged to peace, and until civilization commits nations to the nobler practices of the individuals who constitute them, in which I would have America lead, this republic will have need for a basic army and a ready provision for military defense. We have territory to defend, we have independence to preserve, we have lives to safeguard, we have property to protect, we have rights to assert, we have missions of humanity to perform. We proclaim justice and we love peace, and we mean to have them—and we are not too proud to fight for them. (Loud applause.)

NO CURSE OF MILITARISM

Let no one apprehend the curse of militarism in this fair land. We declare unalterably against it. Our free citizenship, walking confidently, absorbed in the triumphs of peace, would tolerate no such blight on American institutions. There is to be no surrender of cherished ideals. With that yearning for peace which has marked our continued development, with the same committal to justice which has given us front rank in the onward march of civilization, with that rare unselfishness which led us to unsheath the sword for humanity's sake and put all territorial aggrandizement aside, with that belief in the square deal, individual, national and international, which is the foundation of American faith, we mean to go on, an exemplar of peace to all the nations, an arbiter of justice to all the world, a promoter of righteousness to all the people of the earth.

At the same time we have more to do than to chart a national course through the waters surging with the turbulence of war; our inspiring course is on the highway of peace. Our armed defense must

ever be linked with our industrial self-reliance, and the nation worth dying for must first be worth living for. (Cries of "Right! Right!") Out of nature's prodigality we have incalculable resources and limitless possibilities, and there is need only for the unhindered application of man's genius and industry to make us as independent industrially as we are free politically. Ample defense rests on industrial freedom and self-reliance as well as patriotic sacrifice, and industrial preparedness gives that assurance of material good fortune in peace on which must be founded all our higher aspirations. (Applause.)

THE PROTECTIVE POLICY

Subsistence is the first requisite of existence, and we have the higher American standard of living because of the Republican protective policy which makes of Americans the best paid workmen in all the world. Out of the abundance of employment and higher compensation, together with the beckoning opportunity which offers every reward, we Americans have attracted the laborers of the earth, and set new standards here. (Applause.)

It is not for me to put the stamp of relative importance on pending issues—the intelligent voters will determine that for themselves. But I know what they are thinking, and they believe that the protective policy which made us industrially and commercially eminent is necessary to preserve that eminence. I know they want it restored and maintained. For myself I prefer a protective and productive tariff which prospers America first. I choose the economic policy which sends the American workingmen to the savings banks rather than the soup-houses. I commend the plan under which the healthful glow of prospering business is reflected in every face from the great captain of industry to the schooling child of the daily wage-earner. (Applause.)

Moreover, I like the abiding consistency of our unchanging position upon this policy. The Republican Convention of 1860, which gave to the nation and all history the nomination of Lincoln, made this simple and ample utterance:

"That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence." ("Applause and cries of "We were right then and we're right now.")



WILLIAM R. WILLCOX, of New York,
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

We might fittingly reiterate that utterance today. The failure of revenues under existing Democratic policy, the necessary resort to the imposition of direct and offensive taxation—war taxes on a people at peace—to meet deficiencies which ever attend Democratic control, the depression and disaster which followed Democratic revision, which were relieved rather than caused by the European war—all these argue the Republican restoration. (Applause.)

TEMPORARY PROSPERITY

No one disputes a temporary prosperity in our land today. But it is sectional in its factory aspect, abnormal in its fevered rush, fictitious in its essentials, and perverting in its tendency. Worse, it is the gold sluiced from the river of blood, poured out by the horrifying sacrifice of millions of our fellowmen. God forbid that we should boast a prosperity wrought in such waste of human life. We would preferably rejoice in the prosperity of peace. We would rather boast our good fortune won from the world as it stands erect, in a fair contest, where men openly contend for the laurels of industry and the garlands of trade. I do not mean that we must "sharpen our wits in competition with the world," for we tried that, and involuntarily turned the blade to cutting our production and severing thousands from American payrolls. There was no cut in the cost of living but a visible hack at the capacity to live.

The Democratic party is always concerned about the American consumer. Our Republican achievement is the making of a nation of prospering producers, and by producers I mean every human being who applies muscle or skill or brain or all to the conversion of nature's abundance into the necessities and luxuries of life or participates in the ways and means of their transportation and exchange. Far better a high cost of living and ability to buy than a lowering of cost attended by destruction of purchasing capacity. (Applause.)

THE COST OF LIVING

It is worth while to recall the magnified importance given to the high cost of living four years ago; first, to emphasize Democracy's failure to reduce it, though it risked and almost accomplished the ruin of our good fortune in attempting it; second, to declare there is no such thing. What was thought to be the high cost were only the higher demands and the larger capacity to buy, which were the natural reflexes of the higher standard of living reared under Republican protection. (Applause and cries "We want protection.")

The one notable advance in cost has profited the American farmer, for whose befitting share in good fortune we have stood unflinchingly

and sincerely. His reward is a Republican achievement and we prefer to cling to the conditions which brought to agriculture its delayed but deserved reward and hold it secure in Republican maintenance of a home market unmatched in all the world. More, we want our basic prosperity to be home-created and home-sustained, and not dependent on conditions abroad. (Applause.)

Let us agree—nay, let us boast—that American industry can compete with any in all the world, under like conditions. But we also boast a condition, created through isolation and maintained by protection, wherein the rate of American wages is twice or thrice to ten times that of old-world competition. Reduce our wages and we shall have conditions more nearly equal, but no Republican will consent to that. We are willing to standardize the wages of the world. We are as fit to lead in doing that as we were to fix the newer guaranties of liberty and independence; but we Republicans do not mean to lower our scales to effect the leveling. We want the world measurements raised to our heights. Until it is done we shall cling to American wages for American workmen, American markets for American products, and hold the Republican guaranty of our material good fortune. (Applause.)

DEMOCRATIC REPENTANCE

The nations abroad and the Democratic party at home are bearing witness to Republican wisdom. German industrial self-reliance is the sequence to her adoption of a Republican protective tariff, and England's manifest conversion to this fostering plan will magnify the prophetic wisdom of Republican protectionists. Even the Democratic party is penitent now and makes confession in action if not in words. The proposed destruction of American sugar has been repealed, and simulated grief about the American breakfast table has been put aside. With that facility for changing position which has been manifest from Baltimore to Vera Cruz, the party in power proposes to restore the tariff commission which it had hastened to destroy. (Applause.)

This change of attitude is not because of its great and manifest love of commission alone, but because failure is written across every paragraph of Democratic revision and fear is haunting the White House slumbers. (Laughter.) The Wilson administration has sensed the country's anxiety about industrial conditions when revelry in munitions and the immunity granted by war are ended. It has made a reflective estimate of the perils of 1914, once called psychological, and means to apply a stolen remedy, with more concern about the effects than the ethics involved. (Laughter.) We do not oppose a tariff commission. We favor it. It is a Republican creation. We do not want one, however, conceived in Democratic hostility to American industry or managed in Democratic opposition to business success.

We would hasten the protective defense against foreign invasion, to guarantee our industrial security, and then let a tariff commission deliberately and scientifically work out the needs of American preference. (Applause.)

SQUARE DEAL FOR BUSINESS

No honest business in this country is too big to be good and useful, or too little to be protected and encouraged and both big and little deserve the American shield against destruction by foreign competition, and protection from the raiders, political or otherwise, at home. Business and its agencies of transportation are so inseparable from each other and from the common weal that the political party which does not pledge them a square deal, no more and no less, does not deserve the confidence of the people. The strength of the business heart shows in every countenance in all the land, and the weakness of that heart holds a nation ill. We must strengthen the heart of American business in government co-operation rather than official opposition. (Applause.)

It is not inspiring to recite Democratic failures. I shall not dwell on that party's insincerity or incapacity. The country indicts and the record convicts. It proclaimed the sacredness of its pledges and then profaned them. It professed economy and is staggered by its own extravagance. It has turned adequacy of revenue under indirect and unfelt taxes to insufficiency and direct taxation. It has espoused the freedom of the seas and wrought only the freedom of the Panama Canal. It reaffirmed its devotion to Jeffersonian principles and simplicity of government and is voting millions of the public treasury to the establishment of federal factories to destroy private industry. It declared for enlarged shipping facilities without added burdens upon the public treasury, and now proposes that fifty to five hundred millions of public funds go to shipping, federally owned and privately managed, with every menace that federal ownership involves. We believe in a great merchant marine, federally encouraged and privately erected, wrought in the committal of the achievement of private enterprise and measured to the requirements of our commerce in peace. (Applause.)

THE NATIONAL EXPANSION

The President has said ours is a provincial party, evidently forgetting the Federalist founding of our nationality and Republican expansion to greater national glory. The Democratic party not only fails to grasp our immensity and importance, it is sectional on the mainland and unheeding of our island possessions. Its vision does not catch the splendor of Old Glory in the sunlight of the world.

(Applause and cries of "No indeed.") Right now when the devouring flames of war are burning most fiercely, when our national view must be world-wide to be comprehensive, the Democratic administration has proposed to set adrift an island empire, in violation of our obligations to the world, to the Philippine people and ourselves. Amid proclamations of our ministrations in behalf of mankind it undertook to renounce its guardianship of a race of people and leave them to walk alone when they had not been fully taught to creep. A few rebellious Democrats joined the Republican minority in sparing us this national disgrace, but the design is written among the vacillations of the present administration. (Applause.) The Democratic party once hauled down the flag which had been unfurled in honor in the Pacific and met rebuke at the first expression at the polls. No administration which hauls down the flag and none which proposes to haul it down ever can succeed itself in directing the affairs of the American people. (Applause.)

OUR WIDENED RELATIONSHIP

One century of marvellous development has led us into another century of international sponsorship. This mighty people, idealizing popular government and committed to human progress, can no longer live within and for ourselves alone. Obliterated distance make it impossible to stand aloof from mankind and escape widened responsibility. If we are to become the agency of a progressive civilization and God's great intent—and to believe otherwise is to deny the proofs of American development—we must assume the responsibilities of influence and example, and accept the burdens of enlarged participation. The cloistered life is not possible to the potential man or the potential nation. Moreover, the Monroe doctrine, stronger for a century's maintenance, fixes an obligation of new-world sponsorship and old-world relationship. Our part must not be dictatorial, it must be trusted leadership in a fraternity of American republics. (Applause.)

OUR STRENGTH AT HOME

To meet the obligations we must first make sure of maintained mental, moral and physical health at home. It is good to recall that ours is the only major political party ever formed in this country on a great moral issue. Our first proclamation was human liberty, to be glorified by the spiritual and material development of a free people. We opened the way to higher human attainments and emphasized human rights under the guarantees of civil liberty. We need only to go on, imbued with the spirit which has thus far pointed our way. The light of a moral people is the halo of liberty itself. Let us be honest,

not only in proclamation, but in practice; not alone in campaigns but in incumbency of office; not only before altars of worship but in our daily affairs and in every human relationship. If popular government is to be held dependable and command the confidence as well as the loyalty of its citizenship, political parties and their platforms and their spokesmen must be honest and sincere. (Applause and the remark, "Yes, the people don't want molasses platforms.")

PEOPLE'S WELFARE

If we are to urge the world's attention to international justice we must hold secure our civil justice at home and make social justice and attending welfare typical of our national life. We have advanced wonderfully. The reward of merit is eternal, but we can promote the development of merit. I have spoken so emphatically for the American producer that I want to add here a committal to improved conditions of production. It is good to gaze afar toward markets we hope to attain in peaceful commercial conquest, but production is itself the maker of markets at home. To the safety and inviting environment of the laborer we must add his growing merits of compensation. There can be no permanent material good fortune that is not righteously shared, there can be no real moral achievement that does not lift the great rank and file to an ever higher plane. Maintained Republican policies provide conditions for the ideal advancement and continued uplift, and it is not too much to hope that we shall acclaim the day when choice instead of necessity fixes the status of the American wage-earner. (Applause.)

My countrymen, for two generations, with short interruptions, the Republican party, in conscience, courage and capacity, has been translating the dependable popular sentiment of the republic into governmental policy. We have not yielded to the expediency of adopting every ephemeral whim, because devotion to country and its ultimate good oftentimes demand opposition to a momentary popularity. The final appeal to sober intelligence has justified our course in political righteousness. But we have been so engrossed in developing America that we have not stopped to search our own hearts for the soul of Americanism. (Applause.)

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

In the travail of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness the American soul was born. Set aglow at Bunker Hill, it was reflected in the faces of the patriots of a fearless republic, where men dedicated themselves to the solemn and momentous task which was traced by an infinite hand. They were not all Americans by birth, but they were

dedicated Americans in the baptismal rites of a new republic and a new patriotism. They could not all sign the Declaration of Independence, but they committed all Americans to it for all succeeding time. They could not all join in making the constitution, but they pledged the succeeding millions of Americans to its everlasting defense. (Applause.)

There were stalwart Americans then, Americans from Great Britain with British ideals and their devotion to orderly government. There were Americans from the land of Napoleon and Lafayette, to give of the enthusiasm and heroism of France in establishing new freedom. There were Americans from Germany to fight the battles of the republic and blend their sturdiness and thoroughness in the progress of a new people, not a new race. There were Americans from the green fields of Ireland, with a passion for liberty, Americans from Southern Europe to battle for opportunity. There were Americans who came from oppression and stood erect in the freedom of the republic. They all made common cause. There was lack of homogeneity of race, but there was kinship of soul, and that soul was American. The gates to our ports have swung inward ever since, there has been a welcome to the foreign-born, whom we asked to drink freely of the waters of our political life and find their places in the sun of American opportunity. They are an inseparable and important and valued part of American citizenship, and the few zealots of any origin who violate our neutrality do not and can not impugn the loyalty or the American patriotism of that great body which adds to the swelling chorus of

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet Land of Liberty."

(Applause, loud and prolonged.)

NATIONAL SYMPATHIES

It is not surprising that in their hearts there is sympathy or partiality for the land of their nativity when it is involved in a life and death struggle like that which saturates Europe with the blood of their kinsmen. Search your hearts deeply, my countrymen. One must be human to be an American, he must have human sympathies and human loves, and I should pity the foreign-born and the sons of foreign-born whose very souls are not wrung by the cataclysmal sorrow of the old world. But sorrow is the test of soul and the very altar of reconsecration. This is the momentous hour for the blazing soul of American allegiance. The spirit of the fathers is calling, and the safety of unborn Americans is demanding and the security of the re-

public is requiring that now and here and everywhere, under the Stars and Stripes, we proclaim a plain, simple, glad and unalterable Americanism. It must be the offering of loyalty and devotion and love and trust, and life, if need be, to these United States, now and everlastingly. (Applause.)

The Americanism which indexes these United States must be more than the consecration of the individual. In the great fulfillment we must have a citizenship less concerned about what the government can do for it and more anxious about what it can do to exalt the nation. There must be the submersion of local and sectional views and the standards of nationality reared in their stead. Holding to the ideals of just American rights, the government must protect those rights, at home, on our borders, on the seas, in every land and under every sky. (Applause.)

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

Seeking to practice the very Americanism I preach as Republican gospel, I am reluctant to speak of a division of American sentiment relating to our foreign affairs. One must be an American first and a partisan afterwards, though we believe Republicanism is the culture of highest Americanism. But it must be said, for the truth's sake and clearer understanding, we have hungered in vain for that unflinching Americanism at Washington which is needed to exalt the American soul. There is no geographic modification of American rights. They are the same in Mexico that they are on the high seas, they are the same in Europe that they are in Asia, and are sacred everywhere, and the American spirit demands their fullest protection. (Applause.)

Whatever the ultimate solution may be, history will write Mexico as the title to the humiliating recital of the greatest fiasco in our foreign relations. Uncertainty, instability, Mexican contempt and waning self-respect will be recorded in every chapter, and the pitiable story of sacrificed American lives and the destruction of lawfully-held American property will emphasize the mistaken policy of watchful waiting and wobbling warfare. (Applause.)

Under the pretext of non-interference the Democratic administration miserably meddled. In the name of peace that same administration encouraged revolution, and the cost of American sacrifices was charged to needless war on Huerta, where the real American expenditure required only the voice of authority demanding protection to American rights. The unbiased critic will recite that the Democratic administration first coddled Villa as a patriot, then chased him as a bandit. (Laughter and cries of "That's right.")

Our civilization has evolved the rules of right conduct, and written them into forms of government by law. They were conceived in justice and developed in righteousness. They have become instinctive

in our American life, and are cherished as a part of our people's inheritance. Our people do not understand any suspension, they are impelled to march on, confident and unafraid. When the spirit of American accomplishment, or the mercies of American ministration, or the inclinations of American teaching, or the adventures of American development take our people abroad, under the compacts of civilization, they have a right to believe that every guaranty of American citizenship goes with them. When it does not we have forfeited the American inheritance. (Applause.)

OUR COURSE WITH EUROPE

No political party can draw a variable chart for our ship of state amid Europe's warring ambitions, lust for power or battles for self-preservation. Justice points the way through the safe channel of neutrality. There are dangers, seeming or real, looming on every side, but we should feel secure along the course marked by international law and our own conscientious convictions of American rights. "STRAIGHT AHEAD" shall be the command, and when peace comes the sober judgment of the world will exalt us ever higher and higher as a people strong in heart and noble in the espousal of justice and justice's humanity. In that world-wide respect and confidence which needs only to be preserved, we shall have a lofty place in the great reconstruction, and we reasonably may hope to see this mighty republic again ministering to the re-establishment of peace and all its precious blessings. (Applause.)

My countrymen, Americanism begins at home and radiates abroad. The republican conception gives the first thought to a free people and a fearless people, and bespeaks conditions at home for the highest human attainment. We believe in American markets for American products, American wages for American workmen, American opportunity for American genius and industry, and American defense for American soil. American citizenship is the reflex of American conditions, and we believe our policies make for a fortunate people for whom moral, material and educational advancement is the open way. The glory of our progress confirms. The answered aspirations of a new world civilization acclaim. We have taken the ideal form of popular government and applied the policies which had led a continent to the altars of liberty and glorified the republic. We have justified pride and fortified hope. We need only to preserve and defend, and go unflinching on. Power is the guarantor of peace and conscience the buckler of everlasting right. Verily, it is good to be an American. And we may rejoice to be Republicans. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)



CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York,
Chairman of the Republican National Committee 1912
and Member of Committee on Arrangements

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Mr. Charles D. Hilles, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who will present the list of the Committee's recommendations for temporary officers of the Convention.

MR. CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York.—Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, I am directed by the Republican National Committee to submit to the Convention its recommendations with respect to temporary officers.

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) read as follows:

Secretary	LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, New York.
Chief Assistant Secretary	Frank A. Smith, Pennsylvania.
Sergeant-at-Arms	William F. Stone, Maryland.
Chief Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms	E. P. Thayer, Indiana.
Second Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms	Guy V. Howard, Minnesota.
Parliamentarians	William S. Bennet, New York. Herman A. Phillips, District of Columbia.
Official Reporter	Geo. L. Hart, Virginia.
Chief of Doorkeepers	J. J. Hanson, Maryland.
Chaplains	Rev. John Timothy Stone, D.D. Rt. Rev. Francis C. Kelley, D.D. Bishop William F. McDowell. Dr. Gerson B. Levi. Rev. William O. Waters.
Assistant Reporters	John K. Marshall, New York. Fred A. Carlson, Illinois.
Assistant Secretaries	Edward D. Baldwin, Oregon. Richard J. Beamish, Pennsylvania. C. M. Harger, Kansas. Paul Haynes, Indiana. Frank A. Hazelbaker, Montana. Joseph McCoy, Jr. Missouri. James L. Phillips, District of Columbia. Charles A. Rawson, Iowa. Frank H. Smith, New Jersey. W. H. Topping, New Hampshire. Roy M. Watkins, Michigan. Thomas Williamson, Illinois.
Reading Clerks	Dennis E. Alward, Michigan. H. H. Bancroft, Illinois. David H. Bowman, Nebraska. Fred Davis, South Dakota. William T. Evjue, Wisconsin. J. Mitchell Galvin, Massachusetts. Malcolm Jennings, Ohio. Henry R. Rathbone, Illinois. W. E. Scott, Colorado. Will A. Waite, Michigan. David J. White, Rhode Island.

Tally Clerks	Alvis S. Bennett, Kentucky. L. L. Dunham, Delaware. Amos Ewing, Oklahoma. George W. Johnson, Colorado. Charles G. Kaufman, West Virginia. Wesley King, Utah. W. L. McCormack, Washington. C. D. Relf, Massachusetts. H. O. True, Tennessee. Earl Venable, Idaho.
Principal Assistant Sergeants-at-Arms ..	Charles W. Ackerson, Oregon. Frank K. Bowers, New York. Emmet F. Branch, Indiana. Ben E. Chapin, New Hampshire. John R. Flavell, New Jersey. E. J. Kelly, Iowa. John J. Lyons, New York. Alvah H. Martin, Jr., Virginia. Hugh L. Martin, Missouri. H. C. Plumb, Kansas. James D. Preston, District of Columbia. John W. Smith, Michigan. A. W. White, North Carolina.

MR. ADOLPH O. EBERHART, of Minnesota.—I move that the recommendations of the Republican National Committee in respect to the appointment of General Secretary, Chief Assistant Secretary, Sergeant-at-Arms, Chief Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Parliamentarians, Official Reporter, Chief of Doorkeepers, Chaplain, and other officers, be approved and confirmed by this Convention.

The motion was agreed to.

RULES FOR CONVENTION

MR. HENRY F. LIPPITT, of Rhode Island.—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 1908.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—I offer the resolution which I now hand to the Secretary.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read.

A READING CLERK (Mr. H. H. Bancroft, of Illinois), read 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

tion 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 agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

MR. JOHN S. FISHER, of Pennsylvania.—I wish to offer the resolution which I send to the clerk's desk, and to move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read.

A READING CLERK (Mr. J. Mitchell Galvin, of Massachusetts) read 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 agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

MR. CHARLES B. WARREN, of Michigan.—I wish to offer the resolution which I now hand to the Secretary, and to move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read.

A READING CLERK (Mr. Will A. Waite, of Michigan), read as follows:

"Resolved, That a Committee on Rules, 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 agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

MR. CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK, of Connecticut.—I offer the resolution which I now send to the desk, and move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will be read.

AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY (Mr. Thomas Williamson, of Illinois) read as follows:

"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

tion 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 agreed to.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PERSONNEL OF COMMITTEES

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will now read the lists of committees as made up, being the four committees provided for by the resolution just adopted by the Convention, as follows:

- Committee on Credentials.
- Committee on Permanent Organization.
- Committee on Rules and Order of Business.
- Committee on Resolutions.

It might be well for the Chair to explain to the convention, prior to the reading of the lists of committees by the Secretary, that no names appear on any of the committees for the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, and for the following reasons: As to the District of Columbia, after hearing a three-sided contest the Committee on Credentials recommended that none of the parties be given seats in the convention, which report the convention adopted; and, as to Porto Rico, no delegates are present from that Territory.

The Secretary will now read the lists of committees.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (Mr. Lafayette B. Gleason, of New York).—The committees are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Alabama	Charles B. Kennamer
Arizona	F. S. Breen
Arkansas	A. J. Russell
California	Charles E. Clinch
Colorado	John A. Ewing
Connecticut	John F. King
Delaware	John W. Herring
Florida	William H. Northrup
Georgia	F. J. Allen
Idaho	Fred W. Gooding
Illinois	David E. Shanahan
Indiana	Edward C. Toner
Iowa	H. E. Tomlinson
Kansas	W. Y. Morgan
Kentucky	J. W. Langley
Louisiana	Frank C. Labid
Maine	Charles J. Dunn
Maryland	J. P. Hill
Massachusetts	Charles H. Innes
Michigan	William J. Smith



JAMES B. REYNOLDS, of Massachusetts
Secretary of the Republican National Committee

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS—*Continued*

Minnesota	Leavitt Corning
Mississippi	W. F. Elgin
Missouri	Harry Clymer
Montana	W. J. Brennan
Nebraska	Earl S. Mallery
Nevada	Hugh H. Brown
New Hampshire	Merrill Shurtleff
New Jersey	Newton A. K. Bugbee
New Mexico	J. M. Cunningham
New York	Charles M. Hamilton
North Carolina	J. D. Parker
North Dakota	James McCormack
Ohio	Charles Q. Hildebrand
Oklahoma	John Fields
Oregon	George J. Cameron
Pennsylvania	James S. Beacon
Rhode Island	Edward H. Rathbun
South Carolina	John F. Jones
South Dakota	Seth E. Wilson
Tennessee	R. S. Hopkins
Texas	T. J. Darling
Utah	Reed Smoot
Vermont	Guy W. Bailey
Virginia	R. A. Fulwiler
Washington	Dr. A. D. Sloan
West Virginia	C. W. Phillis
Wisconsin	James A. Stone
Wyoming	Loren C. Hinkle
Alaska	William A. Gilmore
Hawaii	J. K. Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	W. H. Lawrence

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

Alabama	F. F. Crowe
Arizona	C. A. Overlook
Arkansas	J. C. Russell
California	Francis J. Keesling
Colorado	Ralph W. Smith
Connecticut	Irving H. Chase
Delaware	Alden R. Benson
Florida	Louis C. Lynch
Georgia	W. H. Harris
Idaho	Stanley Easton
Illinois	Chas. S. Deneen
Indiana	Vernon W. Van Fleet
Iowa	Gardner Cowles
Kansas	J. J. Rhodes
Kentucky	Elmer C. Anderson
Louisiana	Chas. F. Beagni
Maine	Willard P. Hamilton
Maryland	Laban Sparks
Massachusetts	Chas. G. Washburn
Michigan	Albert E. Petermann
Minnesota	F. A. Duxbury

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION—*Continued*

Mississippi	C. L. Hovis
Missouri	W. S. Wade
Montana	Eugene Carroll
Nebraska	W. I. Farley
Nevada	Mel S. Badt
New Hampshire	Perry H. Dow
New Jersey	Ira A. Kipp, Jr.
New Mexico	E. F. Gallegos
New York	Walter C. Witherbee
North Carolina	Charles A. Jonas
North Dakota	C. B. Little
Ohio	Wm. M. Hahn
Oklahoma	P. C. Simons
Oregon	Daniel Boyd
Pennsylvania	John S. Fisher
Rhode Island	Richard S. Aldrich
South Carolina	J. D. Adams
South Dakota	William Hosea
Tennessee	Foster V. Brown
Texas	W. M. McDonald
Utah	Joseph Howell
Vermont	Collin M. Graves
Virginia	Joseph L. Crupper
Washington	A. L. Rogers
West Virginia	S. B. Avis
Wisconsin	James Thompson
Wyoming	Patrick Sullivan
Alaska	W. A. Gilmore
Hawaii	Henry J. Lyman
Philippines	W. H. Lawrence

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Alabama	James J. Curtis
Arizona	Ph. Freudenthal
Arkansas	M. A. Eisele
California	William C. Mushet
Colorado	James W. McCreery
Connecticut	Schuyler Merritt
Delaware	Edmund Mitchell
Florida	George W. Bean
Georgia	Roscoe Pickett
Idaho	James F. Ailshie
Illinois	Roy O. West
Indiana	Henry W. Marshall
Iowa	Robert B. Wallace
Kansas	A. F. Williams
Kentucky	Thomas C. Jackson
Louisiana	Allen C. Lea
Maine	Phineas H. Gay
Maryland	Gist Blair
Massachusetts	J. Lovell Johnson
Michigan	Charles B. Warren
Minnesota	Thomas Davis
Mississippi	J. E. Walker

COMMITTEE ON RULES—*Continued*

Missouri	C. C. Madison
Montana	E. S. Booth
Nebraska	Charles G. Lane
Nevada	W. N. McGill
New Hampshire	George A. Carpenter
New Jersey	John A. Blair
New Mexico	Eduardo M. Otero
New York	Elon R. Brown
North Carolina	Irvin B. Tucker
North Dakota	M. P. Johnson
Ohio	H. Clay Van Voorhis
Oklahoma	Grant Victor
Oregon	Ralph W. Hoyt
Pennsylvania	Guy W. Moore
Rhode Island	Albert A. Jenks
South Carolina	J. H. Fordham
South Dakota	Charles N. Herreid
Tennessee	Newell Sanders
Texas	E. E. Diggs
Utah	William Spry
Vermont	Fred H. Babbitt
Virginia	Robert A. Anderson
Washington	Alex Polson
West Virginia	A. R. Stallings
Wisconsin	John J. Blaine
Wyoming	Ralph Denio
Alaska	William A. Gilmore
Hawaii	Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	Newton W. Gilbert

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Alabama	S. T. Wright
Arizona	John B. Wright
Arkansas	John I. Worthington
California	John G. Mott
Colorado	Charles W. Waterman
Connecticut	Charles Hopkins Clark
Delaware	Ruby S. Vale
Florida	M. B. MacFarlane
Georgia	B. J. Davis
Idaho	William E. Borah
Illinois	Martin B. Madden
Indiana	Fred A. Sims
Iowa	Howard J. Clark
Kansas	Charles F. Scott
Kentucky	J. M. Robson
Louisiana	Samuel A. Trufant
Maine	John A. Peters
Maryland	Thomas Bartlett
Massachusetts	Henry Cabot Lodge
Michigan	Benjamin S. Hanchett
Minnesota	Leavitt Corning
Mississippi	S. D. Redmond

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—*Continued*

Missouri	Berryman Henwood
Montana	John M. Burlingame
Nebraska	Peter Jansen
Nevada	Samuel Platt
New Hampshire	George H. Moses
New Jersey	Hamilton F. Kean
New Mexico	Albert B. Fall
New York	James W. Wadsworth, Jr.
North Carolina	Marion Butler
North Dakota	John E. Paulson
Ohio	Paul Howland
Oklahoma	T. B. Ferguson
Oregon	W. H. Brooks
Pennsylvania	George T. Oliver
Rhode Island	Henry F. Lippitt
South Carolina	Ernest F. Cochran
South Dakota	Thomas Sterling
Tennessee	S. B. Anderson
Texas	Eugene Marshall
Utah	George Sutherland
Vermont	Theodore N. Vail
Virginia	D. Lawrence Groner
Washington	E. C. Hughes
West Virginia	Herschel C. Ogden
Wisconsin	Charles Gross
Wyoming	Dwight E. Hollister
Alaska	Charles D. Hilles
Hawaii	Henry J. Lyman
Philippines	Newton W. Gilbert

MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will announce the place and hour selected for each committee named by the Convention.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The times and places selected for the meetings of committees are as follows:

Permanent Organization.—The committee will meet in parlor 1702 of Congress Hotel, at four o'clock p. m., today, Wednesday, June 7, 1916.

Rules and Order of Business.—Will meet in parlor 1402 of Congress Hotel at four o'clock this afternoon.

Resolutions.—Will meet in the National Committee room, second floor of Coliseum Annex, being in the rear of this building, immediately after adjournment of this session of the National Convention, for the purpose of organization. After organizing, the committee will recess for dinner, after which a meeting will be held on the platform of this convention hall at half past three o'clock to give a public hearing to those who wish to appear before said committee.

Committee on Credentials.—The committee will meet in the re-

ception room of the Republican National Committee, second floor, Coliseum Annex, immediately after the adjournment of this convention. Lunch will be served to members of Committee on Credentials, after which said Committee will occupy the National Committee room for the purpose of hearing contests and making up the roll of delegates and alternates.

AUTOMOBILE RIDE

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will now read an announcement.

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 wearing badges are invited to avail themselves thereof for the purpose of viewing the city or making any trips about the city which they would like to make. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—It is earnestly desired that everybody know that the Committee on Resolutions will meet on this platform within two hours after the adjournment of the Convention, or 3:30 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of giving public hearings.

The Chair now recognizes Mr. Brown, of New York, for a motion.

MR. ELON R. BROWN, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, June 8, 1916, at 11 o'clock a. m.

SECOND DAY

CONVENTION HALL

THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 8, 1916.

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

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The members of the Convention and guests are requested to rise while prayer is offered by Rt. Rev. Monsignor Kelly.

PRAYER OF RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR KELLY

Right Reverend Monsignor Francis C. Kelly, President of the Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States, Chicago, Illinois, offered the following prayer:

O God, at whose creative touch this earth was born, whose hand sustains it, whose voice directs it, whose love keeps it, and whose countenance lights its pathway back to Thee; O Ruler, by whose will it is divided into nations, races and tongues that, through wise emulation, the sooner may be discovered the hidden stores of Thy bounty, through which happiness, peace and security come to its people; O Orient, from whom proceedeth the sun of justice; O Wisdom, seat of knowledge, font of power and source of truth; we bend our heads and raise our hearts to Thee as the first act of this day, in acknowledgment of the power that sustains our nation, blesses our people, and guides our destinies. Direct our counsels and our thoughts to know that Thou art ever first and greatest; to realize that, without Thee, for our nation we would hope in vain. Grant us to know that even the smallest of good acts, if done for Thine honor and glory will grow greater than empires in Thy sight. Bless, therefore, every act and thought of ours that is done with the motive of pleasing Thy Divine Majesty, Amen.



REED SMOOT, of Utah
Chairman of the Committee on Credentials

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The first business in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the Credentials Committee ready to report?

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman, we are ready to report.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, the chair recognizes Senator Smoot, of Utah, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, to present the report of his Committee.

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: I am directed by the Committee on Credentials to make the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

The Committee on Credentials respectfully presents to the Convention its report and recommends the seating of the following persons in the respective contest cases which it has heard and decided:

ALABAMA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

P. M. Long	Cordova	C. P. Lunsford	Hackleburg
O. D. Street	Guntersville	Edward Miller	Culman
P. D. Barker	Mobile	N. B. Spears	Pell City
James J. Curtis	Jasper	G. F. Schad	Brawton
William L. Chenault	Russellville	Paul Goddard	Oneonta
J. W. Atkins	Heflin	Tom H. Stephens	Gadsden

DISTRICTS

9—Charles J. Allison Birmingham J. G. Base

Birmingham

FLORIDA

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

1—G. W. Bean

Tampa

E. E. Skipper

Bartow

GEORGIA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Henry S. Jackson	Atlanta	W. R. Watson	Lithonia
John M. Barnes	Thomson	H. D. Bush	Covington
Henry Lincoln Johnson	Atlanta	Charles Taunton	Cuthbert
B. J. Davis	Atlanta	William F. Penn	Atlanta

GEORGIA—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—B. W. S. Daniels .....Savannah	Wm. James .....Statesboro
2—J. H. Watson .....Albany	J. A. Grant .....Bainbridge
3—F. G. Boatright .....Cordele	B. W. Warren .....Americas
4—E. J. Turner .....Columbus	T. W. Wheat .....Newman
5—F. J. Allen .....East Point	S. S. Simmons .....Lithia Springs
6—W. O. Emory .....Macon	R. A. Holland .. .....McDonough
7—DeWitt C. Cole .....Marietta	A. T. Atwater .....Rome
Albert N. Tumlin ..Cave Spring	R. L. Franklin .....Adairsville
8—W. H. Harris .....Athens	J. P. Watson .....Athens
9—Roscoe Pickett .....Jasper	T. A. Chastain .....Jasper
10—C. T. Walker .....Augusta	Warren Edwards .....Milledgeville
11—H. C. Scarlett .....Waycross	L. W. Brown .....Screven
12—S. S. Minsey .....Ailey	John T. Nobles .....Perry

OKLAHOMA

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
5—John R. Hadley.....Cushing	A. McDaniel.....Norman
Charles G. Moore.....Purcell	C. E. Goodwin.....Stratford
6—Wm. A. Mauren.....El Reno	Ed. Bourne.....Duncan
Myron E. Humphrey ....Chickasha	S. W. Hogna.....Kingfisher

SOUTH CAROLINA

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—Gibbs Mitchell .....Charleston	S. M. Walker .....Summerton
7—L. A. Hawkins .....Columbia	W. A. Smith .....Irmo

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

We recommend that the action of the National Committee in refusing to place upon the temporary roll any of the three sets of contesting delegates be sustained and none be placed upon the permanent roll.

VIRGINIA

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
3—Joseph P. Brady .....Richmond	William R. Vawter .....Richmond

And that the balance of the temporary roll as made up by the National Committee be made the permanent roll of the Convention.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) REED SMOOT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report of your Committee on Credentials.

The report was agreed to, whereupon the following became the permanent roll of the convention:

PERMANENT ROLL OF THE CONVENTION

ALABAMA

AT LARGE

Delegates

P. M. LongCordova
 O. D. StreetGuntersville
 P. D. BarkerMobile
 James J. CurtisJasper
 William L. ChenaultRussellville
 J. W. AtkinsHeflin

Alternates

C. P. LunsfordHackleburg
 Edward MillerCullman
 N. B. SpearsPell City
 G. F. SchadBrawton
 Paul GoddardOneonta
 Tom H. StephensGadsden

DISTRICTS

1—James J. PetersonMobile
 2—Asa E. StrattonMontgomery
 3—Clifford M. CoxOzark
 4—F. F. CroweMontevallo
 5—H. E. BerkstresserDodeville
 6—S. T. WrightFoyette
 7—Charles B. Kenamer...Guntersville
 H. Gordon AshleyAshville
 8—Albert M. HollandScottsboro
 9—Charles J. AllisonBirmingham

E. T. BelsanMobile
 J. S. JohnsonBrantley
 Byron TramwellDothan
 G. C. MichaelsonThorsby
 L. B. PondRockford
 C. M. SartainJasper
 Oscar P. DrakeHarleyville
 R. Oscar NoojinAttalla
 S. L. SherrillHartselle
 J. G. BaseBirmingham

ARIZONA

AT LARGE

Delegates

Edward KentPhoenix
 Charles A. OverlookDouglas
 Leroy AndersonPrescott
 Ph. FreudenthalSolomonville
 John B. WrightTucson
 Fred S. BreenFlagstaff

Alternates

Frank R. StewartPhoenix
 John M. RossBisbee
 Bracey CurtisNogales
 F. M. PoolWinkelman
 G. O. NolanRay
 Charles GrangerKingman

ARKANSAS

AT LARGE

Delegates

H. L. RimmelLittle Rock
 John I. WorthingtonHarrison
 Charles N. RixHot Springs
 Andrew J. RussellBerryville

Alternates

Charles T. DukeMonticello
 De Costa WalkerHot Springs
 John P. RobertsBooneville
 J. N. DonahooHelena

DISTRICTS

1—R. B. CampbellHelena
 2—T. J. SharumWalnut Ridge
 3—R. S. GrangerHarrison
 V. S. CannonHuntsville
 4—J. H. ButlerVan Buren
 C. C. GunnellsMena
 5—A. C. RimmelLittle Rock
 G. H. TaylorMorrilton
 6—M. A. EiseleHot Springs
 7—J. C. RussellCamden
 S. R. YoungHope

A. C. LangBlytheville
 H. C. WadeBatesville
 J. H. RobinsonMarshall
 R. G. FloydEureka Springs
 Chas. C. GravesMansfield
 Isaac IsaacsonFt. Smith
 J. F. BurrisAtkins
 Geo. L. MalloryLittle Rock
 A. A. TindallStuttgart
 H. G. FriedheimCamden
 T. S. GraysonMagnolia

CALIFORNIA

AT LARGE

Delegates

Walter Bordwell Los Angeles
 Mrs. Olive C. Cole Los Angeles
 Mrs. Abbie E. Krebs..... San Francisco
 J. O. Hayes San Jose

Alternates

Joseph E. Carr Los Angeles
 Miss Adeline Stanton Los Angeles
 Mrs. Hattie E. Cotton .. San Francisco
 Marshall Hale San Francisco

DISTRICTS

1—Amiel Hochheimer Willows
 Presley I. Lancaster Willits
 2—Luke McDonald Redding
 Charles E. Clinch Grass Valley
 3—Ephriam Light..... Calistoga
 R. R. Veale Martinez
 4—Albert E. Castle San Francisco
 Frances V. Keesling San Francisco
 5—J. C. Berendsen San Francisco
 Alexander Russell .. San Francisco
 6—Peter J. Crosby Oakland
 J. F. Carlston Oakland
 7—F. A. Creeseey, Jr..... Modesto
 John F. Gibson Visalia
 8—William H. Crocker San Francisco
 Willis S. Clayton San Jose
 9—Lewis L. Lostutter Pomona
 William C. Mushet .. Los Angeles
 10—John G. Mott Los Angeles
 Eugene W. Britt Los Angeles
 11—John S. Akerman San Diego
 Charles C. Chapman ... Fullerton

Charles Mannon Ukiah
 William N. Speegle Berkley
 John H. Campbell Yreka
 Mrs. Emily Clinch Grass Valley
 E. W. Churchill Napa
 Sophie E. K. Hewitt .. San Francisco
 E. H. Tryon San Francisco
 R. E. Miller San Francisco
 Bernard Schapiro San Francisco
 William H. Hammer .. San Francisco
 Joseph R. Knowland Alameda
 O. D. Hamlin Oakland
 George A. Osborn Fresno
 E. O. Larkin Visalia
 Charles T. Crocker San Mateo
 William P. Lyon San Jose
 Sloan Pitzer Alhambra
 Frank Roberts Long Beach
 William M. Garland ... Los Angeles
 Bradner W. Lee..... Los Angeles
 Lyman J. Gage San Diego
 William F. Holt Redlands

COLORADO

AT LARGE

Delegates

George A. Carlson Fort Collins
 Philip B. Stewart Colorado Springs
 Karl C. Schuyler Denver
 Charles W. Waterman Denver

Alternates

Henry D. Watson Greeley
 H. E. Perkins Delta
 D. N. Cooper Canon City
 A. E. Carlton Cripple Creek

DISTRICTS

1—A. M. Stevenson Denver
 Ralph W. Smith Denver
 2—Spencer Penrose .. Colorado Springs
 J. W. McCreery Greeley
 3—Fred O. Roof Pueblo
 Daniel L. Taylor Trinidad
 4—John A. Ewing Leadville
 Bulkley Wells Telluride

J. Foster Symes Denver
 Charles Boettcher Denver
 Chas. D. Pickett Wray
 Wm. B. Gobin Rocky Ford
 P. B. Godsman Burlington
 H. F. Ruby Golden
 Wallis Cole Salida
 John Welsh Eagle

CONNECTICUT

AT LARGE

Delegates

J. Henry RorabackNorth Canaan
 Charles Hopkins ClarkHartford
 John T. KingBridgeport
 Francis T. MaxwellVernon

Alternates

Charles W. BarnumSalisbury
 Hiram BinghamNew Haven
 Nathaniel W. BishopBridgeport
 John BuckleyUnion

DISTRICTS

1—George W. KlettNew Britain
 Charles T. TreadwayBristol
 2—Frank B. Weeks.....Middletown
 Edwin W. HigginsNorwich
 3—Isaac M. UllmanNew Haven
 Rollin S. WoodruffNew Haven
 4—Oliver G. JenningsFairfield
 Schuyler MerrittStamford
 5—Irving H. ChaseWaterbury
 Edward H. Hotchkiss ..Torrington

E. Hart FennWeathersfield
 Arthur E. BowersManchester
 William H. HallWillington
 Fayette L. WrightPomfret
 Joseph E. HubingerNew Haven
 William H. LyonMeriden
 Frank P. Farrell.....Danbury
 C. Milton FessendenStamford
 James M. EmersonAnsonia
 Dudley L. VaillWinchester

DELAWARE

AT LARGE

Delegates

Edmund MitchellWilmington
 Alfred I. du PontWilmington
 Alden R. BesonDover
 Simeon S. PennewellGreenwood
 John W. HerringMilford
 Ruby S. ValeMilford

Alternates

Charles WarnerWilmington
 Edward G. Bradford, Jr....Wilmington
 D. Mifflin WilsonDover
 Harry V. LyonsLewes
 Alvin B. Conner (Deceased).
 Sirman D. Marvil (Resigned).

FLORIDA

AT LARGE

Delegates

Henry S. ChubbPrinceton
 Joseph E. LeeJacksonville
 M. B. MacfarlaneTampa
 Z. T. BielbyDeLand

Alternates

Eugene OberdorferJacksonville
 John R. ScottJacksonville
 J. A. ColyerOrlando
 William FlukerPensacola

DISTRICTS

1—G. W. BeanTampa
 2—Louis C. LynchGainesville
 3—William H. Northrup ...Pensacola
 4—W. R. O'NealOrlando

E. E. SkipperBartow.
 T. W. BryanGainesville
 M. M. OwensBonifay
 Daniel T GerowJacksonville

GEORGIA

AT LARGE

Henry S JacksonAtlanta
 John M. BarnesThomson
 Henry Lincoln JohnsonAtlanta
 B. J. DavisAtlanta

W. R. WatsonLithonia
 H. D BushCovington
 Charles TauntonCuthbert
 Wm. F. PennAtlanta

GEORGIA—Continued

DISTRICTS

Delegates

1—B. W. S. Daniels.....	Savannah
2—J. H. Watson.....	Albany
3—F. G. Boatright.....	Cordele
4—E. J. Turner.....	Columbus
5—F. J. Allen.....	East Point
6—W. O. Emory.....	Macon
7—De Witt C. Cole.....	Marietta
Albert N. Tumlin.....	Cave Spring
8—W. H. Harris.....	Athens
9—Roscoe Pickett.....	Jasper
10—C. T. Walker.....	Augusta
11—H. C. Scarlett.....	Waycross
12—S. S. Minsey.....	Ailey

Alternates

Wm. James	Statesboro
J. A. Grant	Bainbridge
B. W. Warren	Americus
T. W. Wheat	Newnan
S. S. Simmons	Lithia Springs
R. A. Holland	McDonough
A. T. Atwater	Rome
R. L. Franklin	Adairsville
J. P. Watson	Athens
T. A. Chastain	Jasper
Warren Edwards	Milledgeville
L. W. Brown	Screven
John T. Nobles	Perry

IDAHO

AT LARGE

Alternates

Wm. E. Borah	Boise
James H. Brady	Pocatello
James F. Ailshie	Coeur d'Alene
E. H. Dewey	Nampa
Stanley A. Easten	Kellogg
Fred W. Gooding	Shoshone
John W. Hart	Menan
Ezra R. Whitla	Coeur d'Alene

Delegates

H. C. Baldrige	Parma
R. C. Beach	Lewiston
Ezra Burrell	Montpelier
Charles F. Koelsch	Boise
William E. Lee	Moscow
Irwin E. Rockwell	Bellevue
L. R. Thomas	Blackfoot
Otis N. Van Tassell	St. Anthony

ILLINOIS

AT LARGE

Delegates

William J. Calhoun	Chicago
Isaac N. Evans	Milledgeville
Garrett DeF. Kinney	Peoria
Medill McCormick	Chicago
William B. McKinley	Champaign
William A. Rodenberg	East St. Louis
William Hale Thompson	Chicago
Roy O. West.....	Chicago

Alternates

Palmer E. Anderson	Princeton
Franklin A. Denison	Chicago
Cornelius J. Doyle	Springfield
Charles B. Graff	Jacksonville
Henry H. Kohn	Anna
Ralph C. Otis	Chicago
Henry R. Rathbone	Chicago
John F. Smulski	Chicago

DISTRICTS

1—Martin B. Madden	Chicago
George F. Harding	Chicago
2—Charles H. Sergel	Chicago
Morton D. Hull	Chicago
3—Charles S. Deneen	Chicago
William H. Weber	Blue Island
4—David E. Shanahan	Chicago
Joseph J. Elias.....	Chicago
5—William J. Cooke	Chicago
August W. Miller	Chicago
6—John Siman.....	Chicago
Mathias Wengler	Chicago
7—Albert H. Severinghaus	Chicago
William Busse	Mt. Prospect

Morris Lewis	Chicago
Phil I. Orme	Chicago
Morton MacCormack	Chicago
John H. Jones	Chicago
Alfred Van Duser	Chicago
William E. Helander	Chicago
Frank J. Randack	Chicago
Matt A. Mueller	Chicago
Jacob Geiserowich	Chicago
Arthur Ahlgrim	Chicago
William W. Loomis	LaGrange
Walter J. Fisher	Chicago
Andrew J. Martin	Chicago
Harry E. Littler	Chicago

ILLINOIS—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
8—Christopher Mamer .....Chicago	Toney Albano .....Chicago
Edward I. Williams .....Chicago	Albert Menkicki .....Chicago
9—Fred W. Upham .....Chicago	Edwin A. Olson .....Chicago
William Wrigley, Jr. ....Chicago	Louis O. Kohtz .....Chicago
10—James Pease .....Chicago	Edward Clifford .....Evanston
Edward J. Brundage .....Chicago	Lee McDonough .....Waukegan
11—Ulysses S. G. Blakely ....Plainfield	Joseph A. Reuss .....Naperville
John Alexander.....Aurora	Michael F. Walsh .....Harvard
12—Henry W. Johnson .....Ottawa	Thomas D. Reber .....Rockford
William L. Ellwood .....DeKalb	Frank S. Whitman .....Belvidere
13—James R. Cowley .....Freeport	Charles M. Myers .....Oregon
Henry C. Warner .....Dixon	Arthur M. Smith .....Stockton
14—Orville F. Berry .....Carthage	Everett C. Hardin .....Monmouth
Walter A. Rosenfield ..Rock Island	John Y. Whiteman .....Biggsville
15—James E. Adams .....Quincy	John C. Work .....Rushville
Joseph E. Westerlund ..Cambridge	James C. Simpson .....Galesburg
16—William E. Hull .....Peoria	Jay H. Magoon .....Lacou
Everett W. Wilson .....Pekin	Edwin G. Williamson .....Toulon
17—Homer W. Hall ....Bloomington	David C. Swanson .....Paxton
Charles E. Dehner .....Lincoln	Frederick J. Simater .....Minonk
18—Thomas G. Vennum .....Watseka	W. R. Rhodes .....Toledo
John H. Harrison .....Danville	W. H. Drewel .....Westfield
19—Porter J. Milliken .....Decatur	Oliver F. Dolan .....Lovington
Lewis L. Lehman .....Mattoon	Winfield S. Harrold .....Clinton
20—Homer J. Tice .....Greenville	S. Elmer Simpson .....Carrrollton
Andrew Russel .....Jacksonville	Ivory G. Blair .....Chandlerville
21—Elbert S. Smith .....Springfield	Frank R. Milnor .....Litchfield
James B. Searcy .....Carlinville	Fred H. Kinney .....Taylorville
22—William E. Trautman ....Belleville	Albert C. Bollinger .....Waterloo
Cicero J. Lindly .....Greenville	William H. Kugler .....Okawville
23—Alfred H. Jones .....Robinson	John R. Snook .....Altamont
Albert D. Rodenberg.....Centralia	Edwin B. Brooks .....Newton
24—Noah C. Bainum .....Carmi	Alonzo B. Capel .....Shawneetown
Marion S. Whitley ....Harrisburg	Loren Smith .....Metropolis
25—James A. White ... Murphysboro	John B. Jackson .....Anna
William O. Potter .....Marion	W. George Beever .....Chester

INDIANA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Will H. Hays .....Sullivan	Albert V. Conradt .....Kokomo
James A. Hemenway .....Booneville	A. L. Pfau.....Terre Haute
Fred A. Sims .....Indianapolis	Louis Moore.....Ft. Wayne
Edward C. Toner .....Anderson	Sumner A. Furniss .....Indianapolis

DISTRICTS

1—Wm. H. McCurdy .....Evansville	Charles A. Miller.....Mt. Vernon
J. A. Thornburg .....Booneville	W. J. Pethell .....Winslow
2—Al. M. Ford .....Vincennes	John M. Peek .....Washington
Robt. G. Miller .....Bloomington	Fred Cunningham .....Martinsville
3—Thomas J. Brooks .....Bedford	Lee Herr .....Tell City
Will W. Cave .....French Lick	Charles F. C. Hancock....Jeffersonville

INDIANA—Continued

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

4—William G. Irwin .....Columbus	William Arnold .....Needmore
John S. Benham .....Benham	F. F. Espey .....Rising Sun
5—John L. Crawford ..Terre Haute	James B. Davis .....Brazil
J. J. Higgins .....Clinton	Clarence G. Powell .....Montezuma
6—Thomas Millikan .....Newcastle	Frank Taylor .....Richmond
R. N. Elliott .....Connersville	Elden A. Robb .....Greenfield
7—Frederick A. Joss ....Indianapolis	James Shelton .....Indianapolis
Richard Lieber .....Indianapolis	Gurley Brewer .....Indianapolis
8—Gorge B. Lockwood .....Muncie	Ralph S. Todd .....Bluffton
Frank Merry .....Dunkirk	L. Ray Lenich .....Union City
9—E. W. Bowen .....Delphi	L. W. Otto .....Crawfordsville
J. S. Shanklin .....Frankfort	J. E. Moore .....Kokomo
10—H S. Norton .....Gary	Charles Mauzy .....Fowler
Henry Marshall .....Lafayette	C. W. Hanley .....Rensselaer
11—James I. Barnes .....Logansport	Edward Bridges .....Wabash
John Spangler .....Winamac	M. B. Stults .....Huntington
12—A. B. Mier.....Ligonier	Byron Somers .....Ft. Wayne
Benton E. Gates ..Columbia City	C. A. Abell .....Garrett
13—Vernon W. Van Fleet.South Bend	Louis Vail .....Goshen
D. C. Knott .....Plymouth	Fred A. Bryan .....South Bend

IOWA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Luther A. Brewer.....Cedar Rapids	L. B. Whitney.....Decorah
Howard J. Clark.....Des Moines	John H. Darrah.....Chariton
George W. French.....Davenport	J. A. Devitt .....Oskaloosa
William S. Kenyon.....Ft. Dodge	J. U. Sammis .....Le Mars

DISTRICTS

1—La Monte Cowles .....Burlington	David J. Palmer .....Washington
E. R. Smith .....Fairfield	George S. Tucker .....Keokuk
2—George M. Curtis .....Clinton	C. M. Dutcher .....Iowa City
J. Reed Lane .....Davenport	George M. Titus .....Muscatine
3—A. M. Cloud .....Manchester	W. J. Murray .....Eldora
C. F. Johnston .....Sheffield	M. A. Smith .....Independence
4—C. H. McNider .....Mason City	Karl J. Johnson .....Osage
J. W. Sandusky ....New Hampton	William R. Dutton .....Waukon
5—W. A. Dexter .....Toledo	John C. Milner .....Belle Plaine
D. W. Norris .....Marshalltown	Charles T. Rogers .....Gundy Center
6—W. T. Harper .....Ottumwa	Ross R. Mowry .....Newton
H. W. Spaulding .....Grinnell	Harry M. Neas .....Sigourney
7—Gardner Cowles .....Des Moines	W. S. Cooper .....Winterset
M. L. Curtis .....Knoxville	E. W. Valentine .....Ames
8—James R. Bowsher .....Leon	Daniel W. Turner .....Corning
H. E. Tomlinson ....New Market	Earl R. Ferguson .....Shenandoah
9—John J. Hess .....Council Bluffs	Arthur Farquhar .....Audubon
Robert B. Wallace ..Council Bluffs	J. Y. Wickersham .....Villisca
10—Robert Healy .....Ft. Dodge	S. G. Goldthwaite .....Boone
Paul E. Stillman .....Jefferson	Dwight G. McCarty .....Emmetsburg
11—George C. Call .....Sioux City	E. H. Cunningham .....Newell
E. L. Hogue .....Blencoe	T. S. Snell, Jr. ....Ida Grove

KANSAS

AT LARGE

Delegates

Charles F. ScottIola
 A. F. WilliamsColumbus
 T. D. SmithHiawatha
 W. Y. MorganHutchinson

Alternates

E. B. JewettWichita
 Mrs. Theresa Breeze..Cottonwood Falls
 W. L. V. TurnerPratt
 J. R. RansomKansas City

DISTRICTS

1—W. D. CaseyAtchison
 Ira K. WellsSeneca
 2—Charles H. TuckerLawrence
 John O. MorseMound City
 3—Albert H. Denton ...Arkansas City
 W. S. FitzpatrickIndependence
 4—Jacob RhodesCouncil Grove
 C. E. MooreEureka
 5—E. R. FultonMarysville
 Fred W. Sturges, Jr. ...Concordia
 6—Emmett GeorgeMankato
 Ike PurcellWakeeney
 7—L. J. PettyjohnDodge City
 J. N. TinchlerMedicine Lodge
 8—J. B. AdamsEl Dorado
 Ezra BranineNewton

E. B. JonesHolton
 Charles PorterAtchison
 Sennett KirkGarnett
 C. H. JonesOlathe
 D. H. FisherChanute
 Daniel SpoonhourMulberry
 D. S. FisherReading
 Clarence HaughwoutOnaga
 L. D. SpenceBarnes
 Fred R. FitzpatrickSalina
 F. M. LockardGoodland
 E. A. SwezeyBarnard
 William TownsleyGreat Bend
 R. H. MillerKiowa
 F. G. EmersonWellington
 Warren BrownEl Dorado

KENTUCKY

AT LARGE

**Delegates*

Edwin P. MorrowSomerset
 John W. LangleyPikeville
 Augustus E. WillsonLouisville
 Richard P. ErnstCovington
 Edward C. O'RearFrankfort
 Caleb PowersBarbourville
 William Marshall Bullitt ...Louisville
 Phil H. BrownHopkinsville

* One-half vote each.

DISTRICTS

Delegates

1—William MasonMurray
 Carl HendersonMarion
 2—E. T. FranksOwensboro
 C. H. WilsonSturgis
 3—E. L. PeairsonAuburn
 Elmer C. Anderson ...Morgantown
 4—M. L. HeavrinHartford
 T. C. JacksonLebanon
 5—A. T. HertLouisville
 William HeyburnLouisville

Alternates

W. H. McRidleyCadiz
 W. L. PrinceBenton
 V. M. WilliamsonHopkinsville
 Ben T. RobinsonMorton Gap
 George McCombsBrownsville
 W. H. BoganFranklin
 W. F. NicholsMunfordville
 O. M. MatherHorgenville
 William KriegerLouisville
 W. F. KnebelkampLouisville

KENTUCKY—Continued

DISTRICTS

*Alternates**Delegates*

6—M. L. Galvin	Covington	W. C. Huddleston	Butler
W. A. Burkamp	Newport	M. C. McClure	Dry Ridge
7—Richard C. Stoll	Lexington	Sam Hurst	Beattyville
John H. Hardwick	Lexington	E. W. Chenault	Lexington
8—L. F. Petty	Shelbyville	J. O. Russell	Columbia
D. P. Black	Richmond	W. C. Cundiff	Liberty
9—W. D. Cockran	Maysville	J. C. Hurst	Jackson
Robert H. Winn,	Mt. Sterling	Howard C. Cudgell	Owingsville
10—J. A. Williams	Paintsville	R. Lee Stewart	Hindman
S. Monroe Nickell	Hazard	S. C. Ferguson	Prestonburg
11—J. S. Cooper	Somerset	White Moss	Pineville
J. M. Robison	Barbourville	J. T. Bowling	Harlan

LOUISIANA

AT LARGE

DelegatesAlternates*

Armand Romain	New Orleans	C. W. Row	Rosedale
Walter L. Cohen	New Orleans	C. J. Bell	New Orleans
S. A. Trufant	New Orleans	E. J. Rodrigue	Paincourtville
Emile Kuntz	New Orleans	J. H. Lowery	Donaldsville
E. F. Dickinson	Matthews	Frank E. Posey	Baton Rouge
D. A. Lines	New Orleans	J. M. Pierce	New Orleans
Chas. F. Boagni	Opelousas	A. C. Lea	Shreveport
J. Madison Vance	New Orleans	F. F. Woolfley	Lake Charles

DISTRICTS

1—Wm. S. Dwyer	Algiers	W. J. Brophy.....	New Orleans
Jas. L. Higgins	New Orleans	Wm. E. Weeks	New Orleans
2—A. C. Carpenter	New Orleans	E. J. Caire	Edgard
W. E. Robertson	New Orleans	J. T. Newman	New Orleans
3—R. H. Brown.....	Jeanerette	Louis Corde	Napoleonville
P. H. Segura	New Iberia	Frank Blanc	New Iberia
4—W. G. Hudson	Shreveport	R. A. Giddens	Coushatta
Chas. M. Roberson	Shreveport	W. J. Walker	Shreveport
5—W. T. Insley	Delhi	John B. Hays, Jr.	Monroe
S. W. Green	New Orleans	J. W. Cooke	New Orleans
6—George J. Reilly	Clinton	Louis Bluestein	Plaquemine
B. V. Baranco	Baton Rouge	H. J. Allen	Baton Rouge
7—L. E. Robinson	Welsh	Frank C. Labet	Crowley
J. S. Thomson	Lake Charles	C. W. Millspaugh	Opelousas
8—Sherman Cook	Alexandria	J. T. Charnley	Alexandria
Scott Normand	Mansura	William Houston	Alexandria

* One-half vote each.

MAINE

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Fred N. Dow	Portland	Ernest L. Morrill	Saco
Harold M. Sewall	Bath	Arthur G. Staples	Lewiston
John A. Peters	Ellsworth	Benjamin F. Colcord	Searsport
Charles J. Dunn	Orono	Patrick F. Therriault	Grand Isle

MAINE—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—Henry G. Beyer, Jr. ....Portland	Adam P. Leighton .....Portland
Walter P. Perkins .....Cornish	Urbain J. Ledoux .....Biddeford
2—John R. Bass .....Wilton	Theodore Hawley .....Rumford
Phineas H. Gay .....Newcastle	Reuel Robinson .....Camden
3—Guy P. Gannett .....Augusta	F. Morris Fish .....Hallowell
John R. Trimble .....Calais	Carleton P. Merrill .....Skowhegan
4—John Houston .....Guilford	Dana H. Danforth .....Foxcroft
Willard P. Hamilton ....Caribou	P. J. Feeny .....Bangor

MARYLAND

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Walter B. Miller .....Salisbury	Frederick P. Adkins .....Salisbury
Ovington E. Weller .....Arlington	Albert A. Blakeney .....Baltimore
Felix Agnus .....Baltimore	Edmund Budnitz .....Baltimore
J. McPherson Scott .....Hagerstown	Albert A. Doub .....Cumberland

DISTRICTS

1—John D. Urie .....Chestertown	John G. Carter .....Denton
Thomas M. Bartlett .....Easton	Albert C. Hayden .....Price
2—Laban Sparks .....Sparks	T. Irving Zimmerman .....Arlington
Henry A. Whitaker .....Bel Air	A. R. L. Dohme .....Baltimore
3—John Philip Hill .....Baltimore	Edward W. Klein .....Baltimore
John A. Janetzke, Sr. ....Baltimore	Frank Hughes .....Baltimore
4—Henry B. Wilcox .....Baltimore	Walter E. Knickman .....Baltimore
George W. Cameron .....Baltimore	Chas. R. Williams .....Baltimore
5—Charles H. Heintzeman ..Baltimore	Remus Dorsey .....Ellicott City
Francis S. Carmody ..Pleasant Seat	Alonzo R. Wade .....La Plata
6—Gist Blair .....Kensington	Geo. R. Dennis, Jr. ....Frederick
Leo Weinberg .....Frederick	W. L. Sperry .....Cumberland

MASSACHUSETTS

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Samuel W. McCall .....Winchester	Butler Ames .....Lowell
Henry Cabot Lodge .....Nahant	Louis A. Frothingham .....Boston
John W. Weeks .....Newton	Eben S. S. Keith .....Bourne
Winthrop Murray Crane .....Dalton	Frank W. Stearns .....Newton

DISTRICTS

1—William H. Brooks .....Holyoke	James R. Savery ... ..Pittsfield
Charles E. Hull .....Stockbridge	Jens J. Madsen .....Holyoke
2—George A. Bacon .....Springfield	Joseph C. McVeigh .....Springfield
Alexander McCallum....Northampton	Albert E. Taylor .....Chicopee
3—Herbert E. Cummings	Freelon Q. Ball .....Monson
North Brookfield	
J. Lovell Johnson .....Fitchburg	Solon Wilder .....Gardner
4—William A. L. Bazeley ..Uxbridge	George N. Jeppson .....Worcester
Charles G. Washburn ..Worcester	Waldo N. Jenckes .....Hopedale

MASSACHUSETTS—*Continued*

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

5—Herbert E. Fletcher ....Westford	Frank E. Dunbar .....Lowell
John N. Cole .....Andover	Wilford D. Gray .....Woburn
6—John L. Saltonstall .....Beverly	Isaac Patch .....Gloucester
Edward R. Hale .....Haverhill	William S. Felton .....Salem
7—Eugene B. Fraser .....Lynn	Francis M. Hill .....Saugus
Archie N. Frost .....Lawrence	Daniel C. Smith .....Lawrence
8—George B. Wason ....Cambridge	Jay R. Benton .....Belmont
Wilton B. Fay .....Medford	Frederick T. Peabody .....Melrose
9—Fred P. Greenwood ....Everett	George W. Pratt.....Somerville
Alvan T. Fuller .....Malden	Walter M. Pratt .....Chelsea
10—Edward C. R. Bagley ....Boston	Augustus A. Fales .....Boston
Abraham C. Ratskesky ....Boston	Rocco Leone .....Boston
11—Charles H. Innes .....Boston	David Stoneman .....Boston
Warren F. Freeman .....Boston	David E. Crawford .....Boston
12—J. Waldo Pond .....Boston	Herbert S. Frost .....Boston
Walter B. Grant .....Boston	John E. Mayers .....Boston
13—George H. Doty .....Waltham	Llewellyn E. Pulsifer .....Natick
Martin Hays .....Boston	Fred H. Williams .....Brookline
14—Henry L. Kincaide .....Quincy	Eugene R. Stone .....Quincy
C. Chester Eaton .....Brockton	
15—Edward Anthony Thurston	Charles R. Hillberg .....Brockton
Fall River	
Joseph William Martin, Jr	Alfred B. Williams .....Taunton
N. Attleborough	Godfrey de Tonnancour ...Fall River
16—Charles L. Gifford ....Barnstable	John W. Churchill .....Plymouth
Thomas F. Glennon New Bedford	Thomas Thompson .....New Bedford

MICHIGAN

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Oscar B. Marx .....Detroit	Fred M. Alger .....Detroit
Albert E. Petermann .....Calumet	Addison E. Proctor .....St. Joseph
Benjamin S. Hanchett ..Grand Rapids	Claude E. Hamilton ...Grand Rapids
George W. Cook .....Flint	Myron J. Sherwood .....Marquette

DISTRICTS

1—Jerome H. Remick .....Detroit	Charles B. Warren .....Detroit
John F. Dodge .....Detroit	Joseph Wedda .....Detroit
2—M. W. Hensel .....Blissfield	Robert A. Smith .....Jackson
Victor E. Van Ameringen	
Ann Arbor	Herbert Brown .....Wyandotte
3—Wm. J. Smith .....Battle Creek	A. B. Connable .....Kalamazoo
Daniel Warner .....Bronson	Wm. H. Frankhauser .....Hillsdale
4—Edgar A. Planck .....Union	Archie A. Anderson .....Hastings
Geo. W. Merriman .....Hartford	Chas. W. Kirsch .....Three Rivers
5—Henry T. Stanton ..Grand Rapids	Chas. J. Rice .....Sparta
Henry Pelgrim, Sr. ....Holland	Jarrett N. Clark .....Zeeland
6—Philip H. McMillan Grosse Points	Frank B. Ives .....Stockbridge
Wm. J. Goodspeed .....Lansing	Frank S. Neal .....Northville

MICHIGAN—Continued

DISTRICTS

Delegates

- 7—M. R. DeoNorth Branch
 Frank E. NellisMt. Clemens
 8—Wm. H. WallaceSaginaw
 John N. McCallIthaca
 9—John Q. Ross.....Muskegon
 August FieldManistee
 10—F. E. P. KeltonBay City
 Stewart B. GordonMidland
 11—Geo. W. McCormick ..Menominee
 Crawford S. Reilley ..Cheboygan
 12—Frank A. BellNegaunee
 Wm. KellyVulcan
 13—Charles W. BurtonDetroit
 John S. HaggertyDetroit

Alternates

- Walter S. WixsonCaro
 Burt D. CadyPort Huron
 Charles H. GibsonGreenville
 Joseph H. CollinsCorunna
 Wm. J. BranstromFremont
 George H. CrossTraverse City
 E. T. CameronMt. Pleasant
 Wm. AgansStandish
 Sherman T. Handy ..Sault Ste. Marie
 Fred SmithElk Rapids
 D. E. SutherlandIron Wood
 S. R. SmithAhmeek
 John KelseyDetroit
 Emil A. RosingerDetroit

MINNESOTA

AT LARGE

Delegates

- Adolph O. EberhartSt. Paul
 J. F. JacobsonMadison
 Frederick C. StevensSt. Paul
 Samuel R. Van SantMinneapolis

Alternates

- E. E. SmithMinneapolis
 Sam Y. GordonBrowns Valley
 L. M. WillcuttsDuluth
 George H. SeloverMinneapolis

DISTRICTS

- 1—F. A. DuxburyCaledonia
 R. L. JohnsonAustin
 2—C. H. Christopherson ...Luverne
 A. J. GebhardLamberton
 3—Henry L. SimonsGlencoe
 G. H. SullivanStillwater
 4—Leavitt CorningSt. Paul
 H. P. KellerSt. Paul
 5—Josiah H. ChaseMinneapolis
 Earnest LundeenMinneapolis
 6—Clifton A. Albright ...Brainerd
 George E. HanscomSt. Cloud
 7—Thomas DavisMarshall
 Eric L. ThorntonBenson
 8—Milie BunnellDuluth
 D. M. GunnGrand Rapids
 9—A. G. AndersonFergus Falls
 Martin WidstenWarroad
 10—Lowell E. JepsonMinneapolis
 Henry RinesMora

- A. W. ThompsonPreston
 C. L. SwensonAlbert Lea
 W. O. DustinElmore
 James A. LarsonWalnut Grove
 S. F. ScottZumbrota
 George J. BradleyNorwood
 Charles J. MooseSt. Paul
 J. S. ArnesonSt. Paul
 Harry J. MurphyMinneapolis
 Charles S. AlbrightMinneapolis
 Farley DareWalker
 I. W. BouckRoyalton
 E. F. WhitingBalaton
 Magnus JohnsonLitchfield
 Sievern SwansonMoose Lake
 Chester A. CongdonDuluth
 L. W. OberhauserFrazee
 O. L. MelgaardArgyle
 Peter J. YoungdahlMinneapolis
 E. W. StarkCenter City

MISSISSIPPI

AT LARGE

Delegates

- L. B. MoseleyJackson
 M. J. MulvihillVicksburg
 S. D. RedmondJackson
 Wesley CraytonVicksburg

Alternates

- Parke DanielsStarkeville
 J. C. TylerBiloxi
 I. T. Montgomery ...Mound Bayou
 W. J. LathamJackson

MISSISSIPPI—Continued

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

1—W. F. Elgin	Corinth	John T. Wood	Columbus
2—C. L. Hovis	Ripley	J. A. Q. Williams	Holley Springs
3—J. E. Walker	Indianola	B. T. Williamson	Greenwood
4—A. M. Storer	Kosciusko	Webster Turner	Okoloma
5—*D. W. Sherrod	Meridian	T. J. Wilson	Meridian
*E. E. Howard	Meridian	C. T. Butler	Meridian
6—A. A. Edwards	Laurel	E. E. Robertson	Collins
7—W. O. Ligon	Gloster	Chas. H. Isaacs	Natchez
8—Perry W. Howard	Jackson	J. W. Hair	Jackson

*One-half vote each.

MISSOURI

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

John C. McKinley	Unionville	J. R. A. Crossland	St. Joseph
Herbert S. Hadley	Kansas City	W. C. Hueston	Kansas City
John Schmoll	St. Louis	George L. Vaughn	St. Louis
Thomas K. Niedringhaus	St. Louis	Alexander Chinn	Glasgow

DISTRICTS

1—Berryman Henwood	Hannibal	A. W. Selway	Williamstown
W. T. Robinson	La Plata	C. W. Mullenix	Unionville
2—E. L. Marshall	Chillicothe	W. R. Sweeney	Salisbury
Lenny Baldrige	Milan	J. S. Walters	Stoutsville
3—E. L. Morse	Excelsior Springs	Fred Williams	Grant City
E. H. Frisby	Bethany	B. F. Hardin	Albany
4—Ralph O. Stauber	St. Joseph	Earl N. Raines	Rockport
D. W. Porter	Mound City	C. E. Stevenson	Savannah
5—Thos. R. Marks	Kansas City	B. W. Welch	Kansas City
C. C. Madison	Kansas City	Fred W. Dabney	Kansas City
6—David H. Kirk	Harrisonville	O. G. Boisseau	Holden
Chas. A. Hendricks	Stockton	Perce Bolinger	Clinton
7—Holmes Hall	Sedalia	M. T. Easley	Fair Play
Wm. S. Wade	Springfield	T. C. Andrew	Sweet Springs
8—David W. Peters	Jefferson City	Roy T. Davis	Columbia
G. W. Duncan	Iberia	Alex Verdote	Bonnets Mill
9—T. W. Hukriede	Warrenton	Daniel C. Mills	Wellsville
John C. Brown	Wentzville	Fred C. Meier	Bland
10—A. E. L. Gardner	Clayton	Joseph White	St. Louis
Otto F. Stifel	St. Louis	J. T. Caston	St. Louis
11—A. C. Kunze	St. Louis	R. E. Harris	St. Louis
F. W. Breckmann	St. Louis	J. W. MuIntyre	St. Louis
12—L. C. Dyer	St. Louis	Chas. H. Phillips, Jr.	St. Louis
Wm. J. Zachritz	St. Louis	Hutchins I. Inge	St. Louis
13—Simon G. Nipper	Potosi	Garry H. Yount	Van Buren
George Stanfill	Bonne Terre	Henry L. Siebert	Ste. Genevieve
14—Sam Ulen	Dexter	Z. P. Cancer	Senath
W. P. Sullivan	Billings	J. W. Reece	Forsyth
15—J. M. McAnulty	Neosho	D. H. Kemp	Monett
Wallace Porter	Carthage	F. D. W. Arnold	Lamar
16—L. J. Ellis	Mt. Grove	Francis M. Jones	Winona
Harry Clymer	Steelville	George L. Cole	Richland

MONTANA

AT LARGE

Delegates

J. M. BurlingameGreat Falls
 Joseph M. DixonMissoula
 Jacob AlbrightVirginia City
 E. S. BoothBaker
 E. O. SelwayDillon
 Eugene CarrollButte
 Louise F. LuskMissoula
 W. J. BrennanKalispell

Alternates

O. F. GoddardBillings
 Lee MantleButte
 A. A. BratenBozeman
 O. M. HarveyLivingston
 T. C. PowerHelena
 George McConeGlendive
 J. H. StevensKalispell
 George H. ClynickBonner

NEBRASKA

AT LARGE

Delegates

E. R. GurneyFremont
 Howard H. BaldrigeOmaha
 N. P. DodgeOmaha
 Frank M. CurrieBrewster

Alternates

Walter L. AndresonLincoln
 A. B. WoodGering
 J. F. WhiteBlair
 O. O. SynderO'Neill

DISTRICTS

1—Ernest M. PollardNehawka
 J. Reid GreenLincoln
 2—W. G. UreOmaha
 Gould DietzOmaha
 3—O. R. ThompsonWisner
 J. H. KempFullerton
 4—Peter JansenBeatrice
 W. I. FarleyAurora
 5—A. BarnettMcCook
 Charles G. LaneHastings
 6—William C. MayGothenburg
 Earl D. MalleryAlliance

John W. TowleOmaha
 Frank H. WoodlandOmaha
 Thomas C. KirkNeligh
 C. N. McElfreshColumbus
 J. R. EvansDavid City
 William OverstreetYork
 Frank A. DeanHoldrege
 Daniel GarberRed Cloud
 James J. BisgardSt. Paul
 John A. DaviesButte

NEVADA

AT LARGE

Delegates

H. G. HumphreyReno
 H. H. BrownTonopah
 George B. WilliamsFallon
 W. N. McGillEly
 Mel BadtWells
 Samuel PlattCarson City

Alternates

W. A. KeddieFallon
 Mrs. T. F. MoranReno
 W. M. EastonAustin
 H. U. CastleElko
 J. F. BradleyGoldfield
 Peter BuolLas Vegas

NEW HAMPSHIRE

AT LARGE

Delegates

Dwight HallDover
 George H. MosesConcord
 Walter M. ParkerManchester
 William D. SwartNashua

Alternates

Burt S. DearbornLaconia
 Frank W. MaynardNashua
 Alfred StanleyPlymouth
 Reginald C. StevensonExeter

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—George A. Carpenter ....Wolfsboro	William J. Cater .....Portsmouth
Perry H. Dow .....Manchester	Edwin H. Thomas .....Farmington
2—Philip H. Faulkner .....Keene	John G. M. Glessner .....Bethlehem
Merrill Shurleff .....Lancaster	William E. Kinney .....Claremont

NEW JERSEY

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
David Baird .....Camden	C. Ledyard Blair .....Peapack
Newton A. K. Bugbee .....Trenton	Pierre P. Garven .....Bayonne
Hamilton F. Kean .....Elizabeth	Bloomfield H. Minch .....Bridgeton
Ira A. Kip, Jr. ....South Orange	Myron W. Robinson .....Hackensack

DISTRICTS

1—George W. F. Gaunt ..Millica Hill	Francis F. Patterson, Jr. ....Camden
Lucius E. Hires.....Salem	Henry J. West .....Gloucester City
2—Winfield F. Cozart ..Atlantic City	Christopher S. Hand .....Wildwood
Harry L. Knight.....Medford	Charles D. White .....Atlantic City
3—James W. Johnson New Brunswick	Edward Crabbe .....Toms River
Lewis S. Thompson .....Brookdale	H. Ely Havens .....Lakewood
4—Ogden H. Hammond Barnardsville	Charles Howell Cook .....Trenton
Alfred K. Leuckel .....Trenton	James S. Studdiford ...Lambertville
5—Ernest R. Ackerman ....Plainfield	Robert B. Cornish .....Gillette
William F. Redman .....Madison	Arthur N. Pierson .....Westfield
6—Daniel E. Pomeroy ..Englewood	Henry C. Hunt .....Sussex
John I. B. Reiley ..Phillipsburg	Walter P. Jollie .....Rutherford
7—William Barbour ....Fair Haven	Henry G. Hershfield ..Pompton Lakes
William I. Lewis .....Paterson	George N. Seger .....Passaic
8—Henry M. Doremus .....Newark	Frederick Schultz .....Jersey City
Horace Roberson .....Bayonne	Robert E. Torrance .....Kearney
9—Manton B. Metcalf .....Orange	Howard Marshall .....East Orange
William A. Lord .....Orange	John McNellen .....Newark
10—Thomas L. Raymond ....Newark	George L. Warren .....Newark
Frederick E. Kip .....Montclair	William B. Kinney .....Newark
11—Edward C. Brennan	
West New York	William E. Hansen .....Weehawken
John M. Rehm .....Hoboken	Walter Kudlich .....West Hoboken
12—John A. Blair .....Jersey City	Thomas A. Angell .....Jersey City
John Headden .....Jersey City	Fred Dieffenbach, Jr. ....Jersey City

NEW MEXICO

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Thomas B. Catron .....Santa Fe	M. A. Ortiz .....Santa Fe
Albert B. Fall .....Three Rivers	W. A. Sutherland .....Las Cruces
B. C. Hernandez .....Tierra Amarilla	T. J. Molinaire .....Portales
J. M. Cunningham ...East Las Vegas	Alfred Grunsfeld .. ..Albuquerque
Enfraocio F. Gallegos .....Gallegos	Arch Hurley .....Tucumcari
Eduardo M. Otero .....Los Lunas	S. E. Aldrich .....Gallup

NEW YORK

AT LARGE

Delegates

Elon R. BrownWatertown
 James W. Wadsworth, Jr. Mt. Morris
 Frederick C. Tanner ..New York City
 Charles S. Whitman ..New York City

Alternates

Edward H. ButlerBuffalo
 Charles W. Anderson ..New York City
 Jesse S. PhillipsHornell
 Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr. New York City

DISTRICTS

1—George Wilbur Doughty ..Inwood
 William F. Flanagan ..Riverhead
 2—Joseph H. DeBragga ...Evergreen
 Theron H. Burden
 Long Island City
 3—Robert R. LawsonBrooklyn
 John MacCrateBrooklyn
 4—Adolph LevyBrooklyn
 William A. Prendergast Brooklyn
 5—William BerriBrooklyn
 Alfred E. VassBrooklyn
 6—William M. CalderBrooklyn
 Frederick J. H. Kracke ..Brooklyn
 7—Jacob BrennerBrooklyn
 Michael J. DadyBrooklyn
 8—Marcus B. Campbell ...Brooklyn
 Charles S. Warbasse ..Brooklyn
 9—Frank EhlersBrooklyn
 Francis H. LuceWoodhaver
 10—Clarence B. SmithBrooklyn
 Baruch MillerBrooklyn
 11—George Cromwell

Jeremiah WoodLynbrook
 Henry A. MurphyHuntington
 Robert H. WickertRidgewood
 Herbert C. ConklinCorona
 George P. WilhelmBrooklyn
 William BrustBrooklyn
 Augustus A. HigginsBrooklyn
 Isidor BuxbaumBrooklyn
 Edward Viehmann, Jr.Brooklyn
 John DiemerBrooklyn
 Lewis M. SwaseyBrooklyn
 Samuel R. GreenBrooklyn
 William BoardmanBrooklyn
 R. Hunter McQuistionBrooklyn
 John FeitnerBrooklyn
 Edward B. ValentineBrooklyn
 Harrison C. GloneBrooklyn
 Charles J. WeberBrooklyn
 Percy OsbornBrooklyn
 Elias WollmanBrooklyn

 Dongan Hills, S. I.
 Chauncey M. Depew ..New York
 12—Samuel S. KoenigNew York
 13—Frederick L. Marshall ..New York
 14—Otto T. BannardNew York
 Herbert ParsonsNew York
 15—Job E. HedgesNew York
 Henry L. StimsonNew York
 16—Martin SteinthalNew York
 Beverly R. Robinson ..New York
 17—William H. Douglas ...New York
 William BondyNew York
 18—Ogden L. MillsNew York
 James R. SheffieldNew York
 19—Charles D. HillesNew York
 Nicholas Murray Butler New York
 20—Samuel Krulewitch ...New York
 21—George R. SheldonNew York
 Valentine J. HahnNew York
 22—William H. TenEyck ..New York
 John J. KnewitzNew York
 23—William S. Bennett ...New York
 Thomas W. Whittle ..New York

Walter W. Price Emerson Hills S. I.
 Ely RosenbergNew York
 William BlauNew York
 Michael BallNew York
 Clarence H. FayNew York
 Harro KoppNew York
 Benjamin F. FoxNew York
 John S. SheaNew York
 Michael H. BlakeNew York
 Clarence SchmeizelNew York
 Gilchrist StewartNew York
 Joseph E. NejedlyNew York
 Ambrose O. NealNew York
 William F. QuinnNew York
 J. Robert RubinNew York
 John J. LyonsNew York
 Isaac SiegelNew York
 Charles H. WheelockNew York
 John M. GivensNew York
 Emanuel HertzNew York
 Alfred B. SimondsNew York
 John W. KirbyNew York
 Ernest W. BradburyNew York

NEW YORK—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
24—William B. Thompson ....Yonkers Daniel W. Whitmore ..Mt. Vernon	Bertrand G. Burnnett .....Eastchester Hugh Herndon .....Pelham
25—William L. Ward ..Port Chester Henry R. Barrett ..White Plains	Leverett F. Crumb.....Peekskill James Kilby .....Nyack
26—John B. Rose, Roseton (Newburgh) Willet E. Hoysradt .Poughkeepsie	Russell Wiggins .....Middletown E. Darwin Morse .....Amenia
27—Phillip Elting .....Kingston Louis F. Payn .....Chatham	Harry C. Wright .....Schoharie Lincoln S. Hart .....Catskill
28—Henry M. Sage .....Menands Ellis J. Staley .....Albany	Alba M. Ide .....Troy W. Leland Thompson .....Troy
29—Louis W. Emerson ..Warrensburg Harry A. Lewis .....Petersburg	Clarence L. Grippen .....Corinth Eugene R. Norton .....Granville
30—Cyrus Durey .....Green Lake Samuel Wallin .....Amsterdam	Horace S. Van Voast ...Schenectady William Harris .....Northville
31—Bertrand H. Snell .....Potsdam Walter C. Witherbee ..Port Henry	Alexander Macdonald ..St. Regis Falls Isaac H. Cahoon .....Ausable Forks
32—Thaddeus C. Sweet .....Phoenix James Moore .....Oneida	Edwin J. Tallman .....La Fargeville Henry L. Grant .....Copenhagen
33—Homer P. Snyder ...Little Falls Thomas R. Proctor .....Utica	Charles W. Wicks .....Sauquoit Robert H. Lamb .....Hinckley
34—George W. Fairchild ...Oneonta Harvey D. Hinman ..Binhampton	Andrew J. McNaught, Jr. ..Stamford James P. Hill .....Norwich
35—Francis Hendricks .....Syracuse Willard A. Rill .....Syracuse	Bryant C. Winchell .....Cortland Fred M. Briggs .....Homer
36—Norman J. Gould ....Seneca Falls Clyde W. Knapp .....Lyons	Edward J. Cook .....Geneva Hubert C. Gutches .....Port Byron
37—Jacob Sloat Fassett ..Strathmont William J. Tully .....Corning	Edwin S. Hanford .....Waverly Harley H. Graham .....Beaver Dam
38—George W. Aldridge ....Rochester James L. Hotchkiss ...Rochester	Pharcellus V. Crittenden ..Rochester Andrew H. Bown .....Penfield
39—William Watson .....Warsaw J. Coann Curtis .....Albion	William E. Dana .....Avon Edward A. Washburn .....Batavia
40—John A. Merritt .....Lockport John Lord O'Brian .....Buffalo	James P. Mackenzie North Tonawanda William G. Humphrey .....Buffalo
41—George P. Urban Pine Ridge (Buffalo Harry J. Knepper .....Buffalo	Philip Leininger .....Buffalo George L. Fisher .....Buffalo
42—Edward W. Hodson .....Buffalo August Ebke .....Buffalo	Walter M. Peek .....East Aurora Henry Shafer .....North Collins
43—Edward B. Vreeland ..Salamanca Charles M. Hamilton .....Ripley	Frank Sullivan Smith .....Angelica George E. Spring .....Franklinville

NORTH CAROLINA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Thos. Settle .....Asheville James J. Britt .....Asheville	Clarence Call .....North Wilkesboro L. L. Wrenn .....Siler City
J. S. Lewis .....Asheboro W. S. O'B. Robinson.....Goldsboro	H. S. Williams .....Concord John E. Cameron .....Kinston

SOUTH CAROLINA—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—Isaac M. Meekins ..Elizabeth City	A. S. Mitchell
2—Daniel W. Patrick ....Snow Hill	J. E. Wood
3—Marion Butler	Claud R. Wheatley
J. J. Brinson	John R. Handley
4—J. D. Parker	W. W. Green
R. W. Ward	J. W. Harden
5—Wm. P. Bynum	Wm. E. White
J. R. Joyce	Heenan Hughes
6—Irvin B. Tucker	D. C. Downing
7—Chas. H. Cowles	Wiley F. Talley
Herbert F. Seawell	Wm. A. McDonald
8—Frank A. Linney	Hugh M. Welborn
James D. Dorsett	Jesse L. Sherrill
9—C. A. Jonas	J. Yates Killian
J. Will Roberts	W. L. A. Dameron
10—Thos. J. Harkins	C. D. Greer
Chas. J. Harris	A. G. Deweese

NORTH DAKOTA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
James Buchanan	Adam A. Lefor
H. P. Halverson	John McLean
Robert M. Pollock	A. M. Baker
M. P. Johnson	J. M. Anderson
O. B. Burtness	P. G. Swenson
John E. Paulson	H. T. Helgeson
E. A. Bowman	E. A. Hughes
C. C. Turner	N. B. Black
C. B. Little	Henry Hoden
James McCormick	Alfred Steele

OHIO

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Warren G. Harding	R. B. Brown
Wm. Cooper Proctor	Chas. A. Cottrill
John J. Sullivan	Lawrence K. Langdon
Frank B. Willis	Francis W. Treadway

DISTRICTS

1—Julius Fleischman	Frank H. Kunkle
John Galvin	Leonard S. Smith
2—John J. Burchenal.....	Louis Schwab
Stanley Struble	Edwin E. Winter
3—E. G. Burkham	Milton J. Beeghly
Oscar M. Gottschall	Burt B. Buckley

OHIO—Continued

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

- 4—Charles S. HerbstWapakoneta
William W. Wood, 3dPiqua
- 5—William W. Campbell ..Napoleon
Olin W. GleasonBryan
- 6—George L. DavisPortsmouth
Frank J. McCafferty ..Fayetteville
- 7—C. Q. HildebrantWilmingon
Core S. IrelandUrbana
- 8—Ralph D. ColeFindlay
Frank ShawCardington
- 9—Noah H. SwayneToledo
John N. WillysToledo
- 10—A. R. JohnsonIronton
L. G. WorstellAthens
- 11—David Mead MassieChillicothe
Chas. B. WhileyLancaster
- 12—Edward L. TaylorColumbus
Arthur I. VorysColumbus
- 13—John A. FeickSandusky
John B. StahlFremont
- 14—Geo. L. GlitschLorain
C. L. KnightAkron
- 15—Harvey E. SmithMarietta
H. Clay Van Voorhis ..Zanesville
- 16—P. S. CooperCanal Dover
Henry W. HarterCanton
- 17—C. B. McCoyCoshocton
Wm. M. HahnMansfield
- 18—Russell C. Heddleston
East Liverpool
Joseph C. HeinleinBridgeport
- 19—Joseph G. Butler, Jr Youngstown..
Hiram E. StarkeyJefferson
- 20—Paul HowlandCleveland
A. N. RodwayCleveland
- 21—Harry L. DavisCleveland
Maurice MaschkeCleveland
- 22—W. R. HopkinsCleveland
H. H. JohnsonCleveland

- E. D. CoppockGreenville
B. H. GilbergCelina
W. H. PhippsPaulding
Fred W. WolfWauseon
W. G. PredmoreMarathon
J. O. McManisWest Union
Charles T. GallagherMt. Sterling
I. N. ZearingBellefontaine
Jacob BabstCrestline
A. L. BrownMorral
G. J. StinchcombElmore
Holland C. WebsterToledo
Charles H. JonesWellston
David H. MooreMcArthur
La Bert DavieNew Lexington
John F. WhiteLogan
H. B. AlexanderColumbus
David R. WilliamsColumbus
Earl AshFostoria
Joel S. BrighamSandusky
Robert HoffmanGarrettsville
W. S. KentKent
C. R. GibsonCaldwell
J. Q. LyneMcConnellsville
William R. CurryWooster
C. V. EdwardsMillesburg
Benson W. HoughDelaware
Geo. HildebrandAshland
O. C. GrayCadiz
C. A. TopeCarrollton
Granville W. MoonneyAustinburg
David R. GilbertWarren
Chris W. HarroldCleveland
Otto A. SchenleCleveland
M. P. KinolaCleveland
R. S. TaylorCleveland
Vincent CampanellaCleveland
Harry E. HammarPainsville

OKLAHOMA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

- John FieldsOklahoma City
Arthur H. GeisslerOklahoma City
Bird S. McGuireTulsa
T. B. FergusonWatonga

- R. W. KelloughTulsa
Bruce L. KeenanTahlequah
William A. StewartOkmulgee
Vernon WhitingPawhuska

DISTRICTS

- 1—Eugene LortonTulsa
Grant VictorAfton
- 2—L. G. DisneyMuskogee
Ed. M. FrySallisaw

- Wm HigginsBatlesville
Fred W. FarrarPawhuska
G. O. GrantStilwell
Walter S. WilsonHenryetta

OKLAHOMA—*Continued*

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
3—R. H. Matthews McAlester Clark Wasson Antlers	Chas. von Weiser Ardmore Robert O. Sumter Atoka
4—George E. McKinnis..... M. W. Lynch Stroud	Tom Ralls Coalgate Mr. Harrison Sapulpa
5—John R. Hadley Cushing Charles G. Moore Purcell	A. McDaniel Norman C. E. Goodwin Stratford
6—Wm. A. Maurer El Reno Myron E. Humphrey ... Chickasha	Ed Bourne Duncan S. W. Hogan Kingfisher
7—W. M. Copeland Cordell T. W. Sumpter Shattuck	Zack T. Pryse Mangum W. C. Roe Frederick
8—Percy C. Simons Enid Charles Swindall Woodward	Sam P. Riding Medford Chas. W. Swearingen Morrison

OREGON

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Charles W. Fulton Portland	Chas. W. Ackerson Portland
Charles H. Carey Portland	E. J. Brazell Portland
George J. Cameron Portland	R. L. Steeves Salem
Dan J. Boyd Enterprise	Andrew C. Smith Portland

DISTRICTS

1—C. P. Bishop Salem	Arthur C. Spencer Portland
Albert Abraham Roseburg	A. E. Clark Portland
2—J. M. Burgess Pendleton	Paul H. Bucholz Stanfield
W. H. Brooke Ontario	D. L. Povey Portland
3—Ralph W. Hoyt Portland	Henry W. Coe Portland
Clarence R. Hotchkiss Portland	

PENNSYLVANIA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
William S. Aaron Altoona	Max S. Apt Philadelphia
Joseph G. Armstrong Pittsburgh	Frederick W. Brown Franklin
Edward V. Babcock Pittsburgh	John W. Ford Philadelphia
W. Harry Baker Harrisburg	Thomas H. Garvin Sharon Hill
Martin G. Brumbaugh ... Germantown	Henry P. Haas Pittsburgh
James Elverson, Jr. Philadelphia	Harry Keller Bellefonte
David L. Gillespie Pittsburgh	Frank L. Lanahan Pittsburgh
Alba B. Johnson Rosemont	Charles Matthews New Castle
Guy W. Moore Kingston	Gabriel H. Moyer Lebanon
George T. Oliver Pittsburgh	Reese A. Phillips Scranton
Boies Penrose Philadelphia	William Price Pittsburgh
John Wanamaker Philadelphia	George H. White Philadelphia

DISTRICTS

1—William McCoach Philadelphia	Frank J. Ryan Philadelphia
William S. Vare Philadelphia	Amos Scott Philadelphia
2—Charles L. Brown Philadelphia	George S. Graham Philadelphia
James P. McNichol .. Philadelphia	Charlemagne Tower Philadelphia

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

DISTRICTS

*Delegates**Alternates*

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 3—John H. Bromley ....Philadelphia | Elias Abrams .....Philadelphia |
| John P. Connelly ....Philadelphia | James A. Carey .....Philadelphia |
| 4—William Abrahams ...Philadelphia | William J. Benham .....Philadelphia |
| William Freihofer ....Philadelphia | Frederick J. Geiger .....Philadelphia |
| 5—William R. Knight, Jr.
Philadelphia | John H. LockPhiladelphia |
| John J. McKinley, Jr. ....Philadelphia | William W. Smith .....Philadelphia |
| 6—Harry D. Beaston ..Philadelphia | E. J. Lafferty .....Philadelphia |
| William Potter .....Philadelphia | C. Elwood Stringfield ..Philadelphia |
| 7—Horace A. Beale, Jr. ..Parkesburg | John Kent Kane .....Radnor |
| William C. Sproul .....Chester | Washington I. Smith .....Berwyn |
| 8—J. Aubrey Anderson Bridgeport | Henry W. Hallowell .....Bethayres |
| Clarence J. Buckman ..Langhorne | Hiram H. Keller .....Doylestown |
| 9—William W. Griest ....Lancaster | Charles F. Hager .....Lancaster |
| H. Edgar Shertz ....Millersville | Walter F. Mylin .....Intercourse |
| 10—Edmund B. Jermyrn ....Scranton | Albert Davis .....Scranton |
| Louis A. Watres .....Scranton | Virgil H. Crisman.....Scranton |
| 11—John R. Halsey .....Wilkes-Barre | E. Foster Heller .....Wilkes-Barre |
| Charles N. Loveland
Wilkes-Barre | Luther M. KniffenWilkes-Barre |
| 12—William R. Adamson St. Nicholas | Hiester S. Albright .....Orwigsburg |
| Charles E. Berger Schuylkill Haven | Charles D. Straughn .....Shenandoah |
| 13—Robert Grey Bushong ....Reading | Wilson Rex .....Slatedale |
| Edward M. Young ....Allentown | Harry P. Shomo .....Hamburg |
| 14—Merton J. Emery .....Ariel | John C. Harrington .....Montrose |
| Edwin P. Young .....Towanda | Samuel J. Price .....Meshoppen |
| 15—Calvin R. Armstrong Lock Haven | Edwin H. Ashcraft .....Coudersport |
| Emerson Collins .....Williamsport | Charles W. Sheldon .....Tioga |
| 16—C. A. Barron .....Shamokin | Alexander Foster .....Danville |
| M. Jackson Crispin .....Berwick | William R. Rohrbach .....Sunbury |
| 17—Charles T. Aikens ....Selinsgrove | Charles L. Darlington New Bloomfield |
| John G. Benedict ....Waynesboro | John T. Wilson .....Belleville |
| 18—B. Dawson Coleman ....Lebanon | A. R. Allen .....Carlisle |
| A. Carson Stamm ....Harrisburg | William J. Noll .....Cornwall |
| 19—John P. Stouch .....Altoona | Arthur B. Cole .....Altoona |
| T. W. Tobias .....Altoona | Alvin W. Evans .....Ebensburg |
| 20—John E. Barker .....York | T. M. Brown .....Glen Rock |
| D. Guy Hollinger .....Hanover | Robert C. Miller .....Gettysburg |
| 21—Augustus H. Gaffney .....Kane | Harry B. Muthersbaugh ....Driftwood |
| William I. Swoope .....Clearfield | Harry B. Scott .....Philipsburg |
| 22—James S. Beacom ...Greensburg | J. Charles Mettler .....Evans City |
| T. W. Phillips, Jr. ....Butler | William J. Carnahan ....Vandergrift |
| 23—William E. Crow ....Uniontown | Thomas B. Donnelly ....Cornellsville |
| Isaiah Good .....Somerset | Robert S. Scull .....Somerset |
| 24—Joseph A. Herron
Monongahela City | C. L. V. AchesonWashington |
| J. Rankin Martin ....Beaver Falls | R. T. Brown .....Ellwood City |
| 25—John J. Carter .....Titusville | John I. Baker .....Erie |
| Frank Connell .....Erie | C. B. Kibler .....Corry |
| 26—Robert A. Stotz .....Easton | Charles L. Fellows East ..Stroudsburg |
| Thomas M. Whildin ....Landsford | Alfred Marvin .....Matamoras |
| 27—John S. Fisher .....Indiana | S. J. McMains .....Leechburg |
| Harry R. Wilson .....Clarion | B. E. Taylor .....Brockwayville |

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
28—Harry K. Daugherty....Grove City Charles Miller .....Franklin	E. D. Powell .....West Middlesex William M. Thomas .....Ridgway
29—Walter Lyon.....Pittsburgh Richard B. Scandrett....Pittsburgh	Edward E. Armstrong .....Natrona George L. Walter .....Sharpsburg
30—Robert J. Black .....McKeesport George H. Flinn.....Pittsburgh	David F. Collingwood .....Braddock A. L. Trevaskis .....Turtle Creek
31—William A. Magee.....Pittsburgh Alexander P. Moore.....Pittsburgh	John B. Barbour .....Pittsburgh William N. Gordon .....Pittsburgh
32—John A. Bell .....Carnegie Miles Bryan .....McKees Rocks	F. C. Beinbauer .....Pittsburgh Frank H. Kennedy .....Oakdale

RHODE ISLAND

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Henry F. Lippitt .....Providence R. Livingston Beecman Providence	Michael J. Lynch .....Providence Frank L. Hinckley .....Providence
Harry Parsons Cross .....Providence Herbert W. Rice .....Providence	Guy Norman .....Newport Frank H. Hammill .....Providence

DISTRICTS

1—George R. Lawton .....Tiverton Jesse P. Eddy .....Providence	Henry Lippitt .....Providence Ezra Dixon .....Bristol
2—Richard S. Aldrich.....Providence Frank P. Comstock ....Providence	Albert H. Langworthy ..Westerly Nathan M. Wright, Jr. ....Providence
3—Edward H. Rathbun ..Woonsocket Albert A. Jenks .....Pawtucket	John B. Lewis .....Providence J. Milton Payne .....Pawtucket

SOUTH CAROLINA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Joseph W. Tolbert .....Greenwood J. H. Goodwin .....Columbus	W. M. Porter .....Spartanburg Thos. L. Grant .....Charleston
J. Duncan Adams .....Charleston J. H. Fordham .....Orangeburg	Thos. A. Williams .....Newberry W. C. Rush .....Florence

DISTRICTS

1—Gibbs Mitchell .....Charleston	S. M. Walker .....Summerton
2—W. S. Dixon .....Barnwell	J. I. Washington .....Beaufort
3—Ernest F. Cochran .....Anderson	L. C. Waller .....Greenwood
4—Jas. A. Briar .....Greenville	Ben Madden .....Laurens
5—John F. Jones .....Blacksburg	J. E. Dixon .....Society Hill
6—J. R. Levy .....Florence	J. A. Baxter .....Georgetown
7—L. A. Hawkins .....Columbia	W. A. Smith.....Irmo

SOUTH DAKOTA

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
Thomas Sterling .....Redfield Frank M. Byrne .....Pierre	W. H. Tackett .....Gregory H. C. Shober .....Huron
Charles N. Herreid .....Aberdeen A. O. Ringsrud .....Elk Point	J. J. Bentz .....Mound City C. J. Morris .....Sioux Falls

SOUTH DAKOTA—Continued

DISTRICTS

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
1—Hans Demuth .....Sioux Falls	Allen R. Fellows .....Sioux Falls
William Hosea .....Spencer	John H. Bolin .....Spencer
2—S. H. Elrod .....Clark	M. R. Baskerville .....Watertown
Charles A. Howard ....Aberdeen	S. X. Way .....Watertown
3—James G. Stanley .....Lead	Seth Bullock .....Deadwood
S. E. Wilson .....Hot Springs	Allyn Boyden .....Hamill

TENNESSEE

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
*R. W. Austin .....Knoxville	
*H. Clay Evans .....Chattanooga	
*J. S. Beasley .....Nashville	
*Newell Sanders .....Chattanooga	
*Frank Elgin .....Memphis	
*J. C. R. McCall .....Nashville	
*Robert R. Church, Jr.....Memphis	
*Dan Schwab .....Tazewell	

DISTRICTS

1—B. W. Hooper.....Newport	N. T. Tucker .....Erwin
S. R. Sells.....Johnson City	George L. Zirkle .....Sevierville
2—Thomas N. Brown.....Maryville	Conley Collins .....Morristown
M. H. Hollingsworth.....Jacksboro	Paris Walker .....Sharps Chapel
3—Jesse M. Littleton.....Chattanooga	Emil Wassman .....Chattanooga
Foster V. Brown.....Chattanooga	Meigs Copeland .....Benton
4—W. A. Smith .....Lafayette	Byrd P. Allison.....Monterey
I. J. Human .....Wartburg	Julian H. Campbell .....Lebanon
5—Frank Comer .....Woodbury	Herbert Brown .....Lewisburg
6—W. W. Taylor .....Nashville	W. D. Howser .....Clarksville
A. N. Johnson .....Nashville	Jerre Baker .....Nashville
7—R. S. Hopkins .....Columbia	E. H. Turman .....Waynesboro
Joe P. Kidd .....Ethridge	Harry Davis .....Dickson
8—D. M. Noble.....Paris	Daniel Allen .....Camden
E. W. Essary.....Lexington	W. H. Lancaster .....Lexington
9—Duke C. Bowers.....Dresden	Charles A. Eskridge .....Dresden
10—S. B. Anderson .....Memphis	John W. Farley .....Memphis

* One-half vote each.

TEXAS

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
H. F. MacGregor .....Houston	John Hall .....Lampassas
Phil E. Baer .....Paris	J. W. Cocke .....Waco
Eugene Marshall .....Dallas	R. H. Dunn .....Port Arthur
C. W. Johnson .....Graham	John W. Philp .....Dallas
R. A. Harvin .....Angleton	John E. Elgin .....San Antonio
W. M. McDonald .....Fort Worth	W. E. King .....Dallas
C. L. McDowell .....Del Rio	N. L. Mills .....Houston
R. S. Legate .....Denison	David Abner, Jr. ....Conroe

TEXAS—Continued

DISTRICTS

Delegates

- 1—*W. P. Harris ...Sulphur Springs
 *Tom DalyTexarkana
 2—*Howard M. Smith ..Port Arthur
 *George W. Eason..Nacogdoches
 3—*J. W. ButlerTyler
 *Webster FlanaganHenderson
 4—*Thomas I. RoachCeleste
 *G. J. BarlowMcKinney
 5—*George F. RockholdDallas
 *W. W. AlexanderEnnis
 6—*G. B. RenfrowRocklale
 *J. Wed DavisTeague
 7—*W. H. CliffordPalestine
 *R. W. HumphreyLiberty
 8—*Roy B. NicholsHouston
 *William WatsonCenterville
 9—*C. M. HughesWharton
 *J. F. McCannVictoria
 10—*E. P. WilmotAustin
 *Paul FrickeBrenham
 11—Thomas J. DarlingTemple
 12—*C. A. DicksonCleburne
 *J. I. CarterArlington
 13—*E. E. DiggsChildress
 *J. L. HicksonGainesville
 14—Frederick TerrellSan Antonio
 William Bierschwale..Fredericksberg
 15—C. K. McDowellDel Rio
 R. B. CreagerBrownsville
 16—*L. S. McDowellBig Springs
 *J. L. MarrEl Paso

*One-half vote each.

Alternates

- G. T. BartlettLinden
 M. A. RickardMt. Pleasant
 Russell H. DunnPort Arthur
 A. E. SweatlandNacogdoches
 G. A. TohillBig Sandy
 V. A. MooreKemp
 M. O. SharpDenison
 C. A. DuckGreenville
 W. A. PierceItasca
 Fred W. NelsonClifton
 J. W. A. ClarkCorsicana
 J. Allen MyersBryan
 George M. PridgenGrapeland
 W. H. BradleyTrinity
 W. H. PollardHouston
 William WenneweserNew Ulm
 Frederick TerrellSan Antonio
 Martin O'ConnerVictoria
 William WhiteAustin
 William AndersonBastrop
 John L. VaughnMart
 Walter M. HudsonWeatherford
 George H. WrayDublin
 W. C. KenyonAmarillo
 J. L. Van NattaAmarillo
 M. D. TownleyLampasses
 Julius M. Oppenheimer ..San Antonio
 Eugene NolteSegun
 Charles H. MooreBrownsville
 R. C. SandersonBig Springs
 M. F. BurnsMidland

UTAH

AT LARGE

Delegates

- Reed Smoot.....Provo
 George SutherlandSalt Lake City
 William Spry.....Salt Lake City
 A. R. HaywoodOgden

Alternates

- Mrs. Clarissa S. Williams
 .. Salt Lake City
 Mrs. H. L. Cummings ..Salt Lake City
 Henry WelshSalt Lake City
 James A. AndersonMorgan

DISTRICTS

- 1—Joseph HowellLogan
 W. S. CandlandMt. Pleasant
 2—Fred W. PriceSalt Lake City
 Harry S. JosephSalt Lake City

- William JensonBingham City
 Niels PoulsonRichfield
 James E. EllisonTooele
 Peter M. CleggLayton

VERMONT

AT LARGE,

Delegates

Theodore N. VailLyndonville
 E. R. MorseProctor
 George H. ProutyNewport
 Collin M. GravesBenington
 Guy W. BaileyEssex Junction
 Fred H. BabbittBellows Falls
 John T. CushingSt. Albans
 George Eugene MoodyWterebury

Alternates

Alex DunnettSt. Johnsbury
 Millard F. Barnes.....Chimney Point
 Henry T. BrownLudlow
 Miles S. SawyerRutland
 E. A. DavisBethal
 Harry B. ShawBurlington
 Frank C. ArchibaldManchester
 Smith B. WaiteHyde Park

VIRGINIA

AT LARGE

Delegates

C. B. SlempBig Stone Gap
 Alvah H. MartinNorfolk
 Jos. L. CrupperFalls Church
 R. A. FulwilerStaunton

Alternates

W. S. PoageWytheville
 John B. KimberlyFortress Monroe
 A. E. ParsonsIndependence
 Wm. N. DoakRoanoke

DISTRICTS

1—Clarence G. Smithers..Cape Charles
 2—D. Lawrence GronerNorfolk
 3—Jos P. BradyRichmond
 4—W. T. TillarEmporia
 5—*J. M. Parsons.....Independence
 *G. M. TuckerDanville
 6—*B. S. PedigoFloyd
 *C. W. SurfaceChristiansburg
 7—John PaulHarrisonburg
 8—John B. GraysonWarrenton
 9—J. C. NoelPennington Gap
 Robert A. AndersonMarion
 10—J. B. BuhrmanGala

Wm. T. HopkinsNewport News
 E. M. C. QuimbySuffolk
 W. R. Vawter (deceased) ..Richmond
 R. W. GarnettFarmville
 Joseph W. StaplesStuart
 Jack GarstBoone Mill
 G. C. AinslieBedford
 R. I. RoopChristiansburg
 Burder B. BowmanEdinburg
 R. R. FarrFairfax
 R. F. HillPulaski
 P. A. RichmondGate City
 C. M. CrawfordLexington

*One-half vote each.

WASHINGTON

AT LARGE

Delegates

Charles P. LundSpokane
 E. A. SimsPort Townsend
 Millard T. HartsonTacoma
 Scott C. BoneSeattle

Alternates

Mrs. Wm. A. BurleighSeattle
 A. L. Bradley.....Danville
 Wm. H. OverlockKent
 Samuel HillMarysville

DISTRICTS

1—E. C. HughesSeattle
 C. D. Bowles.....Seattle
 2—Howard D. Taylor ..Eagle Gorge
 T. B. SummerEverett
 3—Alex PolsonHoquiam
 N. B. CoffmanChehalis
 4—John D. AnkenyWalla Walla
 A. D. SloanNorth Yakima
 5—A. L. RogersWaterville
 Alex AlexanderWilbur

Robert B. HeskethSeattle
 Miller FreemanSeattle
 Patrick HalloranEdison
 James M. HoganEverett
 C. KerleeIlwaco
 Lee F. JonesKelso
 A. L. CurtisGoldendale
 J. C. HubbellEllensburg
 H. W. StullColville
 E. I. JonesNewport

WEST VIRGINIA

AT LARGE

Delegates

Davis ElkinsMorgantown
 Henry D. HatfieldEckman
 Isaac T. MannBramwell
 Herschel C. OgdenWheeling

Alternates

John CummingsWheeling
 Lucius Hoe, Jr.Clarksburg
 M. T. WhitticoKeystone
 Charles E. MitchellInstitute

DISTRICTS

1—Robert T. Cunningham ..Fairmont
 Thomas J. SherrardWellsburg
 2—W. E. HaskittPiedmont
 A. R. StallingsParsons
 3—J. G. BradleyDundon
 H. B. CurtinClarksburg
 4—J. Mentor Caldwell ..Parkersburg
 C. W. PhellisHuntington
 5—W. H. ThomasBramwell
 H. S. WhiteMatewan
 6—S. B. AvisCharleston
 S. A. ScottCharleston

J. M. SandersMoundsville
 W. L. Smith, Jr.Newell
 Prescott HuidekoperRomney
 Wilbur H. ThomasMartinsburg
 John A. ChittumWeston
 C. D. HowardCowen
 Jo WilliamsSt. Mary's
 Charles E. HoggPoint Pleasant
 S. B. HamerHinton
 E. Edward HillKeystone
 William B. Hines
 White Sulphur Springs
 B. S. HastingsMontgomery

WISCONSIN

AT LARGE

Delegates

Christian DoerflerWauwatosa
 Walter L. HouserMondovi
 Emanuel L. PhilippMilwaukee
 James ThompsonLa Crosse

Alternates

Alvin P. KletzschMilwaukee
 George H. GordonLa Crosse
 George A. WestMilwaukee
 Charles J. SumnerDelavan

DISTRICTS

1—George B. IngersollBeloit
 William W. StormsRacine
 2—Henry KrumreyPlymouth
 A. A. PorterPortage
 3—John J. BlaineBoscobel
 M. B. OlbrichMadison
 4—Louis A. FonsMilwaukee
 Fred R. ZimmermanLake
 5—Edwin J. GrossMilwaukee
 Fred C. PitzlaffMilwaukee
 6—Emil C. Kraemer ..Fond du Lac
 William RahrManitowoc
 7—James A. StoneReedsburg
 Andrew H. DahlWestby
 8—Walter AlexanderWausau
 John F. JardineWaupaca
 9—Charles J. HagenAppleton
 M. W. PerryAlgoma
 10—Henry S. Comstock ..Cumberland
 Charles P. Peterson Glenwood City
 11—Henry J. HowellMerrill
 D. L. DobleSuperior

George L. HarringtonElkhorn
 B. M. CaplesWaukesha
 Joseph F. HuberWest Bend
 C. F. MohrPortage
 L. A. BrunkhorstPlatteville
 Charles GrossStoughton
 Julius WechselbergMilwaukee
 L. G. WheelerWauwatosa
 H. W. DavisMilwaukee
 Henry FinkMilwaukee
 Charles OellerwichOshkosh
 Fred BullwinkelNew Holstein
 Aug. SiefertReedsburg
 Carl KurtnackerLa Crosse
 M. J. WallrichShawano
 Isaac P. WitterGrand Rapids
 George AnsongeAlgoma
 L. P. TradewellAntigo
 Frank PierceMenomonie
 F. M. SymondsGalesville
 A. H. WilkinsonBayfield
 J. P. PetersonLuck

WYOMING

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Patrick Sullivan	Casper	Mrs. L. E. Harnsberger	Lander
John W. Hay	Rock Springs	C. A. Zaring	Basin
Dwight E. Hollister	Cody	H. J. Chassell	Gillette
Ralph Denio	Sheridan	T. A. Dunn	Moorcroft
Loren C. Hinkle	Cheyenne	C. P. Plummer	Wheatland
Thomas Snedden	Diamondville	H. R. Lathrop	Casper

ALASKA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

William A. Gilmore.	Thomas Lloyd.
Louis P. Shackelford.	Ed C. Russell.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

None

None

HAWAII

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole	Alfred L. Castle
Henry J. Lyman	William C. Arci.

PHILIPPINES

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

Newton W. Gilbert.	A. C. Grilk
Amasa S. Crossfield.	W. H. Lawrence

PORTO RICO

AT LARGE

*Delegates**Alternates*

None

None

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

MR. WILLIAM M. HAHN, of Ohio (sitting with his delegation).—The Committee is ready to report.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman will please come to the platform and make the report for his Committee. For the con-

sideration of this report the chair will ask the Hon. William S. Bennet, of New York, one of the parliamentary advisors for the chair provided under the rules, to take the chair.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. William S. Bennet, of New York, in the chair).—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, I have pleasure in presenting Mr. William M. Hahn, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, who will present the Committee's report.

MR. WILLIAM M. HAHN, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Your Committee on permanent organization begs leave to make the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

We recommend that the several officers composing your temporary organization be chosen as the permanent officers of this Convention.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM M. HAHN, Chairman.

I wish to state that this is a unanimous recommendation by the members of the Committee, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER.—The question before the Convention is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on permanent organization.

The report was agreed to.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER.—I have the honor to present to this Convention its permanent chairman, the Honorable Warren G. Harding, of Ohio. (Applause.)

Mr. Harding resumed the chair amidst a great demonstration, delegates and others rising to their feet and continuing the demonstration for several minutes.

ADDRESS OF PERMANENT CHAIRMAN

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Warren G. Harding, of Ohio).—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: (And the demonstration broke out anew and continued for several minutes.) I am sure the Chairman is very grateful to you for your manifestations of approval, and I take this opportunity of thanking the Committee on Permanent Organization for its recommendation, and of thanking the delegates of this Convention for their approval of the report. I must take this opportunity also to do what I neglected to do on yesterday, namely, to thank the Committee on Arrangements for so signally honoring

me with the temporary chairmanship nomination. It is a very great honor to preside over a Republican National Convention, which I know this to be.

I am a believer in the keeping of compacts, and it was insisted that if I were to be honored with the permanent chairmanship I should make no speech. I am going to keep the compact. Again thanking you, ladies and gentlemen, of the Convention, the chair calls for the next order of business, the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of business. Is the Committee ready to report? (After a pause.) The Chair is informed that the Committee asks for a few moments grace before reporting.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Chair again recognizes the Senator from Utah, to offer a supplemental report from the Committee on Credentials.

GIVING THE TERRITORIES A VOTE IN CONVENTION

MR. SMOOT: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I am directed to offer the supplemental report from the Committee on Credentials and move its adoption:

Resolved, that the two delegates seated in this convention from the Territory of Hawaii, the two delegates from Porto Rico and the two delegates from the Philippine Islands be given votes in this Convention, as recommended by the Republican National Committee and by your Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The question is on the adoption of the resolution offered by Senator Smoot of Utah. Is there any objection? Those of you who favor the adoption of the resolution will say Aye, contrary No.

The resolution is adopted. (The vote was unanimous.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: We will now have the report of the Committee of Rules and Order of Business, and the Chair presents Mr. Warren of Michigan. (Applause.)

MR. WARREN: The Chairman of the Convention—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Warren—

MR. WARREN: From the Committee on Rules and Order of Business I desire to present a unanimous report from that Committee to this Convention as follows:



CHARLES B. WARREN, of Michigan,
Chairman of the Committee on Rules
and Member of the Committee on Arrangements



REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

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.

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 or 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, 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 ten 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 previous National Committees.

The rules 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.

MR. CHARLES B. WARREN, of Michigan.—Mr. Chairman, the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is a revision of all former rules of the National Convention and of those governing the National Committee of the Party. The report embodies the rules, fixing the basis of representation in future National Conventions of the Party and specifying in certain respects the method and manner of electing delegates, which were recommended by the National Committee in its session in December, 1913 and afterward presented to and adopted by nearly all the Conventions of the Party held in the several States during the year 1914. The Conventions which adopted these rules represented the Republican voters in States sending more than a majority of the delegates to this Convention and represented over a majority of the votes in the next Electoral College.

I was honored by being appointed Chairman of the Committee which drafted those rules for submission to the Conventions in the States, and it was the opinion of the National Committee that should Conventions of delegated representatives of the Party, convened in the number of States entitled to cast a majority of the votes in a National Convention, ratify the action of the National Committee, its action could be assumed to fairly express the sentiment of a great majority of the Party, for obviously such Conventions, when taken together, would consist of more representatives of the Party than would be assembled even in a National Convention.

This question of changing the basis of representation in National Convention has in the past been presented to Conventions convened for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. The existing method of basing the number of delegates to a National Convention on the population of a State without regard to the vote cast for the nominees of the party, has been in use from the foundation of the Party until now. The weakness in the method has long been recognized, but no change has been made because the contest for the nomination for the great office of President has over-shadowed, in National Conventions, all other questions and has prevented the unprejudiced consideration of this important subject.

Undoubtedly the basis of representation in future National Conventions of the Party adopted by these State Conventions, uninfluenced as they were by the passions ordinarily aroused by a contest for the Presi-

dency and undisturbed as they were by the complications always present in a nominating Convention, is while not changing the method, just to the Republican voters of all the States.

These changes in the basis of representation, so made and now embodied in these rules as reported, decreased the representation from those States customarily referred to as solidly Democratic by seventy-six votes, decreased the vote of the State of Tennessee by three votes, and decreased the vote of the State of New York by two votes.

The rules as recommended by the National Committee and adopted by the State Conventions granted the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia two delegates each, with the right to vote, but while granting to the Territory of Hawaii and to the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico two delegates each, withheld from such delegates the right to vote.

The Committee on Rules of this Convention, in the report just read, recommends that hereafter Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico be allowed two delegates each with the right to vote.

The rules recommended by the National Committee and adopted by State Conventions, and now reported and recommended by your Committee, grant to each State the right to direct by law the method and manner in which delegates to the National Convention shall be chosen, that is, as to whether or not they shall be chosen from the State-at-large or part from the State-at-large and part from the Congressional Districts.

It is necessary that the Party, as a national organization, recognize the right of the voters in any State to determine for themselves the question as to whether a part of the delegates from the State shall be elected from Congressional Districts or all from the State-at-large, if the election machinery provided by the law of the State is to be used.

One or more of the States have already enacted laws requiring the election of all delegates to National Conventions of political parties from the State-at-large, rather than part from the Congressional Districts and part from the State-at-large, and in order to eliminate conflicts in the future between the rules of the Party and the laws of such States, and of other States that hereafter may enact similar laws, the rule was adopted and is now recommended that all delegates from any State may be chosen from the State-at-large or part from the State-at-large and part from the Congressional Districts, in conformity with the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

The Report embodies a rule that if a delegate is certified to the National Convention as a regularly elected delegate in a primary election, and his certificate is signed by the officer designated by law to issue such certificates, the delegates holding such a certificate shall be entitled to have his

name placed on the temporary roll of the Convention and the National Committee cannot go behind that certificate.

In all respects these rules are general in their application. However, it is fair to state that one rule, which is recommended, arose from a controversy pending in the delegation from the State of Tennessee over the nomination of a member of the National Committee: "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."

Mr. Chairman: In order that the rules may be before the Convention for adoption or rejection, I move the adoption of the Rules and Order of Business as read.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the adoption of the report of the Committee. Is there any objection? If not those of you who favor the adoption of the report will say Aye, contrary No. The report is adopted. (The vote was unanimous.)

The chair is informed that the Committee on Resolutions is not yet ready to report; and with that arbitrary authority which goes with the gavel, in response to a request made from Ohio and seconded by forty-seven other States in the Union, I appoint ex-Secretary Stimson and Speaker Sweet of New York to escort to the platform that distinguished spokesman for American Republicanism for more than fifty years, the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew. (Great applause continuing until Senator Depew reached the platform.)

REMARKS BY CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

MR. DEPEW: Gentlemen of the Convention, and Ladies and Gentlemen in the gallery, I had a conversation with that great Ohioan, General Garfield, after he had been nominated for President, in which he said, "From my experience, I want to give you two pieces of advice if you expect success in politics: One is never to make a speech when you are called on suddenly, and only when you have had ample time for preparation. The other is never crack a joke or tell a story." (Laughter and applause.)

The Chairman was quite right in saying it was over fifty years that I have been preaching Republicanism. It is exactly sixty, and this is the sixtieth anniversary. (Applause.)

It is a marvelous thing in the experiences of life, which as a rule are not particularly inspiring, on account of age or for any other reason, to have lived in the great crises of this Republic and been an active participant for sixty years. (Applause.) It seems to me that there is a relation between the campaign of 1856 and the campaign upon which we are now entering. There was one great issue in that

campaign and it was a difficult issue and an issue of idealism and Americanism. There had been, since the formation of the Republic, a lie in our politics, in our political measures; in our Acts of Congress, as against the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. After that campaign and what followed, the Declaration of Independence stood and stands today for liberty all over the world. (Applause.)

And so today we have a great world crisis in which happily we are not directly involved. A crisis in which civilization is at stake and Christianity is doubted. A crisis in which eight-tenths at least of the believing and professing Christians of the world are cutting each other's throats, destroying each other's property, burning each other's cities and villages and using engines of war which were regarded as the ultimate end and height of cruelty five hundred years ago. (Applause.) And yet we, thank God, are out of it. We, thank God, cannot be drawn into it and we are entering upon this canvass either upon an assertion of Americanism which will keep us out of it, or a mollycoddle policy which will put us into it. (Applause.)

It is a fortunate thing to pass four score, if your memory is right. I remember the thrills that have come to me in my life from the assertion of Americanism backed up by America. I remember as a boy how I felt ten feet tall and having all the elements of Uncle Sam in me as I had dreamed of him, when the news came—for there were no cables then, or methods of telegraphic communication, but when a Man-O'-War sailed into the harbor of New York with Commodore Ingram's report that while in the harbor of Smyrna, he had found an American, a naturalized citizen, a former Austrian subject, arrested and put on board of an Austrian Man-O'-War, he lined up alongside of that Austrian Man-O'-War, trained his guns upon her and said, "Give me Koszta, or I will sink you." (Cries of "Good Boy" and cheering.)

He brought Koszta home and landed him in New York. Austria objected, Austria threatened, but William L. Marcy, a New York statesman, then Secretary of State, sent this immortal message:

"Whoever bears the character and charter of an American is safe anywhere in the world." (Great applause.)

I remember the thrill that I received, and then I was a man, I was in public life, I was Secretary of State of New York, and the war had just concluded, that during the period of our war and our trouble, an adventurer in the history of nations, Louis Napoleon, had undertaken to rule Mexico. He had sent there a French army and a scion of the Hapsburgs. He had created a throne and put Maximilian on it and had violated every principle of the Monroe Doctrine. But the Civil War was over. We had a million of soldiers on the one side and the other who were

trained, prepared, ready. There was just one message sent, and that was by another New Yorker, William H. Seward—(Applause.)—he sent word to Louis Napoleon, Emperor, "Get out of Mexico." (Laughter.) He added to that, "General Sheridan is on the border." (Applause.) And you could have played checkers on his coat tails as he went out of Mexico; and there was no war, and there was no war with Austria. The Double Eagle shut up.

I remember a more recent incident in Venezuela, when Great Britain seized part of her territory and said it was hers, and Grover Cleveland sent his message, "Either arbitrate or fight." (Applause.) Great Britain arbitrated and there was no war. And when that message of John Hay's went to Morocco, "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead" and Perdicaris was delivered the next day, there was no war. (Applause.)

The cartoonist and vaudevillist frequently grasp and present current conditions before statesmen discover them. The curtain rose at the theatre and on the stage were three characters, the Kaiser, Admiral von Tirpitz of submarine fame and Uncle Sam. The Kaiser said to the Admiral, "Who is that man?" The Admiral replied, "Uncle Sam." "Why, asked the Kaiser, does he look so glum." "Because, von Tirpitz answered, "I just swatted him on the jaw." "What did Uncle Sam say?" "He said he was too proud to fight." Then ordered the Kaiser, "Swat him again." That Uncle Sam may have been an idealist or a psychologist, or a lover of humanity, but he was not an American. (Applause.)

My friends, we are as a nation idealists. At the same time we are the most practical nation in the wide world. The world has always understood us, up till now. (Laughter and cheers.)

I received a letter a few days ago from a famous statesman on the other side who said to me, "In our great crisis we believe liberty is at stake and Empires and Nations are to die or live, and as we think civilization is to die or live, what is the professor going to do?" (Laughter.) Well, I could only answer, "I could have told you eighteen months ago what the professor would do, but a year afterwards he changed his mind." (Laughter.) I saw in yesterday's paper, when a great American had adopted as his slogan "America first" and it was three weeks before this American had made it public, and the professor said, "Well I guess I might as well take that myself."—it is well known"—(a loud yell from the gallery and great applause and cheering.) It is well known that for a while he said preparedness is unnecessary, and three thousand miles enough protection, he suddenly started across the continent preaching it louder and louder and when he got back the Democratic Congress refused to do what is necessary for real preparedness. It is a well known fact that there was published and placed in the hands of the printer and the newspapers and therefore in the hands

necessarily of friends of the President, Elihu Root's speech on the opening of the New York Convention (Applause) and that speech aroused the country to our weak and un-American foreign policy, it impressed the administration, and as a result the last note which is the only one that has any teeth in it, was sent to Germany, but nothing has been done since. My friends, it was well known, it was announced almost authoritatively, that the Lusitania was to be sunk. The President of the United States could have said one word at that time (Applause) and there would have been no tragedy of the Lusitania.

We, ourselves, my brethren, we ourselves fail to appreciate what our country is. You want to have lived in it and worked in it for all the years that I have to understand what it means, and you want to travel abroad and meet in all countries the men who rule and the men who govern and the men who make public opinion, and have their idea of what this country is. All over the world, until within this recent administration, it was understood that in the United States were potentialities of power, potentialities of arms, potentialities of money, potentialities of resources, which, concentrated, would prevent the country from being penned up; which, concentrated, and put in any cause would lead to the acknowledgment of our rights. With that potential power all that has ever been needed has been an authoritative utterance to get what we wanted and prevent what we did not want—"America stands for that." (Applause.)

Well, my friends, when I was in the South the other day, I came into a little place where a New Yorker had bought a farm and he said, "You love good things, I want to tell you what happened here. Of course, in Florida, here, they are all Democrats, but some of them don't believe in it although they vote it. (Laughter.) The pastor of our church resigned and we were looking for a new minister and it was reported that a clergyman was willing to come and one of his recommendations was that he had a library of one thousand volumes. Whereupon an old brother got up and said, "We don't want him. Too much book-learning is a handicap upon real and true religion. What we want and all we want as a library for our minister is the Bible to teach him the gospel, his almanac to teach him the date, and a Democratic weekly newspaper to teach him total depravity.'" (Laughter.) We had an illustration of it the other day.

Now, if there is one thing I cannot understand, it is a pacifist. I cannot understand him at all. I look back and I find that they were purely English who fought at Bunker Hill and Concord. They were mostly Germans who fought at the battle with Anthony Wayne in Pennsylvania; they were largely French who fought in South Carolina, and they were my own good old, solid, Holland Dutch in New York under

Schuyler, and Herkimer and the rest, and Americanism in 1776 and Americanism today do not differ in any respect except the size and volume of the word. (Laughter.)

Now what is a pacifist? I turn to the exponent—and I believe my friend is here in the hall—and I think the greatest exponent is my friend Mr. Bryan. (Applause.)

Now Mr. Bryan presents a solution, as I read it, for what might happen. You know it has been developed in the mechanism, the experience and the wonderful inventions of this war, that an army carries with it guns which will shoot five miles and hit within a radius of two feet; the target indicated by an aeroplane overhead and the shell exploding will destroy a whole regiment, a brigade, a town, nearly, and they carry mitrailleuses which will sweep all before them for miles, and yet I understand the pacifist argument to be that if by any chance two or three hundred thousand or four hundred thousand of these highly trained troops, with these highly specialized methods of destruction, should land upon our shore, a million Americans in Ford machines would meet them and drive them off. (Laughter.)

And that reminds me of an old joke of mine,—and while I am charged with chestnuts, they are generally my own, and I think it fully applies to the gentlemen who would be in those Ford machines,—that a Ford machine is like a bathtub: Everybody wants one and nobody wants to be seen in it. (Laughter.)

Well, my friends, just a word about the old-fashioned, hard-pan Republicanism. I preached it sixty years ago; I have preached it ever since, from stump and platform and in halls and in churches all over the country. We do not grasp how rich we are. We don't grasp what a prize we are. You remember that when Blucher, the famous German Commander, who had helped Wellington win the Battle of Waterloo, was taken over to England to visit the King, the only remark he made while riding in his carriage through London, was, "What a town to loot!" And we don't appreciate what a country we are to loot. When this war closes, there will be millions of trained soldiers, ready for anything, without conscience and without principle, wanting to get something, and if they thought that America could be squeezed, America would be squeezed without regard to scraps of paper. But I don't fear so much an invasion of the country, if the Republicans can get in power and properly prepare, (applause) as I do for an industrial invasion. No matter what they may say who preach on the other side, the idealists of free trade, no matter what they may say, these millions of men are coming back to the industries and factories, which are now united on the other side. Only yesterday it was announced that all the dye manufacturers of Germany had united in a hundred million dollar corporation. They are going to be aided

by their Government, and their Government is going to give them facilities on the Government owned railroads, and facilities on their merchant marine which will cover the ocean, while our flag has been driven off from the Pacific by the action of this Administration. (Applause.)

We have at present the greatest tariff we ever saw, a prohibitory one, by war. Let peace come, and leave the situation as it is today, with the Underwood tariff the law, with the idealists of free trade in power in the Presidency and in Congress, and there will happen such a dumping of manufactures of every kind, of cotton and of wool, of steel and of wood on this country as will close our factories, will drive our present highly-paid mechanics out of employment and out of wages and opportunities an industrial cataclysm which will make 1896 seem like a holiday. (Applause.)

My friends, I knew Abraham Lincoln. He was a wonderful man. He was not the ideal that we have made him. We have not raised him quite yet where Washington is, so that you have to get a telescope to see him, without a human attribute of any sort. Lincoln was the most intensely human being I ever met; (applause) but there were two Lincolns, one the idealist who, reading the Bible and Shakespeare, had formed a perfect language and who spoke it best in the Gettysburg speech and in his second inaugural. The other was Lincoln, the practical man of affairs, who could tell more stories and better ones than I ever heard from any other man, and every one of them with a point that was a dead shot in the center against whom it was aimed. He was a practical politician who had organized his party in Illinois, an organization which resulted in victory. So that you have on the one side the idealist, and on the other side the practical man of affairs, and that is only possible in the product that comes from our common schools, the product that lives our common American life, the democracy that makes us, in the villages and farms all over the country so intimately acquainted, so well known to each other, so that we are all brothers and sisters, until we go out to fight and make our own way as Lincoln did.

And now, my friends, with a speech unprepared, but obedient to the command of our chairman, I thank you for listening to me. The Japanese—and I know about them, because I was appointed Minister to Japan sixty years ago (laughter) and Japan then had no navy but junks, no army except those with spears and arrows and armor, no universities and today they are among the foremost powers of the world. But among their institutions is this: They have their sovereign—they call him Emperor; their House of Lords—our Senate; their Elective House—our House of Congress. But while those fellows do what they can, they have over them a body which governs and whose decisions are final, and they are called the Elder Statesmen. Now, gentlemen,

I want to say to you that if you get in trouble and in a hopeless conflict and wish a solution, a solution that will save the country, here is an elder statesman. (Great applause and laughter.)

(Cries of "Uncle Joe.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Harding).—Ladies and gentlemen of the convention: When the Chairman left Washington to come to this convention, a very able member of the majority in the Senate said to me: "You Republicans are making such headway and we Democrats are making such fools of ourselves, that I have a notion you will not only recover control of the House but you will get the Senate as well, and we feel confident you will get the White House, and the only thing left to the present administration will be Colonel E. M. House, and that won't make much difference to the country." (Laughter.)

And now I want to present to this convention one of the most notable figures that ever gave his personality and talent on the Republican side to the American House of Representatives, grand old Uncle Joe Cannon of Illinois. (Great applause.)

MR. JOSEPH G. CANNON (Of Illinois).—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Cannon.

REMARKS BY MR. JOSEPH G. CANNON

MR. JOSEPH G. CANNON (Of Illinois).—Gentlemen of the Convention, distinguished citizens, and the ladies—God bless them—I sometimes wish, and I do now as I look into their faces—that I could adopt them all to be my granddaughters. (Applause.)

I have been stopping at the Union League Club for a few days, and the weather has been so bad I have not stepped out; but I have not been lonesome, for a number of newspaper men have called on me and I have given out the same interview three times, but as yet it has not reached the managing editor. And I am going to give it to you. There was one question which I was asked that I answered but which never appeared in print.

The question was: "Who will the Republican Convention nominate as its standard bearer?" And it was not a long answer. I said: "It is a Republican Convention; it will nominate a Republican for its standard bearer, upon a Republican platform, and he'll be elected." (Applause.) One of them said: "You don't have to prove it." Another said: "You must prove it." I said: "The American people, one hundred million strong, will not, in my time, although I should live to be one hundred years old, again allow forty-two per cent. of the people to elect a president and a congress." (Applause.)

Now I guess that is about all of a Republican speech that I ought to make after the splendid, the magnificent speech we had from our permanent chairman, and that remarkable speech we had from that prince of speakers, Honorable Chauncey M. Depew. Chauncey, I am going to your one hundredth anniversary. (Applause.) Men may come, and men may go, but I think you will live to be one hundred and fifty. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, there are one hundred million people in the United States, American sovereigns. I asked today how many people were in the Coliseum. I was told that, including visitors, delegates and alternates, there were some fourteen thousand. Now let us not be stuck on ourselves. Those fourteen thousand people that fill this great Coliseum today might cross over to the other side before another convention time comes around. The earth might open, and distinguished as you are, you might be all swallowed up. But the proper policies for a government of, for and by the people, economic and otherwise, would remain to be chosen, as they will be in this convention. All the candidates that are spoken of before this convention might sink into the middle of the earth, and yet we could supply equally good candidates four years from now. We could supply equally good candidates and equally handsome women to meet and designate other standard bearers in this great country. (Applause.) I am not speaking disrespectfully of the personnel of this delegation or of the candidates when I say that.

Gentlemen, it is said in Holy Writ: "Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth." And yet, when you run back over the history of the world, you will find that He did not often chasten nations, great bodies of people, unless they divided and quarreled amongst themselves and cut at each other. Sometimes great leaders, great public men, from purely personal motives bring about such conditions.

We have had illustrations of that, many such illustrations in the history of the race, from the beginning up to the present time. But the average life of a generation is less than forty years, which leads me to call your attention to the fact that there will be a new generation tramping fast upon our heels and upon your heels. Once in a while we have to have a little kindergarten experience.

We fell out, from the personal standpoint largely, four years ago, and a minority overcame us which is now in power. We were all good Republicans then about material questions, about proper policies, and we are all good Republicans now. (Applause.)

And let me tell you something. There is not going to be any further falling out between leaders, whoever they may be, because when this great convention speaks it will nominate a worthy ticket, and, as I said in the beginning, it will be elected. (Applause.)

I want to do complete justice to every American citizen. I had the honor of being Speaker of the national House of Representatives when one of the most illustrious Americans was President. He was, and is, a great man. I will not enter into what divided us; but this year we have no Shibolet from anybody. The Country is bigger than any man or any set of men. (Applause.)

Now I am not going to take time to talk about the party in power. I might talk about its respectability, the rounded, scholarly sentences that emanate from those in power, the frequent changes that occur on the part of its public men going out of office and others going in; respectability—yes. I wish to God it was ten times as respectable as it is. (Laughter.)

I look into your faces and I ask you to close your eyes and hark back for six generations and inquire who your ancestors were, and if you count them up you will find that you have more than four hundred. And, in common with myself, the great majority of you have English blood and Irish blood and Scotch blood and Dutch blood and German blood and French blood in your veins; all Caucasias—all great peoples. But here is the great melting pot. I am not going to quarrel when someone says, "Cannon, you're Irish." Yes, with a strain of French and a strain of English and a strain of German. I don't know which is the strongest, but I know that what is true of me is true of nearly all of you.

You gentlemen who have been in Washington recollect the group of statuary at Lafayette Square representing Lafayette and his French aides. Farther, along you come to the statue of the great Kosciusko. Over at the next corner there is the statue of Von Steuben, and at the next corner you find the statue of Rochambeau. They helped to gain our liberty, these men who came from so many different countries in Europe to help us when our forebears were struggling to gain their independence. In the center of this square is the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, typical American, born of immigrant Irish parents, soldier, statesman, patriot, eight years President, who, in war and in peace, led in the preservation of our country.

I listened, Mr. Chairman, with great interest, to your speech yesterday. I would not give three whoops for a man who was born in Germany, in France, in England, Ireland or Scotland, or in Austria, who, when he shut his eyes and thought of this great struggle, had no sympathies for the land of his birth. (Applause.) But I have said before, and I will say again, that of all the citizens—Americans—that make up this great Republic, whatever their sympathies may be in the great struggle abroad, there is not one per cent. of these one hundred

millions of people who will not stand under the Stars and Stripes against any or all of these countries and fight to the death for the preservation of our common country. (Applause.)

It is a pretty hard matter to follow a man like Chauncey M. Depew, and I am not going to try to follow him any farther.

But I will say this in closing: Make your nomination wisely; make the Republican Platform broad enough to cover every nationality that is represented here in this country. We are all American citizens. Pronounce in your platform for Republican policies. Recognize the progress of the country. When you have nominated your candidate, when you have made your platform and gone before the people with that platform and that candidate, all hell shall not prevail against that ticket and that platform because that ticket and that platform are necessary for the preservation and well-being of the country. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen of the convention: Lest some of the exceedingly critical writers of the day shall infer that we Republicans live only in the past by introducing these eminent and much beloved veterans of the party, I want to present to this convention a Republican who represents a new generation in the party, but is nevertheless in harmony with those who have given their services at an earlier time. I want to present to you one of the ablest and readiest debaters of the United States Senate, and one of the most distinguished Republicans of these United States.

I have the pleasure of calling up and presenting to you Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF WILLIAM E. BORAH OF IDAHO

MR. WILLIAM E. BORAH.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: When the Republican party met in this city fifty-six years ago it came in the midst of political unrest to consult the conscience of the American people. It professed no purpose and essayed no ambition other than to serve those who felt that the hour was at hand when the nation should experience a new birth of freedom. We had long struggled with the problem of human slavery. We had procrastinated and compromised, placed gain and business in front of conscience and freedom until we seemed steeped beyond escape in cowardice and dishonor. But underneath this surface of sham and selfishness flowed the undercurrents strong and deep of conviction and truth. A political party was needed to write in its platform national honor first and all things else second. (Enthusiastic applause.) This the Republican party had the courage, the foresight and the patriotism to do. Let us linger for a moment beside this splendid party precedent that we may learn wisdom and gather courage for the great conflict just ahead. (Applause.) There is no example of

sublime moral courage more worthy of emulation in all the annals of political warfare.

We are met here again after the lapse of more than fifty years. Again we are in the midst of a great national crisis. The usual and the ordinary are pushed aside and those things which have to do with the primary obligations of citizenship demand consideration. (Applause.) Again millions of voters bewildered by months of indecision and confusion, remembering the traditions of the old party and anxious for its future glory turn to these proceedings, eager to catch the clear, firm tones of conviction, the unmistakable note of national honor. Let us not disappoint them. Even should they prove to be in the minority, better that the old party, true to the sublime precepts of its first great leader uphold and maintain at whatever cost of place and power the dignity and inviolability of American citizenship and the prestige and honor of this government than to enter upon the shameless paths of expediency. (Applause.) A nation without honor is spiritually dead. A political party which in times of national stress, when not only our standing and prestige in every capital in christendom is at stake but when the efficiency and worth of our institutions are involved, would compromise with duty for the sake of power or barter our rights and standing abroad for supposed political strength at home would be a treasonable organization. (Applause.)

During all these years we have been generous with the inestimable boon of American citizenship. They have come from every clime and we have gone out to meet them and to welcome them to the opportunities and to the glory of citizenship in the only real republic that ever existed upon the earth. In doing so we have not erred. Let us not be misled by the fears of some or the prejudices of others. These people who have sworn allegiance to this government are neither ungrateful nor disloyal. (Applause.) In any controversy involving the rights and honor of this government with other nations they would stand resolute to the last for this republic. (Applause.) They have done so on every battle-field from Brandywine to Gettysburg, from Bunker Hill to the Wilderness. (Applause.) We do not doubt them at all and we do not want any policy as a party based upon the theory that they are traitors and that we are trimmers. (Hand clapping and loud applause.) Let us make our policy clear and strong for America, for our dignity and honor here and abroad, and all who love America best will be with us, the others we do not want. (Applause.) There is room enough under the Republican banner for every loyal citizen regardless of the birth place of his ancestors; (applause) and there is no room for the man of divided allegiance though three centuries of native blood courses his veins. (Applause.) The mistake which public men are making in these days is in placing the common standard of patriotism—of loyalty—to the government too low instead of too high. The citizenship of this country will measure up in any real test

where American rights and interests are involved to the old heroic standard of the fathers. (Applause.)

But if this view be founded in error and there are any considerable number of people in this country who own to a divided allegiance nevertheless there is but one course to pursue. Our duty is clear and unmistakable, our pathway as a party is plain. The party whose youth was consecrated to the preservation of the Union and faltered not at the sacrifice the task involved, will not in the maturity of its manhood shirk from the responsibility of maintaining in all their integrity our interests and our rights as a nation among other nations. (Applause.) The men who fought at Vicksburg and Antietam fought in vain if that government which they died to preserve gives neither standing nor security to their children. (Applause, loud and prolonged). In vain did Lincoln grapple with the intrepid Douglass over the freedom of a race, in vain did he carry through four long years of internal strife, the stupendous burdens of government, in vain did he yield up his life as the last full measure of his devotion, if American women and American men are to be sacrificed to the cruelty of every power which finds them in the pathway of its relentless purpose. (Applause.) It is for us here highly to resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain but that they died in the noblest cause for which men may die—in the cause of peace—loving but self-protecting, self-respecting republic. (Applause.) We are weary of words that have behind them no high resolve to make them good. We have seen our own robbed and ravished and drowned and murdered. We have seen the flag subjected to nameless insult—the flag which symbolizes our past achievements and our future aspirations, our hopes and prayers. We are weary of words—we want protection for our people, their lives and their property. We want respect and honor for this government and we believe that the party of Lincoln and Grant and McKinley knows how to command these things and how to maintain them and to do so in peace and honor. (Applause.)

Let us pledge ourselves anew not in mere form but with profoundest purpose to a united, unified and disenthralled country. Let us examine anew the obligations of citizenship and reconsecrate our party to those enduring principles of national honor for which it has always stood, not alone because it is the only thing for a self-respecting political organization to do but because it is the surest guarantee of peace—a cardinal tenet of our faith from the beginning. (Applause.) A timid appreciation of national rights is an invitation to aggression. A vacillating foreign policy solicits attack. A nation too proud to fight will soon be regarded by the dominant powers of the world as too cowardly to live. (Applause loud and prolonged). If you consent to the slaying of the citizen across the border it is only a question of time until he will be murdered in his own home and under his own flag. (A voice: That has already been done.)

Columbus and Glenn Springs are the legitimate fruits of our cowardly indifference to the assassination at San Isabel. The policy which invites contempt seldom fails to earn a more substantial punishment. (Applause.) Foreign governments are not in doubt as to our rights or the consideration due us as a people. But they are in doubt as to our willingness to protect our rights. The surest way to keep the peace is to keep the faith. (Applause.)

The issues which have for years distinguished our political campaigns are important but not controlling. The tariff will be readjusted. It will be framed on protective lines and upon lines broad enough to include the farmer as well as the manufacturer, the laborer as well as the employer. It will be our task early assumed and gladly performed to provide a different brand of prosperity than that which had its origin in the calamities of war and will have its finish in the blessings of peace. Never have we had a greater concern in the wholesome principles of protection than we shall have at the close of this war. (Applause.) True to this principle for fifty years the Republican party can be trusted to meet that situation with judgment and promptness.

But vital as this and kindred questions are there lies beyond and over and above them all this eminent and transcendent problem—are we a nation? (A delegate: "Yes, but the world has had little cause to realize that fact during the past three years." Laughter and applause.) MR. BORAH, of Idaho: Have we a national mind, a national purpose and do we possess national ideals? Are they dear enough that men will dare and die for them? Can this democracy of ours for which the brave have suffered and sacrificed and died give security to life and protection to property. (Applause and a voice: "Yes we will after March 4th, 1917.") Has it a soul which suffers when wrongs are inflicted upon the human family and does it hate injustice or have these qualities been withered and eaten away by the love of ease and the consuming passion for wealth? Has our republic a moral code, has it a standard of intellectual integrity and does it place honor and sacrifice above dishonor and ignoble ease? Do the sturdy virtues still live among this people and are we ready to protect our own, the honor of our women and the lives of our men as our forefathers did in the olden days—the days of our building?

Yes, we have a soul that dares to denounce wrong, to speak out for humanity (applause) a people who love honor and thrill to the appeals of our countrymen in distress. We are a nation with ideals—down in our hearts and in the introspective hour we scorn the contentment that is born of duty shirked and of material advantages coined of the miseries of the human race. (Applause.) We are a people waiting for a voice, waiting for a leader, as our fathers waited for Lincoln, for a party whose traditions are the achievements of patriotism and whose creed is the Union uncompromised and unstained. Let us summon to the contest the national

spirit. Let us make our plea to the sturdier and braver virtues. Let us avoid the side arches and byways of expediency. (Applause.) Let us take the broad, open way of justice and courage, the way our fathers trod, and never leave it. Let us declare once and for all that we will shirk not at all from the obligation of protecting our own; (great applause.) let us declare that while we love peace and covet and respect the friendship of all nations, even these blessings are not to be purchased at the price of honor. (Applause.) And so believing and so declaring let us make ready as a great party to meet the obligations which devolve upon us, as a people and as a government. Gentlemen of the convention, I thank you. (Long and continued applause.)

RECESS.

MR. HERBERT PARSONS, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I move that this Convention do now recess until four o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was agreed to; and, (at 1 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the Convention recessed until 4 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At four o'clock p. m. the Convention reassembled.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF RESOLUTIONS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The first business in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair has the pleasure of introducing the Chairman of the Committee, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. (Enthusiastic applause.)

MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions I make the following report:

THE PLATFORM

In 1861 the Republican party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States.

We believe in American policies at home and abroad.



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts,
Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the laws of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrase-making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations.

We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

. MEXICO

We deeply sympathize with the fifteen million people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged, by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who when temporarily successful in any locality have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this Administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such

friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

MONROE DOCTRINE

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

LATIN AMERICA

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

PHILIPPINES

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the Islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government and if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the Islands as a duty to civilization, and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done, would break our pledge, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind be-

tween American citizens whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our Western or our Eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

TARIFF

The Republican party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dye stuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was

clearly demonstrated that this Act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

BUSINESS

The Republican party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and of the great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the tax payer and in an inferior product.

The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business, should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democrat party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

RURAL CREDITS

We favor an effective system of Rural Credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic Administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

MERCHANT MARINE

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to com-

pete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American Merchant Marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American Merchant Marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

TRANSPORTATION

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

ECONOMY AND A NATIONAL BUDGET

The increasing cost of the national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

CONSERVATION

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

The Civil Service Law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall

be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic party has created since March 4, 1913, thirty thousand offices outside of the Civil Service law at an annual cost of forty-four million dollars to the tax payers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona fide residents of the territory in which their duties are to be performed.

LABOR LAWS

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employes. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

SUFFRAGE

The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

CONCLUSION

Such are our principles, such are our "purposes and policies." We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We

call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

MR. LODGE, of Massachusetts.—I move the adoption of the report.

MR. ADOLPH O. EBERHART, of Minnesota.—I second the motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair recognizes Mr. Edwin J. Gross, of Wisconsin, of the Committee on Resolutions, who wishes to present a minority report.

MINORITY REPORT

MR. EDWIN J. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Mr. Chairman and delegates of this Convention: Being unable to agree with the majority report, as a member—

(The speaker was interrupted by cries of "Louder!" Louder!")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—If the delegates will be patient with the speaker his voice will doubtless reach you in a moment. He is saving some of his strength to yell for the nominee of this Convention. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Being unable to agree with the majority report, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, from the State of Wisconsin, I submit the following minority report and recommend its adoption.

TARIFF

We favor a protective tariff the schedules of which shall be based upon the ascertained difference in the labor in this country and abroad and which shall be so adjusted as to assure its benefit to labor and yet not tax the consumer to cover inefficient management nor place a premium on the exhaustion of our natural resources. The investigation of these facts and the revision of these schedules should be made by a non-partisan tariff commission, subject to the action of Congress.

PATENTS

Inventions should be fully developed and utilized for the public benefit under reasonable regulation by the Federal Trade Commission. We pledge the enactment of a law which will protect the inventor as well as the public, and which cannot be used against the public welfare in the interest of injurious monopolies.

SHIP SUBSIDY

We are unequivocally opposed to ship subsidies. We believe the American merchant marine can be builded upon a stable basis by equalizing the costs of building and the costs of operation. We commend the enactment of the so-called Seamen's Law which gave freedom to seamen and equalized the labor costs of ship operation between vessels of the United States and foreign countries. We insist upon the proper enforcement of that act and demand legislation to equalize the cost of ship construction.

SOCIAL WELFARE

A well nurtured, well developed, loyal citizenship is essential to National defense. Without such a body of citizens, physical resources are of little value. The nation best commands an adequate defense that most efficiently safeguards against exploitation and most adequately provides for the material and physical well-being of its citizens. We favor laws, to assure the greatest possible safety to workmen from industrial accidents and vocational diseases, to provide compensation for occupational accidents and diseases, to facilitate and encourage safe provisions for dependents and for old age, to strictly regulate and control the employment of women and children, to secure the fullest inquiry and publicity with regard to living conditions and conditions of employment, to encourage the organization of workmen and farmers to co-operate in the distribution of products and the elimination of unnecessary expense, loss and waste and to promote their education, efficiency and general welfare.

HEALTH

We favor the strengthening of the various agencies of the government relating to pure foods, quarantine and health, and their union into a single United States Health Service not subordinated to any interest, commercial or financial, but devoted to co-operation with the health activities of the various States and cities of the nation, and to such efforts as are consistent with reasonable personal liberty, looking to the elimination of unnecessary disease and the lengthening of human life.

GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE OF MUNITIONS

We favor a comprehensive survey by the government of the industries, transportation and other resources of the United States and such organization thereof in times of peace, that in time of war every resource of the country shall be available immediately for the needs of the government. National defense should involve equal sacrifice and there should be no private profit from war or preparation for war. The private manufac-

ture of munitions of war furnishes a direct incentive to war. Government manufacture of munitions, by eliminating private profit, does away with the desire for war. We pledge the government manufacture of all munitions and vessels of war in time of peace, and in time of war the requisition and operation by the government of privately owned plants so far as needed.

NAVAL SUPPLIES

We pledge ourselves to the acquisition and operation by the government of coal mines and oil wells upon the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts and in Alaska for the supply of the Navy and other Governmental departments with fuel and oil.

TAXATION

Great fortunes have been gained through the manufacture and sale of munitions of war to belligerent European countries. We believe that those who have directly profited by the European war should contribute a portion of such profits to pay the increased expenses of our government caused by expansion of our military program. We therefore favor paying for such increased expenditures by increasing the surtax upon incomes, levying a tax upon all manufacturers of munitions of war, and a graduated Federal Inheritance Tax with reasonable exemptions.

STRICT NEUTRALITY

We insist that this country shall maintain strict neutrality toward nations engaged in war, thus preserving friendly relations with all belligerents and keeping open the door of opportunity to service in promoting just terms of peace. We pledge to so amend our neutrality laws as to make it the duty of the President, by Executive order, to preserve the perfect balance of our neutrality even at the sacrifice of profits to the money power and the manufacturers of arms and ammunition.

CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS FOR PEACE

We favor a conference of neutral nations with a view to a permanent organization to promote peace, prevent wars and aid in the settlement of international questions and the adjustment of differences between nations at war.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE TRIBUNAL

To compose the differences of nations and to maintain World peace, we favor the creation of an International Tribunal to which shall be referred for final settlement all issues between nations, and upon the establishment of such a Tribunal we favor action by our government

toward general disarmament of the nations of the world; and that an adequate International army and navy be maintained under the command of such Tribunal to enforce its decrees.

REFERENDUM OF WAR

We favor a law providing for a popular expression of opinion by the voters for or against war with any foreign government with which the President shall have severed diplomatic relations.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We denounce the un-American and undemocratic secret diplomacy which continually threatens the honor, peace and security of our country, and we favor full and immediate publicity in all our relations with foreign governments.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

The natural resources of our country have been largely monopolized by privileged interests. These interests have formed monster combinations in every important industry, controlling production and prices and creating a vast surplus wealth. This excess capital which might otherwise be loaned at reduced interest rates to the people from whom it has been wrongfully exacted, has been withdrawn from the country by the masters of finance and used to secure concessions in oil, coal, timber and mineral lands in Mexico, Central and South American countries, and loaned in China and elsewhere at usurious rates and extortionate commissions, thus enabling these interests to control the natural resources of the weaker nations and exploit their helpless peoples.

In support of this system, in recent years there has been an attempt to establish and maintain a foreign policy of "Dollar Diplomacy" that would make our government the guarantor for the private investments of our privileged interests in foreign countries.

Back of this foreign policy lies in large part the demand for a big army and a big navy to enforce the collection of the private claims and protect the concessions and investments of these interests.

These same interests own the munition plants which fatten off the great government contracts to supply the big army and build the big navy maintained by taxing our people.

We denounce this mercenary system of a degraded foreign policy which has at times reduced our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments into a trading outpost for these privileged interests and concessions seekers engaged in exploiting weaker nations.

We pledge ourselves against "Dollar Diplomacy" and the identification of the government with the claims of concession seekers, financiers and privileged interests operating in weaker countries.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

We favor the extension of suffrage to women.

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

Over and above constitutions and statutes, and greater than all, is the supreme sovereignty of the people. Whenever the initiative, referendum and the recall have been adopted by State governments, it has stimulated the interest of the citizen in his government and awakened a deeper sense of responsibility. If it is wise to entrust the people with this power in State government, no one can challenge the extension of this power to the national government. We favor such amendments to the federal constitution, and thereupon the enactment of such statutes as may be necessary to extend the initiative, the referendum and the recall to representatives in Congress and United States senators.

LEGISLATION AND PUBLICITY

We pledge the enactment of a law requiring all congressional committee hearings to be public and providing for a permanent public record of all appearances and votes at committee meetings and for the strictest regulation of the acts of all persons employed for pecuniary consideration to oppose or promote legislation.

During the reading of the minority report of the Committee on resolutions there was some little confusion.

After reading the section in regard to patents and ship subsidies, the following occurred:

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Can you hear me, ladies and gentlemen?

A DELEGATE.—No.

ANOTHER DELEGATE.—Never mind, that's all right.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. A minority member of any committee is entitled to a hearing by the Convention in order.

FROM THE GALLERY.—Louder, louder, louder!

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Any offending guest of this Convention who interrupts a speaker will be removed, under the order of the Chair, by the Sergeant-at-Arms. (Applause among the delegates.)

When Mr. Gross reached the woman suffrage clause of his report he said:

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—"We favor the extension of suffrage to women," and we stop there! (Applause.)

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Gentlemen of the Convention, you may not like what I have said in this platform, but at least I have said exactly where we stand and there is no mistake about it.

When Mr. Gross was concluding the section of the minority report in regard to the initiative, referendum and recall, the following occurred:

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—“We favor such amendments to the Federal Constitution, and thereupon the enactment of such statutes as may be necessary to extend the initiative, the referendum, and the recall to representatives in Congress and United States senators.” (Loud laughter, cries of “No, No, No.” and hisses.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. I feel quite sure that it is not necessary for the Chairman to say that the delegates will respectfully hear what any minority member may have to say, and the guests of the Convention must not interrupt any minority speaker by interjecting remarks or any one offending will be removed from the hall.

After concluding the final section of the minority report on legislation and publicity, Mr. Gross said:

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, you heard your Chairman when he opened this great Convention on yesterday morning deliver a speech that rang clear and true in some particulars. (Laughter.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order.

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—We state this, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, that although—

A DELEGATE FROM INDIANA.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentlemen will state his point of order.

THE DELEGATE FROM INDIANA.—There is nothing before the house but the reading of the platform, and under our rules a member cannot deliver a speech when reading the platform.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The delegate from Indiana is quite right in his point of order but, by inference at least, the gentleman on the platform moved to substitute the minority report for the majority report, and under that construction he has the floor for five minutes.

ANOTHER DELEGATE.—Mr. Chairman.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

THE DELEGATE.—I want to make a motion.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—No motion is in order at this moment. Mr. Gross will proceed.

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—Gentlemen of this Convention, I do not think it will hurt you one minute to listen to what I have to say, (cries of “Oh, no.”) because if you do not agree with what I have to say you

do not need to vote that way. I wouldn't want any man to violate his conscience by his vote. (A voice, "You need not worry.") As I was saying when I was interrupted, your Chairman on yesterday well said that although this country is undergoing a state of prosperity, it is not a natural condition but an artificial condition brought about by that great holocaust across the pond. He stated that we are making great profits out of shipments of munitions of war; and God forbid that we should rejoice over money made in that way. (Handclapping.) You are applauding that statement now because it came from your Chairman, but when I read that plank a few moments ago that would wipe out such horrible conditions abroad, you did not applaud or handclap then. If it was right for your chairman to take that position and you agreed with him, why isn't it right for you to agree with the minority plank on that proposition?

It may be true that we should not involve ourselves for expediency's sake, but the Republican Party is expected to do what any progressive party ought to do and should do; and if the question is right I do not care one snap of the finger for expediency. If a question is right it is worth fighting for and worth adopting irrespective of the expediency. The majority platform covers a situation that deals with a state of neutrality that uses the phraseology something like strict and honest neutrality. Why! Doesn't the Democratic administration at Washington claim to conduct a strict and honest neutrality? It is simply a general expression that doesn't amount to anything. Put some teeth in that plank of your platform—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The time of the gentleman has expired.

MR. GROSS, of Wisconsin.—I say, put some teeth in that plank of your platform, and do not merely use high-sounding phrases that mean absolutely nothing. I want you to consider these things, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, and vote, if you conscientiously can, in favor of the minority platform. I thank you.

MR. LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Senator Lodge of Massachusetts.

MR. LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: I shall not take your time in discussing the minority report, for it would involve a discussion of the entire report of the committee, upon which your Committee on Resolutions has spent many hard-working hours. The minority report is signed alone by the gentleman who has presented it. (Laughter and applause.) And, while we all respect the courage of conviction displayed by the gentleman, yet I think it only fair to say that the committee has considered, I believe, all the suggestions contained in the minority report, and on the only one on which a

vote was obtained, the committee voted forty-five to one against it. I therefore trust, and it is all I intend to say, that the convention will not substitute the minority report for that of the committee.

While on my feet and after reading the report of the Committee on Resolutions I moved the adoption of the report.

The question was called for.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question before the convention is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, (Mr. Gross), that the minority report be adopted in place of the majority report. All in favor of the motion will make it known by saying "aye." (A few scattering ayes.) Those opposed will make their pleasure known by saying "no." (A chorus of "noes.") The noes have it and the substitute is lost.

The question now is on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, or which may be termed the majority report.

And the report was agreed to.

COMMUNICATION FROM PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen of the convention: Your chairman is in receipt of a communication which he desires to convey to the delegates of this convention:

"Chicago, June 8th, 1916.

"Hon. Warren G. Harding, Chairman of the Republican National Convention, The Coliseum, Chicago.

"Dear Sir: By direction of the Progressive National Convention, I transmit for the consideration of the Republican National Convention copy of a resolution duly adopted by the Progressive National Convention at its afternoon session, June 8th, 1916.

"Very truly yours,

"O. K. DAVIS,

"Secretary, Progressive National Convention."

RESOLUTION

"In the spirit of the statement approved at the meeting of its National Committee held on January 11th last past, the National Convention of the Progressive Party invites and requests the National Convention of the Republican Party to appoint a Committee on Conference to meet with a similar committee from this body."

The reading of the resolution was greeted by enthusiastic applause. MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes Senator Smoot, of Utah.

MR. SMOOT.—I move that, in view of the request of the Progressive National Convention, a committee of five delegates be appointed by the Chairman of this Convention to confer with a committee of the Convention of the Progressive Party. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE.— I second the motion.

A VOICE.—We have got to get together.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Utah. Those of you who favor the adoption of the motion will say "aye." (A chorus of ayes.) Contrary "no." (A few scattering noes were heard.) The ayes seem to have it. (After a pause.) The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In accordance with the instructions of this Convention, the Chair appoints as such a committee, Senator Smoot of Utah, Ex-Senator Murray Crane of Massachusetts, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of New York, and Ex-Congressman A. R. Johnson of Ohio. (Applause.)

ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of the National Committee. In accordance with Rule No. 14, the Secretary will call the roll for nomination of members of the National Committee. The Secretary will call the roll.

As the Secretary calls the roll of States, the Chairman of each State Delegation will please announce the nomination by his State for its member of the committee.

The Convention will be in order.

Thereupon the Secretary proceeded to call the roll. When Connecticut was reached, the Chairman for Connecticut said as follows:

Chairman of Connecticut delegation: Connecticut has not as yet nominated.

The Secretary continued with the call of the roll and when Kentucky was reached, Mr. A. E. Willson for Kentucky said as follows:

The Chairman announces the election of A. T. Hert, by the delegation, but I am advised that there will be a contest of this election by Mr. J. W. McCulloch. (Confusion and cries of "No! No!")

MR. R. C. STOLL: (Of Kentucky) I want to submit that on yesterday at a meeting of the delegates they were notified that they would have ample notice of a meeting for the selection of a National Committeeman, but just at this moment they have called a meeting for the election of a

National Committeeman. There are several delegates who are not here, and who did not know the matter was going to come up. We protest against this election.

(Mr. Stoll's further remarks were not audible on the stage, and the calling of the roll was proceeded with.)

At the call of New York.

MR. WHITMAN, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, the report of New York will be made later.

When Tennessee was reached,

MR. HOOPER, of Tennessee.—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the announcement of Tennessee, under the authority of Rule No. 14, adopted by this Convention today. I move to substitute the name of John J. Gore for National Committeeman of this State (Tennessee) on the ground that instructions were violated in the election of Mr. Littleton.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The case of Tennessee will be passed until the roll call is completed, when the Chair will again revert to Tennessee.

Secretary Gleason continues the call of the roll of States, to the end.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Mr. O. B. Marx, of Michigan.

MR. MARX: Mr. Chairman, I move that the members so nominated without objection be now elected.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Marx) moves the election of the members of the National Committee who are nominated without objection. The question is on the adoption of the motion of the member from Michigan. Those who favor the motion will say Aye. Opposed, no. The motion is carried.

The Chair recognizes the Hon. R. W. Austin, of Tennessee.

MR. AUSTIN: Mr. Chairman, I move to lay the motion of Mr. Hooper of Tennessee on the table.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Tennessee, Mr. Austin, moves to lay the motion of Governor Hooper of the same State, on the table.

MR. BROWN, of New York: Mr. President.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

MR. BROWN: For information. I desire to know the motion.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The motion is to lay the challenge of Governor Hooper of Tennessee on the table. The motion is not debatable.

VOICES AMONG THE DELEGATES: State the motion. What is the motion? (Cries of "Hooper! Hooper!")

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Convention, Governor Hooper of Tennessee challenges the nomination presented by that State. Delegate Austin of Tennessee moves to lay the challenge on the table and the motion, under the rules, is not debatable. Those of you who favor

laying the challenge on the table say Aye. Those of you who are opposed will say No. (Loud No vote.) The Noes appear to have it. The Noes do have it and the motion to table does not prevail.

I recognize the gentleman from New York, Senator ELOU R. BROWN.

MR. BROWN: Mr. Chairman.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Senator Brown has the floor.

MR. BROWN: I move that in the matter of the National Committeeman from Tennessee, the pending motion, be referred to the National Committee, and I do so for this reason.

(No! No!)

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: State your motion, and then your remarks will be in order.

MR. BROWN: I have stated my motion, that it be referred.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Senator Brown, of the New York delegation, moves that the protest and the contest, if you please, from Tennessee, be referred to the National Committee with power to act. Such is the pending motion before the Committee of the Convention now.

A DELEGATE: Seconded.

MR. BROWN, of New York: Mr. Chairman.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Senator Brown, Gentlemen.

MR. BROWN: Gentlemen of the Convention: As a member of the Committee on Rules, and a member of the Sub-Committee on Rules, before whom this matter was considered, I make this motion because of the inability at this time, even more than at the time the Committee was in session, to give due consideration to the claims of the contestants for the position.

MR. HOOPER, of Tennessee (Interrupting): We all agreed, Mr. Chairman.

MR. BROWN, of New York (continuing):—to give due consideration to the claims of the contestants for the position. It will be utterly futile for the Convention to enter into a consideration of it, because the parties disagree as to the facts. You have adopted your rules. Those rules will be binding upon the National Committee, and the National Committee can settle the matter according to the very justice of the case.

DELEGATES: Cries of "Question, Question."

MR. HOOPER, of Tennessee: Mr. Chairman, I want to say on behalf of the Tennessee delegation that from expressions I hear here, just now, I feel sure that the entire delegation is in accord with the motion made by the gentleman from New York. Am I right, gentlemen?

DELEGATES: Yes, yes.

MR. HOOPER, of Tennessee: All right, let it go to the National Committee.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Are there any other remarks?

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York to refer the matter to the National Committee with power to act. Those of you who favor agreeing with the motion will say Aye. Opposed, No. The Ayes have it.

(The vote was unanimous.)

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The gentleman who made a partial report from Kentucky—Is Governor Willson ready to report?

MR. J. W. LANGLEY, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman, that was a full report. Our delegation selected Mr. Hert yesterday by a majority vote. The other side announced that they would raise a contest on the idea that a previous vote in Kentucky several weeks ago elected another gentleman, but we take it there is no election until today, and our delegation has voted by a conceded majority to nominate Mr. Hert.

MR. E. T. FRANKS (Of Kentucky): Mr. Chairman.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

MR. FRANKS (Of Kentucky): I rise for the purpose of moving that the Kentucky situation be referred to the National Committee with power to act.

A DELEGATE: Seconded.

MR. JOHN W. LANGLEY (Of Kentucky): Mr. Chairman, a point of order. I understand the chair to announce the motion to vote on all nominations to which there was no objection.

(Several delegates were in the aisles, and there was some confusion.)

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Quite right.

MR. LANGLEY: There was no objection made to the nomination by Governor Willson, and therefore my point of order is that National Committeeman from Kentucky—

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The point of order is sustained. The chair will recognize Mr. Warren (of Michigan) for a motion.

(See page 203 for list of members of National Committee so far as of yesterday.)

MR. WARREN (Of Michigan): Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The motion is to adjourn until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning.

DELEGATES: Aye. Aye.

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The motion is carried and the convention is adjourned until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, June 9th, 1916, at 11 o'clock a. m.



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

THIRD DAY

CONVENTION HALL

THE COLISEUM

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 9, 1916.

The Convention met at 11 o'clock a. m.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. The Chair requests the members of the Convention and its guests to rise while prayer is offered by Bishop William F. McDowell.

PRAYER OF BISHOP WILLIAM F. McDOWELL

Bishop William F. McDowell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, unto Whom all hearts are open, all desires known and from Whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy holy spirit that we may perfectly love Thee and perfectly magnify Thy holy name in what we do this day. Go before us with Thy holy spirit that all our work begun, continued and ended in Thee may redound to Thy glory and the welfare of mankind.

We are here on the most important day that has ever witnessed a gathering like this. What we here do has more than party significance; it means everything to the republic; it means vastly to the world itself.

Oh, Lord God, may the spirit of Abraham Lincoln fall upon this great company today that we may nobly consecrate ourselves to that larger service of humanity that characterized him and those who like him have fought the good fight and kept the faith and finished their course.

Keep us true to those ideals that make for human welfare everywhere in the world.

Lift us above all that is low and little and petty and material, and save us, O God, that we may help Thee save the world for liberty, for righteousness, for truth, for human welfare.

Guide the thoughts and the hearts of men, control the speech of men and let Thy blessings fall upon the republic and the world for Jesus Christ's sake, we ask it, Amen.

CORRECTION OF RULING OF THE CHAIR AS TO NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FROM KENTUCKY

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair asks unanimous consent of the Convention to correct an error on the part of its Presiding Officer which occurred during the proceedings of yesterday. Is there objection?

A VOICE.—Let us hear it.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In ruling upon a point of order on yesterday raised by a delegate from the State of Kentucky, the Chair was quite correct, according to the information at hand; but the Chair was not at that time aware that a protest had been filed in writing with the Secretary of the Convention relating to the nomination of a member of the National Committee from that State. In order to correct the proceedings and make the record straight the Chair now recognizes Mr. William Heyburn of Kentucky.

MR. WILLIAM HEYBURN, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention: The Kentucky delegation met at the Auditorium Hotel on June 7, at 10 o'clock, all of the delegates from that State being present. By a vote of 13½ to ½ Mr. A. T. Hert was nominated for National Committeeman; the other 12 votes being present but not voting. I therefore move you that in view of the fact that Mr. A. T. Hert had a clear majority of the Kentucky delegation that he be elected the member of the National Committee for the State of Kentucky.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention, you have heard the motion offered by the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Heyburn) that Mr. A. T. Hert be elected National Committeeman for the State of Kentucky. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

MR. W. D. COCHRAN, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Mr. Cochran of Kentucky.

MR. W. D. COCHRAN, of Kentucky.—At the State Convention which selected delegates at large to this National Convention, notice was given of a meeting of the delegates for the purpose of organization. After the close of the proceedings of the Convention a meeting of the delegates was held, with 16 present, and 15½ votes were cast, ½ vote not voting; and the others remained away and tried to keep some of these from attending in an effort to prevent a quorum being present. At that meeting John W. McCulloch was re-elected the member of the National Committee for the State of Kentucky. A motion was made to re-consider, and that was laid upon the table.

A DELEGATE.—I move to substitute the name of A. T. Hert for the name of John W. McCulloch as National Committeeman for the State of Kentucky.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Senator Wadsworth of New York.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.—I move that the matter of the contest for National Committeeman for the State of Kentucky be referred to the Republican National Committee with power to act.

A DELEGATE.—I second the motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Wadsworth of New York moves that the question of a National Committeeman for the State of Kentucky be referred to the National Committee with power to act. What is the pleasure of the convention?

MR. WILLIAM MARSHALL BULLITT, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky.

MR. WILLIAM MARSHALL BULLITT.—That motion is debatable, is it not?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—For five minutes.

MR. WILLIAM MARSHALL BULLITT.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: Under the rules adopted by this National Convention the chairman of each State delegation, when the roll of States was called, was to announce the name of the one person chosen by the delegation to act as the member of the National Committee from that State. That has been done—(considerable confusion arose among the Kentucky delegation and extending to other delegates.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, you will please hear the gentleman from Kentucky, who wishes to make a statement to the convention.

MR. WILLIAM MARSHALL BULLITT.—As I was saying that has been done; and there is no provision in the party law for the National Committee to hear contests concerning the eligibility of its members. The chairman of the delegation at the roll-call gave the name of Mr. A. T. Hert. Any member of the Kentucky delegation had the right to call for a poll of the delegates if he was not satisfied with the announcement by the chairman. No one did so when the roll was called and when the announcement was made; therefore it seems to me that that announcement is bound to stand—certainly unless the delegation, when called for a poll, votes otherwise. There is no provision in the party law for leaving a contest to the National Committee for settlement as a matter of arbitration, unless done by consent, and I therefore oppose the motion of the Senator from New York (Mr. Wadsworth) upon the ground that it is not proper under the party law, and that the announcement of the chairman of the Kentucky delegation must stand unless a poll of the Kentucky delegation is called for, and when such poll is called for and voted upon the result should be different from the announcement by the chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question before the Convention is on the motion of the Senator from New York, (Mr. James W. Wadsworth, Jr.) to refer the Kentucky controversy to the National Committee with power to act. Those of you who favor the motion will say "Aye." (A chorus of Ayes.) Contrary "No." (A good many Noes.) The Ayes seem to have it. (After a pause.) The Ayes have it, and the matter is referred to the National Committee with power to act.

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN FOR OTHER STATES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will read the report from two other State delegations nominating members of the Republican National Committee.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—I will read the following communication:

Chicago, June 9, 1916.

Hon. Warren G. Harding, Chairman,
Republican National Convention,
Chicago, Illinois.

Sir:

I take pleasure in reporting to you that the unanimous choice of this delegation for the Minnesota member of the National Republican Committee is Hon. Chester A. Congdon, of Duluth.

Yours truly,

S. R. VAN SANT,
Chairman Minnesota Delegation.

I also wish to announce that I have the certificate from the South Carolina delegation naming J. W. Tolbert as the member of the Republican National Committee for the State of South Carolina.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I move that this Convention do now elect Mr. Chester A. Congdon as the member of the Republican National Committee for the State of Minnesota, and Mr. J. W. Tolbert as the member of the same Committee for the State of South Carolina.

The motion was agreed to.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE REPORT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will now ask the Convention to hear a report from Mr. Smoot of Utah, Chairman of the Conference Committee appointed to confer with a similar committee selected by the National Progressive Convention.

MR. REED SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: Your Committee has instructed me to make the following report:

“To the Republican National Convention:

Your Committee appointed pursuant to the resolution adopted at yesterday's session, met in conference with a committee representing the National Progressive Convention last evening. That the Progressive Committee of Conference consisted of Messrs. Perkins of New York, Johnson of California, Bonaparte of Maryland, Wilkinson of New York, and Parker of Louisiana.

The conference was frank, free and most friendly. The conferees were of one mind in believing that the good of the country and perhaps its repute and influence for years to come, depends upon the complete defeat of the present Democratic Administration and the restoration of the control of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government to the hands of those who firmly believe in and will execute the policies that are so heartily supported by the Republican and the Progressive parties alike.

The Progressive conferees were unanimous in urging with temperateness and fairness, the opinion that Theodore Roosevelt of New York had so large a personal following and such a close personal relation to the issues of the coming campaign as to make him the most desirable candidate upon which to unite.

It was agreed that your conferees would report these facts to this Convention.

Respectfully submitted,
REED SMOOT.
W. MURRAY CRANE.
W. E. BORAH.
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
A. R. JOHNSON.

June 9th, 1916.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Inasmuch as the Committee of Conference has not asked for its discharge it is authorized to continue its work. (Great applause.)

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under Rule 9, adopted by this Convention, we will now proceed to the business of presentation of names of Candidates for the nomination for the Presidency of the United States. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States.

The Chair has arrogated to itself the authority to require that seconding speeches be made after the complete roll call of States, and he desires such delegates as are commissioned to speak the wishes of their

several delegations to send their names to the chair in order that they may be recognized in the same order in which the presentation speeches are made.

On the calling of the roll, now to be made by the Secretary, nominating speeches for candidates for the Presidency will be in order. The secretary will call the roll of States.

The Secretary rose to call the roll of States.

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman—

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

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that I am the first alternate on the list, and delegate John B. Wright is absent—

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Wait until the State of Arizona is reached on the roll call and then you can present any matter which may be pertinent.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—I will request Mr. Will A. Waite, of Michigan, one of the reading clerks, to call the roll.

Alabama was called and passed.

Arizona was called.

MR. EDWARD KENT, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention: Arizona has no candidate for the Presidency, and I am instructed by my delegation to say that Arizona yields to New York.

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman, I challenge the report of the delegation and ask for a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—A demand having been made for the calling of the roll of the delegates from Arizona, and the vote as announced challenged, the Secretary will call the roll.

MR. EDWARD KENT, of Arizona.—I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman will state his point of order.

MR. EDWARD KENT, of Arizona.—My point of order is that no member of the Arizona delegation, at least no delegate has challenged Arizona's vote. The gentleman who has spoken is not entitled to a place on the delegation.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chairman of the Arizona delegation says that the gentleman who has risen and challenged the announcement for Arizona is not entitled to a place on the delegation. The Chair will determine that point upon the roll call. The Secretary will call the roll of delegates from the State of Arizona.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION, (Mr. Lafayette B. Gleason, of New York).—The delegates will answer as their names are called.

The Secretary called the name of Edward Kent, delegate, and he answered "Aye."

The Secretary called the name of Charles A. Overlook, delegate, and he answered "Aye."

The Secretary called the name of Leroy Anderson, delegate, and he answered "Aye."

The Secretary called the name of Ph. Freudenthal, delegate, and he answered "Aye."

The Secretary called the name of John B. Wright, delegate, and some one answered "Aye."

The Secretary called the name of Fred S. Breen, delegate, and he answered "Aye."

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Mr. Chairman, all six have answered "Aye."

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman, Mr. John B. Wright is not in the delegation but returned to Arizona yesterday.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Will the gentleman rise who answered for Mr. Wright?

MR. BRACEY CURTIS, of Arizona.—I answered when his name was called.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—By what right did you answer when Mr. Wright's name was called?

MR. BRACEY CURTIS, of Arizona.—Mr. Wright turned over his badge and ticket to me, the third alternate on the list of six alternates representing the State of Arizona, and therefore I feel that I am acting as the proxy for Mr. Wright.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under the rules of the Convention you have no right to represent Mr. Wright. The Secretary will therefore call the name of the first alternate in the place of Mr. John B. Wright, delegate, who is absent.

The Secretary thereupon called the name of Frank R. Stewart, the first Alternate on the list of alternates from the State of Arizona, and he answered "aye." (Laughter.)

THE SECRETARY.—The gentleman votes "aye."

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—I vote "No." (Laughter.) Well, I was only answering to the roll call, you understand.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—On a poll a majority of the delegates from Arizona having yielded to New York, the Secretary will now call New York.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (Mr. Lafayette B. Gleason of New York). Pursuant to the courtesy extended by the State of Arizona and by direction of the Permanent Chairman of this Convention I do now call the State of New York.

MR. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, of New York.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Governor Charles S. Whitman, of New York. (And when Governor Whitman reached the platform he was greeted by loud and prolonged applause.)

GOVERNOR WHITMAN NOMINATING MR. HUGHES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair takes pleasure in introducing to the Convention Governor Charles S. Whitman of the Empire State. (Renewed applause.)

MR. WHITMAN, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: As we have been frequently told during the days past we are here today to choose the standard bearer of the Republican Party in a great campaign. We are here, and we shall go from this place, provided that our action be wise and be righteous, having chosen the ruler for one hundred millions of people. We are here to choose and to name the next President of the United States. (Great applause.) No man living can assume nor have assumed a more solemn obligation, a more sacred trust, than devolves today upon you and me and upon every man assembled in this Convention, who are representing as we do and as God grant we may, the sovereign will of a great people. We are here in response to the demand of the American people that a minority President shall give way to a leader representing the will of the majority. (Applause.) He who casts his ballot here in any spirit whatsoever save in profound devotion to America and for what it is and what it has been and for what it must stand for before the nations of the world, is undeserving the name of patriot and is unworthy the name Republican.

It is not the policy of expediency that must guide us in this sacred and solemn moment but the Republicanism of history. The national horizon is dark and troubled. From afar the lurid flashes of a world war reminds us of our own citizens killed and our own flag insulted. To the south we see anarchy encroaching on our borders. At Washington the President "watches and waits."

Yet we must not think the task before us an easy one. The country is still at peace, and the maintenance of peace will be plausibly claimed by the Democratic party. That party hopes the country will soon forget the insults of our national honor. It is its belief that the people will not long remember the vacillating diplomacy clothed in glittering rhetoric which has alarmed our people, discredited our standing among the nations, and brought us to the verge of war.

A form of prosperity is in the land and few perhaps recognized its temporary nature or pause to analyze its causes.

The great war in Europe created unusual and temporary markets which stayed for the time the disaster otherwise sure to result from a Democratic tariff. The war came when our factories were beginning to close, when cars and engines were being shunted on to sidings for long idleness, when business was preparing for a siege of hard times such as had not been experienced since 1895. This great war turned our work-

men from the bread lines back to the mills, the forges and the farms, as surely as did the election of William McKinley and a Republican Congress in 1896. (Applause.)

If the devout prayers of all mankind be answered and our hopes be fulfilled, which God grant, the frightful holocaust of war will end as quickly and unexpectedly as it began, and the products of European labor will pour in upon us, undeterred by a tariff barrier, at prices ruinous to our trade and industries.

We must choose a man so great and of such masterful authority that he may bring home to the people a realization of the artificial character of our temporary prosperity. We must choose a man so great that he may be able to lead us safely through the perils that will follow the resumption of peace. We must choose a man so great in himself that the fear of comparison with himself will not deter him from surrounding himself with the greatest men and the ablest statesmen of the nation. We must choose a man so great that he may meet as a true American the supreme national issues, not only of the hour but those of the future. (Applause.)

Our party is rich in men imbued with the true spirit of Americanism. No one of them can claim a preponderance, a monopoly, of the American spirit in his heart or in his nature. (Applause.) All alike have been brought up in the school of the great Republican Party, whose record is the best guarantee of absolute, unswerving and devoted loyalty to the liberty, the enlightenment and civilization which the flag embodies and represents, and which the Republican Party has defended from its birth. Our party has ever believed that for the maintenance of these principles, the nation should always be ready, should always be prepared, and should always be "proud to fight." (Applause.)

We bring to you today the name of a man trained in battle for the truth, tried and found faithful in the administration of great public trusts, sterling in his Republicanism, free from the animosities engendered by factional strife, his private life above suspicion, his public life without flaw, a great lawyer, an effective campaigner, a wonderfully able executive, a mature statesman, a great judge; he, above all others, combines the essential qualifications of a true leader in this crisis of our party and in this crisis of our country.

His searching, fearless and epoch-making investigation into the management of our great insurance companies gave the people their first glimpse of his rare intellectual power, his indomitable courage, his high idealism. The salutary results achieved have justly endeared the investigator to the millions of policyholders throughout the nation. (Applause.)

When he was first nominated for Governor of the Empire State, so great was his hold upon the people that he was victorious although every

other candidate on the Republican ticket went down to defeat. Meditate upon this, gentlemen of the Convention. It is known to all of you that success in New York State is essential to success in the nation. His nomination here will carry with it absolute certainty of success there. (Applause.)

In 1908 the United Republican Party had nominated for its Presidential candidate that eminent statesman and judge, William Howard Taft. (Loud and prolonged applause, delegates rising to their feet and waving hats, handkerchiefs and flags, the applause dying down several times only to start anew.) The Democratic Party, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, offered the people plausible panaceas for all our national ills. The country awaited proof of the sincerity of the promises of the Republican Party before they were willing to entrust the destinies of the nation to its keeping. One figure stood forth pre-eminent—the champion of the people, of the party, and of the truth—the Governor of the State of New York, who in his wealth of splendid manhood, had won the attention and the admiration of the entire country. At the demand of the people, not only of his State but of the nation, he had been renominated for Governor. (Applause.)

In the midst of his own campaign the West called for him. The Republican managers felt the need of a speaker who by his reputation and his logic could carry conviction to the voters of the nation. At Youngstown, Ohio, he delivered an address which, as an able and sincere presentation of the Republican platform and as a destructive attack upon the fallacies of the Democratic proposals, was not equalled except by his own later speeches. In Indiana he repeated his Ohio triumph, and early in October he made a meteoric swing around the circle. Through the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota and South Dakota he bore the party's banner. There wasn't any question about his Americanism then; there wasn't any question about his Republicanism then. The Republican Party needed this giant from New York, and his services were freely given then. In Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas he pounded home the solid truths and pledges of the Republican platform. Through Missouri and Illinois his tour was one great rally of voters to our standards. You remember what he did in your State! You men of the Michigan delegation, I know you will bear me out, that his words uttered there are the accepted Republican gospel today. Would that I could bring vividly to your minds the heroic picture he made. Some of you recall it. Would that I could make you see him, as we saw him, speaking day after day amidst tumultuous enthusiasm, whether his rostrum was the rear platform of his train or the stage of a crowded auditorium. See him, the master of logic and convincing speech, establishing himself as the greatest campaigner of that or any other political campaign. (Applause.) See him the Governor of an Eastern State, marching victorious through the West, demolishing the plausible proposals

of the opposing party with such effect that final victory came to our standard, and no man contributed more to that result than he did. (Tumultuous applause.)

In the same year he consented that his name be placed in nomination for the Presidency. He signified his consent in a speech full of sterling Republican and patriotic doctrine. Hear him speak of the Republican party and its mission:

"The Republican party is the party of stability, and the party of progress. Its fundamental policies have determined the course of the Nation's history. Largely, they are now without serious challenge and are removed from any controversy the issue of which might be regarded as doubtful. They include the policy of Union in opposition to every divisive sentiment or disrupting force. They include the policy of establishing the national credit upon a sure foundation, in opposition to those financial vagaries which, paraded at one time with solemn argument and fervid appeal as the hope of the people, are now by common consent relegated to our museum of political absurdities, wholly amusing save for our keen appreciation of the peril we narrowly escaped. And they also include the policy of protection to American industry in the interest of the wage-earners of our country and in order to safeguard those higher American standards of living which our people will never permit to be reduced . . . The great names of the party are the priceless possession of the American people who irrespective of partisan affiliations, are grateful that the violence of opposition did not deprive the Nation of their leadership."

Could anyone pay a more sincere tribute to our party, or give more convincing proof of his Republicanism?

Finally, he was sound upon the great question of national preparedness and national defense. He has not spoken? Why, my friends, he spoke eight years ago! Listen to what he then said:

"We are devoted to the interests of peace and we cherish no policy of aggression. The maintenance of our ideals is our surest protection. It is our constant aim to live in friendship with all nations and to realize the aims of a free government secure from the interruptions of strife and the wastes of war. It is entirely consistent with these aims, and it is our duty, to make adequate provision for our defense and to maintain forever the efficiency of our Army and Navy. And this I favor." (Applause.)

These then, are his principles; sound, Republican and patriotic.

I need not dwell upon his recent career. You all remember his second administration as Governor—filled with valiant fights for the people, which brought him the sympathy, the admiration, the love, of his fellow-men in his own State, yes, in every State in the Union.

Of his more recent patriotic service on the most august of the world's judicial tribunals, his magnificent utterances from the bench are his best and his greatest monument. They show his accustomed tireless energy, his tremendous reasoning power, his mature grasp of the fundamental principles out of which has developed the American commonwealth.

This phase of his career is a magnificent supplement to his earlier achievements. Few of our great executives have had such an opportunity, or such a trial of their intellectual power. His eminent success is as striking a tribute to the versatility of his genius, as to the fundamental greatness of his character.

We have seen him the man of action, the champion of the people, the idol of the electorate, the faithful public servant, the profound thinker on national affairs.

He, above all other men, can bring home to the people the fact that the Democratic party has failed and miserably failed, in its stewardship. He, above all other men, can bring to the people a conviction of the dangers which surround us. He, above all other men, can assure this country that the Republican Party, the Party of progress, of union, and of patriotic achievement, is once more united and capable of assuming the helm of the ship of State. He, above all others, can bring to the party the confidence of the people. He, above all others, can bring to the country prosperity, security and honor. He above all other men embodies in himself and represents to all the world a great people's courage, ambition and character. He is the American spirit incarnate. (Applause.)

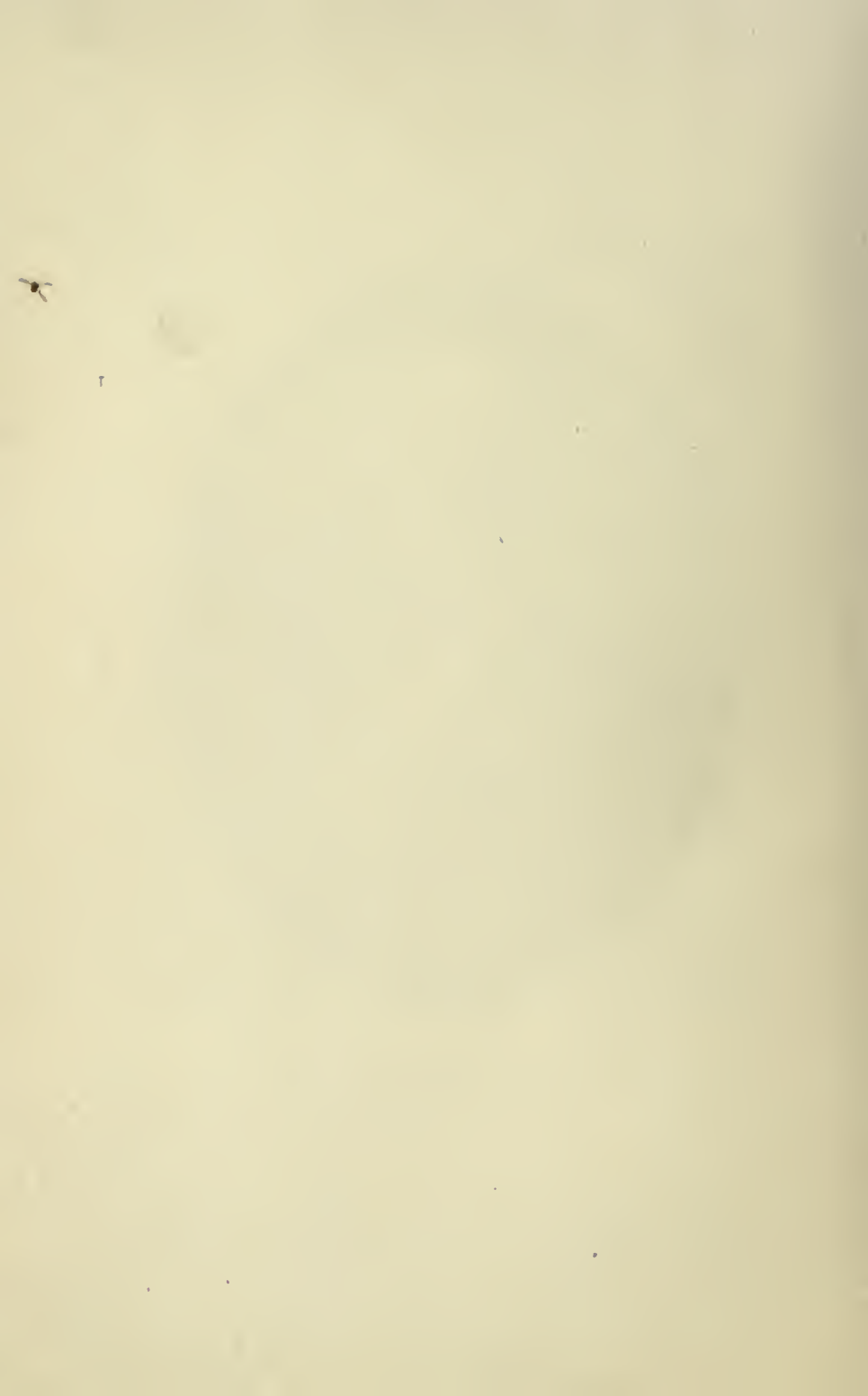
I do not speak for any man or for any candidate. I do not claim to represent any man or any candidate. The great State of New York, through the lips of its Governor, offers to the people and the party, to the voters of the party—not only to them, to the great Nation—her son, her noblest and her best.

✓ I nominate as the Republican candidate for President of the United States Charles Evans Hughes, of New York. (Applause, enthusiastic and long continued, during which members of the New York, Michigan, Maine, Vermont and Mississippi delegations took up their State standards and marched round the hall; and a member of the Maine delegation carried a toy elephant of about two feet in height on his head to the platform.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The convention will be in order. Arizona having yielded to the great Empire State, the Chair now grants recognition to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York. (Applause.)



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



MR. BUTLER NOMINATING MR. ROOT.

MR. BUTLER, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the convention :

To be elected twenty-ninth President of the United States, I shall nominate him who, by common consent, stands with the foremost statesmen of his time in this or any other land. (Applause.)

This is no ordinary convention. These are no ordinary times. The world is in upheaval. Forces thought to be long since cribbed, cabined and confined are loose in the world, spreading havoc and destruction on every side. There is everywhere uncertainty, unrest, grave concern for the happenings of tomorrow. The American people find themselves in the midst of a great world storm. Round about them the tempest is raging, and the great heaving waves of passion, or prejudice and of hate are threatening the total destruction of the craft which bears those fruits of human accomplishment that we call civilization. There is need of vision; there is need of leadership; there is need of sound, well-tested principle and policy, if all that we hold most dear is to ride this storm in safety. (Great applause.)

Problems abroad multiply problems at home. Problems at home intensify problems abroad. Where can this nation turn for guidance and for accomplishment at a crisis like this if not to the party which has given to American life one after another of the great group of leaders and constructive statesmen who have made so large a part of American history for the past sixty years? That party is possessed of a body of fundamental principles which rest upon the foundation of American character, American history and American hope. (Applause.) That party does not draw back from difficulty, because it has grown great by surmounting one severe difficulty after another. That party does not draw back from problems, because it has made its repute in the history of free government by successfully solving one hard problem after another. That party is confident of finding leaders with vision, with sagacity and with power, because for two generations of men it has furnished one such after another to the causes which it has made its own. The best guide for the future is the knowledge and the experience of the past. (Applause.)

Just now every difficulty, every problem merges into one. That is the difficulty, that is the problem, of finding the voice and of executing the will of real America.

Our America is the land where hate expires. (Applause.) It is the land where differences of race, of creed, of language, all melt away before the powerful and welding heat of devotion to civil liberty. We are composite as a people, but we are one in fundamental belief, one in controlling principle, one in confident hope for the future. (Applause.) It was the task of the Republican Party, with the splendid aid of men of other politi-

cal faith, to preserve the integrity of the nation in the 60's, and to keep its financial and commercial honor unsullied in the 90's. Shall it not be the goal of the Republican Party, as the twentieth century unfolds itself to be a stage for the thoughts and the deeds of men, to integrate and to express the spirit and the soul of the American people at home, and abroad? May we not call to our side for the accomplishment of this task, as our grandfathers and our fathers did for theirs, all patriotic Americans, men and women alike, whose faith may at times be different from ours but who see the compelling power of the one great problem and the one great need of this moment? (Applause.)

Nineteen sixteen is no ordinary year. The American people find themselves voiceless, disunited, broken, owing to what we cannot but regard as the incompetence of the Administration and its inability either to understand or to confront the stupendous happenings of the past two years. We are gathered here, in the presence of this great company and under the scrutiny of the whole American people, to take the first step in substituting for the Administration now in power a Republican Administration that shall bring to the people of the United States safety, prosperity, happiness, and increasing self-respect. (Great applause.) We are here to choose leaders who, in turn, are to give voice and effect to Republican principles and to Republican policies. One State after another will, in friendly rivalry, present the name of him whom it prefers to have selected to become the next President of the United States. For, as surely as the sun rises in high heaven, the nominee of this Convention will succeed to the office of the President on March 4, 1917. (Long continued applause.)

It is my privilege to offer you the name not only of a typical American, but of an American whose character, abilities and public service, now in the ripe fullness of their power, have brought to him fame and distinction such as fall to the lot of but few men in a century. (Applause.) Born among the hills of Central New York, on the campus of an American college which appropriately enough bears the great name of Hamilton, he made his way with credit and every evidence of promise through college and law school to the Bar. Admitted to the Bar at the age of twenty-two, his industry, his native ability and his power to clear and persuasive speech quickly brought him both clients and reputation. Young as he was, President Arthur found in him a trusted adviser and a close friend. He first held public office as United States District Attorney, by President Arthur's appointment. So widespread was his reputation and so high his character that in 1899, when the problems left by the Spanish War were pressing heavily upon the Administration and the people, President McKinley turned to him for counsel and for great public responsibility and service. (Applause.) When the message of invitation reached him to become Secretary of War, he replied, "I know nothing about the army. Thank the President for me, but say it is quite absurd. I know nothing about war." Shortly the

answer came back: "President McKinley directs me to say he is not looking for any one who knows about war or about the army. He is looking for a statesman to organize and to direct the government of the new possessions that the war has brought to the people of the United States. You are the man he wants." Such an invitation was a command. The high-minded and conscientious lawyer laid aside the ordinary practice of his profession to answer the call of the greatest of all clients, the people of the United States. For sixteen years they have been his clients, and how faithfully and with what distinction he has served them are now matters of history. (Great applause.)

He reorganized the army of the United States and brought it to the highest point of efficiency it has ever reached. The General staff and the War College are the fruit of his policies. In Cuba, in Porto Rico, in the Philippine Islands, at Panama, his administrative skill and his vision have made his name one to be conjured with. The policies that were then formulated and executed brought happiness and contentment to those distant people and new honor and credit to the Government of the United States. He was in large measure the founder of our American colonial policy, and no more enlightened, more humane, or more successful colonial policy has yet been seen in the world. (Applause.)

Let us not forget that among the problems that press in the immediate future are problems relating to the army. He of whom I speak was perhaps our greatest Secretary of War. (Applause.)

On the death of John Hay, he was recalled to the Cabinet of President Roosevelt as Secretary of State. Four brilliant years of constructive statesmanship and of rapidly growing international influence were the result. Never was our foreign policy more definite, never was it more precisely stated, and never was it more kindly and more firmly executed. In the South American Republics his name is acclaimed as has been that of no other American since the silvery voice of Henry Clay was stilled. In China, because of the remission of the Boxer indemnity, he is hailed as the most generous and most enlightened of statesmen, and our country is held to be the most beneficent and large-minded of nations. In Japan, because of the joint agreement which bears his name, he is trusted as having been able to propose a working solution of a difficult and delicate question of international policy. He found many and serious outstanding matters of difference with our neighbors to the north, and he left them all settled or in process of settlement. In every chancellery of Europe his name is known and honored. (Applause.)

Let us not forget that the chief problems that now confront this nation are those relating to international policy and international influence. He of whom I speak has unrivalled knowledge of international law and practice, and his name is written on the roll of Secretaries of State with the highest. (Applause.)

From the great post of Secretary of State he passed for six years to the United States Senate. Here again his rare knowledge, his familiarity with American political and diplomatic history, his firm grasp of constitutional and legal principle, and his unrivalled power of exposition, gave him from the moment of his entrance a place in the first rank. Political friends and political foes alike deferred to his judgment and respected his opinion. (Applause.) As a direct result of a single speech, dangerous provisions making financial inflation possible were stricken from the Federal Reserve Act. He retired from his post of service of his own free will in order that he might now seek years of well-earned rest and repose.

But, Mr. Chairman, the people are not willing that this notable ability, this exceptional experience, and this quite unequalled reputation shall be beyond their reach at a time like this. The American people are searching for the best they have. (Great applause.) They are everywhere asking whether it is possible that when England and France and Germany and Russia, and every other nation on the globe, are seeking their most experienced and ablest men to take posts of highest service, the American democracy is to be content with anything less than the very best it has. This is no time to pay compliments. The stern duty of today is to place in the Presidency of the United States that Republican who by native ability, by long public service, by large and full contribution to public policy, and by force of conviction and power of expression, is best fitted among us to wield the executive power and to guide the destinies of this nation for the four anxious years upon which we are about to enter. (Applause.) We must so act as to bring to an end conspiracy, disorder, and the destruction of life and industry at home, at the behest of agents of a foreign power or of sympathizers with them, as well as to protect American life and property abroad. (Great applause.)

There are critics of democracy who tell us that nothing is so unpopular as excellence, that the best is too good for recognition under popular government. Who are those who so slander democracy, who are those who so reflect upon popular appreciation and popular judgment, who are those who so underestimate the intelligence and the virtue of the American people? Is it possible that democracy has made no progress since Athens of old? Are we still in that stage of civilization where we ostracize Aristides because we are weary of hearing him called the Just? Shall we, in this twentieth century, only recognize excellence in order to proscribe it? I do not think so meanly of democracy or of the American people. They wish leadership; they wish guidance; they long for a voice that is powerful enough to express all that their heart feels, and a brain that is clear enough to state in terms of public policy those hopes and aspirations which are democracy's life. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, it is my good fortune to enjoy the friendship of many of those whose names are now to be presented for the consideration of

this convention. They are men of character, men of capacity, men of public experience, men of high patriotism. It would be a pleasure, were we able to have many Republican Presidents, to find a place for them all. But we are compelled to make a choice. It is our duty to choose him as our candidate who, in the year 1916 and in the presence of the issues of this moment, is in our judgment best fitted and most competent effectively to represent Republican principles and best able to guide the policies of the American people. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, let us take counsel of courage, not of fear. Let us seek to lift this coming campaign above all the smaller and the more sordid phases of politics. Let us give to the nation a President than whom no public man in the history of this country has possessed larger powers of mind, firmer or more consistent character, greater capacity for public service, or more finished skill in exposition and persuasion. Let us fortify ourselves at home and re-establish our repute abroad. (Applause long continued.)

Beyond today's raging storm of war I see forming a rainbow of promise. The bright colors that fade one into another are the colors of the Saxon and the Celt, the Teuton and the Latin, the Slav and the Hun. Slowly these pass into the pure white light of the day of peace and progress, of happiness and friendship among men. This rainbow is the symbol of our dear America. (Applause.) Each separate color marks an element of race or creed that goes into its making; but when the white light of day absorbs them all into self, they exist no longer as separate colors but only as indistinguishable parts of a single and sufficient brightness. So, under competent and compelling leadership, I see a single, united America—strong, firm, resolute, just—made out of all the different elements that have sought these shores of hope and promise as a sailor seeks a safe and sheltered port for refuge when the tempest roars. This America, the America of Washington and Jefferson, of Hamilton and Marshall, of Webster and Lincoln, will be a light to lighten the whole world and ages yet unborn. (Applause.) This America will know its mind and do its will because it shall have found a leader and a voice. (Applause.)

To be Republican candidate for President of the United States, I name Elihu Root of New York. (Great applause and demonstration.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will continue the roll call, and I will ask Senator Sutherland of Utah to take the chair.

MR. GEORGE SUTHERLAND, of Utah, (in the chair).—Proceed with the roll call.

(The Secretary continues the roll call.)

ARKANSAS—

DELEGATE FROM ARKANSAS.—Mr. Chairman, Arkansas has no candidate, but by instructions of the delegates, Arkansas yields to Ohio. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIS NOMINATING MR. BURTON

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will recognize Governor Willis, of Ohio.

(Demonstration for Governor Willis.)

A DELEGATE.—Three cheers for Governor Willis of Ohio.

(Cheering.)

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Governor Willis of Ohio.

MR. WILLIS.—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: We have just listened to two great addresses placing in nomination two distinguished citizens of the Republic. But, my friend Governor Whitman, and my friend Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, not being able to agree as to the ownership of this New York elephant, I claim it for Ohio.

(Lifting up the toy elephant amid cheers and laughter.)

Ohio is the Mother of Presidents, anyhow, and she has the right to name them. (Laughter.) I therefore have rescued this animal from contention and have rededicated him to reunited Republicanism.

But seriously, my fellow countrymen, moved as we always are by fitting tributes of respect to any great man, let us not forget that we in this Convention today are not only to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, but, more important than that, we are to remake and reunite and reconsecrate this Republican Party that saved the Union. (Cheers and applause.)

A few years ago it was my privilege to be in the City of Springfield in this great State, and while there I visited the site of one of the greatest political meetings this country or any country ever saw; and I learned from the lips of men who were present at that meeting the story of that wonderful gathering. When the great crowd had assembled, there walked out to the edge of the platform a man, tall and lean and angular, and this is what he said:

"We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. (Applause.) Under the operation of that policy agitation has not only not ceased, but has continually augmented. . . . A house divided against itself cannot stand. (Applause.) I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

Those prophetic words fell from the lips of the man whose memory is the tenderest and sweetest in all this western world, Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) And so I say to you, my fellow citizens, the work we have to do here today is not simply to name some one of these eminent gentlemen who are candidates for this high office, but, besides that, we are to here reunite and reconsecrate ourselves to the everlasting principles of the Republican Party. (Applause.) Let us unite the "pep" and the "punch" of the Progressives, with the logic, the righteousness and the

organization of the Republicans, and we shall have a combination so strong that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." (Applause, and cheers.)

This same patriotic soul to whom I referred a moment ago, also spoke these words: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched as surely they will be, by the better angles of our nature."

That was the prophecy and the prayer of two generations ago, and meeting here as we do, almost on the site of the famous, historic Wigwam, where Republican history began to be—here is a good place for us to reunite and reconsecrate ourselves even as our fathers were urged to do in 1858 and 1860.

1912, with its bitterness and hatred and mistakes and divisions, is behind us. 1916 is upon us. (Cheers.) We are not here assembled to pluck the fragrant flowers of eloquence, nor to indulge alone in vain self-glorification, nor yet to engage in factional dispute, but met in this splendid place, inspired by the mighty dead, looking down upon us, we are here in response to the demand of a united people, to do business and go ahead. The fires of hatred and factional strife have burned out. Let no man sitting among the ashes seize a fast-dying ember of discord and wave it above his head as a battle-signal; the battle of 1912 is over—no apologies should be asked or given by any man for honest differences of opinion in that conflict.

When this Party came into power, in 1861, it found a treasury bankrupt. It found industries prostrated. It found a country divided and overclouded with impending civil war. But like the mighty Hamilton, it touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet. It sustained the frail and fainting industries of the Republic, and brought them back to life; it kept all the stars in the flag, their glory untarnished, their luster undimmed; and it elected and re-elected to the Presidency of the United States the emancipator of a race, Abraham Lincoln. (Cheers.)

But, my fellow countrymen, the Republican Party deserves to live and to win, not simply because of pride of ancestry or richness of inheritance. We are proud of Republican history because it is the history of the country. Somehow a Republican takes pride in the history of the nation, and, by the same token, our Democratic friends conceive an aversion to history and indulge themselves in the wider field of prophecy. But, proud as we are of our achievements in the past, do not forget this, ladies and gentlemen, that we deserve to win, not only because of what has been accomplished but because this Party, revived, rejuvenated, united, with its face to the future and aglow, in the consciousness of

capacity for service, is able to cope with the problems of the present, and to hear and heed the beckoning voice of the future, and as an omen of that bright future, the sun is shining, thank God! (Cheers.)

(Note: The sun was then shining for the first time in three or four days.)

My fellow citizens, in the days of stress and strife, the Republican Party was formed to handle a situation like the present. What are the problems that confront us at this hour? Because of monumental folly and meddling officiousness, the affairs of this government, both domestic and foreign, are in a tangle. Somehow we are less proud of our country than we used to be, and even though we are assured on high authority, that we are "too proud to fight," I don't believe a blamed word of it. (Laughter.)

In our relations with the sister nations of the earth, the administration at Washington has won chagrin at home and contempt abroad. The American flag that ought to mean much, means but little upon the seas, or in foreign ports, because our Government has vacillated between the pen and the sword and the nations of the earth have learned that the policy of the Administration at Washington is more of "waiting" than it is of "watchfulness." (Laughter.) In this hour, when world problems are to be solved, the Republican Party is the organization to which the people of this country are looking for relief, and I charge you, my fellow delegates, if you shall go away from this Imperial City by the Lake, without having effected the union in the Republican Party that the voters of the country expect us to bring about, we shall have committed the greatest political crime in the history of this Republic. (Cheers.)

In this Convention, we must put aside mere personal ambitions and factionalism, and do the work that the people have commissioned us to do. There are some special reasons why that must be done. I have referred to one, the condition of the foreign affairs of this Republic. We have lost the confidence of every nation in Europe. We have won the ill will of every nation in Europe. Their good will and confidence can be regained only by the Republican policy of fairness to all, favoritism to none, with the maintenance of an absolute unflinching neutrality among all the belligerent powers. We have coddled alternately all the chief bandits in Mexico and furnished them with the ammunition that is now being shipped back to us in the mangled and bleeding bodies of our citizens and soldiers. (Applause and cheers.) That is the policy of the administration at Washington, and that policy of weakness and vacillation is at the foundation of the trouble with the people to the south of us.

The Republican Party believes that it is better to spend money in time of peace to preserve peace, than it is to spend blood in time of war to regain peace. That is the policy of the Republican Party. (Applause.)

In our domestic affairs, the evil effects of the outworn sectional

tariff-policy, adopted by the national administration, has been, to some extent, obscured by the feverish ephemeral activity which is the outgrowth of the lamentable European conflict. Every sane man knows that but for this unnatural and inhumane stimulus our industries would be prostrate, and we would be face to face with industrial depression, such as we have not seen in half a century. And when this world-war ends, another will begin; but that will be an industrial war that will know no neutrals—all will be belligerents. As a military and naval preparedness adequate to make any nation or combination of nations hesitate to violate the rights of our citizens or the sanctity of our flag is a guaranty of peace, so industrial preparation through the enactment of a Republican protective tariff law is essential, if we would maintain American wage rates and standards of living.

Yes, but somebody says, "Times are fairly good now; many sections of our country are prosperous" Oh, my fellow countrymen, in the sight of Almighty God, I say to you that a prosperity that is fed upon the bleeding bodies and the broken bones of dying men in Europe is costly and cannot long endure. (Great applause and cheers.) We shall not be upon a sound basis industrially until we re-elect a Republican President, and until we put on the statute books a good old-fashioned McKinley protective tariff law. (Great applause and cheers.)

To that policy of protection to the American home, the American working man, the American farm and field and factory, this Party is irrevocably committed.

In this time of world problems, my fellow countrymen, we want in the Executive chair a man who knows the world. Even at this moment, all the republics of South and Central America are suspicious. American trade is at a standstill. The voice of Pan-Americanism was first sounded through the silver lips of the Plumed Knight, James G. Blaine. It is time to sound that note again if we are to win for our people in that section of the world the fruits of trade expansion to which we are entitled.

The nominee of this Convention, as I have suggested, must be a believer in old-fashioned protective tariff, the tariff of Clay, of Hamilton, of Garfield and McKinley.

The nominee of this convention must be a Republican seasoned in the experiences of the past, alive to the needs of the present and able to hear and heed the beckoning voice of the on-coming future. He must be a fearless opponent of extravagance and a staunch advocate of old-fashioned economy; he must know the fiscal system of the country and be an uncompromising defender of the patriotic nation-building policy of protection to American workingmen and American enterprise. He must personify in record and character the ideals and aspirations of the rank and file of the party and thus promote harmony and unity by holding fast to the lessons of wise experience on the one hand and promoting sane progress on the other.

The nominee of this Convention must be a man who believes it is wise in time of peace to make preparation either to maintain peace or to fight if we have to. (Applause.)

The nominee of this Convention must be in public record and private life altogether above suspicion. There must be no flaw in his armor. There must be no stain upon his shield. He must have a heart that beats in sympathy with every sentiment that is symbolized in the flag; the red that symbolizes the courage of the men who died to keep the flag in the air; the white that is symbolic of the purity of American womanhood, and the blue that symbolizes the constancy of American patriotism. You have—some one handed to you a little card with some stanzas from an Ohio poet that express the sentiment that I hope may dominate this Convention, whoever is nominated:

"Your flag and my flag, and how it flies today
In your land and my land and half a world away;
Rose red and blood red, its stripes forever gleam,
Snow white and soul white, the forefathers' dream,
Sky blue and true blue, with stars to gleam aright—
The gloried guidon of the day, a shelter through the night.
Your flag and my flag—and, oh, how much it holds,
Your land, and my land, secure within its folds.
Your heart and my heart beat quicker at the sight,
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed, red and blue and white.
The one flag, the great flag, the flag for me and you,
Glorified all else beside the Red and White and Blue."

(Great applause and cheering.) (A voice from the gallery: "What's the matter with Ohio?" A feminine voice, "She's all right.")

MR. WILLIS.—God bless the Ohio girls. (Cheers, and "He's all right." "Who's all right?" etc.)

MR. WILLIS: Ladies and gentlemen, the nominee of this Convention must be a man whose record is not only unimpeachable, but must be a man whose record is known. The American people must know of his efforts where he has stood upon the great public questions of the hour. There must be nothing to uncover, nothing to explain away, nothing to apologize for. He must be a man of undaunted courage—he must be unafraid to challenge powerful influences in his own or any other party, if they block the way of progress.

Such are the qualities of leadership our candidate must have, and such a candidate Ohio offers to the nation.

The blood of the Grants is in his veins—he is a man of dauntless courage and untiring industry. His boyhood home was the Western Reserve—he fought his own way—he knows the life of the common people. He came from the section of the state which gave the nation

Wade and Giddings, Garfield and McKinley—he drank deep at the fount of their inspiring example—he represents in his life the best traditions of our party.

As a member of Congress for sixteen eventful years, he took prominent part in the legislation of that period, embracing within its scope the Spanish-American War, sound money, the tariff, anti-trust laws, banking and financial legislation, conservation, betterment of labor conditions—he helped make Republican history and that is the history of progress.

As a campaigner, he has few equals and no superiors. In his contests before the people of his district, he ran always many hundreds and sometimes many thousands ahead of his ticket—the people believed in him then—they will trust him and elect him now, if nominated by this convention.

Elevated to the Senate in 1909, he at once took the high station to which he was entitled by his wide experience, his profound learning, his ability as a debater, his high character and his unflinching devotion to public duty.

As author, scholar, statesman, he is a recognized authority in legislation and discussion pertaining to monetary and banking affairs—legitimate business would feel secure under his administration.

He is the greatest living authority on the world's waterways—he stood for a thorough, efficient system of waterway improvement, but he fought log-rolling and extravagance—his administration would be one of broad vision tempered by wise economy.

Let me say this men, the man that is nominated by this Convention, must have the type of leadership that comes from successful advocacy as well as from possession of commanding, inspiring, engaging personality. Think about this. (Applause.) My fellow Republicans, great as any leader may be, love him as we may, let us remember that the Republican Party and the principles on which it was founded are greater than any man that ever lived beneath the sky. (Great applause.)

The type of leadership that crystallizes about great principles, at the end of the presidential term would leave the Party and the country harmonious, united, cohesive, organic. If it were leadership based simply upon engaging personality, however much to be admired, at the end of the administration there would come disorganization and factional strife. This is a government of law, and not of individuals. (Applause.)

One more word: The candidate that Ohio presents to this Convention is cordial without being effusive, scholarly without being pedantic. He is gentle without being weak. His private life is as clean as his public career is distinguished; genial and approachable, he possesses the "rugged grandeur of the great" and presents in its best light, inspiring, uplifting party leadership. His modesty and unobtrusiveness are excelled only by his cordiality and warmth to those who know him best. He is common

without being common-place. He is firm without being dictatorial. That is all symbolic of the fact that we are going to take down the ropes, if necessary, to nominate our candidate. (Referring to the rope hand rail which became unfastened under the speaker's touch.)

I said he was firm, without being dictatorial. In twenty years of public life he has won the people's battle for economy and clean government, and at the same time has won the love and respect of friend and foe alike. It is no disparagement of any of the eminent gentlemen whose names have here been presented, or whose names will be presented, when I say that there is not in the American Republic a man better equipped by natural ability, by personal character and private life, by experience, by breadth of vision, by whole-souled American patriotism,—there is not, I say, beneath the folds of the flag, a man better equipped for the high office of President than the candidate we present.

In behalf of a re-united and triumphant Republican Party in Ohio, and speaking the unanimous voice of the delegation from Ohio, I present to you that scholar, statesman, great American—with another we can win, with him we cannot fail—I nominate Theodore Burton, of Ohio. (Great demonstration.)

A READING CLERK (Mr. Will A. Waite, of Michigan).—Continuing the roll call the next State is California.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION (Mr. Walter Bordwell).—California has no candidate and desires to be passed.

THE READING CLERK.—The next State is Colorado.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COLORADO DELEGATION (Mr. John A. Ewing).—Colorado has no candidate and desires to be passed.

THE READING CLERK.—The next State is Connecticut.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATION.—Connecticut having no candidate yields to Massachusetts.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Sutherland, of Utah).—The Chair recognizes Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. (Applause).

MR. LODGE NOMINATING MR. WEEKS

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Sutherland, of Utah).—The Chair has very great pleasure in presenting to the convention Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. (An enthusiastic demonstration greeted Mr. Lodge).

MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman and my fellow delegates: Born and bred in New Hampshire, adopted by Massachusetts, the candidate whose name I am about to present commands the confidence and the high respect of these two old States, whose names stand together on the Declaration of Independence and on the Constitution of the United States. (Applause.) Admitted to the Naval Academy in 1877, he received not only the thorough education which is there always

given but he also learned those lessons of patriotism, of honor and of devotion to the country and to the flag which are never forgotten by the graduates of Annapolis and West Point. After leaving the Navy he attained in civil life to a large and well-earned success in the business world, whose trust he never failed to command. In that practical school he acquired a wide knowledge of all the great economic policies and of the problems of finance upon which the prosperity of the country so largely depends. In 1898, when war came to us, he returned at once to the profession of his youth and served his country in naval command during the conflict with Spain. He was chosen to be Mayor of Newton, the city where he lives, in 1903, and after an administration of great success he was elected a Member of Congress. In the House he rose to the front rank and to high distinction not only as a debater but as a master of economic questions and a legislator of marked constructive ability. After eight years' service in the House he was elected to the Senate, where he has not only continued but has added to the distinction which he had won in the other branch of Congress and where his standing and reputation are known to all men. A better training for the highest and most responsible of public offices could not be devised, and this training rests on the firm foundation of distinguished abilities, strong and upright character and a reputation without blemish or reproach.

The first duty of the Republican party in the coming campaign is to drive from power the Administration and the party which have so gravely injured us at home and so deeply discredited us abroad. (Applause.) In this great task we invite the cooperation of all citizens who share our views in regard to the present Administration and urge them to join with us in the work of bringing the country back to the sound economic policies under which the material prosperity of the Republic has been built up during the last half century, and in restoring the influence and position beyond our own borders which the United States once held but which have been lost in the last three years. To do this we must have a candidate who will command support beyond the strict limits of the party and receive it from all men who sympathize with our purposes. We must have a man who is in thorough accord with Republican principles. (Applause, and a voice, "That's right.") Our candidate must be a man who believes in the protection of American rights by land and sea and who will maintain an honest and a real neutrality; who loves peace, the peace of justice and right, and who at the same time thoroughly believes in a preparation both in the Army and Navy which will absolutely defend and secure not only our peace but our rights and our honor. We must have a man who believes in American policies and the protection of American interests, who is American through and through. Most of all we must have a man who believes that this great nation is one—one in ideals, in hopes, in aspirations. (Applause). A man who believes that all Americans should be loyal to American traditions, who represents the con-

science and the soul of the American people; a man who will not only use the power of his great office to advance wise policies and protect American rights but who believes that it is his duty above all things to keep the faith—the faith of the men who followed Washington at Trenton and of those who fell at Gettysburg. (Prolonged applause).

Such a man, in every fibre of his being, is the candidate I am now to present to you, and I name to you as a candidate for the nomination for President of the United States the Honorable John W. Weeks of Massachusetts. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Sutherland, of Utah).—The roll call will be proceeded with.

THE READING CLERK (Mr. Waite of Michigan).—The next State is Delaware.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Sutherland of Utah).—The Chair recognizes Mr. Thomas W. Miller, a Representative in the Congress of the United States from the State of Delaware.

MR. MILLER NOMINATING MR. DU PONT

MR. THOMAS W. MILLER, of Delaware.—Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Convention: The fact that the great State of New York, through its two eminent speakers, has two candidates to propose as the rider this year for the G.O.P. elephant, seems to have given some solace to my friend from Ohio (Mr. Willis) who has preceded me. (Laughter). But judging from what we hear here today, and heard on the opening day, Ohio isn't the only State in the Union that has a patent on riders for the elephant. The State of Delaware,—and it was the first to sign the Constitution—has until now had no candidate to bring before a Republican National Convention, but today we present an honored son of our adoption, a man who by his many and versatile accomplishments has placed himself, from the standpoint of a national character, in the front ranks of the Nation's regiment of great men, and is so recognized from one end of this country to the other. (Applause).

A native of Kentucky, born in the year 1863, our friend did not number among his playthings the silver spoon; what he possesses he has gained by his own individual efforts. Starting as a miner in the coal mines of Kentucky, our candidate learned at the start to work up by hard knocks and in the school of experience. After completing his education, which was interrupted through his early circumstances, our friend found himself in the thirties the superintendent of the mine in which he had started as a mule driver some years before. He was beloved by all with whom he came in contact and in all affairs between the employees and employers he stood as the champion of the former's cause. His interest in the betterment of the civic and industrial condition in the mining town



CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR., of New York,
Treasurer of the Republican National Committee

while of benefit to the employers, due to the increased efficiency of the employees, was in reality done to increase the welfare of the workers who were first in his heart for he had been one of them. (Applause).

He lived in his native State of Kentucky until 1893, when he was called to the State of Pennsylvania, to carry forward enterprises which were far-reaching in their importance and which gave employment to many thousands of people. Later on he was called to the State of Delaware, in the year 1900, a State which for a century had been honored by his family, prominent in the Naval, Military and Industrial history of the United States. The record of that family has been one of public service since they landed on this shore a century ago. They called their young cousin from the South to come up there because he had demonstrated by his energy and capacity for work that he was the man that was needed there, a man of executive ability. (Applause).

They say he smells of powder, but I say to you if that is true it is the same odor that the British smelt at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1812, much to their displeasure. That powder was hauled by wagon trains from the State of Delaware for use by Perry, and resulted in placing the American flag on top in the war of 1812. The same odor was very prominent in Mexico in 1846, and it would have been far better during the past three years if we had given the same dose to the Republic to the south of us, either through intervention or as a severe border tonic, rather than the "watchful waiting" which we have given those people. Had we followed the proper course, the Mexican policy of the Administration would not now be standing before us to mock us no matter which way we turned. (Applause).

As I said, gentlemen of the Convention, the man of whom I speak came to Delaware sixteen years ago, and at the opening of the war in Europe he severed his connection with the enterprise I have just referred to and went to New York to engage in other pursuits, namely, the construction of the largest office building in the world, and the acquisition of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, which society brings good cheer to many people. Delegates of the Convention, after this war in Europe closes we are going to have two friends, the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and it behooves us to see that these oceans are held by a Navy that can patrol both sides of our country and its outlying possessions. One month ago we saw the Democratic majority in the house of representatives endeavoring to adopt a bill which meant scuttle for the ship of state in the Philippine Islands, and what was one of their reasons? They gave as one of their reasons that the Philippine Islands were weak as a defensive unit, a very poor reason when our flag has been planted there for twenty years or more. I say to you that instead of voting to scuttle the ship of state they should have voted, as they did not do a week ago, for a Navy adequate not only to protect the Atlantic and the

Pacific shores of our great country but to protect every possession over which our flag floats. (Applause). If they had followed that policy there would be before the Senate today a naval bill providing for two dreadnoughts instead of none, and providing for what is asked for by the general board of the Navy, which is a board that Congress and the country should follow in these times when real preparedness is necessary.

But there is another kind of preparedness which should go hand in hand with Naval and Military preparedness, and that is Industrial preparedness. After this great war is over these two oceans on either side of us, and which are our friends, will need means of transportation to meet the competition of our rivals in commerce and trade, and we should see to it that we are prepared to go into the industrial world and assert ourselves aggressively in all lines. To do that we need a man of force and a man of business at the helm of State in this country. That is the reason why today the State of Delaware is supporting one of its illustrious sons. It is proposing today the name of a man who has succeeded in everything he has undertaken. Like the father of his country, George Washington, he too started as an engineer; like the saviour of our country in the sixties, Abraham Lincoln, he too has come up by hard knocks and along the road of experience; like the late lamented William McKinley, he possesses a kindliness of nature that is unexcelled; he has the energy and capacity for work of Theodore Roosevelt and the calm deliberate judgment of William Howard Taft. (Great cheering.)

Gentlemen of the Convention, it is my pleasure, it is my great honor, to present to this Convention the name of one of Delaware's sons, adopted though he may be, and the man whom I have endeavored to tell you about in these few minutes, the man who was endorsed by the Republican State Convention of Delaware and its delegates instructed for him, is General Coleman du Pont. I now present on behalf of the State of Delaware for your consideration for the nomination for President of the United States General Coleman du Pont. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. George Sutherland, of Utah).—The Secretary will continue calling the roll.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (Mr. Lafayette B. Gleason, of New York).—Florida.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION (Mr. Henry S. Chubb).—Florida has no nomination to make and passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Georgia.

MR. HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, of Georgia.—Georgia has no candidate to present and desires to be passed.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Idaho.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION (Mr. John W. Hart).—Idaho passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Illinois.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, having resumed the chair).—The Chair recognizes Colonel W. J. Calhoun, of Chicago, a veteran of the Civil War and a compatriot of Major McKinley. (Applause.)

MR. CALHOUN NOMINATING MR. SHERMAN

MR. W. J. CALHOUN, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: For more than fifty years with the exception of three widely separated administrative periods, the Republican Party has governed this country. (Applause.)

In its inception—

A DELEGATE.—Louder, louder, we can't hear the speaker.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. If the Convention will be in order it will have no difficulty in hearing the speaker.

MR. CALHOUN, of Illinois.—In its inception, it was an idealistic, an emotional, a radical party. It stood for liberty and against slavery; for a civilization based on free labor and against a civilization based on slave labor; for the Union and against disunion; for the payment of the national debt according to the terms of the bond, and against repudiation in whole or in part; for a sound and stable currency and against a debased or fluctuating currency and for the protection of American labor and American industry against the depressing competition of cheaper labor and cheaper living conditions in Europe and elsewhere. (Applause.) And four years ago, when it turned over the administration of public affairs to the opposing party, the country was never so prosperous, never so far advanced along all lines of intellectual, social and industrial development, and never so closely united in thought, in sympathy and in aspirations for the future, as it then was. This, in brief, is the record of the years. With confidence, we submit that record to the impartial judgment of history. (Applause.)

Four years ago our party was still the majority party. In numerical strength, in mental and moral force, and in adaptability to and in experience with the affairs of government, it was by far the superior party, and it ought to have won in that election. But unfortunately bitter personal antagonisms, rival ambitions and factional disputes were developed that disrupted the party, and it went down in the most disastrous defeat ever known in the history of American politics. (A voice: "Yes, but we're going to win this year," followed by applause.)

We are now assembled as the representatives of the people to formulate a declaration of principles and policies, and to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. It is a grave responsibility that rests upon us. The time is a serious one. Almost the entire world is ablaze with the fires of war. Great forces are moving, great events are

happening, all around us. The possibilities of danger to this country, now, or in the near future, are present as never before since the civil war. And strange to say, our opponents seem oblivious to these world-wide conditions, and apparently are more intent on the size of the "pork barrel" than they are on the size of our army and navy for defensive purposes. Under these conditions, the query comes to the heart, the conscience of every delegate to this Convention: Are we big enough and broad enough, are we generous and patriotic enough, to subordinate our personal antagonisms, our rival ambitions, our factional differences, for the unification of our party, so that through its success, we may once more serve the best interests of the country we love? (Applause, and a voice: "Yes, and we're going to do it.")

The personality of the candidates we nominate may have much to do with the result. I am authorized by the delegation from Illinois, and it, in turn, is instructed by the Republicans of the State, to present for your consideration the name of a candidate for the high office of President of the United States.

The story of his life, as I know it, is, for the most part, a very simple one; and yet it has in it many elements of the heroic which elevate it far above the level of the commonplace. He was not born in this State, as I now recall, but was brought here from another State, in his early infancy, and here he has ever since lived.

AN OHIO DELEGATE.—Where was he born?

MR. CALHOUN.—In Ohio.

THE OHIO DELEGATE.—Hurrah for Ohio.

MR. CALHOUN, of Illinois, continuing.—His life was developed amid conditions of extreme poverty, attended with unremitting toil. But it was not the stifling, the soul-shriveling poverty of the slums to which he was subjected. His life was that of the son of a pioneer farmer. The air he breathed was the fresh clear air of the forest and the open field. (Applause.)

His opportunities for an education were few and irregular, and yet his desire therefor was intense. There was the country school, sometimes a pupil, sometimes a teacher; and then came the country college with its limited curriculum. He never fully realized his ambition for an education, but he early formed the habit of a student, and he has supplemented his somewhat limited preparatory achievements with wide reading and persistent study. (Applause.)

He studied law and entered upon the practice of that profession. His career at the bar was limited to the districts in which he lived, but his record is a highly honorable one. (Applause.)

He finally became interested in politics. He went to the State Legislature for one or more terms. He became prominent in its deliberations and acquired a State-wide reputation. He was elected Lieutenant-

Governor and served four years as the President of the State Senate. He was appointed by the Governor Chairman of a Commission to re-organize and concentrate under one management the charities of the State, and he gave four years to that work. (Applause.)

By this time he became well known to the people. His public service won for him their respect, their confidence, and, as I believe, their affection.

He has been twice elected to the United States Senate; once by the State Legislature, and once by a direct vote of the people; in each instance, his election was preceded by a primary vote for the nomination.

This is an outline of the life story of the man whose name I am instructed to submit for your consideration. It is a simple story, a story of a man of plain habits and simple living; but a man of great courage, of clear intellect, of clean soul, and high resolve. In behalf of the State of Illinois, I nominate Lawrence Y. Sherman as your candidate for President of the United States. (A great demonstration for Sherman was begun at 2.55 o'clock p.m., upon the conclusion of Mr. Calhoun's nominating speech, the Illinois delegates jumping to their feet, waving blue bannerettes bearing Sherman's name and picture and band playing "Illinois." Thereupon a member of the Illinois delegation took the State banner from its place and marched around the hall, followed by other delegates. The Hamilton Club of Chicago, headed by a baby elephant and members impersonating Uncle Sam, Paul Revere, three Minute Men, and Columbia, marched around the delegates' enclosure, preceded by a drum and fife corps.)

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. The Secretary will continue the calling of the roll of states.

The Secretary called Indiana, and Representative Wood rose.

MR. WOOD NOMINATING MR. FAIRBANKS

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. George Sutherland, of Utah, in the chair).—It gives the chair very great pleasure to present Representative Will R. Wood of Indiana. (Applause.)

MR. WILL R. WOOD, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: From this platform today will be named the next President of the United States. (Applause.) In selecting our candidate we will be actuated by but one prime purpose, and guided by but one supreme desire, that is, to name a man who will stand four-square to all the winds that blow against the honor, the dignity and rightful prosperity of the Republic, and who will, at the end of his tenure of office, leave, as the brightest heritage of his administration, his entire country and all its citizens prosperous and at peace with all the world, and the Republican party, that confided to him its trust, firmly entrenched in the confidence and affections of the Nation. (Applause.)

In order that this may be, our candidate should be a man who possesses as nearly as possible all the qualifications of heart and mind that are so requisite to the fullest discharge of the duties of this great office.

He should be a man with a grasp of the necessities of the hour, a statesman in every sense of the word, broadminded and just, who knows not only the needs of his country and its people but who knows how to administer to those needs. A man who has firm convictions as to right and wrong and who has the courage of his convictions and will right a wrong that is done to the humblest of our citizens. A man who acts not from impulse, but who bases his action upon reason, and who, when he makes up his mind, will not change it except when convinced that he is in error; and who when so convinced is broad enough and just enough to acknowledge his error and correct it. A man who believes in the fundamental principles of the Republican party and that they are essential to good government, and who knows how to apply those principles to secure the best results for all our people. A man who has the confidence of the business world and who has gained that confidence by reason of his steadfast adherence to business integrity in the administration of public office. A man who has an abiding faith in the people, and they an abiding faith in him because he has been tried in the crucible of experience and has not been found wanting.

Indiana presents to this Convention for its consideration a candidate, who possesses all of these qualifications, in the person of Charles Warren Fairbanks. (Applause.)

At the zenith of his intellectual powers, possessing a ripe experience in practical statesmanship and diplomacy, he is peculiarly fitted at this trying time for the exalted position of President of the United States.

Like Lincoln, he is of the people and for the people. His march from the Ohio log cabin, in which he was born, to a United States Senatorship from Indiana and to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, was no mere accident. Slowly but steadily he made his way from lowly station to exalted position by reason of his own intrinsic worth and perseverance. (Applause.)

The confidence of the people, obtained by him in this advance, has grown with the years. As farmer boy, newspaper reporter, lawyer and statesman, he has done well his part, and never has he taken one step in advance of his ability to perform well that part. By being sure of his course before he starts and sure of the goal he wishes to reach, he has established throughout the length and breadth of the land a reputation for wise counsel and safe leadership. (Applause.)

If ever there was a time in this country when the leadership of such a man was imperative, it is now, and will be in the months and years that are immediately to come. When this awful European war is over

and the millions who are now engaged in the spilling of blood shall become engaged in the rebuilding of their devastated countries, and the trade relations of the nations of the earth will have to be reformed and reorganized, then will we need, as never before, a President of the Fairbanks caliber. A President who, by reason of his experience in dealing with the great affairs of the nation, will know what to do and how to do it and who will have the courage to do it. Fairbanks is most admirably fitted for this task; fitted for it by practical experience obtained in helping to administer the affairs of the nation in a former crisis. (Applause.)

In 1898, when the war cloud broke over this country and we engaged in war with Spain, for humanity's sake and to right the wrongs that had been done our citizens, who was it that stood among the closest to President McKinley of sainted memory? During the trying days preceding the declaration of that war, when unjust criticism from rank and leader of all political parties was being heaped upon the President, by strong and influential Members of Congress, by a great mass of our private citizens and by a large number of the great newspapers of the country, for his delay in declaring war, who was it that stood like a giant in resistance to the clamor of the multitude and, with the master voice of a statesman, forewarned the people of the task that was before us and of our unpreparedness to meet the emergency? When war did come, who was it that was looked upon as the spokesman of the administration in the United States Senate? And will anyone today say that the man whom McKinley selected as his spokesman in such a trying time was not worthy of such distinction? When this war was over, who was it that stood in the front rank with those who successfully beat down the unwarranted attacks of the so-called "anti-imperialists," and formulated the policy for the government and control of our new territorial acquisitions; which policy has not only proven the greatest blessing that ever befell the people of these territories, but has won for our nation the just plaudits of the world? There is but one answer to all these queries, and the world knows what it is. It is Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana. (Applause.)

This is not all the experience had by Mr. Fairbanks which makes him an ideal candidate at the present time. In 1892, when the miasma of free silver was just beginning to spread its blight over this country, and when Republicans everywhere were becoming inoculated with it, Mr. Fairbanks was the first statesman of note in all the land to sound a note of warning. In his speech as chairman of the Indiana Republican State convention for that year he boldly declared that "the Republican party stands for a sound and honest dollar and must forever stand for a stable currency." Four years later, when the whole country was in a delirium on the subject of free silver, the Republican convention of th

State of Indiana was the first to adopt a plank in its platform declaring in favor of the gold standard. That plank was written by Charles W. Fairbanks. He had the foresight to see what disaster the free silver policy, if adopted in this country, would entail, and had the courage to place himself, in spite of tremendous opposition in his own party, into the breach; and thus he became the earliest champion of the doctrine that fifty cents' worth of silver could not be made to equal in value a dollar's worth of purchasing power. This stand taken by him caused him to be made temporary chairman of the St. Louis Convention in 1896, which nominated McKinley for President. The keynote speech made by him on that occasion, in behalf of sound money and a protective tariff, proved to be a bulwark of defense in that memorable campaign, and remains today one of the choicest pieces of political literature that was ever delivered in the annals of our country. The substance of that speech, so far as protective tariff and sound money were concerned, was embodied in the platform adopted at that convention, and upon that platform McKinley was elected and for four years and more he administered the principles of that platform to the needs of his country, and through the magic influence of its administration, mills and factories long closed were opened, and soup houses and poor houses long open were closed. The idle millions found employment at splendid wage and were paid in honest dollars for all the work they did. Confidence, the sheet anchor of every business success, resumed command and the most marvelous era of prosperity in the history of the world was begun, and destined to continue as long as the principles of that platform were adhered to, and ended only when those principles were abandoned. (Applause.)

With the history of the era and its wonderful achievements, the name of Fairbanks will ever remain imperishably associated. Now, in this crisis of our nation, as then, a master mind and a master hand are needed. Through the years that have elapsed since the beginning of the McKinley period, the candidate we bring to you has kept pace with the time and grown with the Nation's growth, and by reason of the experience these years have afforded him in the highest councils of the Nation and in private life, he is better equipped to serve the people as their President today than he has ever been before. A great mass of the people of the United States have long wanted him to be President. We have reason to believe that the Fates, whose purposes we can not divine, have reserved him until now. Now, when we are in greater need of his services than we have been throughout all the intervening years. (Applause.)

In good weather and in foul, in success and defeat, he has adhered unerringly to the fundamental principles of the Republican Party, ever believing that the success of his party and its principles are more to be

desired than any personal aggrandizement. Make him the nominee of this Convention and there will be no wounds to heal and no enemies to placate. He has given no one cause to be offended in public speech or in private conversation. He speaks ill of no one. (Applause.)

Four years ago in this very hall, where the Republican party was then split in twain and the election of a Democratic President was made possible, Mr. Fairbanks, as chairman of the resolutions committee, presented a platform that met with the approval of every one and which was proclaimed by the country to be the most progressive platform ever submitted to a political convention. The split that came was not because of the platform but for other reasons, now happily cured and past. During the embittered campaign that followed, Mr. Fairbanks made speeches whenever and wherever called upon, always expounding Republican doctrine; but he at no time and at no place aspersed the character of, or imputed evil motive to, anyone who for the time had departed from the house of the fathers. For he then believed, as we all now believe, that if the best interests of this country are to be subserved, it must be done through a united Republican party, and that such union could more easily be effected through persuasive argument, based upon truth, than it could be through acrimonious accusation. (Applause.)

Mr. Fairbanks is intensely American and stands for the best interests of American institutions and American citizenship. He believes that every citizen, whether native or foreign born, owes his entire allegiance to the stars and stripes, and all for which that emblem stands. He does not believe, however, that the foreign born citizen need forget the land of his birth or fail in his sympathies for the kinsmen that he has left behind, for such a person is not calculated to make a good citizen anywhere. (Applause.)

He stands for preparedness of every kind. Preparedness against war and preparedness for peace. For such a preparedness against war as the importance of our nation and its relation to the other nations of the earth needs to command the respect of all the nations of the earth; mighty enough to resist all invasion, and to enforce the rights of all our citizens on land or on sea. But he is not more in love with the arts of war than he is in love with the pursuits of peace. He is essentially a man of peace and to secure the great and lasting blessings of peace and to enforce the rights of our country or its citizens would be his only reason for war. (Applause.)

There is another commanding reason why Fairbanks should be selected by this Convention to carry our standard in the coming contest. Indiana has long been and will this year be the great political battle ground of the country. It is not only important that we elect a Republican President, but it is also important that we elect enough Republican Senators that we may have a majority in the United States Senate. It

is also important that we elect a majority of the House of Representatives. That we will elect a majority to the House of Representatives now seems certain. Whether we can elect a majority to the United States Senate is a different proposition. We can do it, and we will do it, if we are wise in our selection of a candidate for President. Indiana has two United States Senators to elect. If they are elected, we are reasonably sure of electing a sufficient number in other States to give us a working majority in the Senate after March 4, 1917. If we fail to elect the two Senators in Indiana, the United States Senate will remain Democratic for at least four years to come. The Democratic ticket is already named. The convention in St. Louis next week will simply confirm it. It will be Wilson and Marshall. Wilson will be renominated not because the majority of the Democrats want him, but because not to nominate him would be an admission of the failure of his administration, and an acknowledgment in advance of defeat. Marshall will be renominated for the sole purpose of aiding the Democrats to carry Indiana and elect their two United States Senators. (Applause.)

Is it not plain, therefore, where our duty lies? Will we prove ourselves wanting in the exercise of good judgment, or will we embrace the opportunity that affords itself by selecting the man who will not only make one of the greatest Presidents this country has every had, but whose election will assure the election of a majority to both Houses of Congress? (Applause.)

Nominate Fairbanks. Give us this giant oak from Indiana for our nominee and you will have discharged your full duty to your country and to the Republican party. (Applause.)

He will keep the trust inviolate. He will serve the people faithfully and well, and the Republican party will be made greater by reason of his stewardship. (Great demonstration, during which the Indiana delegation, with the State banner and a large United States flag in the lead marched around the hall, each delegate bearing a banner with the names Fairbanks and Indiana on same. Upon reaching the Kentucky delegation the majority of that delegation joined Indiana, and then a part of the Maine delegation joined Kentucky. As they passed the Ohio delegation a great chorus arose above the cheering, sung to the tune, "Go tell Aunt Nancy," and using these words: "He is from Ohio. He was born in Ohio. He is from Ohio, the greatest State of them all.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order and the Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Iowa.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair has pleasure in recognizing and presenting to the Convention former Congressman N. E. Kendall, of Iowa. (Applause.)

MR. KENDALL NOMINATING MR. CUMMINS

MR. N. E. KENDALL, of Iowa.—Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Convention: Of all that is good, Iowa affords the best. (Applause, and cries of "Hurrah for Cummins.") As her representative this afternoon, I come to offer to the Republican party in the Nation a candidate whose nomination in June will be equivalent to election in November.

There are Republicans enough in the United States for one dominant party, but there are not enough for two. (Applause and cries of "That's right.") At this critical juncture when the great Republic is demoralized at home and discredited abroad, the public interest is paramount to any private preferment, and the aspirations of the individual are subordinate to the welfare of the Commonwealth. (Applause.) As we approach our duty today we encounter the embarrassment which arises from a wealth of eminent men, each abundantly entitled to the proudest honor that any convention could confer. We are determined to rescue a distracted country from internal distress and international disgrace, and in that tremendous undertaking we are peculiarly fortunate in this: That any one of the dozen distinguished Republicans who have been proposed in that connection would be a creditable successor to Lincoln, and Grant, and McKinley. (Applause.)

The situation in which we are assembled demands for its solution the ripest wisdom accompanied by the loftiest patriotism of which we are capable. At this moment the entire community from ocean to ocean is profoundly weary of Democratic ascendancy, and it awaits with impatient eagerness the restoration of Republican control. (Applause.) Four years ago we demonstrated conclusively that "A house divided against itself cannot stand." (A voice: "That is right"), and our domestic quarrels made easy the temporary triumph of our traditional foes. That incalculable disaster can now be royally repaired if Republicans discontinue hostilities against other Republicans, and concentrate all their powerful warfare upon their ancient adversaries. At this auspicious hour we here highly resolve that our house shall stand,—that it shall cease to be divided against itself. We will let the dead past bury its dead. With charity for all and with malice toward none, we welcome the Progressive at the Auditorium to unite with the Republicans in the Coliseum for the overthrow of the common enemy. (Great applause.)

After our attachment to country, I am sure that above every other consideration we all devotedly love the old Republican party. We remember that its great and initial service was to emancipate the enslaved, and to perpetuate forever an indissoluble union of indestructible States. That single performance sufficient to immortalize it in the annals of humanity, was only introductory to a succession of accomplishments so

vast in their extent, so varied in their quality, so valuable in their consequences that the civilized world paused transfixed with reverent awe. (Applause.) Reconstruction was effected, the obligations of the war discharged, the credit of the country rehabilitated, and protection to American industry instituted as the inviolable policy of the nation. In the period which intervened between the inauguration of Lincoln and the retirement of Taft, under the beneficent legislation of the Republican party, our population more than multiplied by three, our mining by four, our agriculture by six, our commerce by eight, our transportation by nine, our manufactures by twelve; and our moral primacy in the chancelleries of the world was unquestioned on every hemisphere. (Applause.) And this is the unrivaled record of the Republican party. We are too vigorous to be destroyed by assault from without. Are we not too sensible to be disrupted by discord from within? (Cries of "Yes, yes.")

The golden years which preceded the fourth day of March, 1913, were particularly resplendent with Republican achievement and progress and success; the melancholy months which have since elapsed are signally disfigured by Democratic incompetency and retrogression and failure. When we last relinquished the possession of the Government, the material well-being of the country challenged the admiration and the envy of the world. Our capital was safely invested at satisfactory returns, our labor was steadily employed at remunerative wages, our enterprise was constantly engaged in creative development, and everywhere beneath the stars and stripes we were experiencing the blessings of rational government, faithfully administered. Abroad we were overturning European tyranny, liberating the West Indies, civilizing the Orient, constructing the canal and illustrating the postulates of justice and equity and altruism before all the parliaments in Christendom. (Applause.) At home we were making our own commodities, consuming our own products, occupying our own markets, enjoying our own profits, increasing individual income and augmenting national wealth; everybody busy, contented, happy and proud. (A voice, "You're right.") Behold what a metamorphosis has been precipitated almost in the twinkling of an eye! We cannot glance abroad without a sense of shame. We cannot look at home without a dread of panic. What has occurred? In our foreign relations the vital opportunities for influence and usefulness have not disappeared, but they have not been embraced. A rhetorical executive who is an artist in empty pronouncement, but an amateur in effective performance, has advertised to the world that we are too proud to fight even in a just cause. (Laughter); and has thereby incurred for us the contempt of all the self-respecting nations on the globe. A subservient Congress which exists merely to register his whimsical will, when it can be ascertained, has refused to make us ready to resent the insults which our weakness invites; and has thus exposed us to affronts which daily humiliate the American people. In Mexico; with Japan; as regards the

cataclysm across the sea,—everywhere the activities of the Washington administration have been characterized by folly and futility and fizzle. In our domestic concerns the underlying elements of our former solvency have not dissolved, but they have not been conserved. We have the same productive soil, responding with unusual usufruct to the genius of our superior agriculture. We have the same farms and the same factories, the same rivers and the same railroads, the same mines and the same machines. We have the same men and the same women, with the same energies and the same necessities,—the same brain eager and the same brawn ready to feed and clothe and house the multitude which constitutes America. What has happened to reduce our international preeminence? What has transpired to disturb our local tranquility? Nothing: Nothing but the incumbency of a Democratic administration in whose capacity for diplomatic advantage abroad or economic management at home nobody, here or elsewhere, neither butcher nor baker nor candlestick maker, entertains the remotest confidence. (Applause.)

What is the imperative duty of this hour? No delegate here can be indifferent to the overwhelming responsibility which solemnizes his action this afternoon. The importance of this convocation to country and to party cannot be exaggerated in its gravity. Within our ranks there are conflicting opinions, conscientiously cherished and honestly defended, but they may all be generously tolerated without sacrificing any of the essential principles of the party. If there be fears, there are also hopes. Let us search for grounds of cohesion, rather than for causes of dissension. (An Ohio delegate: "Good boy.") We are all in agreement that in this democracy of ours, equality of opportunity must be sacredly preserved. We are all in agreement that the people of the country,—white and black, high and low, great and small,—must control it absolutely. We are all in agreement that in the adoption or abrogation of constitutions, in the enactment or repeal of statutes, in the designation or displacement of officials, the electors themselves must be the ultimate authority. We are all in agreement that in this era of expansion and discrimination, the helplessness of the weak must be protected against the oppressions of the strong. We are all in agreement that the United States must establish and maintain a leadership,—political, industrial, commercial, and spiritual,—among the peoples of the earth. (Applause.) We are all in agreement that the crowning consummation of the Twentieth Century must be the enforcement of amicable peace through universal arbitration, with America as the pioneer in that sublime propaganda. (Applause.) Harmonious as we are upon these the fundamentals of our political faith, because of trivial differences shall our party dismember? Shall it disintegrate? Shall it separate into belligerent fragments and forfeit the prestige it has acquired by fifty years of predominance? Never! It will grandly survive the reverses of the

moment and gathering renewed virility from manifold difficulties gloriously conquered, it will embark upon a new and illustrious career of usefulness and honor. (Applause.)

The Republican party is now, and always must be, the progressive party of the nation. It was organized primarily not to make men rich, which Abraham Lincoln lived and died to communicate to it. With a just and proper pride in its past, it must go forward year after year, surmounting one obstacle after another in the pathway of its upward destiny, the most efficient agency known among men for the upliftment and the improvement of the social state. (Applause.)

Tomorrow as yesterday, it will so direct the course of the Republic but to make men free, and it can never surrender the exalted impulse that the patriotic intelligence of the many rather than the selfish cupidity of the few shall express the prevailing note in the national strain. (Applause.)

It will confirm to every citizen in the land, irrespective of sex or color, an untrammelled ballot for the nomination and election of party candidates, so that the unhampered preference of all may be reflected in the results.

It will adhere to protection as the cardinal doctrine of its unfailing creed, and it will so adjust the schedules of the tariff that prosperity for the producer will go hand in hand with competition to the consumer. It will overcome the dangers of combination and monopoly by restoring to the market place that indispensable independence and reasonable rivalry which are always incident to honorable trade. And while it will not interfere with whatever is good in "big business," it will guarantee that "big business" shall be the servant and not the master of the American people. (Applause.)

It will safeguard the life, liberty and property of all our people everywhere, on the ocean and on the land, and in that behalf it will immediately provide the best ships and the best guns that can be devised by the ingenuity of man; not as a preliminary to aggressive and unwarranted war, but as a security for continued and permanent peace. While "the world is on fire and the sparks are flying in every direction," it will not be guilty of the criminal delinquency of remaining unprepared for a possible conflagration on this continent. (Applause.)

It will so regalanize the foreign policy of the country that the American flag will once more inspire genuine affection at home, and command respectful consideration abroad. And it will so stimulate the allegiance of the people to their government that in the time to come no dignity will be so exclusive as citizenship in the American Republic.

This is the program to which our candidate is committed. Upon these propositions we are, I assume, all in substantial accord. The question now recurring is, who, in the campaign upon which we are

entering, can most certainly enlist the earnest co-operation of all those who deeply believe that the principles to which I have adverted should be speedily crystalized into the law and practice of the land? Who can most acceptably appeal to the forces of progress and enlightenment and righteousness upon which Republican supremacy must always depend? We offer you a statesman familiar with the past, acquainted with the present, fore-armed for the future. Of approved ability, of seasoned experience, of unblemished character, he is unexcelled in his equipment for the presidential office. For more than a generation he has stood in the fore-front of the battle for popular government; for the direct election of senators, for a tax on incomes, for the regulation of railroads, for the restraint of corporations, for the repression of trusts, for the enlargement of the rights and privileges of the average man: and he was engrossed in the advocacy of these salutary reforms when men less fearless were reluctant to volunteer in the unpromising struggle. Throughout his extended and versatile career, he has never hesitated to espouse the right no matter how sorely beleaguered, nor to attack the wrong no matter how strongly entrenched. (Applause.) Without systematic organization, without publicity bureaus, without electioneering contrivances, his candidacy has gradually advanced in the approbation of the country because he is acknowledged to be fit and worthy and available. Thrice governor of the imperial Hawkeye commonwealth, and thrice invested with her commission to the Senate of the United States, his testimonials are a private life that is irreproachable, and a public service dedicated unreservedly to his fellow men. By the unanimous mandate of the three hundred thousand enthusiastic and militant Republicans of Iowa, I present him to your friendly favor: Born in Pennsylvania, educated in Illinois, married in Michigan, resident in Iowa, citizen and Senator of the United States,—Albert B. Cummins. (Great demonstration, beginning at 4.34 p.m., when Mr. Kendall finished his nominating speech, the Iowa delegates taking the State Standard, holding both high in the air and marching round the hall, Minnesota and other States joining in.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Harding having resumed the chair).—The Secretary will continue calling the roll.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Kansas.

MR. W. S. FITZPATRICK, of Kansas.—We have no nomination to make and desire to be passed.

The Secretary of the Convention continued calling the roll and each State passed until New Mexico was reached.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes—(and as the delegates and alternates and guests saw Senator Fall coming forward on the stage to nominate Mr. Roosevelt a great demonstration drowned the voice of the Chairman). The Chair recognizes Senator Albert B. Fall, who speaks for New Mexico.

MR. FALL NOMINATING MR. ROOSEVELT

MR. ALBERT B. FALL, of New Mexico.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

This convention has adopted a platform which every loyal American citizen can support in the coming election and upon which any loyal American citizen can become a candidate for the votes of his fellow citizens. (Applause.) You have declared your intentions respecting the internal policies of this country, and you have also gone upon record in most unequivocal language respecting the foreign policy which you propose to adopt.

I want to call your attention for a moment to the fact that an internal policy may be changed, may be repealed, may be amended at any moment; and for only a moment, possibly, or for a short span, the general welfare of the country affected. But, fellow citizens, in your foreign affairs one act of omission or of commission may change the history of this country forever and may affect the destinies of one hundred millions of people.

Upon the platform which you have made, and in the critical period in which we are now laboring, and with which we will be confronted for the next four years at any rate, it behooves you to be careful as to whom you select for your leader, because upon the Executive depends the administration of Foreign affairs.

The eyes of the leaders of all the great warring nations, engaged in the bloodiest and most gigantic conflict ever known, are upon the proceedings of this convention today. The hopes of every neutral nation in the world are with you in your proceedings that you may secure for them and for yourselves able and effective leadership in the protection of their neutrality and your neutral rights.

The prayers of millions of your fellow citizens are being offered to-day for your success, that in your deliberations you may unite under one banner and under one leader those voters of this country who have at heart not the welfare of the entire country, who are animated by the spirit of those who made this country and of those heroes who preserved it.

Fellow citizens, in the vision of every leader of the great warring factions there appears one colossal figure of American manhood. (Applause.) On the crest of the hope of every neutral nation there is borne one name of one great American. In the prayer of every American praying for your success here to-day, although in the heart of that American may be the favored name of some favored son, there is yet whispered the name of one great American. (Applause.)

Mexico, torn by civil strife, prostrate and bleeding, has made her plea to you, and most nobly the Republican delegates in this convention have responded. You have given them your promise, and every Ameri-



GEORGE R. SHELDON, of New York,
Treasurer of the Republican National Committee 1912
and Member of Committee on Arrangements

can who lives, who has suffered in Mexico, pleads with you to select as your leader the one man whom they all know will effectively carry out your promise. (Applause.)

Starving mothers in Mexico who will hear the promise which you have made will put their hope in one great American and one alone—and that one is Theodore Roosevelt. (Great applause and confusion. Cries of "Teddy"; "Hughes"; "Burton.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, you will please be in order.

A VOICE.—Cut him off.

A few hisses were heard.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, no Republican in any Republican convention has a hiss for a Republican delegate in the convention. (Applause.)

A VOICE.—Good. That's right.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair knows that the delegate body of this convention will listen with courtesy and respect, and if the galleries do not, they may listen from the street outside. (Applause.)

MR. ALBERT B. FALL, of New Mexico.—Of course, fellow citizens, it was not necessary that I should be assured that a Republican would be heard in a Republican Convention, nor was it necessary to give me the assurance that the candidate for whom I am speaking will be heard by the people of the entire United States. (Applause.)

You have heard the records of the various candidates who have been offered to you. This man's record, as to his private life, is as open as the day. In his private life a loyal and faithful husband, without question. (Applause.) His words, written in the language of every nation on the globe, and read in the farthest quarters of the world; his acts engraved upon our American history. And to refer to his birth place, to his early life, to what he has said and what he has done would be absolutely futile because he is known to every one of you.

I name for your consideration and for your votes Theodore Roosevelt of New York.

At the conclusion of Senator Fall's speech at 5.10 p. m. a great demonstration began and continued until 5.46 p.m., being participated in, apparently, by some delegates and many of the guests in the galleries. At that point some of the delegates began to insist that the guests desist from their cheering and the Convention proceed with its business. At 5.49 p.m., responding to the demand of the delegates, the permanent chairman rapped for order and announced:

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen and Guests of the Convention: The Chairman of the Convention has no desire to in any way curb the enthusiasm of any of its delegates over any name

presented to this Convention, nor of any of the guests of this convention, but this Convention has business to perform and we should like our guests on this occasion, after you have given such a demonstration as you have, to be courteous enough to allow us to proceed with the necessary program. (Applause, and cries of "That's right" by the delegates.) The Secretary will resume the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY.—New York. (A pause without response.) North Carolina.

A DELEGATE FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—No nomination.

THE SECRETARY.—North Dakota.

A DELEGATE FROM NORTH DAKOTA.—North Dakota yields to Wisconsin.

MR. OLBRICH NOMINATING MR. LA FOLLETTE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I present to you Mr. M. B. Olbrich, who speaks for the State of Wisconsin. (Applause.)

MR. M. B. OLBRICH, of Wisconsin.—Mr. Chairman, Delegates of the Convention: Ladies and Gentlemen:

"The tumult and the shouting dies:
The captains and the kings depart:
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice."

For the third successive time Wisconsin presents to the Republicans of the nation opportunity for party salvation. Twice before, through the rejection of her message, disaster came. Today she points once more the way to victory and honor. She presents again the candidate whose speech and action best interpret and express the hour's spirit and its needs.

In the platform you adopted yesterday there was one outstanding transcendent plank redeeming all the rest—a plank fundamentally republican, fundamentally American, fundamental to the permanence of civilization itself. By that platform you declared, I read: "We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose." For seven delightful hours now we have listened entranced by the spell of the matchless eloquence of master men, and yet of the long list of splendid spokesmen but one has paid to that plank of paramount importance the tribute of a passing reference.

War is the world's most obvious reality today. Across the eastern ocean the genius of militarism, in the ghastly humor of the mad keeper of a mad-house, has locked the nations of Europe hand in hand and set them dancing the Masque of the Red Death round the funeral pyre of civilization. The nation's daily thought is colored by reflection from the fiery glow that inflames the eastern horizon.

To some, old values, viewed in that perspective of blood and flame, have lost proportion. Re-examining the title deeds of the national inheritance in its crimson glare, they find in one hundred and forty years of national existence one long record of hazardous folly. Stridently they assert that the red alchemy of war alone can transmute the common dress of our humanity and mint it into the bright and shining gold of heroism; that only by the route of the bludgeon can America attain or preserve the attributes of a national soul. Boldly and baldly they sanctify slaughter for the sake of commerce and bid us kill to keep the trade routes open. And their mind's unspoken thought pronounces Democracy's divine experiment a failure and despotism civilization's last resource.

Masking an attempted perversion of national destiny by assuming the outward attributes of a moral crusade, others make more insidious appeal to the patriotic national heart. They upbraid us as unready, taunt us with potential treason to a trusteeship of priceless consecration. With superb and superlative disregard of fact, they picture a naked American with a sceptre of straw confronting a world in arms. Interest lends a willing color to belief, and the lavish billions already poured out for the national defence becomes but a drop in the ocean of their demand. To them the fact that in fifteen years we have only spent as much for naval maintenance as Japan and Germany combined is but final proof of niggardly evasion. No nation, they assert, may will its own life or destiny. The intervening seas no longer mark a barrier, but afford a sure and fleet facility of access. Slaves to a reasoning that bastardizes logic and gives the lie to the experience of the centuries, they assert that preparation to kill is killing's sure and sole preventative; that potentially the only fixed and final arbiter of international conduct is ever aggregate assassination—merely murder multiplied. No avenue of assault upon the public judgment but speeds its hurried couriers of panic. But though frenzy, blood-lust and greed, astride the whirlwind of unreason, shrill their selfish message in the nation's ear, American common sense, like a very pyramid in the swirling sandstorm, is still unshaken. (Applause.)

Much talk of guns and drums may disturb; it may confuse, it may control the judgment of this hour, but it will not control, it will not stampede the judgment of the American people. (Applause.) "The ninety-nine per cent" whose bodies must receive the bullets and who with their children and their children's children must pay and die. For them the inarticulate millions who sell no munitions of war, who float no war loans, who strive for no official place, who have had no part in all this wild alarm, Wisconsin speaks. She presents their candidate today.

They will not fall a-trembling before the spectre of a dragon con-jured like the fabled Phoenix from the ashes of exhausted, annihilated Europe; nor will they lash themselves into a lather of panic before the

Brown Man of the Pacific without some evidence of ill intent. Not in a spirit of cowardice; not in a spirit of fear; not in a spirit of blind indifference to the lesson of the conflict; but with clear-visioned comprehension of the consequences their choice is made.

Out of earth's dawn, they see the nations in long procession come, each in turn to find the hemlock of extinction in the lethal draught now pressed upon America with frenzied zeal. With the spectacle of a continent a suicide before their eyes, they cannot be convinced that salvation lies in stupid imitation of the concerted folly that has laid "the one half world" in ashes at their feet. They read the European "Scroll of Torment" to no such lame and impotent conclusion. (Applause.)

With soul and heart attuned to the exquisite rhythm of humanity, there comes to them the pathos of Europe's penitential cry that not all the tumult of brutal shout and brawl and medieval bluster, nor the thunder of invective's cheap artillery can silence, stifle, or suppress. For there is not a war-made grave that scars a European hillside, but makes its mute appeal. The dry-eyed agony of womanhood that ever pays the last sore tribute of privation pleads in piteous beseeching prayer. The moaning shriek that tells of the collapse of reason's tottering throne breathes forth in undertone a sad solemnity of admition. Aye! in the composite cry from that Gethsemane that signalizes anguish's infinitude, warning dominates despair, and adjures America to adhere to her Americanism. (Applause, and voices, "Name your man" and "Louder.")

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. George Sutherland, of Utah).—The Convention will be in order.

MR. OLBRICH.—Just accord me a courteous hearing, please.

AN OHIO DELEGATE.—Go ahead, you're all right.

MR. OLBRICH.—The issue is indeed Americanism—and *our* candidate the embodiment of Americanism—that distinctive Americanism that solved the problem of armament a century ago. There to the north lies a thousand miles of shore with not a single battleship, and three thousand miles of frontier without a fort; a line of national boundary that cleaves a continent, and yet with all the vexing, varied problems of divided sovereignty, never the shock of conflict; never a hand to sword hilt; and far toward the Southern Cross the sure-footed statesmanship of Chile and the Argentines has borne aloft the figure of the eternal and ineffable Christ, and placed it in everlasting effigy amid the summits of the Andes in token of perpetual peace; these are the concreted ideals distinctly American, which the Western Hemisphere offers as its contribution to allay the agony that grips the parent continent. These two single and significant facts portend more for the welfare of the world than all the din of battles, lost or won. Armed with this decisive demonstration of the possibility of peace without armament—having brought solution to the "blood-rusted" riddle of the ages, America spurns the counsel

that bids her fling away achievement and seek like some vainglorious Hercules to rear a fondling from the spawn of that same monster whose icy and compulsive coil even now breaks the back and crushes out the heart and hope of all our kin across the sea. (Applause.)

She calls Wisconsin's pilot who will not bid farewell to all her ancient landmarks, set her prow upon a chartless course without a compass and place the tiller forever in suspicion's hands; who will not join in the competitive debasement of the currency of international confidence; who rejects the theorem that burglary is the final standard and exemplar of international morals; who will not seek to set the weary feet of labor on the rungs of that unending treadmill that grinds for her not bread, nor glory, but only a dreary grist of nameless graves, twisted and tortured lives, blighted and broken hearts, and in the end the dull and futile dust of race degeneracy. (Applause.)

But the candidate whom we present for leadership in this most pregnant and potential period of world psychology is no mere apostle of negation. From the apex of authority he would aggressively personify America—the real America. In all the galaxy of gallant captains pressing forward to command, Wisconsin's champion alone meets in full the exacting measure of this hour of earth's greatest extremity when America must not, dare not fail. He sees in war the antithesis of progress—the very inmost sanctuary and citadel of privilege, the throne of the monstrous incarnation of man's inhumanity to man, the shattering of whose columns would mark the first great stride toward the building of the progressive empire of the world. Others have sensed this thought in part; others have spoken little sections of the truth; but to him there stands revealed a fixed, unchanging moral law whose application is the same from parish to principality and world domain. The current of his progressivism has never known retiring ebb, but with expanded opportunity has to "increasing purpose" grown up through county, state and nation in a "diapason breaking full" in world morality. Compact of poise, and power and purpose, he would mobilize the moral energy of the world, summoning the neutral nations in solid phalanx, and as the spokesman of a billion protesting, sympathizing souls, he would as "with a monarch's voice" recall "the bloody dogs of war" and bid this senseless conflict cease; he would subject the contending nationalities to the steady pressure of a world opinion "insistent and persistent" as "the voice of an offended God" until there came the peace of Lincoln's fond hope and fervent prayer that endures not for a day, nor a century, but for all time, "when nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Gentlemen, Wisconsin gives you the name of her loved and trusted leader—brave, true-hearted, courteous, simple, gentleman; regenerator of a proud and prosperous commonwealth, first architect of the superb

and splendid structure that goes ever forward to completion, a redeemed America, and to-day her truest prophet of international morality—Robert M. LaFollette. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. George Sutherland, of Utah).—The Secretary will continue the calling of the roll.

Each State passed as its name was called until Pennsylvania was reached.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. George Sutherland, of Utah).—The Chair recognizes Mr. Emerson Collins, of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

MR. COLLINS NOMINATING GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH

MR. EMERSON COLLINS, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: In the classic convention of 1880, the mighty Conkling in pleading the nomination of the Man of Appomattox said: "We have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour to behold the Republican Party, with ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievements, marching to certain and lasting victory." The prophecy of that stirring, fateful hour may be uttered of this in the firm hope of its fulfillment. The Republican party is now on the march to the field of transcendent triumph. Whoever may carry the standard of leadership of the reunited party will receive the electoral vote of Pennsylvania by a popular majority matching in magnitude and majesty the proudest in her history. The Republicanism of the Old Keystone State need not be put under bond for its good behavior. No need to exact hostages from her to keep the faith. She will continue the 10th Legion of the grand army of Republicanism whether the nominee of this Convention be choice of hers or favored son of other.

The very steadfastness of Pennsylvania's faithfulness has been penalized. She has cast more electoral votes for the candidates of the party than any other State, but has never been honored with place on the national ticket. Her loyalty has been rewarded with neglect. She has not been wanting in sons supremely fitted for the Presidency. She is not wanting in them now.

Obedient to the free expression and the solemn mandate of an open preferential primary, in which he received a quarter of a million votes, Pennsylvania presents to this Convention for nomination the name of her distinguished Governor, Martin Grove Brumbaugh. (Applause.) In memory of her fealty in the days that are done, in the assured promise of its unbroken continuance in the days to come, in the pride of his fitness and worth, and in the confidence of his unsurpassed availability, I would now plead her cause and urge his nomination.

Born on Pennsylvania soil, a scion of a stock that for two centuries has so richly wrought for her upbuilding, reared in her truest and tenderest traditions, Brumbaugh typifies the best in her citizenship. (Applause.)

Two years ago he reformed and reorganized the broken ranks of the party in the State and against a united and powerful opposition won the governorship by an impressive majority.

His administration of that office has been signalized by a luminous body of constructive, forward-looking measures. Against the reactionary interests, he forced the passage of a workmen's compensation law, which now commands the approval of both employer and employed. Social and economic justice has had a new birth. His rule is everlastingly glorified in a Child Labor Law, which under his benign and compelling hand was written upon the statute books. It is universally hailed as the most advanced and scientific law touching this momentous subject in the land, and with its epoch-making provision for the establishment of continuation schools, linking the school and the factory, is destined to become the model for the entire Republic. Throughout the succeeding generations, a conserved manhood and womanhood, in commonwealth and country, will have unnumbered voices proclaiming blessed the name of the man who was brave enough, wise enough and had heart enough to safeguard childhood against the greed of the few and the thoughtlessness of the many.

As statesman-educator he enjoys national reputation. At the close of the Spanish War, the revered McKinley, whose judgment of men was so unerring, whose selection of lieutenants reached the plane of genius, summoned Brumbaugh and sent him to organize and supervise the educational forces of Porto Rico. He bore the American conscience and common school to our new and untutored wards in that island in whose affections, both for what he did and what he is, he will remain forever enshrined. (Applause.)

In character and capacity, in reach and range of powers, in sympathetic insight into the thoughts of the masses, in gift and grace of speech, he would shed luster on the banner of national leadership. His candidacy would stand the searching test and steadily strengthen under the stormy stress of the campaign. A man of vision but not a visionary man, untouched of a reckless radicalism leading into strange fields, free of a solid conservatism leading nowhere, the Nation, under his guidance, would follow a pathway of progress without the loss of a single ideal or the overthrow of a single principle that has heretofore so bountifully blessed us.

He never loses step or contact with the plain people whose child he is and whose faithful servant he will continue amid whatever honors may crown him. By the sweet and godly firesides of the great com-

monalty of the imperial Commonwealth he loves so much and serves so well, there dwells an abiding trust in the purposes and policies of Martin G. Brumbaugh.

His Americanism yields to none. From countless platforms these many years he has preached the priceless heritage that came from the inspired workmanship of the Forefathers, interpreted the meaning and the mission of our institutions, exalted the spirit that made and keeps us free and taught love and reverence for the flag. A commoner by birth, a scholar by training, a leader by divine endowment, a statesman in grasp and outlook, Martin Grove Brumbaugh possesses a brilliant plenitude of equipment to lead the hosts of Republicanism to victory and to serve the country with stainless renown in its loftiest place. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Harding of Ohio).—The Secretary of the Convention will proceed with the calling of the roll.

The Secretary of the Convention resumed and concluded the calling of the roll, each State and territorial possession passing as its name was called.

SPECIAL RULE LIMITING SECONDING SPEECHES

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. WADSWORTH, of New York.—For the purpose of offering a resolution in reference to limiting nominating speeches.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the Senator from New York.

MR. WADSWORTH, of New York.—I wish to offer the resolution which I send to the Secretary's desk; which I wish him to read, and then I will move its adoption.

The Secretary read 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. BENJAMIN S. HANCHETT, of Michigan.—The Michigan delegation seconds the resolution presented by the Senator from New York.

MR. WILLIAM SPRY, of Utah.—Utah also seconds the resolution.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The motion made by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Wadsworth) having been seconded by two States, is in order. The question is on the adoption of the resolution so offered. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

The question was called for and the Chair declared the resolution unanimously agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Seconding speeches in behalf of candidates to be nominated for President are now in order. And in that connection, and in order to gain time, the Chair has arbitrarily ruled that he will recognize delegates to make seconding speeches as their names are presented. He now grants recognition to Delegate Leo Weinburg, of Maryland. And while Mr. Weinburg is coming to the platform the Chair makes the suggestion, in the interest of economy of time, that the gentlemen who are to make seconding speeches will come to the platform so that the Chair may present them promptly.

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—For information.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—State your request for information.

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—Wasn't it understood that Oregon should have the first privilege of seconding the nomination of Mr. Justice Hughes?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It was not so reported to the Chair and I will not recognize you if your name is not sent up to the Chair and you do not come forward. Mr. Weinburg has now reached the stage and it gives me pleasure to introduce to the Convention Delegate Leo Weinburg, of Maryland.

MR. WEINBURG SECONDING MR. HUGHES' NOMINATION

MR. WEINBURG, of Maryland.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Maryland, my Maryland, joins with the great Empire State to honor that distinguished statesman, that matchless jurist, that man of incorruptible integrity, Charles Evans Hughes. (Applause.)

As a representative of the Maryland delegation, living in the birthplace of the celebrated author of our national anthem, it is altogether fitting and proper that I should give my feeble tribute to and voluntary indorsement of the nomination of Judge Hughes whose life and character are an outpouring of that love of country and devotion to duty

which inspired Francis Scott Key to reach the summit of American patriotism, leaving a name and a fame that gild, with the gorgeous rays of glory's light, his deathless tomb, from which radiates that fervency of zeal and constancy of purpose which made American citizenship the standard of protection, the sheltering rock in a Nation's crisis. Uplifted by the sublime patriotism and perfect loyalty that animated my fellow-townsmen when he gave to the world the sentiments of love and justice, fidelity and right, embodied within this heart-touching and emotion-stirring song, it is indeed a proud privilege to second the nomination of a man whose mind is embellished with and enriched by lofty thoughts and ideals and whose heart overflows with that pure Americanism which is typified by the Star Spangled Banner. (Applause.)

Upon the sacred soil of this unique Republic civilization must be born anew, and the progress of the human race re-established through the sovereign rights of men rather than the divine right of kings. With his private life dedicated to rectitude of conduct and purity of action, his public career crowned with civic righteousness and progressive accomplishment, Charles Evans Hughes, reconsecrating the Nation to the exalted traditions and ennobling purposes of the fathers, will so guide the destiny of the United States that it shall become the HOME of a reconstructed civilization founded upon morality, equality and justice, with the star of liberty shining on the horizon of national excellence until it becomes brilliant and magnificent in the blessed zenith of humanity; the RESIDENCE of a democracy where, in perfect splendor and complete harmony, the matchless red of the Southern rose and the spotless white of the Northern snows blend in a mingled flood of unbroken light—revealing a people, united and devoted, peaceful and happy, who obey only that law which guarantees life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and who follow only that flag—the ensign of union—that, in triumph unfurled, will, ultimately, hush the tumult of war and give peace to the world. (Applause.)

Rising to these grand heights of patriotic fervor, with supreme confidence in the unblemished character and unquestioned ability, uncompromising courage and undivided allegiance of the man, as a citizen of Maryland I second the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes—a statesman as pure in heart as a Lincoln, a judge as wise and just as a Marshall, a patriot as faithful and brave as a Washington, a man, who, remembering our sublime mission and sacred trust will not, shall not, cower in the dust when the despot's heel is on the shore and his torch is at the temple door. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, the Chair presents to you as the next speaker to second the nomination of one of the candidates for President, Mr. Charles W. Fulton, of Oregon.

MR. FULTON SECONDING MR. HUGHES' NOMINATION.

MR. CHARLES W. FULTON, of Oregon.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: When I look over this great audience, I realize what a tremendous temptation it is to a public speaker. It is so good looking, and so entirely helpless (laughter) and I might say, so harmless, and possibly some so thirsty. (Laughter and applause.)

But I am not going to take advantage of the temptation. I had prepared a very eloquent speech, I assure you, but now that I come to look it over I find it will do just as well for the Fourth of July as here. (Laughter and applause.) Hence, I am going to content myself with saying, that we want to nominate a man who will unite the Republican party and lead it to victory, and the people of Oregon have selected one and they have sent us here to present his name to you. They gave him 30,000 plurality at the primary in May; and they tell us we may assure you that if he be nominated they will make the 30,000 plurality of May a 50,000 majority in November. (Applause.) Therefore, in the name of the State of Oregon and of the united delegation of that State, I second the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes, of New York. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I present to you Judge William P. Bynum, of North Carolina. (Applause.)

MR. BYNUM SECONDING MR. ROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. WILLIAM P. BYNUM, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The opportunity of the Republican party is here. The signs of the time point unerringly to a crisis approaching in the affairs of this Nation. The persistent aggressions of Mexico on our border, her growing inability to protect the lives and property of foreign citizens in her territory, the great war beyond the waters, the end of which we all devoutly hope is near, the unprepared and defenseless condition of our own land, all are forcing upon the people of the United States national and international problems demanding for their solution the wisest statesmanship and the loftiest patriotism this country can afford. In this perilous situation, all agree that our greatest need is enlightened and courageous leadership—statesmen of foresight and experience who can and will guide the Republic triumphantly through all the dangers that portend. Fortunately, the Republican party is rich in such material. We have numbers from whom we may select our standard-bearer without fear of mistake. But the American people are looking to this Convention to select the safest, the surest and the best—to choose as its nominee a candidate whose election shall not only be assured but who will most certainly insure the preservation of the

honor and safety, as well as the prosperity and glory of this Nation. The matchless record of our party in the past, justifies the demand that we fail not in our duty now. (Applause.)

From the ashes of the great war between the States, the Republican party lifted this Nation into the serene and imperturbable position of "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States." The continued enforcement of Republican principles and policies has made and kept it the choicest spot on earth for all classes and conditions of men. To preserve and keep it so at all hazards is the high and manifest duty of every American citizen—to perpetuate not only its indestructibility as a union of States, but to unify and intensify the national spirit and patriotism of every element of our population, in every part of the Union, so that when we come to consider questions affecting the interests of America, whatever our race, nationality or creed, in our loyalty and devotion to her, we shall be one.

The course and quality of this Nation's life for the next four years, the selection of the man best fitted to interpret that life and to lead on that course, are to be determined by this Convention. Among the number superbly fit, and whose election, if nominated, will be sure, stands one whose majestic ability raises him pre-eminently above the rest—whose qualifications for the chief magistracy of this Nation in this momentous hour fit him pre-eminently above them all. A statesman and diplomat, tried and proved in the school of experience, known the world over, acknowledged without a superior, his ability to guide the Nation safely through the trying times ahead is conceded by all. Not only so, but his nomination and election will give assurance to every one, from the highest to the lowest, that in the administration of our national affairs, foreign and domestic, every right of every American citizen everywhere, will be protected, and equal and exact justice guaranteed to all. (Applause.)

Nominate him and from that moment national safety and preparedness will be assured, national courage and confidence will be inspired and national prosperity in all the avenues of trades and business will be restored. Nominate him and after the fourth day of next March, we shall have at the head of the Government of the United States, a statesman wiser and greater and safer than presides over the destinies of any other nation on earth.

His name, his transcendent abilities, his long and faithful service to his country and his party have already been told to you, and as a delegate from the State of North Carolina, I have the honor to second the nomination of Elihu Root, of New York. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair has pleasure in presenting to the Convention Judge Eugene W. Britt, of California.

MR. BRITT SECONDING MR. ROOT'S NOMINATION.

MR. EUGENE W. BRITT, of California.—Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention: It is a great privilege to be permitted in this Convention to second the nomination of Elihu Root. (Applause.) It was remarked from this platform to-day that this is a government of laws and not of men. So it is; but the difference in the effect of the laws depends on what men administer them. If that were not so, the necessity for succeeding the present administration with men to be nominated by this Convention would be less exigent. We demand a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures *and of men*. Almost every speaker who has addressed this Convention has dwelt upon the seriousness of the crisis which now confronts the country. It is serious, and it begets the great need of the time—great men at the nation's head—efficient men. A time like this demands “tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog in public duty and private thinking.” For that reason I second the nomination of Elihu Root for the great office of President (Applause.)

Three days ago there appeared in one of the local newspapers of Chicago a signed article by one of the leading so-called “Progressives” of the country—one who was in the front ranks of the secession of 1912.—in which it was declared in so many words that the Republicans here assembled in Convention “want to nominate Root, and they would nominate him if they were not afraid.” Let us take counsel of our courage, and not of our fears. We want to nominate him for he is the wisest man within our sight. Why should Republicans fail of the courage of their convictions? Of whom may they stand in fear? Of the Progressives? Why, Colonel Roosevelt, without whom the Progressive Party is a negligible quantity, exhausted the vocabulary of panegyric, during the term of his presidency, in extolling the many-sided pre-eminence of Mr. Root; whose shining qualities, he declared, equipped him for greatness in any department of the Government—of State, of War, of the Interior, all of them. The Republican Party has furnished this country with a succession of great Secretaries in the State Department. There were William H. Seward, James G. Blaine, Elihu Root, and others; but, like the prominence of charity in St. Paul's trinity of Christian graces, the greatest of them was Root.

I second the nomination of Elihu Root, for that he is the capable and fit man now demanded for the American Presidency by the imperious needs of the country. Transposing to the present tense the words which Hamlet spoke in the past tense, we say of Mr. Root:

“He is a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again”

in the present generation. (Great applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair presents to the Convention Colonel Isaac M. Meekins, of North Carolina.

MR. MEEKINS SECONDING MR. BURTON'S NOMINATION

MR. ISAAC M. MEEKINS, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The story goes that a husband and wife, long estranged, met at the grave of their first born—the child of their youthful strength. Their strife had been bitter; their love had turned to hate. They looked coldly upon each other, and then they looked down upon the little mound that held the broken link with which God had bound their two hearts. They knelt and bowed their faces upon the cold sod that covered the dust of their dead. They stretched their hands each to the other across the little grave, and the Angel of God, with a rain of penitential tears, washed all the bitterness of the years from their hearts and sent them down life's pathway hand in hand, as in the old days, when love was lord of their two lives, and the lost babe lay cradled on the mother's breast.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, in this crisis of our Nation let us catch an inspiration from the parallel in the story. Let Taft and Roosevelt Republicans, let Old Line Republican and Progressive Republican, kneel to-day at the grave of Abraham Lincoln, their best beloved. Let the estrangement be forgotten; let all bitterness pass like an uneasy dream. Let us stretch our hands each to the other across Lincoln's grave and ask the benediction of the Almighty upon a reunited party—militant and triumphant! Let us here and now reincarnate the party of Lincoln, of Garfield, of McKinley, martyrs all upon the republic's sacrificial altar. Let us, here and now, rededicate that party to the high purposes for which they intended it—the right of man to liberty, the sovereignty of reason, the holiness of labor, the beneficence of peace (but peace with honor), remembering always that "A house divided against itself cannot stand." (Applause.)

The man I have in mind, whom we should consecrate to this glorious task, is old through experience, gentle through love, in brain a man, through hope a giant—and North Carolina seconds the nomination of that man, Theodore E. Burton. (Great applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I present to the Convention Colonel Frank R. Stewart, of Arizona.

MR. STEWART SECONDING MR. BURTON'S NOMINATION.

MR. FRANK R. STEWART, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Alexander Hamilton laid the enduring foundation of this Government. Abraham Lincoln made it first among the nations of the earth. In this great crisis in our national existence, it

becomes our duty, as the representatives of the American people, to name a man for President of the United States who, when inaugurated, will give to the people of this country that which Abraham Lincoln consecrated his life to attain—a constructive purpose. We men of the West, of the mesas and deserts and golden cities of our Sunland, believe Theodore E. Burton to be the hope of the Nation, the safest and sanest choice of the Republican Party for President in 1916, and Arizona seconds his nomination in faith and with gladness. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I present to the Convention Ex-Congressman Thomas Settle, of North Carolina.

MR. SETTLE SECONDING MR. WEEKS' NOMINATION

MR. THOMAS SETTLE, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Delegates: The gentleman whose nomination I rise to second yields to no one in his Americanism. It is bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. It is the breath of his nostrils and the pulsation of his heart. He yields to no one in his knowledge of the needs of our country on the question of preparedness. He is familiar with that question in its theoretical aspect; he is familiar with it in its practical aspect by virtue of his training, his education, and his experience. He yields to no one in fitness and qualifications for the exalted office of President of this country, in knowledge of our country's resources, and knowledge of our country's needs in the way of legislation to develop her resources. A graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, he has served in one of the great arms of national defense, and a part of his education necessarily familiarized him with the other arm of national defence, the army of our country. (Applause.) His service in the legislative department of our government only enhanced the value of his knowledge acquired in other lines of activity. If to these virtues another might be added I should say it was his Republicanism. (Applause.) But Republicanism is but the voice and expression, is but the soul of Americanism, of preparedness, of protection, and prosperity. (Applause.) He knows that when the Almighty's attention is turned away from us in chastisement, and Democracy comes into power that we are all unlucky. He knows that the Democratic Party was born and christened unlucky, and when in power we are all unlucky. (Applause, and a voice: "That's right.") He knows that the very name Democratic Party begins with the unluckiest letter in the alphabet; the letter "D" is called upon to do more dirty work than all the balance of the alphabet put together—Democracy, disease, deceit, dissimulation, deficit, disaster, degeneracy, destruction, death and damnation. (Applause.) On the other hand, the letter "R" stands for Republicanism, Reverence for the Constitution, Respect for the Flag, Resumption of specie payment, Roosevelt, Root, Religion and

Resurrection, and many other good things and names. And now, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, I second the nomination of John Wingate Weeks, of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I present former Congressman Bird McGuire, of Oklahoma.

MR. MCGUIRE SECONDING NOMINATION OF MR. WEEKS

MR. BIRD MCGUIRE, of Oklahoma.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I come from one of the newest but one of the most important States of the Union. At the approaching election we will cast three hundred thousand votes, and the nominee of this Convention, whoever he may be, will have a plurality of that three hundred thousand. (Applause.) The Democratic Party, through Mexican methods at the ballot box temporarily wrested our State from the Republicans, but at the coming election we are coming home, and coming home to stay. (Applause.)

The person is short-sighted indeed who does not understand clearly that which is in the hearts and minds, not only of the Delegates of this Convention, but of every patriotic Republican in all the land

You want a man who will win; but that is not all; you want a man who will preserve the Republican Party and perpetuate the principles of that great party after he has won. "Oh," you say, "you would like to have a William McKinley; that you won with him;"—and in that position you are right. The Republican Party at the time of his nomination took what was a temporarily unpopular position, but the party was right and the opposition was wrong. We vigorously pushed a campaign of education, which educated the American people until they were right upon the currency question, and by taking that position and standing boldly and vigorously for the right, even against overwhelming numbers to start with, we won.

McKinley was a great leader; a great statesman, a conscientious man, and under his guidance the Republican Party grew stronger and stronger, and when he fell at the hands of an assassin that great party was mightier than it had been in all its history. No wonder you want another McKinley.

I have in mind a gentleman who possesses the combined strength of both William McKinley and Mark Hanna, and if you make him the nominee of this Convention, his administration will grow more popular from day to day, and the Republican Party will be augmented in numbers and strengthened in principle. He will grow more and more popular and he will be elected for a second term by increased and overwhelming majorities, and when he returns the Republican banner to the National

Convention eight years from now, and resigns his position as President to his successor, he will leave the greatest party in the history of the Nation. (Applause.)

I second the nomination of that splendid embodiment of physical, intellectual and moral manhood—John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair presents Mr. W. O. Emory, of Georgia.

MR. EMORY SECONDING MR. WEEKS' NOMINATION.

MR. W. O. EMORY, of Georgia.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: It is a pleasure to be permitted to stand here and speak, only if it be one word, for the man that we think ought to be and we think will be, elected President of the United States next November. I was just thinking a moment ago of what was said to and by General Grant at the dedication of a certain memorial in the City of New York. The remark was made by the chairman in presenting him that he was introducing to the audience the greatest chieftain that had ever drawn the sword. When General Grant rose to speak to that great audience he said, in effect, "It may be as the gentleman has said that I am the greatest chieftain that ever drew the sword, but if I am I want to say that I had the greatest army behind me that ever carried the sword." (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to say to you here that I do not in any degree sympathize with the thought that we are scarce of Presidential timber in the Republican Party. There are several States here that could give us such characters as we have already had and that have gone on to their fathers. But however that is, with these excellent gentlemen, any or all of them would give us a splendid administration and the most of them would have a united party at the end of the term. And, Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I am certain that if this Convention will see fit to nominate the gentleman in whose behalf I rise to speak, that he will give us at the end of his first administration a united and strong party, and at the end of his second administration an even stronger and more united party. (Applause.) Inasmuch as my time is up, I will now second the nomination of John W. Weeks, a second McKinley, and in some respects better than McKinley, to lead our great party to victory in November. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I present to you Mr. Edwin P. Morrow, of Kentucky.

MR. MORROW SECONDING MR. FAIRBANKS' NOMINATION.

MR EDWIN P. MORROW, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: When the shouting has died into silence, when the tumult is stilled, when the echoes of fife and drum have died into echo, when the wild enthusiasm of this hour has met the seriousness of the actual conflict, out yonder will be waiting, ready and entrenched, the serried hosts of Democracy. Far-flung will be our battle line and success in the coming conflict means the honor of the American flag and the welfare of every man, woman and child beneath its fluttering folds. To lead the invincible army of Republicanism into that battle, to make the charge, to hold the fort, to keep the faith, the united, victorious Republicans of old Kentucky second the nomination of a Republican worthy of all its great history and traditions, and great enough in combination of heart and mind, conscience and vision, to be chief executive of the greatest Republic beneath the sun. We stand for no untried and no untested leader, but for one proven in the great arena of deeds, for one tried in the crucible of great experience, and upon whose public life has beat the great white light of public opinion; not for an untried warrior but for one who has in open battle given and received mighty blows. (Applause, and a voice: "Amen.") We have heard so much about the heart of America; we stand for a man born where the heart of the Nation throbs; (Applause, and a voice from the Ohio delegation: "Yes, in the great State of Ohio."); one reared in the squalor of a log cabin and by the side of a hearth-stone where the fires of patriotism spring and burn forever. (Applause.) If we want to find the heart of America, let us go where the heart of America beats. Name a man who came from the fields of grain, where the corn stands like sentinels of prosperity in the furrow, but living now where the wind-swept prairies are covered with streets of brick and marts of trade and commerce; the heart of the great industrial center of America—there stands he who holds alike the love of him who labors in the open field and him who labors in the factory, him who lives in the country and him who lives in the city.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The time of the speaker has expired. Name your candidate.

MR. MORROW, of Kentucky.—Just a moment, please. There stands the real type of this land, the man of the type of free chance and open opportunity, Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, whose nomination I wish to second on behalf of the State of Kentucky. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman's time is up.

MR. MORROW, of Kentucky.—I have ten minutes because there is only one seconding speech to be made from my State.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I am sorry, but under the rules we cannot grant you that privilege.

MR. MORROW, of Kentucky.—I had wished to say more, but I must retire under the rules. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Chair now has pleasure in presenting Mr. Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota.

MR. LUNDEEN SECONDING MR. CUMMINS' NOMINATION.

MR. ERNEST LUNDEEN, of Minnesota.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Minnesota, our North Star State of the Union, seconds the nomination of the great Republican leader from our neighbor State of Iowa.

We take unbounded pride in his loyalty, his courage, and his independence. Like Lincoln, he understands the common people; like Lincoln he fights for the average man. Just in counsel, fair in battle, the passing years have emphasized the wisdom of his policies.

We believe in Democracy—but Heaven forbid! We don't believe in the Democratic party—we believe in bringing the Government closer to the people, we believe that it is better to advance all of the people a little of the way than to advance a few people a long way. (Applause.)

The text of the life of the senior Senator from Iowa reads in hearty accord with these views of our people. The tides of public opinion are running strong to-day. The people at large are demanding an ever increasing share in their Government.

A young man came out of the West to plead for them, and, when necessary, to fight for them; and now grown gray in their service, he is still their idolized advocate. He has breasted every adversity and solved every situation that has confronted him. A man who while rising did not forget the unfortunate, a man who gives the helping hand to those about him. The Carpenter of Iowa now marches at the head of five great States. Vision is his advance guard, and wisdom his companion. Strike from the books of Iowa the statutes of his statesmanship and our country moves backward.

Like the oak of the forest, like the tall pine of Minnesota, he stands out against the stormy sky. All his views are rooted deep in democracy, and the winds of an arrogant opposition cannot prevail against him. Everywhere that humanity needs protection, everywhere that misery and hopelessness prevail, there is found our big brother from Iowa, for his heart beats in sympathy with all mankind.

The clouds of dissension are lifting and the rainbow of hope gives promise of a reunited party, a greater and grander Nation.

The spirit of immortal Lincoln seems again to speak of our party as it once spoke to the Nation. "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection, the mystic cords of memory stretching

from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched as surely they will by the better angles of our nature."

Times like these call for candor and plain speech. This is the most momentous convention since the days of Lincoln. Nominate Senator Cummins and he will smite the waters of Democratic despond and lead us from the plagues and deserts of Democratic despair to the promised land of Republican common-sense.

Providence gave us Washington for the revolution, Lincoln for the rebellion, Garfield and McKinley to lead us through darkness toward the light. In every age, in every crisis, God-given leaders tower above the masses. Such a leader we have in Senator Cummins, of Iowa, the tall pine of the West.

He fights the fight of a good man. His shield catches the sunlight of a new time and a new era.

In this time of trial, in this hour of destiny, ladies and gentlemen of this Convention, give us again a man from the people and for the people.

The voters of Minnesota have commissioned us to vote for him and in accordance with their mandate we now add to the standard of Iowa, the standard of Minnesota. To these will be added the standards of the great States of South Dakota, Nebraska and Montana, and upon our banners we inscribe the name of this statesman, this great man, this peerless pioneer of Progressive Legislation, the name of Albert Baird Cummins. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair has pleasure in presenting Mr. S. E. Wilson, of South Dakota.

MR. WILSON SECONDING MR. CUMMINS' NOMINATION.

MR. S. E. WILSON, of South Dakota.—Mr. Chairman and Delegates of this Convention: I have been commissioned by the delegation from the Sunshine State of South Dakota to second the nomination of our near neighbor, from the State of Iowa, Albert B. Cummins. In doing so I wish to remind you that the Republican party was born in the West, and that the first nominee for president was selected from a State that borders the Pacific Ocean. There was no thought of his election. There was not much thought of it in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated. But in 1864 he was the leader of the then great party. His leadership unchallenged, the East had no man to match the peerless Commoner from the West. In 1868 similar conditions existed, when another Westerner, General U. S. Grant was nominated and elected, and re-elected in 1872. Forty-four years have elapsed since then and not a candidate for the

Presidency has been named from the West by this great party. At this time we present to you a candidate from the great West. In the Mississippi and Missouri valleys and west to the Pacific is a great stretch of country where our people furnish the food for the East, where they have from year to year fought a good fight and kept the faith for Republican doctrines, delivering nearly a solid vote for the candidates of the Republican party in the electoral college in every Presidential campaign. It ought not to be necessary to always select a candidate from one of the three pivotal States of the East in order to assure us of the electoral vote of that particular State.

If Albert B. Cummins is nominated by this Convention, there can be no doubt of the hearty indorsement of his candidacy by our friends in session at the Auditorium. He is a leader of the advanced thought of the Nation, a great statesman whose name adorns the pages of recent history along with those of Iowa's greatest sons. He is a worthy successor of Grimes and Harlan and Kirkwood and Allison and Dolliver. Nominate him and the East as well as the West will rally to his standard and the Republican banner will be carried to certain victory under his gallant leadership. (Applause.)

MR. A. E. CASSELL, of California.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask for information.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman will state what it is about which he desires to inquire.

MR. A. E. CASSELL, of California.—We have just passed lunch, and we have also passed dinner, and I would like to ask, on behalf of myself and many others in this hall, is it the intention of the Chairman to give us a recess for supper? (A chorus of "No, No, No.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman seems to have had his answer. The Chair now presents to the Convention Mr. A. M. Stevenson, of Colorado.

MR. STEVENSON SECONDING MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION

MR. A. M. STEVENSON, of Colorado.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The candidate for President of the United States whose nomination I rise to second, is today the foremost citizen of this Republic; he is the embodiment of the American ideal of citizenship, of patriotism and of statesmanship. With him as President, every citizen, no matter how high or how humble, pursuing his lawful avocation on land or sea, may with safety wrap our flag about him and defy his foes. (Applause.)

His nomination by this convention is equivalent to his election, and not only his own election, but the election of local Republican candidates, members of congress, governors and other officers in every doubtful

State of the Union. I believe that more than half the people of this country are anxiously watching the proceedings of this convention, hoping that he will be your nominee. There is no doubt his nomination is demanded by millions of American voters. They know that with him as standard bearer of the Republican Party defeat is impossible; they know that with Theodore Roosevelt as our candidate, victory in November is absolutely certain. It does not so much matter what we in Chicago today want, we must satisfy the voters of the country and give them a candidate in whom they have confidence; one who represents the best traditions of the Party, and one who will best protect and care for the interests of the people. (Applause.)

Believing as I do then, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, that he more surely than any other man can be elected President of the United States, I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt.

(Applause; and after the delegates ceased applauding and seemed anxious to go on with the business of the Convention, there appeared sporadic attempts in the galleries to produce a demonstration, whereupon the Permanent Chairman said):

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen in the Galleries: The Chair means to be courteous enough to grant recognition to ten delegates of this Convention to second the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt, and as it seems to be the evident wish of the delegates to proceed with the business of the convention, the Chair must ask our guests that they will exhibit that courtesy which will permit us to speedily carry on the work of the Convention. (Applause among the delegates, and a voice, "That is right; let us go on with our business.") I now have pleasure in presenting to you, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, former Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina.

MR. BUTLER SECONDING MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION

MR. MARION BUTLER, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: You have heard already too much speech-making for one day. (Applause and cries of "Good" and of "Louder, please.") If that were not true, still I want to say that this is not an occasion on which I desire to make what might be known as a speech. (Applause and cries of "Good," and of "That's right.") Fellow Delegates, the situation which confronts us is too serious for our party and for our country, for us to indulge in partisan eulogies of our friends or rhetorical flights merely to delight the mind; rather this is an occasion for serious consideration, of putting heart to heart and head to head. The Republican party has never faced a more serious situation than this, and our country has never faced a more serious situation. (Applause, and cries of "Hear, hear.") Our country needs a great, strong party today to relieve it from the misrule



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

and mismanagement at home and abroad. The Republican party has in the past performed that great service as a constructive party, as the party of progress, but the Republican party today cannot perform that service if rent into two parts or camps, each antagonistic to and opposing the other. Therefore we have just two great duties; first, to unite the party that was split four years ago, (applause) and if we do not unite the party we are helpless to serve ourselves or our country or humanity. And on this point, let me say, that every speaker who has addressed this Convention today has said he is in favor of uniting the party, and I want to say that you cannot unite it by talk alone. Now, fellow delegates, I am willing, for one delegate, to stay here for a week if necessary in order to heal the breach in the two wings of this grand old party and bring them together under the Republican banner. (Great applause, and cries of "Right, Right.") And there is one other thing we have got to do besides bringing the two wings of the party together. We have got to do what our ancestors did when Abraham Lincoln was nominated. On that occasion there was the great issue of human liberty at stake; and there was before that Convention the names of more than one man, of men other than Abraham Lincoln. There was the name of the great Seward, and yet some of the followers and friends of Seward in that critical hour of our nation's history said it was their duty to turn against their friend there and then and cast their votes for Abraham Lincoln. Why? Because Abraham Lincoln was the embodiment of the fight for human liberty. He was a human platform. We have adopted a magnificent platform in this Convention, and Temporary Chairman Harding has delivered a magnificent speech, but those are simply words, written and spoken; if you do not put soul into those words they will not be worth while.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The time of the gentleman has expired.

MR. MARION BUTLER, of North Carolina.—Therefore I now second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, who will put soul into that platform and will bring the Progressive Convention from its hall down the street and merge it into this Convention and bring about a magnificent fighting body of reunited Republicans. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair presents to the Convention former Ambassador to Italy, Mr. William Potter, of Pennsylvania, who will speak for two minutes.

MR. POTTER SECONDING MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION

MR. WILLIAM POTTER, of Pennsylvania.—Ladies and gentlemen, delegates of the Convention: I shall only take a minute of your time to extend to you an invitation in the hope that we may end up this Convention

with a wedding. I hope we may have the Progressive bride come back into the arms of the Republican husband, and that the millions of her children may be permitted to vote for that man, that greatest of living Americans, whose nomination I now second,—Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now presents to the Convention Mr. Henry A. Whitaker, of Maryland.

MR. WHITAKER SECONDING MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

This convention is, as it should be, actuated by two cardinal principles, one of primary and the other of secondary consideration. The secondary is, however, of importance nearly equal to the primary.

The primary principle is national patriotism and the secondary principle, party loyalty. "He who serves his party best, serves his country best," which means that when one's party is inspired by pure and lofty ideals, its administration of the public business will be of like character.

Four years ago a combination of circumstances rent the Republican party asunder, the result being victory at the polls by a minority organization. In assuming charge of the Government, this organization has behaved as a minority, although in complete control, and the effects thereof have been consistent with minority leadership. The circumstances to which I have referred, and which have caused a division in the Republican party were unfortunate, but all those who suffered by them have at least forgiven if not forgotten. We are again a united party, dedicated to the same general principles which have been characteristic of this nation since 1861.

The people of this country, in this time of crisis and disturbance in the affairs of the world, and of, I might say, imminent danger, are calling for a leadership which embodies lofty Americanism and high *ideals* supported by the ability to make these principles effective. (Applause.)

As a nation, while we should be kind and courteous to the other nations of the world, at the same time we should not forget the principle of the "Survival of the fittest to survive." This idea may be a selfish one, but it is in thorough harmony with the doctrine of self-preservation. Our country's true mission is peace with all nations and since its beginning, its record in this respect has been a commendable one. At the same time, we must be conscious of the fact that the unexpected sometimes happens, the result being misery to the unprepared.

Therefore, preparedness and real Americanism should be the watchword of this country, not only for this generation, but for the years to come, and the promulgation and the enforcement of these ideas call

for leadership of no ordinary character, rather of the most intense kind.

Looking backward through the vista of the years, from the foundation of the Republic to the present time, the formative period can be truly credited to the Republican regime.

This nation has been substantially Republican in principle from 1861 to the present time except for the brief interregna of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Wilson. Right here I would say that historic statistics and all other sources of information agree, that although Mr. Cleveland was a strong character and a man of rigid honesty, his administrations were economic failures, soup houses prevailed, and interest-bearing bonds were issued in times of peace. The present administration deserves but little comment as to its economic results,—we see them and we feel them, and it is universally admitted that had it not been for the stimulus caused by the unfortunate conflict in Europe, we would, months ago, have been on the financial rocks. Extraordinary taxes have been levied to support the Government, a thing unheard of under Republican rule in times of peace. The man who is obliged to give his note, must pay tribute to Caesar, and our national banks have been persecuted by a policy akin to folly. Conversions from national to state banks are to say the least, not uncommon. (Applause.)

The Republican party has always been in sympathy with the national heart beat, and it is now on the eve of being returned to power, provided it is wise in the selection of its standard bearer. In behalf of thousands of citizens in the Southland, I purpose now to second the nomination which has just been made, of a leader whose courage, ability and splendid Americanism have been thoroughly tried and tested, who has a true appreciation of American necessities and ideals; who, when he was chief executive of the nation gave everybody a square deal; saw that the American flag was respected and honored the world over; who built the Panama Canal, and who put our fleet in command of the distant oceans. He is one who does not place idealistic reliance in the written word without having behind it the power and ability to enforce the word. (Applause.)

Under his regime of seven years and six months, four general congressional elections were held, and in each instance the Republican party remained in power in the Lower House. Such has never happened before or since. As an independent candidate four years ago, 4,100,000 of our citizens left their respective parties and voted for him, a thing which never before happened in the history of the Republic, and which is not likely to happen again. Having, as he does, an understanding of our National necessities, and having comprehended and interpreted the vital issues of his time precisely as did the great men of history who have gone before him, he is the logical candidate, not only for the Republican party, but for all our people who have a true interest in our national welfare.

It is with confident assurance that in seconding his nomination I say to you that, in my humble judgment, he can and will be elected, if nominated.

In behalf of a majority of the citizens of the State of Maryland, as well as from other States in the South, I take pleasure in seconding before this convention, the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now presents Mr. Robert M. Pollock, of North Dakota.

MR. POLLOCK SECONDING MR. LA FOLLETTE'S NOMINATION

MR. ROBERT M. POLLOCK, of North Dakota.—Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Convention.—

A DELEGATE.—Who is the speaker?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman the chair has presented to you and who is now attempting to speak to the Convention is Robert M. Pollock, of North Dakota. I hope the Convention will be in order and will give the gentlemen who are making seconding speeches a respectful hearing.

MR. POLLOCK, of North Dakota.—Delegates of the Convention: I will say little but mean much. North Dakota seconds the nomination of Hon. Robert M. LaFollette. I thank you. (Great applause, and a voice: "He knows how to make a seconding speech.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now presents Congressman William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania.

MR. VARE SECONDING MR. BRUMBAUGH'S NOMINATION

MR. WILLIAM S. VARE, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention.—I speak here today not as a Progressive Republican, but I speak to you as a member of the American Congress from a district that has elected a Republican for the last fifty years without interruption. (Applause). I speak as a delegate who sat in this convention four years ago and voted for Hon. William Howard Taft. (Great Applause.) I speak as a member of the Republican party in Pennsylvania and come from a district that gave President Taft the largest Republican majority that he received in any district in the whole country. (Applause). And I come to you today as a delegate from that great stalwart district to ask the delegates of this Convention not to make the mistake we made four years ago. Let us consult the thought that is in the minds of the American people. Let us be farseeing this Fall and approach the November election with a re-united party. Pennsylvania in 1904 polled 840,949 votes for the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) In 1908 that went down to 745,779 votes for Taft, in 1910 it fell to 415,614 for our candidate for Governor, and in 1912 it went down to 273,360

votes for the Republican standard bearer, Hon. William Howard Taft, and for the first time in the history of a half century Pennsylvania neglected to cast its electoral vote for the Republican candidate for President. In 1914 we saw the light. We nominated Pennsylvania's present distinguished Governor, Hon. Martin G. Brumbaugh, and he entered into that fight against a combined Progressive-Democratic opposition and brought us back a Republican victory by a majority of 134,825.

He went before the people of the Commonwealth this Spring as a candidate for Delegate-at-Large to this convention, and he polled the highest vote of any official who was on that ticket, representing either the National or the State government. I am here, delegates of this convention, to urge you to name for your candidate for president, Pennsylvania's distinguished Governor, who will be accepted by the country at large for his sincerity in purpose and record of accomplishments as he was by his people in Pennsylvania, and I now second the nomination of Hon. Martin Grove Brumbaugh. (Applause.)

Thereupon the Secretary resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States.

BALLOT FOR NOMINEES FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The roll of States having been completed, you will prepare your ballot for the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States. (Applause.) The Secretary will call the roll of States and the Chairman of each State delegation will announce the vote of his State.

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.)

MR. ARMAND ROMAIN, of Louisiana. (When Louisiana was called). Mr. Chairman, speaking for six of the 12 votes of Louisiana, I announce 2 for Weeks and 4 for Hughes.

MR. WALTER L. COHEN, of Louisiana.—Mr. Chairman, and as to the other 6 votes of Louisiana I announce 1 for Weeks, 1 for Sherman, 1 for Root, 1½ for Burton, and 1½ for Fairbanks.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MICHIGAN DELEGATION (When Michigan was called).—Mr. Chairman, as the result of the primary in Michigan, our State will cast 30 votes on the first ballot for Henry Ford.

MR. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, of New York (When New York was called).—Mr. Chairman, the delegates from the State of New York ask that the vote be polled, and on behalf of the New York delegation I request that the roll of delegates be called, so that each man may answer as to his preference for the nomination of a candidate for President.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The names of the members of the New York delegation will be called by the Secretary.

The Secretary of the Convention having called the roll of the New York delegates, the result was announced: Root, 43; Hughes, 42; Roosevelt, 2; as follows:

NEW YORK

AT LARGE

	Root	Hughes	Roosevelt
Elon R. Brown.....	1	..	..
James W. Wadsworth, Jr.....	1	..	..
Frederick C. Tanner.....	..	1	..
Charles S. Whitman.....	..	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>			
1—George Wilbur Doughty.....	..	1	..
William F. Flanagan.....	..	1	..
2—Joseph H. DeBragga.....	1	..	..
Theron H. Burden.....	1	..	..
3—Robert R. Lawson.....	1	..	..
John MacCrate.....	..	1	..
4—Adolph Levy.....	1	..	..
William A. Prendergast.....	1	..	..
5—William Berri.....	1	..	..
Alfred E. Vass.....	1	..	..
6—William M. Calder.....	..	1	..
Frederick J. Kracke.....	..	1	..
7—Jacob Brenner.....	..	1	..
Michael J. Dady.....	1	..	..
8—Marcus B. Campbell.....	1	..	..
Charles S. Warbasse.....	1	..	..
9—Frank Ehlers.....	1	..	..
Francis H. Luce.....	1	..	..
10—Clarence B. Smith.....	..	1	..
Baruch Miller.....	..	1	..
11—George Cromwell.....	1	..	..
Chauncey M. Depew.....	1	..	..
12—Samuel S. Koenig.....	..	1	..
13—Frederick L. Marshall.....	..	1	..
14—Otto T. Bannard.....	1	..	..
Herbert Parsons.....	..	1	..
15—Job E. Hedges.....	1	..	..
Henry L. Stimson.....	1	..	..
16—Martin Steintal.....	..	1	..
Beverly R. Robinson.....	1	..	..
17—William H. Douglas.....	..	1	..
William Bondy.....	..	1	..
18—Ogden L. Mills.....	..	1	..
James R. Sheffield.....	1	..	..
19—Charles D. Hilles.....	1	..	..
Nicholas Murray Butler.....	1	..	..
20—Samuel Krulewitch.....	..	1	..
21—George R. Sheldon.....	1	..	..
Valentine J. Hahn.....	..	1	..
22—William H. TenEyck.....	1	..	..
John J. Knewitz.....	1	..	..
23—William S. Bennet.....	1	..	..
Thomas W. Whittle.....	1	..	..

NEW YORK—Continued

AT LARGE

	Root	Hughes Roosevelt	
DISTRICT—Delegates			
24—William B. Thompson.....	1	..	..
Daniel W. Whitmore.....	..	1	..
25—William L. Ward.....	..	1	..
Henry R. Barrett.....	..	1	..
26—John B. Rose.....	..	1	..
Willet E. Hoysradt.....	..	1	..
27—Philip Elting.....	1	..	..
Louis F. Payn.....	1	..	..
28—Henry M. Sage.....	1	..	..
Ellis J. Staley.....	1	..	..
29—Louis W. Emerson.....	..	1	..
Harry A. Lewis.....	..	1	..
30—Cyrus Durey.....	1	..	..
Samuel Wallin.....	1	..	..
31—Bertrand H. Snell.....	..	1	..
Walter C. Witherbee.....	..	1	..
32—Thaddeus C. Sweet.....	..	1	..
James Moore.....	..	1	..
33—Homer P. Snyder.....	1	..	..
Thomas R. Proctor.....	1	..	..
34—George W. Fairchild (by Andrew J. McNaught, Jr., Alternate).....	1	..	..
Harvey D. Hinman (by Jas. P. Hill, Alternate)....	..	1	..
35 Francis Hendricks.....	..	..	1
Willard A. Rill.....	..	..	1
36—Norman J. Gould.....	1	..	..
Clyde W. Knapp.....	1	..	..
37—Jacob Sloat Fassett.....	1	..	..
William J. Tully.....	..	1	..
38—George W. Aldridge.....	..	1	..
James L. Hotchkiss.....	..	1	..
39—William Watson.....	1	..	..
J. Coann Curtis.....	1	..	..
40—John A. Merritt.....	..	1	..
John Lord O'Brian.....	..	1	..
41—George P. Urban.....	..	1	..
Harry J. Knepper.....	..	1	..
42—Edward W. Hodson.....	..	1	..
August Ebke.....	..	1	..
43—Edward B. Vreeland (by Frank Sullivan Smith, Alternate).....	..	1	..
Charles M. Hamilton.....	..	1	..
	—	—	—
	43	42	2

The Secretary resumed the calling of the roll of States.

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania (When the State of Pennsylvania was called).—Mr. Chairman, Pennsylvania asks that the delegation be polled.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation asks that his delegation be polled. The Secretary will call the

roll of delegates representing the State of Pennsylvania and each member will answer when his name is called giving his preference for the nomination of a candidate for President.

The Secretary having called the roll of the Pennsylvania delegates, the result was announced: Brumbaugh, 29; Roosevelt, 8; Knox, 36; Hughes, 2; absent, 1; as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Brumbaugh</i>	<i>Roosevelt</i>	<i>Knox</i>	<i>Hughes</i>
William S. Aaron	1	..	..	..
Joseph G. Armstrong .....	..	..	1	..
Edward V. Babcock .....	..	..	1	..
W. Harry Baker .....	..	..	1	..
Martin G. Brumbaugh (by Max S. Apt, first Alternate at large	1	..	..	..
James Elverson, Jr. ....	..	..	1	..
David L. Gillespie .....	..	..	1	..
Alba R. Johnson .....	..	..	1	..
Guy W. Moore .....	..	..	1	..
George T. Oliver .....	..	..	1	..
Boies Penrose .....	..	..	1	..
John Wanamaker .....	..	..	1	..
<i>DISTRICTS—Delegates</i>				
1—William McCoach	1	..	..	..
William S. Vare	1	..	..	..
2—Charles L. Brown .....	..	1	..	..
James P. McNichol .....	..	1	..	..
3—John H. Bromley .....	..	..	1	..
John P. Connelly (by Elias Abrams, Alternate .....	..	..	1	..
4—William Abrahams	1	..	..	..
William Freihofer .....	..	1	..	..
5—William R. Knight, Jr.	1	..	..	..
John J. McKinley, Jr.	1	..	..	..
6—Harry D. Beaston	1	..	..	..
William Potter .....	..	1	..	..
7—Horace A. Beale, Jr. ....	..	..	1	..
William C. Sproul .....	..	..	1	..
8—J. Aubrey Anderson .....	..	..	1	..
Clarence J. Buckman .....	..	..	1	..
9—William W. Griest	1	..	..	..
H. Edgar Shertz	1	..	..	..
10—Edmund B. Jermyn	1	..	..	..
Louis A. Watres	1	..	..	..
11—John R. Halsey .....	..	..	1	..
Charles N. Loveland	1	..	..	..
12—William R. Adamson	1	..	..	..
Charles E. Berger	1	..	..	..
13—Robert Grey Bushong .....	..	..	1	..
Edward M. Young	1	..	..	..
14—Merton J. Emory	1	..	..	..
Edwin P. Young	1	..	..	..
15—Calvin R. Armstrong	1	..	..	..
Emerson Collins	1	..	..	..

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

DISTRICTS—Delegates	Brumbaugh	Roosevelt	Knox	Hughes
16—C. A. Barron .....	..	..	1	..
M. Jackson Crispin .....	..	..	1	..
17—Charles T. Aikens	1	..	..	..
John G. Benedict	1	..	..	..
18—B. Dawson Coleman .....	..	..	1	..
A. Carson Stamm .....	..	..	1	..
19—John P. Stouch	1	..	..	..
T. W. Tobias	1	..	..	..
20—John E. Baker .....	..	..	1	..
D. Guy Hollinger .....	..	..	1	..
21—Augustin H. Gaffney .....	..	..	1	..
William I. Swoope .....	..	..	1	..
22—James S. Beacom .....	..	1	..	..
T. W. Phillips, Jr. ....	..	1	..	..
23—William E. Crew .....	..	..	1	..
Isaiah Good	1	..	..	..
24—Joseph A. Herron .....	..	..	1	..
J. Rankin Martin .....	..	..	..	1
25—John J. Carter .....	..	..	..	1
Frank Connell .....	..	..	1	..
26—Robert A. Stotz .....	..	..	1	..
Thomas M. Whildin (absent, also both Alternates from district)....	..	..	..	..
27—John S. Fisher	1	..	..	..
Harry R. Wilson .....	..	..	1	..
28—Harry K. Daugherty	1	..	..	..
Charles Miller .....	..	..	1	..
29—Walter Lyon .....	..	..	1	..
Richard B. Scandrett .....	..	..	1	..
30—Robert J. Black	1	..	..	..
George H. Flinn .....	..	1	..	..
31—William A. Magee	1	..	..	..
Alexander P. Moore .....	..	1	..	..
32—John A. Bell (by Frank H. Ken- nedy, Alternate) .....	..	..	1	..
Miles Bryan .....	..	..	1	..
	29	8	36	2

While the Pennsylvania delegation was being polled, the following occurred:

BY A DELEGATE (When the name of Martin G. Brumbaugh was called).—Mr. Brumbaugh does not care to vote. Please call the name of the first alternate at large, Mr. Max S. Apt.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The name of the alternate-delegate will be called as requested.

MR. MAX S. APT (When his named was called).—I wish to vote for Martin Grove Brumbaugh.

When the name of Mr. John P. Connelly, of the Third Congressional District, was called:

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, Delegate Connelly is absent, as is also Mr. James A. Carey, the Alternate appearing opposite his name. Therefore I ask that the name of the first alternate representing the Third Congressional District, Mr. Elias Abrams, be called.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the name of the first alternate representing the Third Congressional District of Pennsylvania, Mr. Elias Abrams, who will represent Mr. John P. Connelly, delegate, in his absence.

MR. ELIAS ABRAMS, of Pennsylvania (When his name was called).—I wish to vote for Mr. Knox.

When the name of Mr. Thomas M. Whildin, of the Twenty-Sixth Congressional District, was called:

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, on account of his advanced age Mr. Whildin was obliged to leave the Convention and is absent at this time. Neither of the two alternates representing the Twenty-sixth Congressional District is present. I therefore wish to announce that if Mr. Whildin were present he would cast his vote for Mr. Knox.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the circumstances, the name of Mr. Whildin will be passed.

When the name of Mr. John A. Bell, representing the Thirty-second Congressional District, was called:

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bell is absent, as is also Mr. F. C. Beinhauer, the first Alternate. I would like to ask that the Secretary call the name of the second alternate from the Thirty-second Congressional District, Mr. Frank H. Kennedy.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the name of Mr. Kennedy.

MR. FRANK H. KENNEDY, of Pennsylvania (When his name was called).—I wish to vote for Mr. P. C. Knox.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the calling of the roll of States, etc., the result was announced:

Hughes, 253½; Root, 103; Burton, 77½; Weeks, 105; du Pont, 12; Sherman, 66; Fairbanks, 74½; Cummins, 85; Roosevelt, 65; LaFollette, 25; Brumbaugh, 29; Ford, 32; Knox, 36; Borah, 2; Willis, 4; McCall, 1; Taft, 14; absent, 2½; total, 987; as follows:

States,	<i>Del</i> Inaugles	<i>Hog</i> Root	<i>Root</i> Delegates	<i>Root</i> Delegates	Fairbanks	Sherman	Burton	Cummins	Roosevelt
Alabama	16	8	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
Arizona	6	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Arkansas	15	1	3	3	2	2	3	..	1
California	26	9	8	3	3	2	1	..	..
Colorado	12	..	5	..	1	..	..	6	..
Connecticut	14	5	5	1	1	..	2	..	..
Delaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Florida	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	5	..	6	..	..	2	1	..
Idaho	8	4	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Illinois	58	..	..	..	..	56	..	2	..
Indiana	30	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas	20	10	2	3	2	2	1	..	..
Kentucky	26	10	..	..	15	..	..	1	..
Louisiana	12	4	1	3	1½	1	1½	..	..
Maine	12	6	1	3	..	..	..	2	..
Maryland	16	7	1	5	..	..	..	3	..
Massachusetts	36	4	..	28	..	..	..	4	..
Michigan	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Mississippi	12	4	..	1½	2	..	1	3½	..
Missouri	36	18	..	8	6	..	..	..	..
Montana	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Nebraska	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Nevada	6	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	12	12	1	1	..	..	2	..
New Mexico	6	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
New York	87	42	43	..	..	..	..	2	..
North Carolina	21	6	2	3	..	..	1	9	..
North Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	48	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	..
Oklahoma	20	5	1	6	2	1	2	2	1
Oregon	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	2	..	..	..	..	..	8	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	2	1	3	2	..	2	1	..
South Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Tennessee	21	9	..	3½	1	..	1	5	..
Texas	26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Utah	8	4	3	..	..	..	..	1	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	5½	3	3	1	..	1	1½	..
Washington	14	5	8	..	..	..	..	1	..
West Virginia	16	1	..	5	1	..	7	..	..
Wisconsin	26	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Phillippines	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
	987	253½	103	105	74½	66	77½	65	85

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE: 15 votes from Wisconsin; 10 from North Dakota.
 COLEMAN DU PONT: 5 votes from Delaware; 3 from Georgia; 1 from Tennessee;
 1 from Texas; 2 from West Virginia.
 MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH: 29 votes from Pennsylvania.
 HENRY FORD: 30 votes from Michigan; 2 from Nebraska.
 WILLIAM H. TAFT: 14 votes from Texas.
 PHILANDER C. KNOX: 36 votes from Pennsylvania.
 FRANK B. WILLIS: 3 votes from Missouri; 1 from Texas.
 SAMUEL W. McCALL: 1 vote from Texas.
 WILLIAM E. BORAH: 1 vote from Alabama; 1 vote from Texas.
 ABSENT: 1 vote from Missouri; $\frac{1}{2}$ vote from Tennessee; 1 vote from Pennsylvania.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO NOMINATE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes in the Convention, there is no nomination. The Chair recognizes Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, for an announcement.

MR. BRUMBAUGH WITHDRAWS CANDIDACY

MR. MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen of the convention: Most earnestly and sincerely thanking my friends for their support, I now desire to withdraw my name from this contest for the nomination for the office of President of the United States, and, in doing so, wish to ask why, after we have drawn a platform as fine as we have, we do not nominate a candidate that fits the platform; a man who in character, in courage, and in capacity will make this country loved at home and revered abroad; why not nominate Theodore Roosevelt of New York? (Great applause.)

SECOND BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Fellow Delegates: You will now prepare your ballots for a second roll call for the nomination of a candidate for President. The Secretary will call the roll of States and the Chairman of each delegation will announce the preference of the

delegates unless there is a desire that the individual delegates be polled, in which case upon request the same will be done.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Alabama, 16 votes.

MR. H. CLAY EVANS, of Tennessee.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. H. CLAY EVANS, of Tennessee.—I move that we adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman is not in order. A roll call has been ordered and commenced and no motion is now in order. The Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Will Alabama announce her vote?

Considerable confusion having arisen, particularly by reason of a hum of voices in the galleries, there was a demand for order by the delegates.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—If we do not have order during the ballot the Sergeant-at-Arms will clear the galleries. The galleries must be in order. (Applause.)

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the States, etc., the second ballot was announced: Hughes, 328½; Root, 98½; Burton, 76½; Weeks, 79; du Pont, 13; Sherman, 65; Fairbanks, 88½; Cummins, 85; Roosevelt, 81; LaFollette, 25; McCall, 1; Knox, 36; Willis, 1; Wood, 1; Harding, 1; Wanamaker, 5; Absent, 2; total, 987; as follows:

<i>States,</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Hughes</i>	<i>Root</i>	<i>Weeks</i>	<i>Fairbank</i>	<i>Sherman</i>	<i>Burton</i>	<i>Roosevelt</i>	<i>Cummins</i>
Alabama	16	9	..	4	1	..	1	1	..
Arizona	6	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Arkansas	15	..	2	3	3	2	4	..	1
California	26	11	12	..	1	1	..	..	..
Colorado	12	..	5	..	1	..	..	6	..
Connecticut	14	5	7	1	1	..	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Florida	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	6	..	4	2	..	2	..	..
Idaho	8	4	1	..	..	..	..	3	..
Illinois	58	..	..	..	..	56	..	2	..
Indiana	30	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas	20	10	2	3	2	2	1	..	..
Kentucky	26	11	..	..	14	..	..	1	..
Louisiana	12	6	1	1	1½	1	1½	..	..
Maine	12	8	1	..	..	..	..	3	..
Maryland	16	7	1	5	..	..	..	3	..
Massachusetts	36	12	..	19	..	..	..	5	..
Michigan	30	28	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Minnesota	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Mississippi	12	4	..	1½	2	..	1	3½	..
Missouri	36	22	..	2	12	..	..	..	..
Montana	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Nebraska	16	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Nevada	6	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	3	3	2	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	16	3	1	4	..	..	2	..
New Mexico	6	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
New York	87	43	42	..	..	..	..	2	..
North Carolina	21	6	2	3	..	..	1	9	..
North Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	48	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	..
Oklahoma	20	5	1	5	1	1	4	2	1
Oregon	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	8	1	..	..	..	..	23	..
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	4	..	3	3	..	1	..	..
South Dakota	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Tennessee	21	8	½	4½	1	..	1	5	..
Texas	26	3	3	3	5	2	3	2	1
Utah	8	5	2	..	..	..	..	1	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	8½	5	..	..	..	..	1½	..
Washington	14	5	..	7	2	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	4	1	3	1	..	7	..	..
Wisconsin	26	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Phillippines	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
	987	328½	98½	79	88½	65	76½	81	85

COLEMAN DU PONT: 5 votes from Delaware; 3 from Georgia; 1 from Tennessee; 2 from Texas; 2 from Pennsylvania.

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE: 15 votes from Wisconsin; 10 from North Dakota.

PHILANDER C. KNOX: 36 votes from Pennsylvania.

FRANK B. WILLIS: 1 vote from Texas.

LEONARD WOOD: 1 vote from New Jersey.

WARREN G. HARDING: 1 vote from New Jersey.

JOHN WANAMAKER: 5 votes from Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL W. McCALL: 1 vote from Texas.

ABSENT: 1 vote from Pennsylvania; 1 vote from California.

During the balloting the following occurred:

MR. ARMAND ROMAIN, of Louisiana, (when Louisiana was called).—Mr. Chairman, I wish to announce 6 of Louisiana's votes for Hughes.

MR. WALTER L. COHEN, of Louisiana.—And, Mr. Chairman, I wish to announce the other 6 votes to which Louisiana is entitled as follows: Weeks, 1; Sherman, 1; Root, 1; Burton, 1½; Fairbanks, 1½.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will record the vote of Louisiana as announced by two of the delegates representing that State.

MR. SAMUEL W. McCALL, of Massachusetts, (when Massachusetts was called).—Mr. Chairman, a poll of the Massachusetts delegation is asked for.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chairman of the Massachusetts delegation requests a poll—

THE VOICES OF MANY DELEGATES.—“Oh, no;” “oh, no;” “let us not take up time.”

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. The Chair will make an announcement in this manner: Under the rules, a delegation cannot be polled except on a challenge of the vote. The Chair has earnestly endeavored throughout the day to maintain the sweet temper of this Convention by being generous in the application of the rules—

A DELEGATE—Bully for the Chair. Nobody has heard of a steam roller in this Convention. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In this case the Chair will yield to the request of Governor McCall, of Massachusetts, and have his delegation polled; but after this time there will be no poll of a delegation except on a challenge of the vote. The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of the Massachusetts delegates.

The Secretary having resumed and concluded the roll call of the

Massachusetts delegation, the vote was announced: Hughes, 12; Weeks, 19; Roosevelt, 5; as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS

AT LARGE

<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Hughes.</i>	<i>Weeks.</i>	<i>Roosevelt.</i>
Samuel W. McCall	1	..	..
Henry Cabot Lodge .....	..	..	1
John W. Weeks, (By Butler Ames, First Alternate at Large) .....	..	1	..
Winthrop Murray Crane	1	..	..
DISTRICTS— <i>Delegates</i>			
1—William H. Brooks	1	..	..
Charles E. Hull	1	..	..
2—George A. Bacon .....	..	1	..
Alexander McCallum .....	..	1	..
3—Herbert E. Cummings	1	..	..
J. Lovell Johnson	1	..	..
4—William A. L. Bazeley .....	..	1	..
Charles G. Fletcher .....	..	1	..
5—Herbert E. Fletcher .....	..	1	..
John N. Cole .....	..	1	..
6—John L. Salstonall	1	..	..
Edward R. Hale .....	..	1	..
7—Eugene B. Fraser	1	..	..
Archie N. Frost .....	..	1	..
8—George B. Wason .....	..	1	..
Wilton B. Fay	1	..	..
9—Fred P. Greenwood .....	..	..	1
Alvan T. Fuller .....	..	..	1
10—Edward C. R. Bagley	1	..	..
Abraham C. Ratshesky .....	..	1	..
11—Charles H. Innes .....	..	1	..
Warren F. Freeman .....	..	1	..
12—J. Waldo Pond	1	..	..
Walter B. Grant	1	..	..
13—George H. Doty .....	..	1	..
Martin Hays .....	..	1	..
14—Henry L. Kincaide .....	..	..	1
C. Chester Eaton .....	..	..	1
15—Edward Anthony Thurston .....	..	1	..
Joseph William Martin, Jr. ....	..	1	..
16—Charles L. Gifford .....	..	1	..
Thomas F. Glennon .....	..	1	..
	12	19	5

During the balloting by the Massachusetts delegation the following occurred:

MR. SAMUEL W. MCCALL, (when the name of John W. Weeks was called).—Call the name of the alternate delegate

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Inasmuch as Mr. Weeks does not desire to vote the Secretary will call the name of the first alternate at large.



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

MR. BUTLER AMES, of Massachusetts, (when his name was called).—I wish to vote for Mr. Samuel W. McCall.

Thereupon some confusion arose in the Massachusetts delegation.

MR. EDWARD ANTHONY THURSTON, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. THURSTON.—It was understood and agreed that the alternate at large who stood in the place of Mr. John W. Weeks, and who now occupies his seat in this delegation, should represent him and cast the vote which Mr Weeks represents. I therefore ask that the Secretary will call the name of the man who is at this time acting as a delegate-at-large in the place of Mr. Weeks, and that man's name is Eben S. S. Keith, who, carrying out the will of the people who elected his principal, would vote for Mr. Weeks.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—That may only be done by unanimous consent.

MR. THURSTON.—We now ask that the Chairman of the delegation will announce that as the unanimous consent of the delegation.

MR. SAMUEL W. MCCALL, of Massachusetts.—On behalf of the Massachusetts delegation I will ask that that be done.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the absence of objection that will be done. (Applause, and no objection was offered.) The Secretary will call the name of Mr. Keith, who will cast his vote in place of Mr. Weeks.

MR. EBEN S. S. KEITH (when his name was called).—I wish to vote for John W. Weeks. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—That takes off the vote heretofore recorded for Mr. McCall and adds one to the vote for Mr. Weeks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The vote of the State of Massachusetts then stands on this second ballot: Weeks, 19; Hughes, 12; Roosevelt, 5.

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania, (before the total vote had been announced).—Mr. Chairman, I desire to correct the score. (Laughter.) I mean the vote.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—You desire to do what?

MR. PENROSE.—To correct the vote as announced for the State of Pennsylvania.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It is always in order to correct a vote.

MR. PENROSE.—The vote of the Pennsylvania delegation as originally announced was 37 for Knox, which should have been 36, and 22 for Roosevelt, which should have been 23. The balance of the vote as originally announced is all right.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will make the correction as desired.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—That makes the total vote on this second ballot, for Knox, 36; and Roosevelt, 81. (See tabulated vote on page 184.)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FAILURE TO MAKE NOMINATION.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—No candidate having received a majority of the votes of this Convention, there is no nomination.

MR. BOIES PENROSE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. PENROSE.—I rise to make a motion to adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Many voices cried: "No, No, No."

A DELEGATE FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—I second the motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Penrose) moves that the Convention do now adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—I desire a roll call on motion to adjourn.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—It takes two States to demand a roll call. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Many voices called: "Question."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under the rules of the Convention, the delegate from Oregon having asked for a roll call, it must be seconded by the demand of one additional State.

MR. JOHN PHILIP HILL, of Maryland.—Maryland joins Oregon in demanding a roll call on the motion to adjourn.

MR. O. E. WELLER, of Maryland.—I challenge that announcement for Maryland.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the roll on motion to adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning. Those in favor of adjournment will vote "Aye," and those opposing adjournment will vote "No." The Secretary will now call the roll.

ROLL CALL ON MOTION TO ADJOURN.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States, and at the conclusion thereof, the vote was announced: Ayes, 694½; Noes, 286½; Absent, 6; total 987; which vote in detail was as follows:

	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Ayes</i>	<i>Noes</i>	<i>Absent</i>
Alabama	16	5	11	..
Arizona	6	3	3	..
Arkansas	15	15	..	..
California	26	11	14	1
Colorado	12	12	..	..
Connecticut	14	9	5	..
Delaware	6	4	2	..
Florida	8	..	8	..
Georgia	17	12	5	..
Idaho	8	4	4	..
Illinois	58	58	..	..
Indiana	30	30	..	..
Iowa	26	26	..	..
Kansas	20	10	10	..
Kentucky	26	13½	11½	1
Louisiana	12	6	6	..
Maine	12	10	2	..
Maryland	16	10	6	..
Massachusetts	36	30	5	1
Michigan	30	..	30	..
Minnesota	24	22	2	..
Mississippi	12	6	6	..
Missouri	36	36	..	..
Montana	8	8	..	..
Nebraska	16	8	8	..
Nevada	6	5	..	1
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..
New Jersey	28	15	13	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..
New York	87	45	42	..
North Carolina	21	17	3	1
North Dakota	10	10	..	..
Ohio	48	48	..	..
Oklahoma	20	16	4	..
Oregon	10	..	10	..
Pennsylvania	76	65	10	1
Rhode Island	10	..	10	..
South Carolina	11	8	3	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..
Tennessee	21	12	9	..
Texas	26	21	5	..
Utah	8	6	2	..
Vermont	8	..	8	..
Virginia	15	14	1	..
Washington	14	10	4	..
West Virginia	16	9	7	..
Wisconsin	26	10	16	..
Wyoming	6	6	..	..
Alaska	2	1	1	..
Hawaii	2	2	..	..
Philippines	2	2	..	..
	987	694½	286½	6

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Sutherland, of Utah, who had been called to the chair while the vote was being polled).—A large majority of the votes of the Convention having been cast for the motion to adjourn until tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock, the Chair declares the motion agreed to; and (at 9 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday, June 10, 1916, at 11 o'clock a. m.



HON. FRANKLIN MURPHY, of New Jersey,
Member of Committee on Arrangements

FOURTH DAY

CONVENTION HALL

THE COLISEUM.

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 10, 1916.

The Convention met at 11 o'clock a. m.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will now be in order. The Chair requests the delegates and guests of the Convention to rise while prayer is offered by Dr. Gerson B. Levi, Rabbi of Temple Israel, Chicago, Ill.

PRAYER OF DR. GERSON B. LEVI.

Dr. Gerson B. Levi, Rabbi of Temple Israel, Chicago, Illinois, offered the following prayer:

Our Heavenly Father, most fervently do we invoke Thy blessing for Thy children here gathered in convention. May the consciousness of Thy near presence inform every thought, inspire every word of counsel, and dignify every act.

But for more than the consciousness of Thy presence with us do we pray. We ask for the consciousness that we are with Thee, so that we make ourselves willing instruments for the fulfillment of Thy plans for the realization of Thy kingdom upon earth and in the hearts and lives of men. Inspired by this deep sense of responsibility may we so plan and act, so take counsel and perform that through us happiness be increased for all, to youth be assured opportunity, to age comfort, to the weak new hope and to the strong a deeper sense of the stewardship implied in power. Inspired by this we shall labor to make this nation a bulwark of freedom, a haven of refuge to the oppressed, a beacon light to peoples struggling on to the light of liberty and self-government, a friend and steady advocate of peace.

Be with the delegates when after convention they shall return to their home and community circles there to carry the messages of a deep and sacred patriotism. Bless all of us with the blessing of old: "May the Lord bless you and keep you. May the Lord cause the light of his countenance to shine upon you and be gracious unto you. May the Lord lift up his countenance unto you and grant you peace" in heart and home, in State and Nation. Amen.

FURTHER REPORT BY COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The chair grants recognition to Mr. Smoot, of Utah, to present a further report from the Committee of Conference. (Applause.)

MR. SMOOT, of Utah.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Your Committee of Conference begs to make a further report, as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., June 10, 1916.

To the Conferees of the National Progressive Party:

On behalf of the Republican Conferees, we present for consideration, as a candidate for President, Justice Hughes.

It is plain that he will soon command the support of a majority of the Republican Convention.

His availability as a candidate rests, First, Upon his known character and ability; Second, Upon his public service, as Governor of New York; Third, His removal from any association with the Convention of 1912, and the differences which then arose.

The support of Justice Hughes in the Republican Convention represents spontaneous interest and belief in his candidacy, which have shown themselves in widely scattered States and among all classes and groups of voters.

These have shown themselves without any formal organization in his behalf and are one ground for believing that the candidacy would be acceptable to all groups of Republicans and would re-unite them.

His silence as to recent issues is the necessary result of his judicial position. His earlier speeches and declarations, however, give ground for the assurance that he is in accord with the platform that has been adopted by the Republican and Progressive Conventions.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) REED SMOOT,
W. MURRAY CRANE,
WM. E. BORAH,
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
A. R. JOHNSON.

MR. SMOOT, of Utah.—In answer to that communication your Committee received the following:

CHICAGO, ILL., June 10, 1916.

To the Conferees of the Republican National Convention:

In accordance with the precedent set by yourselves with respect to the communication received by us, we shall take pleasure in presenting

your communication to the National Convention of the Progressive Party, which meets at 10:30 o'clock this morning.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. PERKINS,
HIRAM JOHNSON,
HORACE S. WILKINSON,
CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.
JOHN M. PARKER.

MR. SMOOT.—Since the arrival of your Committee upon the platform of this Convention, the following communications have been received, which I now present to the Convention.

June 10th, 1916.

HON. REED SMOOT, *Chairman*.

Sir:—After the conferees of the Progressive National Convention left the Blackstone Hotel this morning to attend the final meeting with the conferees of the Republican National Convention, a communication was received from Mr. Roosevelt, of which I enclose you a copy.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN W. McGRATH,
Secretary to Theodore Roosevelt.

To the Conferees of the Progressive Party.

Gentlemen.—I understand that this morning you are to have your last conference with the conferees of the Republican National Convention, that they have repeatedly asked you to present for their consideration a second choice, but that your Committee has not seen its way clear to do this.

For months I have thought of this matter, and for the last few weeks it has been the chief thing of which I have thought, as I feel with all my heart that it is the imperative duty of all of us who wish to see our country restored to the position she should hold to sink all minor differences and come together if by any possibility we can find a common standing ground. The day before yesterday in my telegram to Senator Jackson, I said: "Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join for the safety and honor of our country to enforce the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine Preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said: 'May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? May we ask those who have not differed with us to join in the same spirit toward those who have.' As far as my soul is known to me it is in this same spirit that at this time I make appeal to the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago."

What I thus said I meant with all my soul, and I mean it now; and I ask you and the members of the Progressive Convention, which I am informed applauded that telegram when read to the Convention, now to help me make those words good by our deeds.

I deeply appreciate your loyalty to me and the position in support of me which you have taken. But it would be an injustice both to you and myself not to regard that loyalty to me as fundamentally a loyalty to the principles you and I represent. In the statement of the Progressive National Committee issued in January last and in my statement made at Trinidad in February last, we pledged ourselves to leave nothing undone to reach an honorable agreement with the Republicans in order to achieve the end we have in view.

In view of the conditions existing, I suggest the name of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. He is a man of the highest integrity, of the broadest national spirit and of the keenest devotion to the public good. For thirty years he has been in the House of Representatives and in the Senate at Washington. For twenty years he has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. For a very long period he was a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. He has not only a wide experience in public affairs but a peculiarly close acquaintance with the very type of questions now most pressing for settlement. He has consistently fought for Preparedness, preparedness for the Navy, preparedness in fortifying the Panama Canal, preparedness in upbuilding the Army. He has been on the whole the member with the largest vision and the most intelligent devotion to American needs that we have had on the Foreign Affairs Committee during this generation. He rendered distinguished service on the Alaskan Boundary International Commission. In addition, he has been one of the staunchest fighters for different measures of economic reform in the direction of justice, championing such measures as the Pure Food Law, the Safety Appliance Law, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the National Law prohibiting the labor of Children, the Hepburn Rate Bill, the bill creating a Bureau of Corporations, and many similar measures. I, therefore, urge upon you favorably to consider his name and report on it to the conferees from the Republican National Convention, and if you do not agree with me in this respect nevertheless to transmit this telegram to the Republican conferees and to request them to place it before their Convention at the same time yourself laying the telegram before the Progressive Convention.

Let me again quote from my telegram of the day before yesterday to Senator Jackson, of Maryland: "The differences that have divided, not merely Republicans and Progressives, but good Americans of all shades of political belief from one another in the past, sink into nothing when compared with the issues now demanding decision, for these issues are vital to the national life. They are the issues of a unified American-



FRED W. ESTABROOK, of New Hampshire,
Member of the Committee on Arrangements

ism and of National Preparedness. If we are not all of us Americans and nothing else, scorning to divide along lines of section, of creed, or of national origin, then the Nation itself will crumble into dust. If we are not thoroughly prepared, if we have not developed a strength which respects the rights of others but which is also ready to enforce from others respect for its own rights, then sooner or later we shall have to submit to the will of an alien conqueror."

I wrote the above sentences because I felt them deep in my heart. They set forth the vital needs of this time. The nomination of Senator Lodge will meet those vital needs. I earnestly ask that what you can do to bring about that nomination in the name of our common Americanism be done.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

(Great applause, beginning in the Massachusetts delegation and extending throughout the Convention.)

MR. SMOOT.—Your Committee deem it proper to inform this Convention that the Committee is in possession of official notification that not only our communication to the conferees of the National Progressive Party but the letter of Theodore Roosevelt addressed to that party was laid upon the table by a vote of its Convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order. With that authority which is vested in the Chair, it directs that the report of the Committee on Conference be made a part of the record of this Convention, and for you, I thank the Committee for its services in your behalf. (Applause.)

The business in order before the Convention is that of balloting for the nomination of a candidate for President. Before ordering the Secretary to call the roll the Chair takes very great pleasure in recognizing a delegate from Massachusetts, Senator John W. Weeks. Mr. Weeks, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention.

When Mr. Weeks came forward there was a demonstration in which the Massachusetts delegates rose to their feet and cheered.

MR. WEEKS WITHDRAWS HIS NOMINATION.

MR. JOHN W. WEEKS, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I ask the indulgence of the Convention for one moment only. I have been a candidate before this Convention for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. It is quite apparent to me that the Convention prefers another, and not wishing to delay the proceedings of the Convention, I now desire to withdraw my name with the request that those who have supported me shall follow the dictates of their own judgment as to whom they shall support hereafter. I want to say to this Convention that there are no political scars

on me. (Applause, and cries of "Good.") In thanking those who have supported me, I believe I can say with the utmost confidence that they will join me in doing all that lies within their power to promote the success of the candidates of this Convention at the ensuing election this fall. Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, I thank you. (Applause.)

MR. RODENBURG WITHDRAWS MR. SHERMAN'S NAME.

MR. WILLIAM A. RODENBURG, of Illinois.—Mr. Chairman

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

MR. RODENBURG.—To make a statement

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Congressman Rodenburg, of Illinois.

MR. RODENBURG.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention—(Several voices: "Come to the platform, we can't hear you.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Rodenburg, had you not better come to the platform?

MR. RODENBURG.—I only have a few words to say to the Convention and do not think it worth while to delay the Convention until I could come to the platform.

A VOICE.—What you cannot hear now from the gentleman in this Convention will be more than made up in the tremendous majority which Illinois will give to the Republican ticket this fall. (Great applause.)

MR. RODENBURG.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Senator Sherman has requested me to say to the delegates who have supported him in this contest that he is deeply appreciative of their loyalty and friendship, but that he now cheerfully releases them from any and all allegiance that they may feel that they owe to his candidacy. (Great applause.)

MR. McCORMICK WILL SUPPORT MR. HUGHES INSTEAD OF MR. ROOSEVELT

MR. MEDILL McCORMICK, of Illinois.—Mr Chairman.

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

MR. McCORMICK.—To make a statement.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the delegate from Illinois, Mr. Medill McCormick.

MR. McCORMICK.—Mr. Chairman and Members of this Convention: Theodore Roosevelt has had no more devoted friends than some of us who sit in this Convention. There are some who like myself had hoped that if the candidate of their several States were not nominated, Theodore

Roosevelt might be nominated. But our primary obligation is to the candidate to be nominated by this Convention. (Great applause.) We might yield an ungracious assent to the action of this Convention after the next ballot, but it is our duty now to join with our every energy in the spirit and purpose of this Convention to elect its candidate and to defeat the candidate of the Democratic Convention. (Applause, and cries of "Good.") And for that reason, following my conscience and my duty, I shall vote for Charles Evans Hughes, of New York. (Great applause.)

✓ THIRD ROLL CALL FOR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States for the third ballot for the nomination of a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States and the result was announced, as follows: Hughes, 949½; Roosevelt, 18½; La-Follette, 3; du Pont, 5; Weeks, 3; Lodge, 7; absent, 1; total, 987; as follows:

<i>States, Territories</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Hughes.</i>	<i>Roosevelt.</i>	<i>La Follette.</i>	<i>du Pont</i>	<i>Weeks.</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Absent</i>
Alabama	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
California	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	58	58	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maine	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	15	1	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	36	32	3	..	..	1	..	..
Michigan	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	24	24	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	12	8½	3½	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	36	34	..	..	..	2	..	..
Montana	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..

<i>States, Territories</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Hughes.</i>	<i>Roosevelt.</i>	<i>La Follette</i>	<i>du Pont</i>	<i>Weeks.</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Absent</i>
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	27	1	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	5	1	..	..	..	..	..
New York	87	87	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	21	14	..	..	..	..	7	..
North Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	48	48	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oklahoma	20	19	1	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	76	72	3	..	..	..	..	1
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	6	..	..	5	..	..	..
South Dakota	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	21	18	3	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	15	15	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	26	23	..	3	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philippines	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	987	949½	18½	3	5	3	7	1

During the calling of the roll the following took place:

Colorado's vote was first announced, Hughes, 9; Roosevelt, 3; but was afterwards changed as follows:

MR. A. M. STEVENSON, of Colorado.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. STEVENSON.—To make a statement and correct the vote.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Mr. Stevenson, of Colorado.

MR. STEVENSON.—I am requested, sir, although it is a little out of order, to ask that those delegates in this Convention who have voted for Colonel Roosevelt, withdraw his name from further consideration by this Convention. (Applause.) And to say further that those of us from Colorado hope the Convention will act harmoniously and nominate Mr. Justice Hughes by acclamation. (Applause.)

MR. FRED ROOF, of Colorado.—Mr. Chairman.

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



ALVAH H. MARTIN, of Virginia
Member of Committee on Arrangements

MR. ROOF.—To change the vote of Colorado, and to make it 12 for Hughes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair should announce to the Convention that under the liberality of the moment in granting recognition to Delegate Stevenson, of Colorado, in order to correct the vote of his delegation, he, speaking for the delegates from his State, withdraws the name of Colonel Roosevelt as a candidate for nomination for President.

MR. STEVENSON.—I beg the Chairman's pardon, I am not speaking for any but the delegates from my State, but I have been requested by those delegates from Colorado who have been supporting Colonel Roosevelt to offer that suggestion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Stevenson, who is as big as his name and as he looks, says he speaks for the Roosevelt delegates in this Convention from the State of Colorado.

MR. EDWARD KENT, of Arizona.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. EDWARD KENT.—For the purpose of correcting the vote of Arizona. The vote was heretofore announced as Hughes 5, and Roosevelt 1. We wish now to make the vote Hughes 6.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The correction will be made by the Secretary and he will proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Connecticut, with 14 votes. How do the delegates desire to vote?

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATION.—Hughes, 14.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Delaware, with 6 votes. How do the delegates from Delaware desire to vote?

MR. S. S. PENNEWELL, of Delaware.—Mr. Chairman, I have been requested to withdraw the name of T. Coleman du Pont from further consideration as a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency and to announce Delaware's 6 votes for Hughes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will so record the vote and proceed with the roll call.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call until Indiana was reached.

MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. FRANK B. WILLIS.—To make a statement.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the Governor of Ohio, as he always must. (Laughter.)

MR. WILLIS WITHDRAWS MR. BURTON'S NAME

MR. WILLIS.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am authorized by Senator Burton, of Ohio, to withdraw his name from further consideration by this Convention, and to thank his friends for their support of him so far. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Indiana, which is entitled to 30 votes. What is the pleasure of the delegation?

MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. HAYS.—For the purpose of making a statement.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Mr. Will H. Hays, of Indiana, for the purpose of making a statement.

MR. HAYS WITHDRAWS MR. FAIRBANKS' NAME

MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Indiana delegation, thanking the Convention for its consideration, I withdraw the name of Charles Warren Fairbanks, and Indiana casts her 30 votes for Hughes. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will so record the vote of Indiana and proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Iowa, which has 26 votes in this Convention. What is the pleasure of the Iowa delegation?

MR. WADSWORTH WITHDRAWS MR. ROOT'S NAME.

MR. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Senator Wadsworth, of New York.

MR. WADSWORTH.—Mr. Chairman, I am authorized by the delegates from New York who have thus far in this contest been supporting Mr. Elihu Root, to withdraw his name. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Senator from New York (Mr. Wadsworth) speaking for the Root delegates of that State, withdraws the name of Elihu Root. The Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE SECRETARY.—Iowa has not announced her choice. She is entitled to 26 votes.

MR. GEORGE W. FRENCH, of Iowa.—On behalf of Iowa I withdraw the name of Senator Albert B. Cummins, and Iowa casts her 26 votes for Hughes. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The vote of Iowa will be recorded accordingly, and the Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call until Maryland was reached.

MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. HAYS.—To make a motion for a suspension of the rules.

(Cries of "No, No, No.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Under our rules and pursuant to the wishes of the delegates of the Convention the Chair has directed a roll call, and that roll call is being proceeded with, and therefore the gentleman is out of order. The Secretary will continue calling the roll.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Maryland, 16 votes; the vote is announced Hughes, 15; Roosevelt, 1. Massachusetts, 36 votes. What is the pleasure of the delegation?

MR. SAMUEL W. MCCALL, of Massachusetts.—We ask that you pass Massachusetts for a moment.

(Cries of "No, No, No.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will wait on Massachusetts for a moment.

After a short delay:

MR. MCCALL.—Mr. Chairman, the delay in the action of the Massachusetts delegation has been caused by the interesting communication that has been made to the Convention by our Committee of Conference. That was the first time the delegation knew of the proposed action. While we should be very glad to support the brilliant son of Massachusetts whose name has been presented by Colonel Roosevelt, yet there is no temptation presented to which the delegates from Massachusetts may yield because the action of this Convention has already been clearly indicated, so I announce the vote of the delegation. Massachusetts casts 1 vote for Weeks, 3 for Roosevelt, and 32 for Hughes. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will record the vote of Massachusetts as announced and proceed with the roll call.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call until Oregon was reached.

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—Oregon still casts her unanimous vote for Hughes, and will do so in November. (Applause.)

Thereupon, it being 12 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m., the calling of the roll having been concluded, and there being no doubt as to the choice of the Convention, while the vote was being tabulated there was a great demonstration.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention will be in order and the Secretary will read the result of the ballot.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The result of the third ballot for a candidate for President is as follows: Hughes, 949½; Roosevelt, 18½; Lodge, 7; LaFollette, 3; Weeks, 3; du Pont, 5; absent, 1; total, 987.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, of New York, having received the necessary votes to be declared the nominee of this Convention for President, under the rules the Chair asks, shall it be made unanimous?

(Cries of "Yes, Yes, Yes.")

MR. WILLIAM POTTER, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask recognition for Mr. Moore.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chairman recognizes Mr. Alexander P. Moore, of Pennsylvania.

MR. ALEXANDER P. MOORE, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have fought to the last ditch for the man that I believed was the man for the Convention, but I want to be a soldier, and I make a motion now that the nomination of Justice Charles E. Hughes be made unanimous. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.—Mr. Chairman and my Fellow Delegates: This great Convention has chosen as its candidate a strong, able, distinguished, upright man and a thorough American. (Applause, and a voice: "That's right.") He should have the cordial support, not only of every Republican from one end of the country to the other, but of every man who honestly believes that another four years of the present administration would be a calamity to the people of the United States (Applause); because they are disintegrating public sentiment, are lacking in American spirit, and failing to stand for the conscience and the soul of the American people. (Applause.) It is an honor and a pleasure to second the motion of Mr. Moore, of Pennsylvania, that the nomination of Mr. Hughes be made unanimous. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on making unanimous the nomination of Mr. Hughes. Those who are in favor of the motion will say Aye. (A great response of ayes.) There are no "Noes." (Great Applause.) Mr. Justice Hughes is unanimously nominated by this Convention as its candidate for President.



FRED STANLEY, of Kansas,
Member of the Committee on Arrangements

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now instructs the Secretary to call for reports of nominations for National Committeemen from States not yet reported.

THE SECRETARY.—Connecticut has not yet reported

A DELEGATE FROM CONNECTICUT.—Our delegation has selected John T. King.

THE SECRETARY.—West Virginia has not yet reported.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION.—West Virginia has selected Virgil L. Highland.

THE SECRETARY.—New York has not yet reported.

MR. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, of New York.—The New York delegation has selected Mr. Herbert Parsons.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the confirmation by this Convention of the nominations just made. Those of you who favor their confirmation will say "Aye." (A chorus of "Ayes.") Contrary, "No." (Silence.) The nominations are confirmed.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Delaware has not yet reported.

MR. S. S. PENNEWELL, of Delaware.—Delaware has not elected yet.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Will Delaware elect now and report their choice?

MR. PENNEWELL.—We are not prepared to do so at this time.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The National Committee will have power to fill vacancies.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The National Committee as selected, with contests from Kentucky and Tennessee, and vacancies from the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, is as follows:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

<i>State or Territory</i>	<i>Name of Member</i>
Alabama	Oliver D. Street
Arizona	Allen B. Jaynes
Arkansas	H. A. Rimmel
California	Wm. H. Crocker
Colorado	Hubert Work
Connecticut	John T. King
Delaware	Coleman du Pont
Florida	Henry S. Chubb
Georgia	Henry S. Jackson
Idaho	John W. Hart
Illinois	Wm. Hale Thompson
Indiana	James A. Hemenway
Iowa	John T. Adams
Kansas	Fred Stanley
Kentucky	A. T. Hert or John W. McCulloch

Louisiana	Armand Romain
Maine	Frederick Hale
Maryland.....	Wm. P. Jackson
Massachusetts	W. Murray Crane
Michigan	Charles B. Warren
Minnesota	Chester A. Congdon
Mississippi	L. B. Moseley
Missouri	Jacob L. Babler
Montana	Thomas A. Marlow
Nebraska	R. B. Howell
Nevada	H. G. Humphrey
New Hampshire	Fred W. Estabrook
New Jersey	Franklin Murphy
New Mexico	Chas. A. Spiess
New York	Herbert Parsons
North Carolina	John M. Morehead
North Dakota.....	Gunder Olson
Ohio	Rudolph K. Hynicka
Oklahoma	James J. McGraw
Oregon	Ralph E. Williams
Pennsylvania	Boies Penrose
Rhode Island	Wm. P. Sheffield
South Carolina	J. W. Talbert
South Dakota	Willis C. Cook
Tennessee	Jesse M. Littleton or John J. Gore
Texas	H. F. MacGregor
Utah	Reed Smoot
Vermont	Earle S. Kinsley
Virginia	Alvah H. Martin
Washington	S. A. Perkins
West Virginia	V. L. Highland
Wisconsin	Alfred T. Rogers
Wyoming	George E. Pexton
Alaska	Cornelius D. Murane
District of Columbia	To be filled by Committee
Hawaii	R. W. Breckons
Porto Rico	To be filled by Committee
Philippines	Henry B. McCoy

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order before this Convention is to name a winning running mate for our nominee for President.

A VOICE.—We can't hear.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I said the next business in order before the Convention is that of naming a winning running mate for our nominee for President. (Cries of "Harding" and "Fairbanks" and "Cummins.")

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—This Convention has fixed its rules of procedure. The Secretary will call the roll of States for the presentation of names of candidates for nomination for the office of Vice-President.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll and each State passed as its name was called until Colorado was reached.

MR. FRED O. ROOF, of Colorado (when Colorado was called).—Colorado yields to Pennsylvania.

MR. H. L. REMMEL, of Arkansas.—Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a correction. Arkansas yields to Nebraska.

MR. GEORGE T. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania.—I rise to a point of order.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—State your point of order.

MR. GEORGE T. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania.—My point of order is that Arkansas having passed, and Colorado having yielded to Pennsylvania, it is now in order to recognize Pennsylvania.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The point of order is well taken. Colorado has yielded to Pennsylvania. The Clerk will call Pennsylvania.

THE SECRETARY.—Pennsylvania.

MR. JOHN WANAMAKER, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now recognizes Mr. John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania.

MR WANAMAKER NOMINATING MR. FAIRBANKS.

MR. WANAMAKER, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman and Brethren of the Convention: It is for but a brief moment I come to do the bidding of the delegates from Pennsylvania through their Chairman and Senator. It is to place in nomination for the office of Vice-President Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana. Few words are necessary because of his well-known, long public services as Vice-President, in which he gave abundant evidence of ability as a presiding officer of the Senate and his other public services through many years. As friend and advisor to President McKinley he will always be particularly remembered. He is tall of stature, and, with great wisdom, looks over the heads of most people, and sees farther than many of his colleagues. I have, from personal knowledge, a high opinion of his clear vision, and wise and strong, good judgment on business questions. His training and reputation as a thoroughly able lawyer, and his experience as a Senator from Indiana, are guarantees of his fitness to ably fill the office of Vice-President of the United States. To put his name alongside that of Mr. Justice Hughes, so unanimously selected this morning for President, completes a strong ticket, and one which will have, I believe, the support of the business men of the United States. Speaking for the business men of the country, permit me to say that they are clamoring for a business administration, and I believe Hughes and Fairbanks will satisfy them, and, further, that they will join in helping to roll up when election day comes around, the largest majority of any ticket we could frame.

I nominate Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The delegate from Pennsylvania (Mr. Wanamaker) having presented the name of Charles Warren Fairbanks as a candidate for Vice-President, the Secretary will proceed with the roll.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call, and each State passed until Kentucky was reached.

A DELEGATE FROM KENTUCKY.—Kentucky takes great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Charles Warren Fairbanks for Vice-President.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll and each State passed as its name was called until Maine was reached.

A DELEGATE FROM MAINE.—Maine seconds the nomination of Fairbanks.

The Secretary resumed calling the roll and each State passed until Nebraska was reached.

MR. E. R. GURNEY, of Nebraska.—Mr. Chairman, our Mr. Baldrige is on his way to the platform.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Chair presents Mr. Howard Baldrige, of Nebraska.

MR. BALDRIDGE NOMINATING MR. BURKETT.

MR. HOWARD H. BALDRIDGE, of Nebraska.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: For more than fifty years the States west of the Mississippi River, with few exceptions, have given their unswerving loyalty to the Republican party; for fifty years they have pledged and proved their allegiance to its principles and to its policies. During this time in every election they have been called to the colors, and only in the exceptional few cases have they failed to respond. During this time Democracy, entrenched behind the impregnable ramparts in the South, and Republicanism almost equally secure in its position in the East, it has remained for the West to decide the contest and lead the embattled Republican hosts to a triumphant victory. (Applause.)

My friends, the opening for settlement of this great western territory was almost contemporaneous with the birth of the Republican party. Under Republican legislation during these fifty years we have awakened this great western world from its savage lethargy. Its forests have been felled, its rivers spanned, its mountains crossed, and its towns and cities built. Great States have been carved out, and trackless wastes have been transformed into fruitful fields and gardens of beauty. From a settlement largely of the men who in the sixties laid down the sword of battle to take up the plowshare of peace, an empire has developed whose life thus far has fanned the life of the party—an empire teeming with millions of happy and prosperous people, energetic, enthusiastic, determined, through whose veins course the blood of those patriots who fought for this country and brought our party into being to express in legislation

their highest and best government ideals. To-day the ideals of this party are their legitimate inheritance. Its tenets are their political religion. Its standard is their icon of faith. These twenty-two States west of the Mississippi hold the real balance of power between the East and the South and are expected to furnish Republican majorities.

Your conventions from time to time, since the birth of the party, have nominated candidates from Maine, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and other States, but not once in fifty years has a candidate for office been called by our National Convention from a State west of the Mississippi. You of the East have nominated our candidates and dictated our platforms for more than fifty years, and we of the West have been expected to follow your leadership, and if, perchance sometimes, though rarely, we did not, we were classed as Populists, anarchists or political nondescripts. (Applause.) But, my friends, we have followed just the same, relying upon the permanence of the principles of the Republican party which have fairly swept our party along the pathway of progress and prosperity. (Applause.) But is loyalty always to go unrewarded? Are doubtful States always to win the prize? I tell you that there is a feeling most pronounced that the western half of our country, with its intelligence and its riches, and its development and improvements, with its achievements and its possibilities, with its ideals and its new and ever-perplexing problems, should be recognized in making up the Republican ticket this year. (Applause.)

If we are forever to be forbidden to furnish a leader to head the ticket, at least once in every fifty years, men of the Convention, give us a Vice-President out of the West. A selection has been made by a number of the Western States. This Convention is asked to ratify their choice made at the polls and to respond to the expression of their registered will. Nebraska presents to this Convention for its nomination a man who is the embodiment of those ideals that make for the highest type of American citizenship; a son of the sacred soil of Iowa, fostered and developed in the peerless prairie State of Nebraska, he breathed the spirit and aspirations of the West. (Applause.) For six years he served efficiently and well his district and the Nation in the lower House; for six years he served efficiently and well the State and the Nation in the upper House; his public record is written into twelve years of his country's most important legislation. It is expressive of the glorious history of our party and the radiant triumph of our faith. He is a student of his party's policies and his country's needs. To his genius for statecraft, he has added ripened experience in statesmanship. He may not be of the heroic type, but he is safe and sound in his political doctrine. He is progressively conservative and conservatively progressive and so will unite the party in the West. He is courageous in his adherence to principle and has no twilight zone in his makeup where duty dallies with expediency or right truces with wrong. During the coming campaign,

being a forceful and brilliant orator, he will carry the message of truth and conviction to the people in a way that will make for the success of the ticket. He will stand squarely on the platform you have adopted because he believes in those principles out and out and through and through. He believes in that true Americanism that will demand respect for the flag wherever it floats, and respect for the life and property of every American citizen wherever he may be.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, in behalf of the State that I represent, I present to this Convention for its consideration the name of former Senator Elmer E. Burkett, of Nebraska and the great West. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will resume the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Nevada, entitled to six votes. What is the pleasure of the delegation?

MR. SAMUEL PLATT, of Nevada.—Nevada yields to West Virginia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will call the State of West Virginia.

THE SECRETARY.—West Virginia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Nevada yields to West Virginia. (A pause, without response.) The Secretary will resume the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY.—New Hampshire.

A DELEGATE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.—New Hampshire passes.

THE SECRETARY.—The next State is New Jersey.

A DELEGATE FROM NEW JERSEY.—New Jersey seconds the nomination of Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY.—The next State is New Mexico.

MR. THOMAS B. CATRON, of New Mexico.—Mr. Chairman, New Mexico believes that we ought to have a team of workers in this campaign, and therefore seconds the nomination of Charles Warren Fairbanks.

The States of New York, North Carolina and North Dakota passed and then Ohio was called.

MR. FRANK B. WILLIS, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: In behalf of the delegation from Ohio I rise to second the nomination of a distinguished son of Ohio, a man who was born in Ohio, a man who met his wife in Ohio, a man whom we claim as our own. I second the nomination of Charles Warren Fairbanks. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will proceed with the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY.—The next State is Oklahoma. What is the pleasure of Oklahoma?

A DELEGATE FROM OKLAHOMA.—We desire to pass.

THE SECRETARY.—The next State is Oregon.

MR. ALBERT ABRAHAM, of Oregon.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon.

MR. ABRAHAM.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Oregon needs to make no apology in presuming to address you at this time. If it were not for the fact that the situation in Oregon is peculiar and needed a word of explanation I would not at this time presume upon your patience. But in the interests of the State of Oregon, and in the best interests of the Republican party, I have thought it best to make as short an explanation of our position as possible (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: Good.

MR. ALBERT ABRAHAM.—Upon the primary ballot at this election there appeared the name of but one candidate for the office of Vice-President. Inevitably the vote of Oregon was cast for that candidate. There are those who believe that we should ignore this vote. But I believe that in the best interests of the party we, as representatives of the State of Oregon, at the risk of being deemed ridiculous, should be willing to show that there is a more important thing to perform than to look after our own personal feelings.

The candidate, to be brief, who has received the popular vote of Oregon for Vice-President is a native of the State of Illinois, and a resident here. He not only commands the popular vote of the State of Oregon, but two years ago in the congressional campaign in the great State of Illinois, when there were six or seven candidates in opposition to him, he carried the great city of Chicago for the Republican nomination for Congressman at large. (Cries of "Name your man.")

One minute, please. I don't think he will carry this election over Charles Warren Fairbanks, but I think we ought to be fair, Mr. Chairman. (Cries of "Name him, name him.")

I name as the man for whom I personally feel it incumbent upon me to cast my first vote, to fulfill the wishes of the people of the State of Oregon, William Grant Webster, of Illinois.

MR. C. W. FULTON, of Oregon.—Mr. Chairman.

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

MR. FULTON.—I rise for the purpose of explaining on behalf of the delegation from Oregon the very peculiar and anomalous situation which is suggested.

A DELEGATE.—Fairbanks knows it.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—We will have a concentrated explanation from the delegate from Oregon.

MR. FULTON.—Yes, I will endeavor to concentrate it. Under our primary law any man can have his name placed on the ballot by request.

A DELEGATE.—Change the law.

MR. FULTON.—We are going to, and this gives us an example of what it leads to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Hail to Oregon for that.

MR. FULTON.—Now, Mr. Chairman, this gentleman by the name of Webster—

A DELEGATE.—Oh, we know him.

MR. FULTON (Continuing) secured the placing of his name on the ballot, and there was no other name on the ballot, consequently he got some votes; but let me say this, the rest of us do not feel that we are bound by any such election. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—That is satisfactory. The Secretary will proceed with the calling of the roll.

The Secretary called the States of Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, and all passed, and then called the name of Tennessee.

MR. H. CLAY EVANS, of Tennessee.—On behalf of the Tennessee delegation I rise to second the nomination of a distinguished citizen of the Republic. He was not born in Tennessee, neither did he marry a wife in Tennessee, but Tennessee loves him just the same. (Applause.) Tennessee seconds the nomination of Honorable Charles Warren Fairbanks. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will proceed with the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY.—The next State is Texas.

MR. PHIL E. BEAR, of Texas.—Texas seconds the nomination of Charles Warren Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Utah. Does Utah wish to make a nomination?

A DELEGATE FROM UTAH.—Utah desires to second the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Vermont. What is the pleasure of the delegation?

A DELEGATE FROM VERMONT.—Vermont wishes to pass.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Virginia. What is the pleasure of Virginia?

MR. D. LAWRENCE GRONER, of Virginia.—Mr. Chairman, Virginia cannot claim to be the birthplace or the home of Charles Warren Fairbanks, but Virginia is the mother of both Indiana and Ohio, and out of the abundance of her affection for her distinguished children, she seconds the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Washington.

A DELEGATE FROM WASHINGTON.—The State of Washington seconds the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Wisconsin.

A DELEGATE FROM WISCONSIN.—Wisconsin has no candidate for Vice-President.



JOHN T. ADAMS, of Iowa
Member of Committee on Arrangements



THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The next State is Wyoming.
 A DELEGATE FROM WYOMING.—The Wyoming delegation takes pleasure in seconding the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Alaska.

A DELEGATE FROM ALASKA.—Alaska wishes to second the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Hawaii.

A DELEGATE FROM HAWAII.—Hawaii also wishes to second the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—The Philippine Islands.

A DELEGATE FROM THE PHILIPPINES.—The Philippines wish to second the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION.—Mr. Chairman, that concludes the roll call.

BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of States and territorial possessions and the delegations will prepare to express their choice on the matter of the selection of a candidate for Vice-President.

The Secretary of the Convention having concluded the roll call of the States and territorial possessions, the vote was announced: Fairbanks, 863; Burkett, 108; Borah, 8; Webster 2; Burton, 1; Johnson, 1; absent, 4; total, 987, as follows:

<i>States,</i>	<i>Votes.</i>	<i>Fairbanks.</i>	<i>Burkett</i>	<i>Burton.</i>	<i>Borah</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Webster</i>	<i>Absent</i>
Alabama	16	15	1	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	15	14	1	..	..	..	..	..
California	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	58	56	1	1	..	..	..	..
Indiana	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	26	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maine	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	36	34	1	..	..	1	..	..
Michigan	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	..

<i>States,</i>	<i>Votes.</i>	<i>Fairbanks.</i>	<i>Burkett</i>	<i>Burton.</i>	<i>Borah</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Webster</i>	<i>Absent</i>
Minnesota	24	12	5	..	5	..	..	2
Mississippi	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	36	36	..	..	..	..	..	..
Montana	8	1	7	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	16	..	16	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	28	28	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New York	87	76	11	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	21	19	2	..	..	..	..	..
North Dakota	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	48	48	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oklahoma	20	19	1	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	10	7	..	..	1	..	2	..
Pennsylvania	76	74	1	..	..	..	..	1
Rhode Island	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	11	9	2	..	..	..	..	..
South Dakota	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	21	21	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	26	11	12	..	2	..	..	1
Wyoming	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Phillippines	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	987	863	108	1	8	1	2	4

After the roll call had been completed and while the ballot was being tabulated, there was a great demonstration in behalf of Mr. Fairbanks, it being plain to all the delegates that he had been nominated by a large majority, and after a time the Permanent Chairman made the following statement:

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will read the result of the ballot. The Chair very much desires that the delegates be seated and attentive to the business of the Convention for a few moments. There are half a dozen very necessary and important things to be done before this great body adjourns. We must finish up our work properly, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention. If our guests are no longer interested we will be very glad to excuse them, but the delegates of this Convention must give us their attention for a few moments so that we may conclude the business for which we came here.

The Secretary announced the vote as heretofore shown.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Fairbanks, of Indiana, having received the requisite vote to be declared the nominee of this Convention, the Chair, under the rule, asks, shall the nomination be made unanimous? (Applause, and cries of "Yes, yes.")

MR. RALPH D. COLE, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the nomination of the Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for the office of Vice-President, be made unanimous.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—We second the motion.

And the motion was agreed to.

SPECIAL ENTERTAINMENT PROVIDED FOR DELEGATES, ALTERNATES, AND THEIR FRIENDS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The delegates will please listen to an announcement to be made on behalf of the Mayor of Chicago.

The Secretary of the Convention read as follows:

Mayor William Hale Thompson's Entertainment Committee wishes to invite the Delegates and Alternates and their friends to a display of fire works, and entertainment, to be held in Grant Park, opposite the Congress Hotel at eight o'clock this evening, and the Committee also wishes to extend an invitation to the Delegates and Alternates to an automobile tour of the City of Chicago, leaving the Congress Hotel tomorrow morning (Sunday) at 9:30. Automobiles have been provided.

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON,
Mayor.

CHAIRMAN OF NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will now recognize Mr. S. A. Perkins, of Washington.

MR. S. A. PERKINS, of Washington.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I wish to offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the Chairman of this Convention, Senator Warren G. Harding, be appointed Chairman of the Committee to notify Hon. Charles E. Hughes of his nomination for President, and that Senator Wm. E. Borah, of Idaho, be appointed Chairman of the Committee to notify Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President.

And the resolution was agreed to.

PUBLICATION OF CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now recognizes Delegate H. F. MacGregor, of Texas.

MR. H. F. MACGREGOR, of Texas.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I desire to offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish for the Convention, a full and complete report of its official proceedings, under the direction of the National Committee.

And the resolution was agreed to.

VACANCIES IN NOMINATIONS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Governor Murphy of New Jersey.

MR. FRANKLIN MURPHY, of New Jersey.—Mr. Chairman, and Delegates of the Convention: I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the Republican National Committee be and it is hereby authorized and empowered to fill all vacancies which may occur by reason of death, declination or otherwise, in the ticket nominated by this Convention, or it may in its judgment call a National Convention for said purpose.

And the resolution was agreed to.

THANKS TO CONVENTION OFFICERS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now recognizes Mr. Frederick Hale, of Maine.

MR. FREDERICK HALE, of Maine.—Mr. Chairman, and Delegates of the Convention: I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

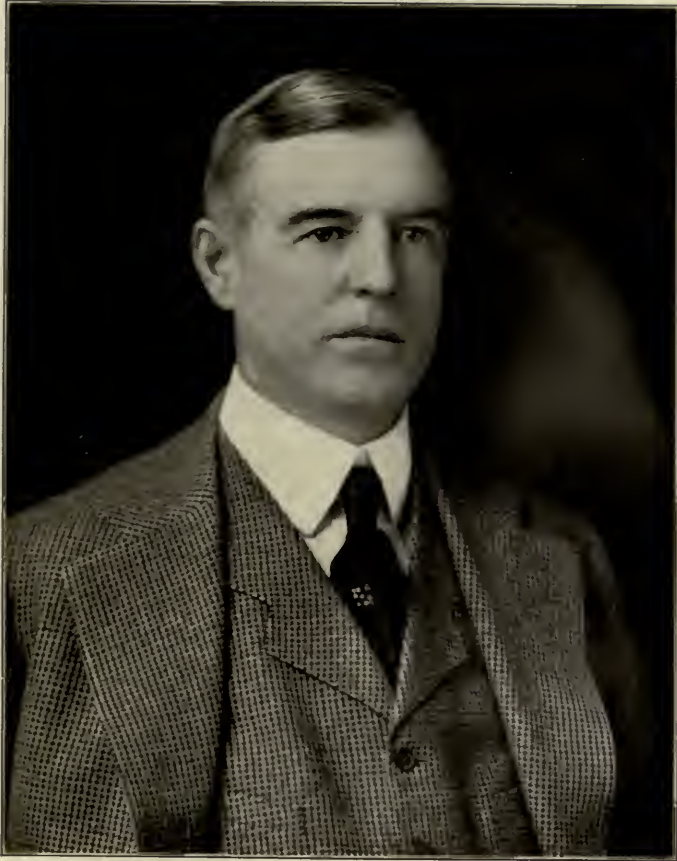
Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are tendered to the Chairman, the Secretary, the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the other officers and deputies for their faithful and effective services in the conduct of the Convention.

And the resolution was agreed to.

THANKS TO ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Mr. Will H. Hays, of Indiana.

MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:



RALPH E. WILLIAMS, of Oregon
Member of Committee on Arrangements

Be It Resolved by this Convention, that our hearty and sincere thanks are due, and are hereby tendered to the Hon. William Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, and the members of the Mayor's Entertainment Committee for the splendid hospitality shown during our stay in this city.

And the resolution was agreed to.

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR MINNESOTA

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair refers for one moment again to the selection of a National Committeeman for the State of Minnesota, in order to comply with and conform to the laws of that State. The Secretary will read a certificate furnished by the delegation from that State.

The Secretary of the Convention read as follows:

The delegation of the Delegates and Alternates from Minnesota at a meeting after the nomination of President and Vice-President as required by law unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the election of Chester A. Congdon of Duluth as a member of the National Committee for the State of Minnesota is hereby ratified and confirmed.

S. R. VAN SANT.

The election of Mr. Congdon was approved by the Convention.

THANKS TO CITIZENS OF CHICAGO

The Permanent Chairman.—The Chair now recognizes Mr. Earle S. Kinsley, of Vermont.

MR. EARLE S. KINSLEY, of Vermont.—Mr. Chairman, and Delegates to the Convention: I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to Mr. Fred W. Upham, Chairman of the Chicago Committee on Arrangements, and the other members of his Committee, to the members of the Sub-Committee on Arrangements of the National Committee, and to the citizens of Chicago, for the provision made by them, which resulted in such excellent accommodation and comfort for the delegates, the alternates, and the guests.

The resolution was agreed to.

COMMITTEES TO NOTIFY NOMINEES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair requests the Chairman of each delegation to submit in writing the name of its member of the Committee to notify Hon. Charles Evans Hughes of his nomination for President, and also the name of its member of the Committee to notify Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President.

The list when completed was as follows:

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

HON. WARREN G. HARDING, Chairman.

Alabama	P. D. Barker
Arizona	Edward Kent
Arkansas	A. C. Rimmel
California	J. O. Hayes
Colorado	Spencer Penrose
Connecticut	Francis T. Maxwell
Delaware	D. Mifflin Wilson
Florida	Henry S. Chubb
Georgia	John M. Barnes
Idaho	E. H. Dewey
Illinois	Walter A. Rosenfield
Indiana	Geo. B. Lockwood
Iowa	Luther A. Brewer
Kansas	A. H. Denton
Kentucky	R. C. Stoll
Louisiana	Clarence S. Hebert
Maine	Harold M. Sewall
Maryland	Felix Agnus
Massachusetts	Edward A. Thurston
Michigan	John Q. Ross
Minnesota	Herbert P. Keller
Mississippi	W. S. Ligon
Missouri	Wm. P. Sullivan
Montana	Joseph M. Dixon
Nebraska	Gould Dietz
Nevada	W. A. Kiddie
New Hampshire	W. D. Swart
New Jersey	Thos. L. Raymond
New Mexico	A. B. Fall
New York	George W. Aldridge
North Carolina	Thos. J. Harkins
North Dakota	C. C. Turner
Ohio	Oscar M. Gottschall
Oklahoma	S. G. Victor
Oregon	C. P. Bishop
Pennsylvania	John Wanamaker
Rhode Island	R. Livingston Beeckman
South Carolina	Dr. J. L. Levy
South Dakota	James G. Stanley
Tennessee	J. S. Beasley
Texas	Dr. E. P. Wilmot
Utah	Reed Smoot
Vermont	George H. Prouty
Virginia	John C. Noel
Washington	Scott Bone
West Virginia	W. H. Thomas
Wisconsin	Christian Doerfler
Wyoming	Patrick Sullivan
Alaska	Louis P. Shackelford
Hawaii	Jonah K. Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	Newton W. Gilbert

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

HON. WM. E. BORAH, Chairman.

Alabama	J. M. Atkins
Arizona	Ph. Freudenthal
Arkansas	R. S. Granger
California	Mrs. Abbie E. Krebs
Colorado	H. E. Perkins
Connecticut	Oliver G. Jennings
Delaware	Edward G Bradford, Jr.
Florida	Joseph E. Lee
Georgia	J. H. Watson
Idaho	E. R. Whitla
Illinois	O. F. Berry
Indiana	Richard Lieber
Iowa	Geo. C. Call
Kansas	J. N. Tichner
Kentucky	Ed. C. O'Rear
Louisiana	Edward J. Rodrigue
Maine	John Huston
Maryland	A. H. Doub
Massachusetts	George B. Wason
Michigan	Stewart B. Gordon
Minnesota	D. M. Gunn
Mississippi	P. W. Howard
Missouri	David W. Peters
Montana	J. Albright
Nebraska	J. Reid Green
Nevada	Mrs. W. A. Moran
New Hampshire	Philip N. Faulkner
New Jersey	Daniel E. Pomeroy
New Mexico	B. C. Hernandez
New York	Jacob Sloat Fassett
North Carolina	W. S. O'B. Robinson
North Dakota	E. A. Bowman
Ohio	R. C. Heddleston
Oklahoma	Jno. R. Hadley
Oregon	Newton Burgess
Pennsylvania	Edwin B. Jermyn
Rhode Island	Harry P. Cross
South Carolina	W. S. Dixon
South Dakota	Hans Demuth
Tennessee	Duke C. Bowers
Texas	L. S. McDowell
Utah	Harry S. Joseph
Vermont	John Cushing
Virginia	J. P. Brady
Washington	Millard T. Hartson
West Virginia	W. E. Heskitt
Wisconsin	A. A. Porter
Wyoming	Thos. Snedden
Alaska	Wm. A. Gilmore
Hawaii	Henry J. Lyman
Philippines	W. H. Lawrence

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Alabama	Ase E. Stratton
Arizona	Le Roy Anderson
Arkansas	S. R. Young
California	Amiel Hochheimer
Colorado	Bulkeley Wells
Connecticut	Frank B. Weeks
Delaware	Alfred I. Du Punt
Florida	W. P. O'Neal
Georgia	B. W. S. Daniels
Idaho	James F. Ailshie
Illinois	Fred W. Upham
Indiana	Benton E. Gates
Iowa	George W. French
Kansas	E. L. Fulton
Kentucky	Phil Brown
Louisiana	Alvin C. Carpenter
Maine	Guy P. Gannett
Maryland	Henry C. Wilcox
Massachusetts	George H. Doty
Michigan	George W. Cook
Minnesota	J. F. Jacobson
Mississippi	D. W. Sherrad
Missouri	George W. Duncan
Montana	Louise Lusk
Nebraska	Howard H. Baldrige
Nevada	Herbert C. Humphreys
New Hampshire	Walter M. Parker
New Jersey	Wm. Barbour
New Mexico	Charles Springer
New York	Wm. Berri
North Carolina	Wm. P. Bynum
North Dakota	H. P. Halverson
Ohio	Wm. Cooper Proctor
Oklahoma	Arthur H. Geissler
Oregon	C. R. Hotchkiss
Pennsylvania	Wm. W. Griest
Rhode Island	Frank P. Comstock
South Carolina	John H. Goodwyn
South Dakota	Samuel H. Elrod
Tennessee	B. W. Hooper
Texas	R. A. Harvin
Utah	Wm. D. Caudland
Vermont	Geo. E. Moody
Virginia	Clarence G. Smithers
Washington	E. A. Sims
West Virginia	Henry S. White
Wisconsin	Henry Krumrey
Wyoming	Thos. Snedden
Alaska	W. A. Gilmore
Hawaii	J. K. Kalaniana'ole
Philippines	W. H. Lawrence

FINAL ADJOURNMENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—I now have the satisfaction of recognizing Mr. Charles D. Hilles, of New York, for the closing motion of our session. (Great applause as Mr. Hilles came to the front of the platform.)

MR. CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Before submitting a motion I wish to make an announcement. The new Republican National Committee will meet for organization in the room of the Committee in the Coliseum annex this afternoon at five o'clock. I now move that this Convention adjourn without day.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Convention adjourned without day.

Republican National Committee

1916

STATE	NAME	P. O. ADDRESS
Alabama	OLIVER D. STREET	Guntersville
Arizona	ALLAN B. JAYNES	Tucson
Arkansas	H. L. REMMEL	Little Rock
California	WILLIAM H. CROCKER	San Francisco
Colorado	HUBERT WORK	Pueblo
Connecticut	JOHN T. KING	Bridgeport
Delaware	COLEMAN DU PONT	Wilmington
Florida	HENRY S. CHUBB	Princeton
Georgia	HENRY S. JACKSON	Atlanta
Idaho	JOHN W. HART	Menan
Illinois	WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON	Chicago
Indiana	JAMES A. HEMENWAY	Booneville
Iowa	JOHN T. ADAMS	Dubuque
Kansas	FRED STANLEY	Wichita
Kentucky	A. T. HERT	Louisville
Louisiana	ARMAND ROMAIN	New Orleans
Maine	FREDERICK HALE	Portland
Maryland	WILLIAM P. JACKSON	Salisbury
Massachusetts	W. MURRAY CRANE	Dalton
Michigan	CHAS. B. WARREN	Detroit
Minnesota	CHESTER A. CONGDON	Duluth
Mississippi	L. B. MOSELEY	Jackson
Missouri	JACOB L. BABLER	St. Louis
Montana	THOMAS A. MARLOW	Helena
Nebraska	R. B. HOWELL	Omaha
Nevada	H. G. HUMPHREY	Reno
New Hampshire	FRED W. ESTABROOK	Nashua
New Jersey	FRANKLIN MURPHY	Newark
New Mexico	CHARLES A. SPIESS	East Las Vegas
New York	HERBERT PARSONS	New York City
North Carolina	JOHN M. MOREHEAD	Charlotte
North Dakota	GUNDER OLSON	Grafton
Ohio	RUDOLPH K. HYNICKA	Cincinnati
Oklahoma	JAMES J. MCGRAW	Ponca City
Oregon	RALPH E. WILLIAMS	Portland
Pennsylvania	BOIES PENROSE	Philadelphia
Rhode Island	WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD	Newport
South Carolina	J. W. TOLBERT	Greenwood
South Dakota	WILLIS C. COOK	Sioux Falls
Tennessee		
Texas	H. F. MACGREGOR	Houston
Utah	REED SMOOT	Provo
Vermont	EARLE S. KINSLEY	Rutland
Virginia	ALVAH H. MARTIN	Norfolk
Washington	S. A. PERKINS	Tacoma
West Virginia	V. L. HIGHLAND	Clarksburg
Wisconsin	ALFRED T. ROGERS	Madison
Wyoming	GEORGE E. PEXTON	Evanstown
Alaska	CORNELIUS S. MURANE	Juneau
Dist. of Columbia		
Hawaii	R. W. BRECKONS	Honolulu
Philippines	HENRY B. MCGOY	Manila
Porto Rico		

Republican National Committee

CAMPAIGN 1916

- ✓ WILLIAM R. WILLCOX, Chairman.
 - JAMES B. REYNOLDS, Secretary.
 - CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Jr. Treasurer.
 - BEVERLEY R. ROBINSON, Assistant Treasurer.
 - FRED W. UPHAM, Assistant Treasurer.
 - WILLIAM F. STONE, Sergeant-at-Arms.
-

Campaign Committee

- JOHN T. ADAMS, Iowa.
 - EVERETT COLBY, New Jersey.
 - WILLIAM H. CROCKER, California.
 - FRED W. ESTABROOK, New Hampshire.
 - JAMES A. GARFIELD, Ohio.
 - JAMES A. HEMENWAY, Indiana.
 - A. T. HERT, Kentucky.
 - R. B. HOWELL, Nebraska.
 - HAROLD L. ICKES, Illinois.
 - ALVAH H. MARTIN, Virginia.
 - HERBERT PARSONS, New York.
 - GEORGE W. PERKINS, New York.
 - S. A. PERKINS, Washington.
 - CHESTER H. ROWELL, California.
 - OSCAR S. STRAUS, New York
 - CHARLES B. WARREN, Michigan.
 - RALPH E. WILLIAMS, Oregon.
-

Executive Committee

- JOHN T. ADAMS, Iowa.
- WILLIAM H. CROCKER, California.
- FRED W. ESTABROOK, New Hampshire.
- JAMES A. HEMENWAY, Indiana.
- A. T. HERT, Kentucky.
- R. B. HOWELL, Nebraska.
- ALVAH H. MARTIN, Virginia.
- HERBERT PARSONS, New York.
- S. A. PERKINS, Washington.
- CHARLES B. WARREN, Michigan.
- RALPH E. WILLIAMS, Oregon.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

BY ROBERT H. FULLER

Charles Evans Hughes, who was nominated for President by the Republican National Convention, was chosen by the Convention not only without his consent, but against his wishes. It was the first time that a candidate for the Presidency had ever been so chosen. Not a delegate in the Convention knew when he was nominated whether he would accept or not

Strong efforts had been made before the Convention met to get from him an indication of whether, if nominated, he would take the nomination. Persistent attempts were also made to obtain some expression of his views upon the issues that were under discussion. These brought no result. In Nebraska, where Mr. Hughes' name was placed in the primary ballot, he asked that it be withdrawn and the request was granted. The same thing happened in the primaries of other States; but the Republicans of Vermont declared for him, and in Oregon, where his name remained in the primary ballot against his protest, he was made the favorite over two eminent Republican aspirants for the nomination who made a canvass of the State.

NEVER SOUGHT OFFICE

This unwillingness to seek office is characteristic of Mr. Hughes. He has always held the view that nomination should seek the man, but that, on the other hand, no citizen has the right to refuse a call to public service if it is possible for him to accept it. He was nominated by the Republicans for Mayor of New York City in 1906 when he was in the midst of the insurance investigation and he refused because he believed he could be of more service by completing the investigation. He was nominated for Governor late in the same year, accepted and was elected. He permitted admirers to urge his nomination for President in 1908, when he was Governor of New York, though he announced when he consented to the use of his name that he would neither ask any delegate to vote for him nor seek to influence the action of the Convention by the use of his power as Governor. He adhered strictly to this programme. He was nominated for Governor a second time without any request for renomination, and he was re-elected. While he has never criticized the open seeking of nominations by others, he himself has never sought one, and his attitude in this respect has been scrupulously consistent.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PEOPLE

Governor Hughes has always shown complete reliance upon the ability of the mass of the people to decide what is best for them. He summed up his political faith in the first speech which he delivered in the Presidential campaign of 1908 when he was supporting the candidacy of William Howard Taft for the Presidency.

"I have an abiding confidence in the progress of the people," he said at Youngstown, Ohio. "Resistlessly they move forward to the attainment of their goal. Every privilege maintained at the expense of the common interest will finally go the way of despotism and ancient tyranny. But in our progress one must seek to avoid false steps. Ours must be the rule of reason, clear-eyed, calm, patient and steadfast; defeating the conspiracies of intrigue and escaping the pitfalls of folly. Supreme must be the sense of justice, with its recognition of our mutual dependence. We cannot change human nature or bring about a state of society or of administration of government which does not reflect its failings. We rejoice in the measure of success which has already been attained, and we must resolve to devote ourselves more loyally than ever to the general good, counting our partisan opportunities and victories as gain only as they give us chance to serve our common country."

This confidence in the people made it natural for Mr. Hughes, while he was Governor, to appeal to them when he found the Legislature reluctant to execute plans which he believed to be for public benefit. His "appeals to the people" were a feature of his administrations, and they contributed most effectively to the accomplishment of the long list of achievements which distinguished his tenure of the office of Governor.

Among lawyers, Mr. Hughes was known as a leader of the bar when the insurance investigation first revealed to the public in general the rare combination of intellectual abilities and capacity for work which he possessed. Since that investigation, he has been kept constantly in the public service, and he has willingly devoted all his energies to that service, despite the very material monetary sacrifice which it has entailed. He was called from his private law practice just as he was beginning to reap the financial rewards of the place he had won.

The dominant characteristics of Governor Hughes' record are his sincerity and his consistency. In his statements he has always promised less than he meant to perform, and he has never proposed a public problem for solution without having in mind a practical remedy. In executive office, it has always been his aim to confine himself to the discharge of the duties imposed upon him by law and to accept full responsibility for them. Only in this way, he believes, can Republicanism have a chance to work properly.

Governor Hughes was endorsed by the Progressive National Committee on June 26.

THE CHIEF DATES OF MR. HUGHES' CAREER

The chief dates in the life of Charles E. Hughes, the Republican nominee for President, may be given as follows:

- Born at Glens Falls, New York, April 11, 1862;
- Studied in Colgate University, 1876-8;
- Was graduated from Brown University, 1881;
- Was graduated from the Columbia Law School, 1884;
- Was admitted to the New York Bar, 1884;
- Married Miss Antoinette Carter, December 5, 1888,
- Practiced law in New York City, 1884-91;
- Was Professor of Law, Cornell University, 1891-3;
- Practiced law in New York City, 1893-1906;
- Was special lecturer on law, Cornell University, 1893-5;
- Was special lecturer on law, New York Law School, 1893-1900;
- Was counsel of the Stevens Gas Committee, 1905;
- Was counsel of the Armstrong Insurance Committee, 1905-6;
- Declined Republican nomination for Mayor of New York City, 1905;
- Was appointed special assistant to the United States Attorney General, Anthracite Coal Investigation, 1906;
- Was elected Governor of New York, November, 1906;
- Began his first term as Governor, January 1, 1907;
- Re-elected Governor of New York, November, 1908;
- Was appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, May 2, 1910;
- Resigned the office of Governor of New York, October 6, 1910;
- Took the oath of office as Associate Justice of the United State Supreme Court, October 10, 1910;
- Was nominated for President by the Republican National Convention and resigned from the United States Supreme Court, June 10, 1916;
- Was endorsed for President by the National Committee of the Progressive Party, June 26, 1916.

ANCESTRY

Mr. Hughes is a typical product of American evolution. His father, David Charles Hughes, was born in Monmouthshire on the borders of Wales. He was a son of Nathan Hughes, a publisher in South Wales, who died when he was thirteen years old. His life reads like a romance. He was one of a large family of children, studious, imaginative and filled with the earnest enthusiasm which is characteristic of the Welsh blood. Among the books which he read when he was a boy was the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. The career of this great man filled the lad with a determination to come to America and take advantage of the opportunities which Franklin had known so well how to use.

The fulfillment of this ambition was deferred until the boy had reached the age of twenty-three and had become a preacher. He then took passage for America where he had neither friends nor acquaintances, delighted with the realization at last of his boyhood dreams.

Mr. Hughes was in many respects a remarkable man. Although his life was confined to restricted channels, like the lives of most men, he always made warm and sincere friendships. He possessed great energy and unquestioning faith in the religious doctrines which he expounded. His indomitable spirit was never subdued or discouraged by disappointment. Worldly advancement and his own comfort made no appeal to him when they interfered with service to others. There are hundreds of men and women who, as children, attended the churches in which he ministered, and who now hold his memory in affectionate regard. Although his salary as minister was always small, he never turned away an appeal for help and in his later life he laughed over stories that were told of generosity so imprudent that it sometimes left him without an overcoat in Winter because he had given away the only one he possessed.

Mr. Hughes had been only three days in this country when in 1855, he received an assignment to preach at Vails Gate, in the vicinity of Newburgh. This gave him a foothold; but he felt the need of more study and in order to obtain money to satisfy this need he taught in an academy near Baltimore. He thus obtained funds which enabled him to attend Wesleyan University for two years. Mr. Hughes married Miss Mary Catherine Connelly in 1860, and in the same year was ordained as a Baptist Minister and became pastor of the church at Glen Falls. There his only child, Charles Evans Hughes, was born in April, 1862. Mr. Hughes was admitted to citizenship in Kingston, Ulster County, New York. He affiliated himself with the Republican party. With his usual enthusiasm he upheld Republican principles, always working for and voting for the Republican candidate. He was a fervent Abolitionist and no man did more than he to maintain the Union cause in northern New York.

Mr. Hughes served churches in Sandy Hill—now Hudson Falls—and Oswego, New York; Newark and Jersey City, New Jersey; Brooklyn and Manhattan, New York City; and Scranton, Pennsylvania; after his retirement he continued to preach while his strength permitted him to do so. He lived to see his son Governor of the State of New York, and he died in the Executive Mansion in Albany.

While Governor Hughes' father was of foreign birth, his descent on his mother's side is American to Pre-Revolutionary days. Mrs. Hughes was a product of two lines of descent, one—the Connelly side—Scotch Irish, and the other—the Jan Burhans and Terpenning lines—Dutch stock. Jan Burhans settled in Kingston, New York, as early as 1660.

Mrs. Hughes was a quiet, slender little woman, of marked mental

ability, whose cheerful and patient fortitude and good management kept going a household which her husband's impulsive generosity might have scattered had it been in less competent hands than hers. She was a graduate of Claverack College and prior to her marriage had engaged in teaching. She had special aptitude for mathematics. Her grandmother on her father's side was from Connecticut—a Yankee of English descent. Her great grandfather, a Scotch-Irishman, who lived in Ulster County, New York, served on the staff of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State of New York. In recognition of the service that he rendered, Governor Clinton obtained from General Washington a commission for him in the Revolutionary Army, where he made a record which brought him high recommendation. On the Dutch side, also, Mrs. Hughes' Ulster County ancestry was of Revolutionary stock.

Her Connelly grandfather, also of Ulster County, New York, was a physician of reputation. His son, William Connelly, who was Mr. Hughes' grandfather on his mother's side, was a contractor. He employed a considerable number of men in the construction of tanneries, mills and similar structures under contract. At the time of his marriage, William Connelly held a building contract in Middletown, Delaware County, New York. Delaware County was at that time little better than a wilderness. He took his gang of men, his teams and other paraphernalia, and accompanied by his bride, he went into the woods to execute his contract. It was there, in 1830, that Mrs. Hughes, the Governor's mother, was born.

EDUCATION

Charles Evans Hughes, who was named after his father, and his father's mother (Jane Evans) had an excellent constitution, but on account of early illness was in delicate health as a boy. His early education and training were in care of his father and mother and, save for a brief time in Oswego, he did not attend school until he was ten years old. In Newark he was graduated at the Oliver Street Public School in 1873 and then entered the Newark High School. On removing to New York, he became a pupil of Grammar School No. 35, in West Thirteenth Street, and in June, 1875, when he was thirteen years old, he was graduated from that school and delivered the salutatory address in the Academy of Music.

Despite the disadvantage of attending different schools, Mr. Hughes made rapid progress in his studies and he was only fourteen years old when he entered Madison University, now Colgate University, in Hamilton, New York. After remaining there two years, he entered Brown University, in the Sophomore class. He was nominated as a Phi Delta Kappa man in his junior year and he won the Dunn Premium for the highest standing in English literature. He was a member of the editorial staff of the *Brunonian*, the College newspaper.

He was graduated from Brown University in 1881, when he was nineteen years old. He stood third in his class, a rank which entitled him to deliver the classical oration. He also took one of the two Carpenter Premiums which were assigned to the two members, already on scholarships, of the Senior class who "shall, in the judgment of the faculty, unite in the highest degree the three most important elements of success in life—ability, character and attainment."

As Mr. Hughes grew older, he gained slowly in strength. He was always a great worker. After his graduation from Brown University, he taught Greek and mathematics in Delaware Academy at Delhi, New York, and studied law in the office of Judge Gleason there. He was able to enter the Columbia Law School in 1882, and while there he spent a portion of his time for a year in the office of General Stewart L. Woodford, who was then United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York and who afterwards became Minister to Spain.

AS A LAWYER

Mr. Hughes obtained a position as clerk in the law firm of Chamberlain, Carter and Hornblower during a part of his last year in the Law School. This firm afterward became Carter, Hornblower and Byrne. He was graduated from the Law School in 1884, receiving the Prize Fellowship in his class, and he was admitted to the Bar in the same year. In 1887, Mr. Hornblower and Mr. Byrne withdrew from the firm in which Mr. Hughes had been employed and he became a member of the new firm of Carter, Hughes and Cravath.

Miss Antoinette Carter, whom Mr. Hughes married in December, 1888, was the daughter of the senior member of the firm, Walter S. Carter.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes have four children, one son and three daughters—the oldest Charles E. Hughes, Jr., is married and has two children of his own. He is a graduate of Brown University and of the Harvard Law School and practices law in New York City. The eldest daughter, Helen, was graduated at Vassar College in 1914, the second daughter Catherine enters Wellesley College next fall. The youngest, Elizabeth, was born in the Executive Mansion in Albany in 1907.

Mr. Hughes practiced law until 1891 when, his health feeling the strain of work, he accepted an appointment as Professor of Law in Cornell University. He remained in Ithaca from 1891 to 1893 and after his return to New York City, he continued to give a special course of lectures on law at Cornell University until 1895, and in the New York Law School until 1900.

When he returned from Ithaca in 1893, he joined his old firm, which became Carter, Hughes and Kellogg, and later Carter, Hughes and Dwight. It retained this name until Mr. Dwight's death in 1903. Mr.

Dwight was succeeded in his firm by George W. Schurman, a brother of Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University.

Mr. Carter died in 1904 and Mr. Hughes then became head of the firm, the name once more changing to Hughes, Rounds and Schurman.

Hitherto Mr. Hughes had been little known excepting as a lawyer. He had always been a Republican in politics, enrolling with his party and voting at the primaries. In the legal profession, he was regarded as one of the foremost counsel in the City. He retained complete personal independence, enjoying a general practice. Although without political ambition at that time, or even any thought of entering politics, it was natural for him to avoid any connection that he could not justify to his own conscience.

THE STEVENS COMMITTEE

Mr. Hughes' entry into public life occurred when he was appointed counsel to the Stevens Gas Investigating Committee in 1905. Before that year there had been much complaint at the cost of gas in New York City, where the price was one dollar a thousand feet. The gas company, which enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the city, declared that it could not reduce the price and still make money. The Legislature appointed a joint committee with Senator Frederick C. Stevens, of Attica, as its Chairman, to investigate the lighting companies and report. Mr. Stevens selected Mr. Hughes as counsel to the Committee.

The investigation, which was much less spectacular than the insurance investigation which followed it, showed that the price of gas could be reduced to eighty cents a thousand feet and still leave the gas company a fair margin of profit. Mr. Hughes wrote the report of the Committee and prepared bills lowering the price of gas to eighty cents a thousand feet and providing remedies for a number of minor grievances of consumers.

When he had finished the report and the bills had been introduced, Mr. Hughes' connection with the matter ceased. There was strong opposition in the Legislature to the passage of the bills. The gas company declared that they were confiscatory and fought them to the United States Supreme Court, where they were finally upheld.

THE LIFE INSURANCE INVESTIGATION

Meanwhile the Legislature had appointed another joint Committee to investigate the management of the great life insurance companies, located in the State. This Committee was headed by Senator W. W. Armstrong, of Rochester. Mr. Hughes had gone to Switzerland to spend his vacation, but the success of the Gas Investigating Committee con-

vinced the Armstrong Committee that it must have him as its counsel. He was asked by cable to take this position and he accepted. He cut short his stay abroad and immediately went to work.

The disclosures made by the insurance investigation as to the practices of a small group of men who were entrusted with the management of hundreds of millions of dollars paid in premiums to the companies, created a nation-wide sensation. Mr. Hughes, day by day, turned the light of the investigation upon shadowy corners and intricate windings of the insurance business, the existence of which had until then been unknown outside a small circle. The use of the "Yellow Dog Fund," the existence of the "House of Mirth" in Albany, huge contributions to political campaign funds, excessive payments for obtaining new business, the use by insiders of life insurance money in speculations from which they reaped the profit, and arbitrary and autocratic methods in a business whose growth had outstripped the wildest dreams were all brought into public view during the investigation.

Throughout the inquiry, Mr. Hughes was careful not to asperse any man's character without warrant. He never indulged in conjecture or inuendo. His manner of conducting the inquiry showed him to possess a keen analytical mind and a marvellous capacity for work.

NOMINATED FOR MAYOR

The municipal campaign for the election of a Mayor of the City of New York came on in the Fall of 1905 before the investigation of the insurance companies had been completed. The disclosures made in the investigation had reached many of the financial leaders and some of the best known men in the country.

As might have been expected, efforts were made to halt the investigation, at least along lines which were likely to prove damaging. When suggestions that he might ease up a little were made to Mr. Hughes, he informed the committee that if any attempt were made to interfere with him, he would resign and tell the public why he had done so. He was not troubled again.

The Republican organization of New York City determined to make Mr. Hughes its candidate for Mayor. When this intention became known, he declined to permit the use of his name and stated he would not accept a nomination.

Despite Mr. Hughes' reluctance, the Republican City Convention insisted upon putting him in the field. He was formally notified of his nomination on October 9, 1905. He declined to accept and in declining he made a statement to the Notification Committee in which he said:

"You summon me to what you believe to be a public duty, and I shall not answer that summons by referring to

considerations merely personal, however important they might be if the question was one of personal preference.

"You and the many others who have urged me to accept the nomination have not rested the request upon the basis of partisan obligation, but upon the more secure foundation of duty to the community. * * *

"I am not insensible to this appeal and I fully appreciate the responsibility of the position in which, against my will, I have been placed. * * *

"In this dilemma, I have simply to do my duty as I see it. In my judgment, I have no right to accept the nomination. A paramount public duty forbids it. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the importance of the insurance investigation. That is undisputed. It is dealing with questions vital to the interests of millions of our fellow citizens throughout the land. It presents an opportunity for public service second to none and involves a correlative responsibility. I have devoted myself unreservedly to this work. It commends all my energies. It is imperative that I continue in it. * * *

"I do not believe that the man lives, and certainly I am not the man, who, while a candidate for the mayoralty, could perform with proper efficiency that part of the work which has devolved upon me in the pending inquiry. If I were to accept the nomination for the high office of Mayor of this city, I should be compelled to curtail this work, and this I have no right to do.

"For your expressions of confidence I thank you. The honor you would confer upon me I most highly esteem. Your genuine approval and the unanimity and enthusiasm with which the nomination was made I warmly appreciate. But I have assumed obligations of the first importance which make it impossible for me to meet your wishes. I must, therefore, respectfully decline the nomination."

THE INSURANCE REFORM BILLS

Mr. Hughes performed an almost incredible amount of labor during the investigation of the insurance companies and the preparation of the report and the bills which followed the investigation. This report was presented to the Legislature in the Spring of 1906, and the bills which it recommended were enacted without change.

These bills regulated the entire business of life insurance. In the course of the investigation, Mr. Hughes had mastered every detail of the complicated machinery through which the business was conducted. The bills provided methods by which the policy-holders of mutual com-

panies might elect the officers of the companies, limited and safeguarded the use of surplus and reserve funds, made the officers personally responsible, changed the form of reports so as to make them more truly portray conditions, protected policy-holders by providing standard forms of policies, limited the amounts which might be paid to agents for new business, increased the powers of the Superintendent of Insurance and in other respects abolished the abuses which had grown up with or crept into the business. In order to put an end to the contribution of life insurance funds for political campaign purposes, one of the bills made it unlawful for any corporation in the State to make a political contribution. This was the first law containing such a prohibition. Similar laws are now on the Federal statute books and on the statute books of many States.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL INQUIRY

Mr. Hughes' fame as an investigator was established throughout the United States by the insurance investigation. As soon as it closed in 1906, the United States Department of Justice made him an Assistant United States Attorney-General for the purpose of conducting an inquiry to ascertain whether the United States should bring an action against the anthracite railroads which owned and carried coal, for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR

Mr. Hughes had begun the work of preparation for this inquiry when a demand arose throughout the State for his nomination by the Republican party as its candidate for Governor. President Roosevelt sent word to the party leaders that he favored Mr. Hughes and he was nominated by acclamation at the Convention held in Saratoga. He immediately sent a telegram to the Convention in which he said:

"I shall accept the nomination without pledge other than to do my duty according to my conscience. If elected, it will be my ambition to give the State the same efficient and honorable administration, free from taint of bossism or of servitude to any private interest. A united party making an appeal to good citizenship must win."

Mr. Hughes outlined the issue of the campaign in the address which he made to the Committee appointed to notify him of his nomination. In this address, referring to the issue, he said:

"It is not an issue of Republican principles or of Democratic principles. It is not a partisan issue at all. It is the vital issue of decent government. It is an issue which shall

array on one side all lovers of truth, of sobriety and of honest reform, be they Republicans, Democrats or Independents.

"I promise an honest administration.

"No interest, however prominent, will receive any consideration except that to which, upon the merits of the case, it may be entitled, when viewed in the light of the supreme interest of the people.

"It will be my aim to make the administration of the government efficient and economical.

"I shall spare no effort to make effective the reforms in the business of life insurance so essential to the interests of the policy-holders.

"I promise the enforcement of the law with equal severity and with equal justice to all, rich and poor, corporations and individuals.

"We desire to enforce the laws we have, and to enact such additional laws as may be required to secure equal privileges and opportunities and to prevent any one person or class of persons from being made the victim of oppression. We believe in open discussion and responsible criticism. But efforts to make discontent serve self interest, to create class hatred, to distort the good and to exaggerate the evil, are subversive of our free institutions and tend to anarchy.

"We make our appeal to the common sense of the American people, which has never failed to express itself decisively in a great crisis. We are pledged to achieve reforms in the American manner, in accordance with the genius of our institutions and with love of truth and even-handed justice.

"It is in this spirit and with these pledges alone that I accept the nomination."

THE ONLY REPUBLICAN ELECTED

Although he had never made political speeches, Mr. Hughes plunged vigorously into his campaign and soon became one of the most effective of political orators. His canvass extended to every large city and to nearly all the rural Counties. The Democrats and the Independence League had united, nominating William R. Hearst to oppose him. His canvass was exceedingly difficult, but he was elected by a plurality of 57,897 votes over Mr. Hearst, receiving 749,002 votes against 691,105 for his opponent. He was the only candidate on the Republican State ticket to be elected. He went into office with a Democratic Lieutenant Governor, Comptroller, Secretary of State, Treasurer and Attorney-General.

In his first inaugural address, after pledging himself to devote the best of his ability to the duties of his office, he said:

"We have reason to congratulate ourselves that coincident with our prosperity, there is an emphatic assertion of popular rights and a keen resentment of public wrongs. There is no panacea in executive or legislative action for all the ills of society which spring from the frailties and defects of the human nature of its members. But this furnishes no excuse for complacent inactivity and no reason for the toleration of wrongs made possible by defective or inadequate legislation or by administrative partiality or inefficiency. * * *

"The proper confines of legislative action are not to be determined by generalities. Slowly but surely the people have narrowed the opportunities for selfish aggression, and the demand of this hour, and of all hours, is not allegiance to phrases, but sympathy with every aspiration for the betterment of conditions and a sincere and patient effort to understand every need and to ascertain in the light of experience the means best adapted to meet it. Each measure proposed must ultimately be tested by critical analysis of the particular problem—the precise mischief alleged and the adequacy of the proffered remedy. It is the capacity for such close examination without heat or disqualifying prejudice which distinguishes the constructive effort from vain endeavors to change human nature by changing the forms of government. * * *

"We are a government of laws and not of men. We subordinate individual caprice to defined duty. The essentials of our liberties are expressed in constitutional enactments removed from the risk of temporary agitation. But the security of our government despite its constitutional guaranties is found in the intelligence and public spirit of its citizens and in its ability to call to the work of administration men of single-minded devotion to the public interests, who make unselfish service to the State a point of knightly honor.

"If in administration we make the standard efficiency and not partisan advantage, if in executing the laws we deal impartially, if in making the laws there is fair and intelligent action with reference to each exigency, we shall disarm reckless and selfish agitators and take from the enemies of our peace their vantage ground of attack.

"It is my intention to employ my constitutional powers to this end. I believe in the sincerity and good sense of the people. I believe that they are intent on having government

which recognizes no favored interests and which is not conducted in any part for selfish ends."

Governor Hughes, in accordance with the promise made in his inaugural address, devoted his entire time while he was Governor to the duties of his office. He severed relations with his law firm, gave up his home in New York, and moved his family to Albany. He was sent to Albany at a time of political change. Some of the leaders of his party organization had not yet conformed to the new spirit which was becoming manifest in many directions. He earnestly desired to work with them in harmony and to co-operate with the Legislature in framing laws which might benefit the people of the State. While he accomplished much during his two terms with the support of the Legislative majority, there were certain points of difference between them which made his work more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

He took the stand that he would confine his official activity to the discharge of the responsibilities imposed upon him by law and that he would not use his powers as Governor either to coerce the Legislature or to interfere with political organization or any of its branches. He assumed his responsibilities and did not seek to interfere in the performance of duties which the law imposed upon the Legislature and the other State officers. He never tried to "play politics." To use a homely phrase, he minded his own business.

While this attitude was to a certain extent made necessary during his first term by the fact that he was the only candidate elected on the Republican ticket, he adhered to it while he remained Governor.

He not only gave all his energies to the gubernatorial office, but he introduced innovations which proved popular. The Executive Chamber in the State Capitol consists of a large room where the Governor's desk is placed. This room is open to the public. Behind it is a smaller room to which the Governor may retire when he wishes to be uninterrupted. This inner room is connected with the corridor by a back door. It had been customary for Governors to admit the political legislative leaders by this rear door and to consult with them regarding legislation or other measures in private in the rear room. Governor Hughes refused to continue this custom. In popular phrase, he "closed the back door" to the Executive Chamber, and conducted the State's business in the large room, without concealment.

Toward the close of his first year as Governor, in 1907, a demand sprang up that he be made the candidate of the Republicans of the State of New York in the Republican National Convention for President. This demand was not pleasing to the Governor, who did not feel there was any urgent reason why he should run for President and who did not wish to leave unfinished the work he had begun in Albany. Nevertheless, he felt that he had no right absolutely to forbid the use of his name or to

prevent those citizens who believed he ought to be nominated from conducting a campaign in his behalf.

Accordingly, he permitted his name to be used. He declined, however, to work for his own nomination, and he never asked any one to work for him or to support him. He did not aid the advocates of his nomination by making any appointment or by any other official act that might have increased his following. The only recognition that he gave his own candidacy was to make two or three speeches in which he defined his attitude upon the issues of the campaign. One of these speeches was made before the Republican Club of New York City, which had passed resolutions advocating his nomination, on January 31, 1908. Another was made in Boston in March, 1908. He also made a Washington Birthday address before the Union League Club in Chicago.

LETTER TO JAMES S. LEHMAIER

He defined his attitude toward his candidacy in a letter to James S. Lehmaier, who notified him of the resolution adopted by the Republican Club. In this letter he said:

"It is my desire that the sentiment of the party shall have the freest expression, and that such action shall be taken as will be for its best interests.

"I do not seek office nor shall I attempt to influence the selection or vote of any delegate. The State administration must continue to be impartial and must not be tributary to any candidacy.

"I have no interest in any factional controversy, and desire above all things that there shall be deliberation, honest expression of the party will, and harmony of effort.

"I cannot fail to recognize the great honor which the nomination would confer or the obligation of service which it would impose. Nor should I care to be thought lacking in appreciation of the confidence and esteem which prompt the efforts of those who sincerely desire to bring it about. The matter is one for the party to decide, and whatever its decision, I shall be content."

In addition to the work of the Regular Republican organization in many parts of the State, Mr. Hughes' friends formed the Hughes Alliance to foster sentiment in his favor. Members of all political parties joined the Alliance.

In the Chicago Convention of 1908, Mr. Hughes received 67 votes. When it was seen that his nomination was exceedingly improbable, the organization leaders asked him to withdraw his name, or to "release" the delegates who had been instructed to vote for him, so that the State might obtain the nomination for Vice-President. Mr. Hughes declined

to send any message to the National Convention, pointing out that he could not "release" delegates who had been instructed to vote for him, because the instructions had been given not by him but by the constituents of the delegates. Nor did he feel that he had any right to withdraw his name having permitted its use. An effort was made to induce him to accept the nomination for Vice-President, but he refused to consider the suggestion. James S. Sherman was nominated for Vice-President.

At the request of William H. Taft, the nominee for President, Mr. Hughes gladly took the stump in the national campaign. He delivered his first speech at Youngstown, Ohio, riddling the programme advanced by William J. Bryan, who was the Democratic candidate. Mr. Hughes afterwards made a trip through the West, speaking for Mr. Taft.

Although some of the leaders of his own party in the State were reluctant to nominate him for Governor, the managers of the national campaign insisted that this must be done, so that the national ticket would not be endangered, and he was nominated to succeed himself. To a considerable extent, he disregarded his own campaign, devoting a large part of his time to speaking for the Republican national ticket. Because of certain hostilities that he had created during his first term, he ran behind the other candidates on the Republican ticket, but he received 804,651 votes against 735,189 cast for Lieutenant Governor Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, the candidate of the Democratic part, making his plurality 69,462, an increase over that in his first election.

PRESIDENT SCHURMAN'S ESTIMATE

President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University, who came to know Governor Hughes well during the two years that he taught law in Cornell, gave his impressions of Mr. Hughes' personality and character in an introductory chapter for a volume of "Addresses and Papers of Charles Evans Hughes," published in 1908 by G. P. Putnam and Sons. The following extracts are made from what President Schurman wrote:

"I may here record some of the impressions made by Mr. Hughes on those who knew him at Cornell University and have since known him as a lawyer in New York City. In his physical build he was about six feet in height, slender rather than stout, but sturdy, tough and wiry. Then, as now and always, he was a most indefatigable worker; in this respect indeed he excels any man I have ever known. His mental outfit is not less remarkable. To understand things is a necessity of his nature. Like Lord Bacon he must have the 'dry light' of reason on whatever he deals with—the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, unaffected by any distorting or discoloring rays of passion, prejudice, or emotion. He possesses a powerful intellect, which is at once acute in

action and comprehensive in range. Analysis is the mark of a great lawyer, and Mr. Hughes has this faculty in its highest potency. Not less admirable is his ability to grasp quickly a complicated mass of facts and arrange them in logical order. I have seen him work himself into new questions, feel his way to the heart of them, then gradually marshal the facts with reference to some fundamental principle or some significant circumstance until the whole situation became luminous even to the mind of a layman; and all this time the speaker talked literally 'like a book,' and what he said might have been printed almost without change in a treatise on law or a commentary on cases. But this gift of intellectual divination and synthesis marks the creative mind. Mr. Hughes is not only analytic and critical but creative and constructive. His friends, his associates at the bar, and the judges of the courts have long admired this remarkable combination of gifts. And the general public have become aware of them also since Mr. Hughes followed up his wonderful gas and insurance investigations with drafting remedial legislation, and especially since as Governor he framed his Public Utilities Bill as a solution of the gravest question of public policy now before our people.

"Quite as remarkable as his intellectual gifts is his sense of justice and fair play. This was impressively recognized the other day by Mr. Ahearn when, at the close of his examination, he said that, whatever the finding of the Governor, he desired to thank him for the courtesy and fairness of the examination. Similarly, Mr. Hughes' fearlessness and independence have for many years been well understood by those who know him. And his firm attitude toward hostile politicians and legislators since he became Governor has given open proof of these characteristics to the public. Indeed, the moral attributes of the man are quite on a par with his intellect, powerful and capacious as that is, even if they do not surpass integrity of character and fidelity to duty. It is no accident, but the deepest instinct and conviction of his nature, that has made him the exponent and champion of the sacredness of fiduciary obligations alike in business and in politics. His own personal life is built on that foundation and his own professional practice as a lawyer has been regulated by that principle. It meant fidelity to all his clients, but subserviency to none. He never accepted general retainers involving his commitment to any and every kind of service. Both his integrity and his sense of independence forbade truckling to any client and condoning dubious or crooked ways.

"I have said that Mr. Hughes is a marvellous worker; he also becomes absorbed in his work so that for the time being nothing outside the range of his duties can greatly interest much less excite him. It is not merely power of voluntary concentration, but involuntary absorption in the object of his activity. His work literally takes possession of him and has at command the best that is in him. It is consequently impossible for him to do anything he undertakes in a half-hearted or slipshod manner. Whether teaching law, defending a client, or administering the affairs of the State of New York, he gives himself to the duty in hand with such whole-souled earnestness and devotion that no energy or interest is left for outside matters which do not concern him. And this circumstance, along with a large natural endowment of common sense and excellent practical judgment will explain why his course as a public servant has been so sure-footed and unerring. Few men have entered on public office surrounded by so many dangerous pitfalls; I recall no man who has made fewer mistakes. In view of it all one might say that he is not only safe and sane, but almost infallibly sagacious. * * *

"In the Latin language *ambition* meant a candidate's going about to solicit office. Of such a quality Mr. Hughes is absolutely devoid. It is one thing to fill an office and another thing to get an office. To get an office has never been Mr. Hughes' aim or desire. His opportunities of public service have come to him unsought. It is not that he regards himself as superior to other men or that he does not value the good opinion of his fellow citizens. He does appreciate the confidence and esteem of his fellows. But if they want him for public service he feels that the call should come from them; and if they do not want him he does not desire the office; so that in any event there is absolutely nothing for him to do. * * *

"As he would have nothing to do with getting the nomination, as the coming of the nomination to him was no concern of his, so there remained open to him only one way of showing his appreciation of the confidence which had been vouchsafed to him by the people of the State, namely, by discharging the high duties to which they had called him with all the ability, wisdom and virtue he could command. To thank any person, or persons, for the nomination would have been tantamount to the confession that these persons had done him a favor. But from Mr. Hughes' way of looking at a nomination as a call of the people to serve them, with which he had

no concern, it will be obvious that such a procedure would have been a stultifying of himself. On the other hand, inclination, duty, pride, and self-respect all conspire to move him to make a record as Chief Executive which shall amply justify the wisdom of the convention and the confidence of the people. * * *

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS LAW

The chief legislation of Governor Hughes' first year in the Executive Chamber was the Public Service Commissions Law. The management and control of the public service corporations, and especially of the street railways, had been a leading issue of the State campaign. The great surface railway system of New York City had just fallen to pieces and gone into the hands of receivers. Attempts to remedy admitted evils through the passage of separate bills caused the introduction in the Legislature of 1906, of 173 bills dealing with railroad matters, fourteen with electricity, and twenty-two with gas.

Mr. Hughes, after his election and before his inauguration, drew the Public Service Commission Bill. He strongly recommended the measure in his first annual message to the Legislature and the bill which he had defined was introduced on the heels of his message.

An outcry was immediately raised by the public service corporations and their attorneys throughout the State. They declared that the measure would take the management of all public service corporations out of the hands of their stockholders and place it in the hands of State officials who were far less competent to manage such properties. Governor Hughes, while the bill was pending, made several addresses in its support. These were carefully reasoned statements which had great effect upon public opinion. In one of these, at Elmira, he uttered a sentence which was often repeated during the campaign for the bill:

"I am here retained by the people of the State of New York, to see that justice is done, and with no disposition to injure any investment, but with every desire to give the fullest opportunity to enterprise, and with every purpose to shield and protect every just property interest. I stand for the people of the State of New York against extortion, against favoritism, against financial scandal and against everything that goes to corrupt our politics by interference with the freedom of our Legislature and administration. I stand for honest government and effective regulation by the State of public service corporations."

After the bill went through the Legislature as provided by the Constitution, it was submitted to the Mayor of New York City, and it was

vetoed by Mayor McClellan. The Legislature passed it over his veto and it became a law just as it had been drafted by the Governor.

This law remains on the statute books practically in its original form. It was one of the first of the efficient and workable State laws for the control of public service corporations, and it has served as a model for similar laws in many States. It is not too much to say that the passage of the Governor's Public Utilities law put an end to the mismanagement, wildcat financing and poor service of public service corporations. The corporations themselves, which had sincerely dreaded the application of the law and had fought it by every means in their power, soon found that it protected them as well as the public and ceased to inveigh against it.

New York had a Railroad Commission, a Rapid Transit Commission and a State Commission of Gas and Electricity before this law was enacted; but these officials were compelled to work under statutes which gave them no real authority over the corporations which they were expected to supervise. Disobedience to their orders involved no penalties, and the corporations might freely appeal to the courts to relieve them of any obligation that they might feel bound to obey. In his first message to the Legislature, in advocating the passage of his bill, Governor Hughes enumerated the evils which then existed. He said:

"Pernicious favoritism has been practised. Secret rebates have been allowed, and there have been unjust discriminations in rates, and in furnishing facilities for transportation. Those who have sought to monopolize trade have thus been enabled to crush competition and to grow in wealth and power by crowding out their rivals who have been deprived of access to market upon equal terms. These abuses are not to be tolerated."

The Public Utilities Bill framed by the Governor abolished the Board of Railroad Commissioners, the Rapid Transit Commission and the office of Commissioner of Gas and Electricity and created two State Commissions, the jurisdiction of one of which covered the City of New York, where subway construction was being planned, while the jurisdiction to the other extended throughout the rest of the State. These two Commissions, by the terms of the bill, had authority over all public service corporations with the exception of telephone and telegraph companies. This authority extended to the regulation of service, rates, and the issue of securities. The abuses which had been prevalent were prohibited under severe penalties, the companies were made liable, free passes were forbidden, stock-watering was prevented and the appeal to the courts was taken away.

When the new law was safely on the statute books, Governor Hughes, in 1908, recommended that the telephone and telegraph companies be brought under the authority of the Public Service Commissions and this was accomplished in 1910.

The Public Service Commissions Law, which the State of New York owes to Governor Hughes, is looked upon as one of the most successful pieces of constructive State legislation ever enacted in this country.

THE TWO-CENT FARE VETO

Governor Hughes' veto of the Two-Cent Fare Bill on June 11, 1907, during his first year in office, attracted attention throughout the country. Similar statutes had been passed in many States in response to an agitation to reduce passenger fares upon railroads to the uniform rate of two cents a mile. There was supposed to be a strong public opinion behind this agitation. Governor Hughes was the first Governor to veto one of these bills.

The bill presented to the Governor provided for a maximum passenger fare of two cents a mile upon railroads more than 150 miles long. Governor Hughes pointed out that the bill had not been preceded by any investigation or suitable inquiry and that the rate of two cents a mile was not based upon official reports or statistics which demonstrated its justice. The memorandum filed with the veto continued:

"The bill represents a policy seriously mistaken and pregnant with disaster. It is of the utmost importance that the management of our railroad corporations should be subject to strict supervision by the State and that regulations compelling the observance of the law and proper and adequate service should be rigidly enforced. It is the duty of these corporations to provide transportation of passengers and goods at reasonable rates, and the State should compel the performance of this obligation.

"But injustice on the part of railroad corporations toward the public does not justify injustice on the part of the State toward the railroad corporation. The action of government should be fair and impartial, and upon this every citizen, whatever his interest, is entitled to insist. We shall make matters not better but worse if to cure one wrong we establish another. The fact that those in control of railroad corporations have been guilty of grossly improper financiering and of illegal and injurious discriminations in charges points clearly to the necessity of effective State action, but does not require or warrant arbitrary reprisals. In dealing with these questions democracy must demonstrate its capacity to act upon deliberation and to deal justly.

"It is of the greatest importance not only that railroad corporations should be compelled to respect their public obligations, but also that they should be permitted to operate under conditions which will give a fair return for their service.

Upon this depends not simply the security of investors, but the security of their employees and the protection of every form of industry and commerce through the maintenance and extension of necessary transportation facilities. Nothing could be more opposed to the interests of the community as a whole than to cripple transportation corporations by arbitrary reduction of earnings. It may be said that a two-cent passenger rate is not so extreme as to have a very injurious result. But this is a debatable question. Large and prosperous suburban communities have been built up through the offer of commutation rates much less than the proposed maximum. Upon the maintenance of these rates many thousands of our citizens rely. Considerable differences exist between the railroad corporations with respect to the territory they serve and the cost of service, and it is manifest that what would be fair for one might be far from fair for another. An arbitrary dislocation of tariffs by the fiat of the Legislature without investigation is a matter of serious concern. The best that could be said for such legislation would be that it should be regarded as an isolated case and not as a precedent. For if flat freight rates, either for all commodities or for different kinds of commodities, were similarly to be fixed by the Legislature without investigation or proper ascertainment of their justice, our railroad business and our industrial and commercial interests would be thrown into confusion.

"I do not mean to be understood as saying that a maximum two-cent passenger rate would be unreasonably low. It might be high enough in many cases. Possibly it would be high enough in many cases. I fully appreciate the fact that those who have promoted this bill believe that such a rate would be fair. But I deem it most important that the policy of dealing with matters of this sort arbitrarily, by legislative rule of general application without reference to the demands of justice in particular cases, should be condemned. Every workman, every tradesman, and every citizen believing himself to have aught at stake in the prosperity of the country should determinedly oppose it. For it not only threatens the stability of business enterprise which makes our prosperity possible, but it substitutes unreason for sound judgment, the ill-considered demands of resentment for the spirit of fair play, and makes impossible patient and honorable effort to correct abuses."

Governor Hughes called attention to the fact that there was a better way of dealing with the question—through the Public Service Commissions, which had just been established. He said that the Commissions

were able to investigate, to obtain expert assistance and to deal summarily with the question through orders. If the Commissions should find a passenger rate of two cents a mile to be just and reasonable, they could order it into effect.

THE FULL CREW BILL VETO

During his first year as Governor, on June 15, 1907, Governor Hughes vetoed a bill providing for additional brakemen on freight trains, known as the "Full-Crew Bill." This measure was urged by labor organizations and had attracted a good deal of attention at the time of its passage. It provided that railroads in the State which ran more than four freight trains in twenty-four hours must have a "full crew" of six persons, including one engineer, one fireman, one conductor and three brakemen on every train of twenty cars. The practice of the railroads was to give two brakemen only to such trains.

The Governor pointed out the fact that the bill made no account of difference between the different roads and that its advocates admitted that the employment of a third brakeman on the New York Central Railroad, for instance, was unnecessary, and that the bill would entail an enormous outlay for which there was no need. "The bill does not refer its requirements to any proper standard of necessity or provide any criterion by which its proper application under varying conditions is to be determined," Governor Hughes said. "It contains an absolute requirement which, upon the facts conceded before me, cannot be justified." Governor Hughes pointed out that whenever there was inadequate train service complaint could be made to the Public Service Commissions.

THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX

Governor Hughes in a special message to the Legislature on January 5, 1910, opposed the ratification of the Income Tax amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The Governor was required by law to transmit to the Legislature a certified copy of the resolution adopted by Congress containing the amendment and he made this the occasion of his message.

The amendment reads as follows:

"Article XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Congress exercised the power to tax incomes, without apportionment among the States, until 1895 when the United States Supreme Court decided that taxes on the rents or income of real estate, and taxes on personal property, or on the income of personal property, were direct taxes

and, therefore, under the Constitution, must be apportioned among the several States according to their respective populations.

Governor Hughes declared himself to be in favor of a Federal Income Tax, but he objected to the words "from whatever source derived," which were contained in the proposed amendment. He pointed out that this was a broad grant of power which might be construed as subjecting to Federal taxation incomes derived from the bonds of States and their municipal corporations. It was said that to place the borrowing capacity of the State and its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State. To the argument that the broad words of the amendment would be limited by construction, it was answered that there could be no satisfactory assurance of this.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Hughes said:

"I am in favor of conferring upon the Federal government the power to lay and collect an income tax without apportionment among the States according to population. I believe that this power should be held by the Federal government so as properly to equip it with the means of meeting national exigencies.

"But the power to tax incomes should not be granted in such terms as to subject to Federal taxation the incomes derived from bonds issued by the State itself, or those issued by municipal governments organized under the State's authority. To place the borrowing capacity of the State and of its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State which, as its officers, we are bound to defend.

"You are called upon to deal with a specific proposal to amend the Constitution, and your action must necessarily be determined not by a general consideration of the propriety of a just Federal income tax, or of giving to the Federal government the power to lay such a tax, but whether or not the particular proposal is of such a character as to warrant your assent.

"This proposal is that the Federal government shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes '*from whatever source derived.*'

"It is to be borne in mind that this is not a mere statute to be construed in the light of constitutional restrictions, express or implied, but a proposed amendment to the Constitution itself which, if ratified, will be in effect a grant to the Federal government of the power which it defines.

"The comprehensive words, '*from whatever source derived,*' if taken in their natural sense, would include not only

incomes from ordinary real or personal property, but also incomes derived from State and municipal securities.

"It may be urged that the amendment would be limited by construction. But there can be no satisfactory assurance of this. The words in terms are all-inclusive. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States is the most important of political acts, and there should be no amendment expressed in such terms as to afford the opportunity for Federal action in violation of the fundamental conditions of State authority.

"I am not now referring to the advantage which the States might derive from the exclusive power to tax incomes from property, or to the argument that for this reason the power to tax such incomes should be withheld from the Federal government. To that argument I do not assent.

"I am referring to a proposal to authorize a tax which might be laid in fact upon the instrumentalities of State government. In order that a market may be provided for State bonds, and for municipal bonds, and that thus means may be accorded for State and local administration, such securities from time to time are excepted from taxation. In this way lower rates of interest are paid than otherwise would be possible. To permit such securities to be the subject of Federal taxation is to place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of Federal grace."

In concluding his message, Governor Hughes said:

"We cannot suppose that Congress will not seek to tax incomes derived from securities issued by the State and its municipalities. It has repeatedly endeavored to lay such taxes and its efforts have been defeated only by implied constitutional restriction which this amendment threatens to destroy. While we may desire that the Federal government may be equipped with all necessary powers in order that it may perform the natural function, we must be equally solicitous to secure the essential bases of State Government.

"I therefore deem it my duty, as Governor of the State, to recommend that this proposed amendment should not be ratified.

The Legislature adopted Governor Hughes' view of the danger of the amendment and its ratification was defeated in 1910.

PRIMARY LAW REFORM

Throughout his three and a half years as Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Hughes fought for the reform of the primary election

machinery. New York had fallen far behind other States in its primary laws. The State had no direct primary law in the modern sense of the term. This condition, Mr. Hughes believed, favored boss rule and the nomination of unfit candidates for office. It was not an uncommon thing in the State for delegates who had been honestly chosen to be unseated and excluded from nominating conventions because they refused to carry out the programme that had been laid out by a group of leaders or even a single leader for the convention to ratify. A flagrant instance of such arbitrary exclusion had been offered in the Democratic Convention which was held in Buffalo, in 1906, for the nomination of Mr. Hughes' opponent in his first campaign for Governor.

In his first and second messages to the Legislature, Governor Hughes recommended the enactment of a direct primary law in permissive form, so that any County organization might make use of it if it chose to do so.

After his re-election, in his annual message of 1909, Governor Hughes asked the Legislature to pass a mandatory direct nominations law. The chief points which he believed such a law should contain were set forth in his message as follows:

"I therefore recommend a system of direct nominations by all parties for all elective offices, other than those of presidential electors, filled at the November election or at special elections called to fill vacancies in such offices. Heretofore I have suggested that it be made permissive, because it was believed that such a provision would rapidly lead to its general extension. But the objections urged to this course and the strength which the movement for direct nominations has gathered have produced the conviction that we should decide upon a policy binding upon all parties. In this State the way has been prepared for this course by the method of party enrollment now in use in portions of the State and by our familiarity with provisions designed to prevent corrupt practices and frauds at elections. While I do not desire unduly to elaborate detail, I further recommend:

"(1) That provision be made for the enrollment of party voters throughout the State, and that participation in primary elections be limited to the enrolled party voters, with stringent measures to prevent fraud. The enrollment may be made in substantially the same manner as is provided for with regard to registration.

"(2) That the expense of holding primary elections including the printing of official ballots, provision of polling places and the like, be borne by the public.

"(3) That the Corrupt Practices act be extended so as to prescribe the expenses which may lawfully be incurred in con-

nection with candidacies for nomination and to ensure the publicity of all expenses.

"(4) That the amount which may be expended by candidates for nomination be limited.

"(5) That generally, with such changes as may be necessary for adaptation, the safeguards of the law governing general elections be extended to primary elections.

"We may thus, in perfecting the plan, avoid such mistakes as may have been made in other States while securing the benefits of a system which by virtue of its appeal to the sentiment of liberty has rapidly won its way in the favor of the people throughout the country."

In order to carry out his ideas he drew a primary election bill which became known as the Hinman-Green bill and which created an entirely original form of machinery which many experienced political leaders believed would prove effective in practice. It provided for the enrollment of the party voters, an official primary ballot, separate primary elections for the choice of State Committees, containing one Committeeman from each of the 150 Assembly districts in the State, and for meetings of the State Committees to suggest the names of candidates for nominations, to be voted for on primary day. It provided for the designation of rival candidates by petition, and it threw around the voting on primary day, for the first time, practically all the safeguards adopted to prevent ballot frauds on election day.

This bill was defeated in 1909, and again in 1910. In an extraordinary session called by the Governor in 1910 to reconsider the question, another bill, known as the Cobb bill, was introduced. This bill was called a "compromise bill" from the fact that it made certain concessions to some of the opponents of the Hinman-Green bill.

Colonel Roosevelt returned from his trip to Africa while the Cobb bill was pending in Albany and went to Cambridge to attend the commencement exercises at Harvard University. Both sides in the primary bill controversy appealed to him. Governor Hughes was about to receive a degree from Harvard University and he met Colonel Roosevelt at Cambridge. He asked Colonel Roosevelt to throw his influence in favor of the bill and this Colonel Roosevelt did in a telegram addressed to Lloyd C. Griscom, Chairman of the Republican County Committee of New York County, which he sent from Cambridge on June 29, 1910, as follows:

"It seems to me that the Cobb bill with the amendments proposed by you meets the needs of the situation. I believe the people demand it. I most earnestly hope that it may be enacted into law."

President Taft also sent a telegram favoring the Cobb bill. Despite these appeals the bill was beaten in both houses of the Legislature, the

vote in the Assembly being sixty-three ayes to eighty noes—seventy-six being the vote required for passage—and in the Senate, nineteen ayes to twenty-five noes, twenty-six affirmative votes being necessary for passage.

The contest waged by Governor Hughes for direct nominations started an agitation which led to the passage of the present Direct Primary Law. This law does not in the least resemble the plan proposed by the Governor in the Hinman-Green bill and it has failed to give the party voters the control which Mr. Hughes believed to be essential. Many persons think that, while bowing to the popular demand, the Democratic Legislature which passed the law purposely made it as ineffective as possible so that the direct nominations idea might be discredited.

During this contest to change the primary election machinery, the cry was raised that he was seeking to destroy party organization and that he was "an anti-organization man."

This criticism, however, was a part of the opposition campaign. Governor Hughes then, as always, recognized the necessity for party organization and its desirability. He insisted that his only endeavor was to make the party organization stronger and more effective than it had ever been before by giving the party voters themselves a voice in its management. He made this clear in his message to the Legislature.

Frederick M. Davenport, the Progressive candidate for Governor in New York State in 1914, recently made a tour through the West for the purpose of noting the effect of radical legislation there. The results of his observations were published in the *Outlook*. The issue of that publication for July 12, 1915, contains comments upon several new laws, including the Direct Primary. In that article, Mr. Davenport said:

"The preliminary 'unofficial' conferences which are now held under the Direct Primary from New York to the Pacific Coast by all parties are the direct descendants of the garret and subterranean gatherings of both the earlier and the later periods of popular government in America. And the instinct cannot be stifled. It should rather be legalized and made responsible and open; otherwise a secret cabal, whether benevolent or malevolent, is sure to flourish and be a continuing source of irritation in a democracy. Governor Hughes met this problem squarely while he was the Executive in New York. He proposed, as an essential part of the democracy of his Direct Primary plan, that representative State leaders, freely chosen by voters in the local assembly districts, and without power legally to perpetuate themselves, should in the most open manner and with the most careful legal restrictions, make the initial suggestions of State candidates for office. But the final determination upon these suggestions and upon all other suggestions which might likewise be freely made by petition, should lie within the whole body of enrolled voters

in each party on Primary day, with this open and responsible and legalized leadership at the top, through a popularly elected committee or a popularly elected State committee, and with the town meeting re-established everywhere at the bottom, the Direct Primary would fulfill the needs of both representative and direct democracy far better than it does at present. The Direct Primary at present drives leadership to cover and makes no place for those splendid mass gatherings and discussions in the small units of the Nation which formerly cleared the air and informed and trained the electorate, not only in New England, but in many other parts of the country."

REFORM OF THE ELECTION LAWS

Governor Hughes throughout his two terms urged reform in the election laws of the State and particularly a simplified form of ballot under which the names of candidates for each office should appear but once, grouped under the name of that office. This form is generally known as the "Massachusetts ballot."

The contest which was waged when David B. Hill was Governor of the State in 1889-90 had resulted in a ballot containing party columns, with emblems which enabled the most ignorant and careless of voters to vote the straight party ticket by making a single cross-mark at the head of the party column. There was no limitation as to the number of times the name of the candidate nominated by several party organizations might appear on the ballot. While this form of ballot made it easy for the voter who desired to vote for his party rather than candidates, it practically disfranchised the voter who desired to vote for candidates rather than for a party.

In his first message to the Legislature, in 1907, Mr. Hughes said:

"It is not impossible to have a simple form of ballot which will put parties, candidates and voters respectively on an entirely equal footing. I believe that the best form of ballot is that in which the names of the candidates for the respective offices appear but once grouped under the names of the offices. I recommend that such a ballot, with appropriate designation of party, opposite the candidate's name, should be adopted. The fact that we are accustomed to another form of ballot in New York has given rise to objections which experience in other States has shown to be without weight."

Although Governor Hughes renewed this recommendation each year, it was not until after he had left the office of Governor that it was finally adopted. The ballot which he proposed is now the official ballot of the State.

Campaign contributions from corporations were forbidden by a law

resulting from the insurance investigations. This made an enormous difference in elections, greatly reducing the amount of money spent.

The Corrupt Practices Law was strengthened in several important particulars during Mr. Hughes' term at his insistence. In his first message to the Legislature he said:

"The laws relating to Corrupt Practices should be reinforced by amendment as experience reveals defects. There is no better way of putting an end to bribery and corruption than by compelling full publicity as to campaign expenditures, and this was the intent of the legislation of last year."

Governor Hughes also recommended that the amount a candidate might spend to procure his election should be limited. Other recommendations proposed limitation of the number of poll-workers who might be employed, and provision for the better identification of voters wherever fraudulent practices existed.

LABOR LEGISLATION

Many labor laws were enacted during Governor Hughes' administration.

The Labor Department was made more effective by provisions for additional inspectors. The Bureau of Mercantile Inspection was created and the inspection of mercantile establishments was taken from the health officers of cities of the first class and given to the Department of Labor.

The Child Labor Law was made more stringent. Proper ventilation and suitable washrooms in factories were provided for. Protection was given to tunnel workers.

The limitation of hours of labor of employees on street surface railroads was extended to cities of the second class.

The employment of railroad employees, except in specified cases of accident or unexpected delay, for more than sixteen consecutive hours was prohibited.

An eight-hour day for railroad telephone and telegraph operators was provided.

The payment of wages semi-monthly to employees of steam surface railroads was provided for

Ice-harvesting companies were required to pay wages in cash.

These are samples of the labor legislation which distinguished Governor Hughes' term of office.

The most important labor enactment for which he was responsible, however, was the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Law. In order to open the way for the passage of this law, the Governor brought about the appointment of a Commission, of which Senator J. M. Wainwright of Westchester County was Chairman. This Commission made a thorough study of the laws of other States and countries and their

operation. As a result, the first Workmen's Compensation Law in the State of New York was enacted in 1910, in accordance with the Governor's recommendations.

This law was afterwards declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals and it was necessary to amend the Constitution in order to make effective legislation of this character.

The verdict of labor upon Mr. Hughes' administration was given, after he had resigned the office of Governor, in an editorial in the *Legislative News*, the organ of the New York State Federation of Labor:

"HE WAS A GREAT GOVERNOR

"Now that Governor Hughes has retired from politics and ascended to a place on the highest judicial tribunal in the world, the fact can be acknowledged without hurting anybody's political corns, that he was the greatest friend of labor laws that ever occupied the Governor's chair at Albany. During his two terms he has signed 56 labor laws, including among them the best labor laws ever enacted in this or any other State. He also urged the enactment of labor laws in his messages to the Legislature, even going so far as to place the demand for a labor law in one of his messages to an extra session of the Legislature.

"Only 162 Labor Laws have been enacted in this State since its creation in 1777—in 133 years. One-third of these, exceeding in quality all of the others, have been enacted and signed during Governor Hughes' term of three years and nine months.

"With such a record of approval and suggestion of progressive legislation in the interest of humanity to his credit, it is easy to believe that human rights will have a steadfast and sympathetic upholder in the new Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States."

RACE TRACK GAMBLING AND THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Convention of 1894 proposed an amendment to the State Constitution to prohibit pool-selling and book-making on race tracks. The prohibition was contained in Section 9 of Article I of the Constitution in the following language:

"nor shall any lottery or the sale of lottery tickets, pool-selling, book-making, or any other kind of gambling hereafter be authorized or allowed within this State; and the Legislature shall pass appropriate laws to prevent offenses against any of the provisions of this section."

This provision was adopted as a part of the revised Constitution in 1895. The Legislature passed a law making pool-selling or book-making

a felony excepting where an exclusive penalty was otherwise provided. It then passed the Percy-Gray Law, which provided that the exclusive penalty for pool-selling or book-making on authorized race tracks, provided no memorandum or token of the bet was delivered, should be forfeiture of the amount wagered, to be recovered in a civil action.

Under this disingenous law, conditions at the race tracks operated in the State had gone from bad to worse. Gambling was carried on openly and on a tremendous scale in the betting rings which were conducted with no pretense of concealment and, in fact, under the protection of the authorities. In his judgment these demoralizing conditions encouraged thefts and defalcations, ruined many business men, and fostered vice and crime.

Governor Hughes in his annual message of 1908 pointed out to the Legislature the conflict between the plain mandate of the Constitution and the Percy-Gray Law under which book-making and pool-selling were permitted to flourish, and he asked the Legislature to repeal the Percy-Gray Law. This recommendation led to a bitter struggle. Vast interests and enormous profits were at stake. The racing men succeeded in enlisting the support of many influential members of the Legislature of both political parties and the Governor was compelled to take his case to the people of the State.

In his last message, sent to the special session of the Legislature, Governor Hughes said:

“Nor can the question be finally disposed of save by vindicating the honor of the State and by demonstrating that there is no power, however strong or unscrupulous, which can be permitted to override the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law.”

The Governor's racing bills passed the Assembly and as the time drew near for a final vote on them in the Senate, the racing men exerted all the pressure they could command. The bills were finally lost in the regular session by a tie vote; but a vacancy existed in the Forty-seventh Senate district in the western part of the State. Governor Hughes called a special election in that district on May 12. The campaign turned upon the race track bills. The Governor stumped the district in support of them and a Senator was elected who favored their passage. The Governor then called a special session of the Legislature to meet on June 12. The bills were finally passed by one vote.

Much bitterness was engendered by this contest and for several years racing was suspended. The race-track men, and with them many friends of sport in general who had been induced to believe that the Governor was opposed to horse racing and to all sports, did their best to defeat him when he ran for re-election. This feeling has now utterly disappeared.

The opinion of racing men is shown by the following extract from the *Rider and Driver*, the organ of horse breeders, for July, 1916:

"The nomination of Justice Charles E. Hughes for the Presidency has brought many inquiries from our readers as to the probable attitude of horsemen for or against his election. Naturally, the question is based upon his activities in regard to the so-called anti-racing, but really anti-gambling legislation in New York State when he was Governor. On first thought, the impression was that his record would militate against him, but on mature reflection we feel that time has healed much of the bitterness of that struggle and that the improved conditions of racing would seem to justify his course, which was undoubtedly based upon a high moral sense of righteousness. In looking back, now, one readily sees that the Governor was the inflexible agent of a State-wide sentiment to put down a condition that had fastened itself upon the splendid sport of racing, which, although drastic, has undoubtedly proven to be, like the eradication of slavery and other evils, for the best good not only of the people at large, but for horse lovers and racing interests in particular."

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The conservation of natural resources was being much discussed when Mr. Hughes was elected Governor. New York State had no laws for the protection of public property of this class. At Niagara Falls it had given away in perpetuity the most valuable rights in the world and electric power companies were eagerly seeking new water powers.

To the preservation of these water powers as a part of the public property, as well as to the preservation and extension of the State's forest preserves, Mr. Hughes gave much attention.

It had been the custom when grants of water power rights belonging to the State were made, to require no payment in return, or at best only a nominal one. The Governor insisted that the State should obtain suitable compensation for the use of its water powers. In accordance with his usual custom of ascertaining the facts before attempting to legislate, he recommended that the State Water Supply Commission make an investigation of available water powers in the State and report to the Legislature.

The investigation was completed and the report was made in 1910. The Governor commended it to the careful consideration of the Legislature and made the following recommendations:

"The investigation has proceeded far enough to raise the question as to the action which should be taken by the State,

and I commend this subject to your most careful consideration. The following principles should, I believe, be accepted:

“(1) That the flow of water in our rivers should be regulated and our water powers developed to the fullest extent that may be practicable.

“This is essential to prevent unnecessary damage from floods and to ensure our industrial progress and the future prosperity of our people.

“(2) That with respect to streams having their headwaters within the boundaries of the forest parks, all plans of regulation or power development should be executed only by the State, and all reservoirs and their appurtenances and the impounded waters should be the property of the State and under exclusive State control, and not be permitted to pass into private hands.

“Any such plan should embrace all necessary safeguards to ensure the proper protection of the forests.

“(3) That with respect to any other streams flowing through any other public park or reservation of the State, such plans should likewise be executed by the State and it should retain exclusive ownership and control in order adequately to safeguard the State's interests.

“(4) That further, as it is of great public importance that the water powers of the State should be developed in a comprehensive manner and that these natural sources of industrial energy should not become the subject of an injurious private control, such development should be undertaken by the State whenever such action appears to be feasible and for the general interest.

“(5) That in any case of State development of water power provision should be made for the granting of such rights as may be proper, to use the power so developed upon equitable terms and conditions.

“(6) That the State should not undertake any plan of regulation or water-power development save upon a basis which would make its investment a fair and reasonable one from the public standpoint by virtue of practicable measures

for ensuring such a return upon the State's outlay as would be equitable in the particular circumstances.

"(7) That any amendment of the Constitution at this time for the purpose of permitting any portion of the forest preserve to be used for any such purpose should, by its terms, or by appropriate reference, suitably define the property within the preserve which is to be used and the manner of its use. No amendment and no plan of development should meet with any favor which, after the most rigid scrutiny, does not afford absolute assurance that in no way will the public interest in the forests be parted with or jeopardized."

The Legislature passed a bill providing for the development of water powers; but it failed to comply with the Governor's recommendations and the result was so unsatisfactory that he vetoed it.

THE STATE PARK SYSTEM

The Governor took great interest throughout his term in the extension of the State park system. In his first year, the Hon. William Pryor Letchworth conveyed to the State a tract of 1,000 acres of land in Wyoming County, including the Genesee Falls, one of the most beautiful waterfalls in the State. Threats had been made to appropriate these falls for the purpose of water power development, and Mr. Letchworth prevented this by his gift, which the State accepted upon the Governor's recommendation.

Another large extension of the State park system was the gift of 10,000 acres of land in Orange and Rockland Counties, together with \$1,000,000, which was made by Mrs. Mary W. Harriman, widow of Edward H. Harriman, in accordance with his wishes. With this gift, the State received, as a result of the activity of the Palisades Park Commission, of which George W. Perkins was President, the sum of \$1,625,000 from public spirited citizens to be used for the purchase of land adjoining the Harriman tract for the formation of a reservation, to be developed in connection with Palisades Park. In consideration of this gift, the State appropriated \$2,500,000 and agreed to move the new State prison away from the west side of the Hudson to another site.

In addition to these gifts, the firm of Witherbee, Sherman and Company, at Port Henry, in the Governor's last year conveyed to the State the historic ruins of Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The name of Crown Point has been identified with the history of the State from the earliest times. Upon the recommendation of the Governor, the gift was accepted and Crown Point was converted into a State reservation.

NEW BANKING LAWS

The panic of 1907 checked prosperity and brought about the failure of many financial institutions. The events of that year showed the need for a revision of the banking laws of the State. Governor Hughes invited six well-known bankers, representing all the classes of institutions involved, to act as an unpaid Commission to examine into the situation and make recommendations to him for the reform of the laws. A. Barton Hepburn was Chairman of this Commission.

Just as the evils which had crept into the business of life insurance were eradicated by the legislation framed by Mr. Hughes and recommended by the Armstrong Committee, so the chief evils which made the banking situation unsafe were eradicated by the legislation evolved from the recommendations of the Committee, the Superintendent of Banks, and the Governor. This legislation was regulative and restrictive and, like the insurance legislation, it made the officers and directors responsible. Among other provisions of the new law was one which extended the authority of the Superintendent of Banks to private banks in which large amounts of money were deposited by immigrants unfamiliar with American institutions. Failures among these banks, which had hitherto been without supervision, had furnished frequent scandals. This law was attacked as unconstitutional but it was finally upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

EFFICIENCY IN OFFICE

Governor Hughes always insisted upon efficiency in office. No project attracted him unless it was practical. In his first inaugural address, delivered in January, 1907, he said:

“Each measure proposed must ultimately be tested by critical analysis of the particular problem—the precise mischief alleged and the adequacy of the proffered remedy. It is the capacity for such close examination without heat or disqualifying prejudice which distinguishes the constructive effort from vain endeavors to change human nature by changing the forms of government.”

Believing that too many laws were passed by the Legislature, he refused to consider bills that were unnecessary or the purpose of which could not be met without special legislation, and in this way he materially reduced the volume of new statutes. The Legislature had been accustomed to pass, and Governors to sign, a great quantity of bills fixing the salaries of local officers, cancelling tax sales, validating acts of notaries and commissioners of deeds, extending franchises of railways, amending the Forest, Fish and Game Law, authorizing the presentation of claims against the State or its municipalities, reinstating public officers who had

been dismissed, and the like. Governor Hughes insisted that all these matters should be taken care of under general laws and that if existing general laws were found to be insufficient, they should be amended.

Governor Hughes was much interested in seeing that the new insurance laws were faithfully executed. In his speech accepting the nomination for Governor, he had said:

"I shall spare no effort to make effective the reforms in the business of life insurance so essential to the interests of the policy-holders."

With regard to public office, the Governor held a high opinion. Like President Cleveland, he looked upon the duty of filling such offices as a public trust and he used the greatest care to obtain the men whom he regarded as best fitted to discharge the duties of the offices which he was called upon to fill. He never appointed a friend to office as a reward, or did he ever for revenge remove from office an opponent, or the friends and supporters of an opponent. In order that he might be the better able to secure efficiency in office, he obtained from the Legislature in 1907 the passage of a law, known as the Moreland Act, which authorized the Governor to investigate State administrative departments in order to ascertain the conditions which existed therein. This law has proved of much benefit.

THE SHORT BALLOT, STATE BUDGET, CIVIL SERVICE LAWS

Governor Hughes was always an advocate of the short ballot as the most effective means of centralizing responsibility and encouraging efficient administration. He also advocated the adoption of a State budget system and he gave especial attention to upholding and extending the State Civil Service Laws.

PROBLEMS OF STATE GOVERNMENT

In his annual message to the Legislature of 1909, Mr. Hughes indicated "lines of progress" as follows:

"While we may hesitate to forecast the future, it would seem that progress in solving the problems of State government will involve:

"(1) The concentration of responsibility with regard to executive powers in order to promote efficiency of administration;

"(2) Direct accountability to the people by those charged with this executive control over administrative agencies;

"(3) Such provision with regard to electoral machinery as will aid in focusing the attention of the people upon the officers so accountable;

"(4) Adequate means to secure the effective expression of the will of the people in the selection of such officers."

APPOINTED TO THE SUPREME COURT

Mr. Hughes was nominated to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Taft on May 2, 1910. He resigned the office of Governor on October 6, 1910, and took his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court on October 10th. There was talk in 1912 of nominating Mr. Hughes for the Presidency, but he absolutely forbade the use of his name, announcing that if nominated he would decline the nomination.

NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT

When his name was again brought forward this year, he declared that he was not a candidate for the nomination and declined to give the slightest encouragement to the campaign that was made on his behalf in various parts of the country. He refused even to consider the possibility of his nomination, declining to state his position upon any of the issues, forbidding the use of his name wherever it was possible for him to do so, and refusing even to say whether he would accept if he should be nominated. He continued to discharge his duties as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and he completed writing an opinion while the National Convention was in session.

MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

When the result of the third ballot had been announced Chairman Harding sent the following message to Mr. Hughes:

The Coliseum, Chicago, Ill.,
June 10, 1916.

To Hon. Charles E. Hughes,
Washington, D. C.

With deliberation and enthusiasm under circumstances which could not have been more complimentary, and with a unanimity never excelled in past conventions, you have been nominated by the Republicans of the nation as our candidate for President of the United States. Your eminent fitness for this high office, your sterling integrity and unsullied private character are understood and appreciated by your countrymen. Voicing the sentiments of the Convention over which I have presided and by the courtesy of my fellow delegates, I congratulate you and the country upon the outcome of this Convention.

WARREN G. HARDING.

Upon receipt of this message Mr. Hughes' first act was to send his resignation from the Supreme Court to the President. This was promptly accepted and Mr. Hughes then wrote and dispatched the following letter to the Republican National Convention :

“WASHINGTON, June 10, 1916.

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES :

“I have not desired the nomination. I have wished to remain on the bench. But in this critical period in our national history, I recognize that it is your right to summon and that it is my paramount duty to respond. You speak at a time of national exigency, transcending merely partisan considerations. You voice the demand for a dominant, thoroughgoing Americanism with firm protective upbuilding policies, essential to our peace and security; and to that call, in that crisis, I cannot fail to answer with the pledge of all that is in me to the service of our country. Therefore I accept the nomination.

“I stand for the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea. I neither impugn motives nor underestimate difficulties. But it is most regrettably true that in our foreign relations we have suffered incalculably from the weak and vacillating course which has been taken with regard to Mexico—a course lamentably wrong with regard to both our rights and our duties. We interfered without consistency; and while seeking to dictate when we were not concerned, we utterly failed to appreciate and discharge our plain duty to our own citizens.

“At the outset of the Administration the high responsibilities of our diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations were subordinated to a conception of partisan requirements, and we presented to the world a humiliating spectacle of ineptitude. Belated efforts have not availed to recover the influence and prestige so unfortunately sacrificed; and brave words have been stripped of their force by indecision.

“I desire to see our diplomacy restored to its best standards and to have these advanced; to have no sacrifices of national interest to partisan expediencies; to have the first ability of the country always at its command here and abroad in diplomatic intercourse; to maintain firmly our rights under international law; insisting steadfastly upon all our rights as neutrals, and fully performing our international obligations; and by the clear correctness and justness of our position and our manifest ability and disposition to sustain them to dignify our place among the nations.

"I stand for an Americanism that knows no ulterior purpose; for a patriotism that is single and complete. Whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed, we have but one country, and we do not for an instant tolerate any division of allegiance.

"I believe in making prompt provision to assure absolutely our national security. I believe in preparedness, not only entirely adequate for our defense with respect to numbers and equipment in both army and navy, but with all thoroughness, to the end that in each branch of the service there may be the utmost efficiency under the most competent administrative heads.

"We are devoted to the ideals of honorable peace. We wish to promote all wise and practicable measures for the just settlement of international disputes.

"In view of our abiding ideals, there is no danger of militarism in this country. We have no policy of aggression; no lust for territory, no zeal for strife. It is in this spirit that we demand adequate provision for national defense, and we condemn the inexcusable neglect that has been shown in this matter of national importance. We must have the strength which self-respect demands, the strength of an efficient ready for every emergency.

"Our preparation must be industrial and economic as well as military. Our severest tests will come after the war is over. We must make a fair and wise readjustment of the tariff, in accordance with sound protective principle, to insure our economic independence and to maintain American standards of living. We must conserve the just interests of labor, realizing that in democracy patriotism and national strength must be rooted in even-handed business. Preventing, as we must, unjust discriminations and monopolistic practices, we must still be zealous to assure the foundations of honest business. Particularly should we seek the expansion of foreign trade. We must not throttle American enterprise here or abroad, but rather promote it and take pride in honorable achievements.

"We must take up the serious problems of transportation, of interstate and foreign commerce, in a sensible and candid manner, and provide an enduring basis for prosperity by the intelligent use of the constitutional powers of Congress, so as adequately to protect the public on the one hand, and on the other, to conserve the essential instrumentalities of progress.

"I stand for the principles of our civil service laws. In every department of government the highest efficiency must

be insisted upon. For all laws and programs are vain without efficient and impartial administration.

"I cannot within the limits of this statement speak upon all the subjects that will require attention. I can only say that I fully endorse the platform you have adopted.

"I deeply appreciate the responsibility you impose. I should have been glad to have had that responsibility placed upon another. But I shall undertake to meet it, grateful for the confidence you express. I sincerely trust that all former differences may be forgotten and that we may have united effort in a patriotic realization of our national need and opportunity.

"I have resigned my judicial office and I am ready to devote myself unreservedly to the campaign.

"CHARLES E. HUGHES."

ENDORSED BY THE PROGRESSIVES

The Progressive National Convention, which was in session in Chicago on the same day that Mr. Hughes was nominated, named Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for President. Mr. Roosevelt sent a message to the Progressive Convention, saying that he could not accept the nomination at that time and suggesting that the Convention authorize its National Committee to act for it. This suggestion was adopted and a meeting of the National Committee was appointed for June 26.

✓ In an interval after the adjournment of the Convention, strong sentiment developed in favor of the endorsement of Mr. Hughes' candidacy by the Progressives. When the Progressive National Committee met in Chicago on June 26, this sentiment had become so strong that it prevailed in the National Committee and Mr. Hughes was endorsed by a large majority of the Committee. He sent at once the following telegram to the Committee:

"I welcome the support of Progressives. We make common cause in the interest of national honor, of national security, of national efficiency. We unite in the demand for an undivided and unwavering loyalty to our country; for a whole-hearted patriotic devotion overriding all racial differences. We want a revival of the American spirit—a Nation restored. We insist upon prompt and adequate provision for the common defense; upon the steadfast maintenance of all the rights of our citizens, and upon the integrity of international law.

"The most serious difficulties the present administration has encountered have been due to its own weakness and incertitude. I am profoundly convinced that by prompt and

decisive action, which existing conditions manifestly called for, the Lusitania tragedy would have been prevented. We strongly denounce the use of our soil as a base for alien intrigues, for conspiracies and the fomenting of disorders in the interest of any foreign Nation, but the responsibility lies at the door of the Administration. The moment notice is admitted, responsibility is affixed. For that sort of thing could not continue if the Administration took proper measures to stop it. That responsibility the Administration cannot evade by condemning others. It was officially stated by the Secretary of State in the Mexican note of June 20, 1916, that 'for three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment, or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice.' What an indictment by the Administration of its Mexican policy! And still we are unprepared. That unpreparedness in the midst of perils, and after the experience of three years, is a demonstration of an unpardonable neglect for which the Administration is responsible.

"The Government now has and must have most emphatically the unstinted and patriotic support of every citizen in the existing exigency. But unquestioning, loyal and patriotic support of the Government is one thing; approval of the fatuous course which the Administration has followed is quite another. I cannot in this message adequately review that course; that I shall do later.

"No intelligent man is deceived by the temporary prosperity due to abnormal conditions, and no one can fail to appreciate the gravity of the problems with which we shall be faced when the war ends. We are alive to the imperative necessity of assuring the bases of honest business. I am in deep sympathy with the effort to improve the conditions of labor; to prevent exploitation; to safeguard the future of the Nation by protecting our women and children. I believe in Workmen's Compensation laws; in wise conservation of our natural resources so that they may be protected, developed

and used to the utmost public advantage. But underlying every endeavor to promote social justice is the indispensable condition that there shall be a stable foundation for honorable enterprise. American industry must have proper protection if labor is to be safeguarded. We must rescue our instrumentalities of interstate and foreign commerce, our transportation facilities, from uncertainty and confusion. We must show that we know how to protect the public without destroying or crippling our productive energies.

"To what agency shall we look for the essential constructive program on which our security and prosperity must depend? It is vain to expect it from the Democratic Party. That party has not the national outlook. Both its traditions and dominating influences are fatal handicaps. I have no sectional word to utter. We are to elect a President of the whole country, not of a part. The South, as well as the North, East and West, will be the gainers from our endeavors. But it is sober truth as I see it that as we go forward we must make the Republican Party the instrument of our advance. We want deeds, not words; far-reaching national policies. The Progressives have insisted on responsible, not invisible, government; on efficient administration. I yield to no one in that demand. I am eager to call the best ability of the country to our aid. For the conduct of the great departments the Executive is directly responsible, and there is no excuse whatever for the toleration of incompetence in order to satisfy partisan obligations.

"I am deeply appreciative of your endorsement, I find no difference in platform or in aim which precludes the most hearty co-operation and the most complete unity. It is within the party that the liberalizing spirit you invoke can have the widest and most effective influence. I solicit your earnest effort for the common cause."

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

BY HON. GEORGE B. LOCKWOOD

The career of Charles W. Fairbanks is a typical American story of professional, business and political success; of forging forward from comparative poverty and obscurity to national prominence; of gradual growth and advancement through the patient and persistent application of those mental and moral qualifications which often bring large achievement in a land where the doors of opportunity have opened to so many possessing no key but that fashioned by courage and capacity.

On a farm in Union County, Ohio, Charles W. Fairbanks was born, May 11, 1852, the son of Loriston M. Fairbanks, a native of Vermont, who in his youth removed to Ware, Mass., where he worked in a woolen mill. Afterward he emigrated to Ohio to engage in farming, and there he married Mary Adelaide Smith, daughter of a family which had lately come from Columbia County, in New York State. To this couple, while living in a log house on the edge of the forest Charles W. Fairbanks was born. There he was reared, bearing, as he grew to manhood, his part in the strenuous toil of a middle west farm in the making. The Ohio farm of that period was a real "university of hard knocks;" its matriculates learned industry, self-reliance and frugality, and within many of them was stirred the desire for an education which would mean an enlarged horizon of life.

The parents sympathized with their son's desire for a college education, and at the age of fifteen, having exhausted the opportunities of the country school house, the boy, with a few dollars saved by himself, and a few more contributed by the father whose developing farm had begun to yield something more than a bare living, entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, a Methodist college not far from his home. In company with a neighbor lad, he set up light housekeeping in a small room. The room was furnished, and the larder largely supplied from home, and the expenses of the pair, all told, amounted to a dollar and a half a week. Yet this amount represented sacrifice on the part of both parents and son; the young man supplemented the small sum with which he came to Delaware by working as a carpenter's assistant on Saturdays. He found time, nevertheless, to take part in general college activities. He became one of the three editors of the college paper, a member of the Phi Gamma college fraternity; a speaker on public occasions and a leader in student enterprises. At the age of twenty, a towering, raw-boned youth, he graduated and returned to his father's house.

With his mind turned toward the study of law, young Fairbanks employed the knowledge of reporting he had gained on the college paper, as a means of getting a foothold in the world. Through an uncle, Wm. Henry Smith, then general manager of the Western Associated Press, he secured employment as a representative of that newsgathering organization, first at Pittsburg and then at Cleveland. At Cleveland he attended a law school, and in May, 1874, was admitted to the bar. In June of the same year he located in Indianapolis, for the practice of his profession. And in October following he married Miss Cornelia Cole, who had been a fellow student at Ohio Wesleyan University.

In Indianapolis Mr. Fairbanks gave the succeeding period of twenty years almost exclusively to the law. At a bar boasting of such lawyers as Benjamin Harrison, Joseph E. McDonald, Thomas A. Hendricks and others of similar caliber, Mr. Fairbanks won the respect of his associates and through success in many important pieces of litigation, the confidence of clients. His practice extended to the neighboring states of Illinois and Ohio and before Mr. Fairbanks began to take an active interest in national politics he enjoyed a law practice comparing favorably in extent and emoluments with that of any lawyer in the Middle West. The day Mr. Fairbanks took his seat in the United States Senate, March 4, 1897, he closed the door of his law office and never accepted employment as an attorney during his occupancy of public office.

Mr. Fairbanks has always been deeply interested in politics and public affairs; his refusal to become actively engaged in public life prior to 1888 was due to his determination to first win a place for himself in his profession. At the age of 21 he made his first Republican speech in his old home county in Ohio, and in a modest way thereafter took a hand in the affairs of his party. His close association with and friendship for Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of the federal bench, led to his championship of the Gresham presidential candidacy before the Republican national convention in 1888. At the age of thirty-five Mr. Fairbanks was managing the Gresham campaign, which, for a time, promised to be crowned with complete success. The Republicans of Indiana, however, expressed a preference for the aspirations of General Harrison, and the Gresham canvass proceeded under the handicap of the State's adherence to another candidate. On the first ballot General Gresham was second only to Sherman in number of votes, but on the eighth ballot the Blaine forces went to Harrison, nominating him. This espousal of the Gresham cause, based upon strong personal regard and friendship, did not prevent Mr. Fairbanks from taking an active part in behalf of General Harrison in the two succeeding campaigns, or from enjoying the confidence of President Harrison while in office. Mr. Fairbanks was a strong advocate of the renomination of General Harrison in 1892, and Mr. Fairbanks delivered the keynote speech for the Indiana Republicans at their State Convention. At that early date, he did not hesitate to attack the

cheap money fallacy then becoming prevalent. In 1894, Mr. Fairbanks stepped easily into the place of leadership among Indiana Republicans. He made a thorough speaking campaign throughout the State and Indiana swung into the Republican column by an unprecedented plurality—and stayed there for sixteen years.

Two years later came a test of Mr. Fairbanks' qualities of leadership. It was generally conceded that if the State were carried by the Republicans in 1896, Mr. Fairbanks would be elected Senator to succeed Mr. Voorhees. Therefore success was personally important to the Indiana leader. The free silver heresy had swept the country, and had infected Indiana Republicanism. Many of the Republican papers and politicians of the Middle West believed that in the absence of either surrender to, or compromise with the free silver advocates, republican success was impossible. At a meeting of the Republican State Committee called early in 1896, this opinion was voiced by several party leaders. Mr. Fairbanks listened to the prophecies of disaster, and then declared that if the abandonment of the principle of honest money were essential to Republican success, it would be far better for the party to go down in defeat, and he was personally ready to go down with it. From that time there was no doubt as to the position of Indiana Republicanism, and the May convention of the party spoke in a decisive way against the free silver heresy. This convention also instructed the State's delegates to the approaching national convention to support William McKinley for President. Mr. Fairbanks had long been a personal friend of McKinley and was one of the foremost leaders in the advancement of his presidential candidacy. He was chosen by McKinley to be temporary chairman of the national convention of 1896.

Mr. Fairbanks' speech sounded the keynote of the St. Louis Convention. His ringing declarations in favor of protection and sound money stirred the great convention crowd to demonstrations of enthusiasm, and foreshadowed the decisive declarations of the party's platform in one of the crucial campaigns of the nation's history. Speaking of this deliverance, Maj. John W. Carson wrote: "Fairbanks was placed at the head of the Indiana delegation to the St. Louis Convention, and was made temporary chairman of that body, delivering a speech that attracted wide attention and contributed to fix the status of the party on the money question. The convention declared against the free coinage of silver, and it was largely due to the persistent efforts of Mr. Fairbanks and a few other sagacious and conservative men that that declaration was made."

Mr. Fairbanks threw all his energies into the succeeding campaign. Indiana was a battle ground, and he took an active part in the management of the campaign, speaking, beside, in every part of the State, and in

other States. The Legislature elected in Indiana in 1896 was heavily Republican and it elected Mr. Fairbanks to the Senate. He took his seat the day his friend William McKinley was inaugurated President.

Briefly reviewing his career as a Senator, former Secretary of State John W. Foster writes:

"He came to the Senate of the United States at the same time that Mr. McKinley was inaugurated as President. They had long been friends, and the President had a high estimate of the Senator's ability and political sagacity. So much was this the case that it came to be understood that the Senator's acts and speeches were an exposition of the views of the President. He was the faithful supporter of the latter's policies and measures. This was notably the case in respect to the Spanish war. He stood by the President in his strenuous efforts to find peaceful settlement, when Congress and the country were clamoring for war. But when the issue was made up and war came, the Senator promptly tendered his services to the Governor of Indiana for military duty, which very properly was not accepted. In no other place could he be so useful to the country as in the Senate.

"His record in the Senate is so fresh to the public mind that it need hardly be recapitulated. Almost immediately after he entered that body he was recognized as one of its most useful and influential members. He debated many of its most important measures and his views and position were known on all of them.

"He served in the committees on foreign relations and on immigrations and thus had to deal with some of the most interesting and perplexing questions in our relations with foreign governments. I have already alluded to his attention to the complications with Spain, in which he assumed so honorable a stand. He had to do with the international questions growing out of the construction of the Panama Canal. I quote one of his declarations:

"It pays nations, as well as individuals, to adhere to the inflexible principles of fair dealing. No doubt the United States could have ignored the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and proceeded with the construction of the canal, but it preferred, as it always prefers, the frank and honorable way."

In 1898 a protocol was signed between the United States and Great Britain for the appointment of a joint high commission for the adjustment of Canadian questions, that were of long standing and of great importance. It was desired by the two countries to have them considered by the commission and finally put to rest.

The commission was composed of twelve members, six from each country. The chairman of the American members of the commission was Senator Fairbanks.

Of the work of the joint high commission and the ability displayed by Senator Fairbanks, John W. Foster, one of the American commissioners, spoke as follows:

"During the administration of President McKinley it was deemed desirable to make an earnest effort to adjust the various questions between the United States and Canada, some of which had been the source of controversy between the two neighboring countries for generations, and all of which tended to disturb the harmony of their relations.

"Among these were the Northwestern fisheries, which had been the fruitful source of discussion and negotiations for a hundred years; the Behring sea seal industry, which had at one time threatened war with Great Britain and had been the subject of international arbitration, but was still a vexed and unsettled question; the Alaskan boundary dispute, a topic likely any time to bring about a conflict of authorities; commercial reciprocity, a subject in which the Canadians and certain sections of the United States took deep interest; the bounding privilege, intimately connected without interstate commerce laws and the unequal competition of the Canadian railroads; and several other questions, as naval armament on the great lakes, reciprocal mining privileges, immigration and the labor laws, more accurate marking of the international boundary, etc., embracing no less than twelve different subjects.

"It was determined to refer all these matters to a joint high commission, and six persons were selected by the United States and an equal number by Great Britain. For members of this commission it was the desire of President McKinley to name statesmen of large experience and the highest standing, as it was known that the British members would be men of prominence and ability. It was a most distinguished honor that Senator Fairbanks should be chosen as chairman of the American commission, especially as there was associated with him men of much longer experience in the public service. The British commission was headed by Lord Herschel, the lord chancellor, and the recognized head of the English bar, and next on the commission was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prime minister of Canada, a resourceful and brilliant statesman.

"During the years 1898 and 1899 the commission held two sessions in Quebec and two in Washington, and went very fully over the important subjects committed to it for adjustment. On several of these it reached practically satisfactory conclusions, which would have taken the shape of treaty stipulations, but for an irreconcilable difference of opinion respecting the Alaskan boundary. Because of a failure to agree to an adjustment of this matter the British members of the commission refused to come to an agreement of any of the other questions before it, and the commission adjourned to meet again whenever convened by the chairman of the two sections.

"The Alaskan boundary controversy has happily been satisfactorily settled by the London joint tribunal, and this result, so gratifying to the

United States, was largely due to the work of the joint high commission. Senator Fairbanks was a member of the sub-committee having the Alaskan boundary in charge, and he took a deep interest in shaping the issues which were eventually submitted to the London tribunal.

"It is a matter of pride to Americans to be assured that in all the deliberations of the commission, when he was confronted by the ablest lawyers and statesmen of England and Canada, Senator Fairbanks sustained the cause of his country with skill and success, and represented it with great dignity and uniform courtesy."

As a member of the Senate Mr. Fairbanks assisted in framing the tariff and currency legislation which brought to the nation that complete restoration of prosperity with which the name of President McKinley will ever be honorably identified. While the tariff legislation was pending, the relations of the United States with Spain reached an acute stage. President McKinley sought by diplomacy to avert war, while pushing forward preparations for hostilities should they come. Against a resolution introduced by Senator Morgan recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents Senator Fairbanks made a strong speech, pleading for harmony of action with the president. He declared that he believed it to be the duty of the American government to negotiate with Spain for the termination of the war and the independence of Cuba. "If these peaceful and honorable methods fail and the war should continue, I would have no hesitancy in reaching out the mighty arm of this government, and saying: 'This war should cease.'" Speaking in April, 1898, in behalf of a resolution declaring Cuba independent, demanding the withdrawal of Spain from the island and authorizing the President to use the army and navy to make the resolution operative, Senator Fairbanks said:

"Our own tranquility, our own sense of security, our regard for our present and future comfort and for the lives of her helpless and hapless subjects, demand that we should interpose the mighty power of this government to stop the carnival of crime and suffering and restore peace to the Island of Cuba until some suitable government may be formed which shall be a guaranty to us and to the other nations of the world, that it will at all times in the future be ready and willing and able to discharge its domestic and international obligations.

"All efforts at amicable solution have failed, and all that remains is to invoke the power of this government in behalf of enduring peace and imperiled humanity. We shall now have the satisfaction of knowing that, come what may in the lottery of war, we have let undone nothing which could be done consistently with honor to secure a pacific settlement. To the high and holy cause of humanity and the vindication of our national honor, we dedicate the lives and fortune of the people of this Republic."

Senator Fairbanks delivered a notable speech against the Teller resolution providing for the payment of bonds of the United States, prin-

cial and interest, at the option of the government, in silver coin. "There must be no equivocation," he declared, "with respect to the character of our money standard, and no hesitancy nor divided purpose in its inflexible maintenance." Senator Fairbanks supported by speech and vote the bill establishing permanently the gold standard as the basis of American monetary values.

Other notable speeches by Senator Fairbanks were upon the various constitutional and administrative problems arising out of the acquisition of our insular possessions as the result of the Spanish-American war, and in support of Chinese exclusion and upon other immigration problems. Senator Fairbanks introduced the bill providing for the financing of the Panama canal through a bond issue which put a part of the burden, properly, upon succeeding generations. Senator Fairbanks made a number of speeches in the Senate and on public occasions in favor of international arbitration.

At the Republican national convention of 1904 Senator Fairbanks was unanimously nominated for Vice President. He was not a candidate for this preferment, but accepted the nomination as a call to duty. President Roosevelt took no part in the speaking campaign, and Senator Fairbanks made a country wide canvass, traveling 25,000 miles, making hundreds of speeches, and establishing a permanent national reputation as a public speaker. Following his election as Vice-President Mr. Fairbanks responded to such calls for his services as a speaker on public occasions as he could without neglecting his duty as presiding officer of the Senate. Few men in the history of the nation have spoken to so many people, in so many localities; few men in American public life have acquired so wide a personal acquaintance. Democratic, cordial and interested in others, Mr. Fairbanks commands the admiration and respect of vast numbers of people to a degree seldom surpassed. As President of the Senate Mr. Fairbanks gained the confidence and good will of the membership of that body to an extent not often equalled in the history of the office, and made a record for fidelity in the performance of duty which has never been surpassed. On only one or two occasions was he absent from the chair during an entire session of the Senate.

In placing Mr. Fairbanks in nomination for Vice President at Chicago in 1904 Senator Dolliver said: "The office has sought the man, and he will bring to the office the commanding personality of a statesman equal to any of the great responsibilities which belong to our public affairs. A leader of the Senate, the champion of all the great policies which constitute the invincible record of the Republican party during the past ten years, his name will become a tower of strength to our cause, not only in his own state, but everywhere throughout the country. A man of affairs, the whole business community shares the confidence which his political associates have reposed in him from the beginning of his public life. The quiet, undemonstrative popular opinion which has given the

Republican party a platform upon which all Republicans can stand with no dissenting voice, here or anywhere, has long since anticipated the action of this convention in adding to the national ticket the name of Senator Fairbanks."

In the Republican national convention of 1908, Vice-President Fairbanks was presented by Indiana Republicans as a presidential candidate. Mr. Fairbanks took an active part in the speaking campaign of that year in behalf of Mr. Taft. Upon his retirement from the Vice-Presidency, in March, 1909, Mr. Fairbanks, in company with Mrs. Fairbanks, started on a year's trip around the world. Mr. Fairbanks was personally received by the Emperor of Japan, the Prince Regent of China, the King of Greece, the King of Italy, the Sultan of Turkey, the Emperor of Germany and the late King Edward of England. Mr. Fairbanks had previously met the then Prince of Wales, now King George of England, when he represented the United States at the Quebec tercentenary, by appointment of President Roosevelt.

Upon their return from this trip, Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks were received with unusual honors at Indianapolis. They were greeted by an immense crowd as they passed through the streets, escorted by a committee of representative Indianapolis business men, to their home. Mr. Fairbanks has devoted himself since to semi-public activities. He founded the Indiana Forestry Association, and in the act establishing Arbor Day the Democratic legislature of the state incorporated in the measure a provision that one of the objects of the annual celebration by Indiana school children should be the honoring of Mr. Fairbanks and others active in arousing interest in the reforestation of the state. He became President of the Methodist Hospital of Indiana, a trustee of DePauw University, and has been active in other similar directions.

Mrs. Fairbanks died October 24, 1913. She was prominent and influential in national women's affairs and had served as President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Fairbanks has five children, four sons and a daughter; Warren, Richard, Fred, Robert and Mrs. John W. Timmons.

By the united voice of Indiana republicanism Mr. Fairbanks was presented to the Republican National Convention of 1916, as a candidate for the Presidency. The support attracted was formidable, and the enthusiasm with which it was urged was notable. Following the nomination of Justice Hughes, an almost unanimous call to the Vice-Presidential nomination was extended to Mr. Fairbanks by the convention. Mr. Fairbanks was only not a candidate, but did not desire the nomination, and had wired the chairman of the Indiana delegation not to permit the use of his name. When the nomination was tendered with such unanimity and earnestness, however, Mr. Fairbanks was induced to regard it as a call to further duty to his party, and soon after the adjournment of the convention he indicated his acceptance.

What was said by the late John L. Griffiths concerning the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks to the vice presidency in 1904, constitutes now an even more appropriate characterization of the selection and the man, than it did then. Speaking at a meeting of Mr. Fairbanks' friends and neighbors, assembled without distinction of party at the Fairbanks home in Indianapolis, Mr. Griffiths said:

The nominee of the Chicago convention for the Vice Presidency has not been the favorite of fortune. He has fairly and justly earned all the honors which have been bestowed upon him. He comes close to the people because his life has been rooted in their lives.

"His nomination is a recognition of the growing power of the great middle West—of that section of our common country where the people are peculiarly frugal and resourceful, industrious and thrifty, with sturdy notions of honesty, where they care less for cleverness than for integrity and place a higher value upon character than they do upon wealth.

"Charles W. Fairbanks was made one of the standard bearers of his party because he has always had 'a healthy conscience' in public matters and has been actuated by an overpowering sense of duty. He has felt as Lincoln did, that in the tides of feeling which sweep and surge about a public man, he must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near the right. He must keep some standard or principle fixed within himself. He has been diligent in the business of his Government. He has never regarded the holding of an office as a pastime, but has keenly felt the high responsibility which a lofty trust imposes. He has always had 'a sweet and just tongue,' speaking what he had to say temperately but forcibly. No public utterance of his can be recalled in which he ever abused a political opponent. He has won his way into the hearts of men by traveling a pathway too seldom traversed—the pathway of gentleness and fairness and moderation.

"His nomination is a reminder that the early traditions of the Republic have not entirely disappeared. Again we have the inspiring spectacle of the office seeking the man. Whenever this occurs, now as in the days of Washington and Jefferson and the elder Adams, it is the capable man that is sought—the man who by training, education, experience and ability is best equipped for the office.

Official Notification of Candidates

ADDRESS OF SENATOR HARDING OF OHIO

Notifying Mr. Hughes of His Nomination for the Presidency.

Mr. Hughes, the Committee here assembled, representing all of the United States and territories, chosen by the Republican National Convention which met in Chicago on last June 7, is directed by that Convention formally to notify you of its action in selecting you as its nominee for the Presidency of the Republic.

Speaking for the Committee, it is my pleasure to say directly what was conveyed to you by telegraph while the Convention was yet in session—that you are the unanimous choice of the Republican National Convention for the party standard-bearer.

That Convention uttered the principles of a confident, determined reunited and enthusiastic Republican party, which turns to you, in highest respect and trust, as a nominee best typifying the party's purpose and the people's desires.

Inasmuch as the unusual circumstances inspired an informal notice at the time of the Convention's action and you then made an informal acceptance of the call to patriotic duty which won the plaudits of our people. I shall not refer in detail to the action of the Convention or the declared principles to which the Republican party is committed. But it is fitting that I should speak the congratulations of this committee on your most extraordinary nomination. It has no parallel in the history of the Republican party. As the whole people have approvingly witnessed, you have been chosen for leadership by a Convention which comprised the best thought, the highest intention and deepest consecration of a great and historic party, when you were not only not an aspirant, but discouraged all endeavors in your behalf. Notwithstanding your holding aloof from all conference and participation, that unflinching understanding which directs popular sentiment to highest victory called you to the services of the party and the nation. Your record of public service, your well-known and courageous views on public questions when in executive position, your abiding devotion to Republicanism, your possession of a confidence which has united all believers in Republican policies under our party banner,

your unalterable and abiding Americanism, your high personal character and well-known capacity—all these have fixed you in the American mind as the best exponent of Republican principles and the wisest leader to restore American prestige and efficient government.

We bring you now the commission to that leadership. We bring it in full confidence that the people will gladly acclaim the Republican restoration under your trusted leadership. We bring it in the highest appreciation of that peace of right and justice which your unwavering Americanism will hold secure rather than endanger. We bring it in the strong belief that American material good fortune, under Republican industrial preparedness will be the glad reflex of our own peace and the world's peace and be held permanent under Republican protection. We bring it in firm conviction that you, sir, will hold that platform promises constitute a sacred party covenant, and the expressed will of the people at the polls must find response in capable and efficient administration. Aye, sir, we bring it believing you will add to our self-respect, confidence, and good fortune at home, and to that respect and good opinion abroad which meets our higher American aspirations.

MR. HUGHES' REPLY

Senator Harding, Members of the Notification Committee and Fellow Citizens:

This occasion is more than a mere ceremony of notification. We are not here to indulge in formal expressions. We come to state in a plain and direct manner our faith, our purpose and our pledge. This representative gathering is a happy augury. It means the strength of reunion. It means that the party of Lincoln is restored, alert, effective. It means the unity of a common perception of paramount national needs. It means that we are neither deceived nor benumbed by abnormal conditions. We know that we are in a critical period, perhaps more critical than any period since the Civil War. We need a dominant sense of national unity; the exercise of our best constructive powers; the vigor and resourcefulness of a quickened America. We desire that the Republican Party as a great liberal party shall be the agency of national achievement, the organ of the effective expression of dominant Americanism. What do I mean by that? I mean America conscious of power, awake to obligation, erect in self-respect, prepared for every emergency, devoted to the ideals of peace, instinct with the spirit of human brotherhood, safeguarding both individual opportunity and public interest, maintaining a well-ordered constitutional system adapted to local self-govern-

ment without the sacrifice of essential national authority, appreciating the necessity of stability, expert knowledge and thorough organization as the indispensable conditions of security and progress; a country loved by its citizens with a patriotic fervor permitting no division in their allegiance and no rivals in their affection—I mean America first and America efficient. It is in this spirit that I respond to your summons.

FOREIGN RELATIONS—APPOINTMENTS

Our foreign relations have assumed grave importance in the past three years. The conduct of diplomatic intercourse is in the keeping of the Executive. It rests chiefly with him whether we shall show competence or incompetence; whether the national honor shall be maintained; whether our prestige and influence shall be lowered or advanced. What is the record of the Administration? The first duty of the Executive was to command the respect of the world by the personnel of our State Department and our representation abroad. No party exigency could excuse the non-performance of this obvious obligation. Still, after making every allowance for certain commendable appointments, it is apparent that this obligation was not performed. At the very beginning of the present Administration, where in the direction of diplomatic intercourse there should have been conspicuous strength and expertness we had weakness and inexpertness. Instead of assuring respect, we invited distrust of our competence and speculation as to our capacity for firmness and decision, thus entailing many difficulties which otherwise easily could have been escaped. Then, in numerous instances, notably in Latin-America, where such a course was particularly reprehensible, and where we desire to encourage the most friendly relations, men of long diplomatic experience whose knowledge and training were of especial value to the country were retired from the service apparently for no other reason than to meet partisan demands in the appointment of inexperienced persons. Where, as in Santo Domingo, we had assumed an important special trust in the interest of its people, that trust was shockingly betrayed in order to satisfy "deserving Democrats." The record showing the Administration's disregard of its responsibilities with respect to our representation in diplomacy is an open book and the specifications may easily be had. It is a record revealing professions belied. It is a dismal record to those who believe in Americanism. Take, for example, the withdrawal of Ambassador Herrick from France. There he stood, in the midst of alarms, the very embodiment of courage, of poise, of executive capacity, universally trusted and beloved. No diplomat ever won more completely the affections of a foreign people; and there was no better fortune for this country than to have at the capital of any one of the belligerent nations a representative thus esteemed. Yet the Administration permitted itself to supersede him. The point is not that the

man was Ambassador Herrick, or that the nation was France, but that we invited the attention of the world to the inexcusable yielding of national interest to partisan expediency. It was a lamentable sacrifice of international repute. If we would have the esteem of foreign nations we must deserve it. We must show our regard for special knowledge and experience. I propose that we shall make the agencies of our diplomatic intercourse, in every nation, worthy of the American name.

MEXICO

The dealings of the Administration with Mexico constitute a confused chapter of blunders. We have not helped Mexico. She lies prostrate, impoverished, famine-stricken, overwhelmed with the woes and outrages of internecine strife, the helpless victim of a condition of anarchy which the Administration only served to promote. For ourselves, we have witnessed the murder of our citizens and the destruction of their property. We have made enemies, not friends. Instead of commanding respect and deserving good will by sincerity, firmness, and consistency, we provoked misapprehension and deep resentment. In the light of the conduct of the Administration no one could understand its professions. Decrying interference, we interfered most exasperatingly. We have not even kept out of actual conflict, and the soil of Mexico is stained with the blood of our soldiers. We have resorted to physical invasion, only to retire without gaining the professed object. It is a record which cannot be examined without a profound sense of humiliation.

When the Administration came into power, Huerta was exercising authority as Provisional President of Mexico. He was certainly in fact the head of the Government of Mexico. Whether or not he should be recognized was a question to be determined in the exercise of a sound discretion, but according to correct principles. The President was entitled to be assured that there was at least a *de facto* government; that international obligations would be performed; that the lives and property of American citizens would have proper protection. To attempt, however, to control the domestic concerns of Mexico was simply intervention, not less so because disclaimed. The height of folly was to have a vacillating and ineffective intervention, which could only evoke bitterness and contempt, which would fail to pacify the country and to assure peace and prosperity under a stable government. If crimes were committed, we do not palliate them. We make no defense of Huerta. But the Administration had nothing to do with the moral character of Huerta, if in fact he represented the Government of Mexico. We shall never worthily prosecute our unselfish aims, or serve humanity, by wrong-headedness. So far as the character of Huerta is concerned, the hollowness of the pretensions on this score is revealed by the Administration's subsequent

patronage of Villa (whose qualification as an assassin are indisputable) whom apparently the Administration was ready to recognize had he achieved his end and fulfilled what then seemed to be its hope.

The question is not as to the non-recognition of Huerta. The Administration did not content itself with refusing to recognize Huerta, who was recognized by Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Spain and Japan. The Administration undertook to destroy Huerta, to control Mexican policies, even to deny Huerta the right to a candidate for the office of President at the election the Administration demanded. With what bewilderment must the Mexicans have regarded our assertion of their right to manage their own affairs! In the summer of 1913, John Lind was despatched to the City of Mexico as the president's "personal spokesman and representative" to the unrecognized Huerta in order to demand that the latter eliminate himself. It was an unjustifiable mission, most offensive to a sensitive people. John Lind lingered irritatingly. The Administration continued to direct its efforts at the destruction of the government Mexico had.

In the Spring of 1914, occurred the capture of Vera Cruz. Men from one of our ships had been arrested at Tampico and had been discharged with an apology. But our Admiral demanded a salute, which was refused. Thereupon the President went to Congress, asking authority to use the armed forces of the United States. Without waiting for the passage of the resolution, Vera Cruz was seized. It appeared that a shipload of ammunition for Huerta was about to enter the port. There was a natural opposition to this invasion and a battle occurred in which nineteen Americans and over a hundred Mexicans were killed. This, of course, was war. Our dead soldiers were praised for dying like heroes in a war of service. Later, we retired from Vera Cruz, giving up this noble warfare. We had not obtained the salute which was demanded. We had not obtained reparation for affronts. The ship with ammunition which could not land at Vera Cruz had soon landed at another port, and its cargo was delivered to Huerta without interference. Recently the naked truth was admitted by a Cabinet officer. We are now informed that "we did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag." We are told that we went there "to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go." That is, we seized Vera Cruz to depose Huerta. The question of the salute was a mere pretext.

Meanwhile, the Administration utterly failed to perform its obvious duty to secure protection for the lives and property of our citizens. It is most unworthy to slur those who have investments in Mexico in order to escape a condemnation for the non-performance of this duty. There can be no such escape, for we have no debate, and there can be no debate, as to the existence of this duty on the part of our Government. Let me quote the words of the Democratic Platform of 1912: "The constitutional

rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property." The bitter hatred aroused by the course of the Administration multiplied outrages, while our failure to afford protection to our citizens evoked the scorn and contempt of Mexicans. Consider the ignominious incident at Tampico in connection with the capture of Vera Cruz. In the midst of the greatest danger to the hundreds of Americans congregated at Tampico, our ships which were in the harbor were withdrawn and our citizens were saved only by the intervention of German officers and were taken away by British and German ships. The official excuse of the Secretary of the Navy is an extraordinary commentary. Our ships, it seems, had been ordered to Vera Cruz; but, as it appeared that they were not needed, the order was rescinded. Then, we are told, our Admiral was faced with this remarkable dilemma. If he attempted to go up the river at Tampico and take our citizens on board, the word of "aggressive action," as the Secretary called it, "would have spread to the surrounding country" and it was "almost certain that reprisals on American citizens would have followed and lives would have been lost." We had so incensed the Mexicans that we could not rescue our own citizens at Tampico, save at the risk of the murder of others. We must take Vera Cruz to get Huerta out of office and trust to other nations to get our own citizens out of peril. What a travesty of international policy!

Destroying the government of Huerta, we left Mexico to the ravages of revolution. I shall not attempt to narrate the sickening story of the barbarities committed, of the carnival of murder and lust. We were then told that Mexico was entitled to spill as much blood as she pleased to settle her own affairs. The Administration vacillated with respect to the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to Mexico. Under the resolution of 1912, President Taft laid such an embargo. In August, 1913, President Wilson stated that he deemed it his duty to see that neither side to the struggle in Mexico should receive any assistance from this side of the border, and that the export of all arms and munitions to Mexico would be forbidden. But in February, 1914, the embargo was lifted. In April, 1914, the embargo was restored. In May, 1914, it was explained that the embargo did not apply to American shipments through Mexican ports, and ammunition for Carranza was subsequently landed at Tampico. In September, 1914, the embargo was lifted on exports across the border; thereupon military supplies reached both Villa and Carranza. In October, 1915, an embargo was declared on all exports of arms except to the adherents of Carranza. There was an utter absence of consistent policy.

For a time we bestowed friendship on Villa. Ultimately we recognized Carranza, not on the ground that he had a constitutional govern-

ment, but that it was a *de facto* government. The complete failure to secure protection to American citizens is shown conclusively in the note of the Secretary of State of June 20, 1916, in which he thus described the conditions that have obtained during the past three years:

"For three years the Mexican republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. * * * It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed."

The Santa Ysabel massacre, the raid at Columbus, the bloodshed at Carrizal, are fresh in your minds. After the Columbus raid we started a "punitive expedition." We sent a thin line of troops hundreds of miles into Mexico, between two lines of railway neither of which we were allowed to use and which we did not feel at liberty to seize. We were refused permission to enter the towns. Though thus restricted, the enterprise was still regarded by the Mexicans as a menace. Our troops raced hostile forces and it is not remarkable that our men fell at Carrizal. What other result could be expected? We were virtually ordered to withdraw. and without accomplishing our purpose we have been withdrawing and we are now endeavoring to safeguard our own territory. The entire National Guard has been ordered out and many thousands of our citizens have been taken from their peaceful employment and hurried to the Mexican border. The Administration was to seize and punish Villa for his outrage on our soil. It has not punished any one; we went in only to retire, and future movements are apparently to be determined by a joint commission.

The Nation has no policy of aggression toward Mexico. We have no desire for any part of her territory. We wish her to have peace, stability, and prosperity. We should be ready to aid her in binding up her wounds, in relieving her from starvation and distress, and in giving her in every practicable way the benefits of our disinterested friendship. The conduct of this Administration has created difficulties which we shall have to surmount. We shall have to overcome the antipathy needlessly created by that conduct and to develop genuine respect and confidence. We shall have to adopt a new policy of firmness and consistency through which alone we can promote an enduring friendship. We demand from Mexico

the protection of the lives and the property of our citizens and the security of our border from depredations. Much will be gained if Mexico is convinced that we contemplate no meddlesome interference with what does not concern us, but that we propose to insist in a firm and candid manner upon the performance of international obligations. To a stable government, appropriately discharging its international duties, we would give ungrudging support. A short period of firm, consistent and friendly dealing will accomplish more than many years of of vacillation.

EUROPEAN WAR.—MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

In this land of composite population, drawing its strength from every race, the national security demands that there shall be no paltering with American rights. The greater the danger of divisive influence, the greater is the necessity for the unifying force of a just, strong and patriotic position. We countenance no covert policies, no intrigues, no secret schemes. We are unreservedly, devotedly, whole-heartedly, for the United States. That is the rallying point for all Americans. That is my position. I stand for the unflinching maintenance of all American rights on land and sea.

We have had a clear and definite mission as a great neutral nation. It was for us to maintain the integrity of international law; to vindicate our rights as neutrals; to protect the lives of our citizens, their property and trade from wrongful acts. Putting aside any question as to the highest possibilities of moral leadership in the maintenance and vindication of the law of nations in connection with the European War, at least we were entitled to the safe-guarding of American rights. But this has not been secured. We have had brave words in a series of notes, but despite our protests the lives of Americans have been destroyed. What does it avail to use some of the strongest words known to diplomacy if Ambassadors can receive the impression that the words are not to be taken seriously? It is not words, but the strength and resolution behind the words, that count. The chief function of diplomacy is prevention; but in this our diplomacy failed, doubtless because of its impaired credit and the manifest lack of disposition to back words with action. Had this Government by the use of both informal and formal diplomatic opportunities left no doubt that when we said "strict accountability" we meant precisely what we said, and that we should unhesitatingly vindicate that position, I am confident that there would have been no destruction of American lives by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. There, we had ample notice; in fact, published notice. Furthermore, we knew the situation and we did not require specific notice. Instead of whittling away our formal statements by equivocal conversations, we needed the straight, direct and decisive representations which every diplomat and foreign office would understand. I believe that in this way we should have been spared the repeated assaults on American

lives. Moreover, a firm American policy would have been strongly supported by our people and the opportunities for the development of bitter feeling would have been vastly reduced.

It is a great mistake to say that resoluteness in protecting American rights would have led to war. Rather, in that course lay the best assurance of peace. Weakness and indecision in the maintenance of known rights are always sources of grave danger; they forfeit respect and invite serious wrongs, which in turn create an uncontrollable popular resentment. That is not the path of national security. Not only have we a host of resources short of war by which to enforce our just demands, but we shall never promote our peace by being stronger in words than in deeds. We should not have found it difficult to maintain peace, but we should have maintained peace with honor. During this critical period, the only danger of war has lain in the weak course of the Administration.

I do not put life on the same footing, but the Administration has not only been remiss with respect to the protection of American lives; it has been remiss with respect to the protection of American property and American commerce. It has been too much disposed to be content with leisurely discussion. I cannot now undertake to review the course of events, but it is entirely clear that we failed to use the resources at our command to prevent injurious action, and that we suffered in consequence. We have no ulterior purposes, and the Administration should have known how to secure the entire protection of every legitimate American interest and the prompt recognition of our just demands as a neutral nation.

We denounce all plots and conspiracies in the interest of any foreign nation. Utterly intolerable is the use of our soil for alien intrigues. Every American must unreservedly condemn them, and support every effort for their suppression. But here, also, prompt, vigorous and adequate measures on the part of the Administration were needed. There should have been no hesitation; no notion that it was wise and politic to delay. Such an abuse of our territory demanded immediate and thorough-going action. As soon as the Administration had notice of plots and conspiracies, it was its duty to stop them. It was not lacking in resources. Its responsibility for their continuance cannot be escaped by the condemnation of others.

PREPAREDNESS

We are a peace-loving people, but we live in a world of arms. We have no thought of aggression, and we desire to pursue our democratic ideals without the wastes of strife. So devoted are we to these ideals, so intent upon our normal development, that I do not believe that there is the slightest danger of militarism in this country. Adequate preparedness is not militarism. It is the essential assurance of security; it is a necessary safeguard of peace.

It is apparent that we are shockingly unprepared. There is no room for controversy on this point since the object lesson on the Mexican border. All our available regular troops (less, I believe, than 40,000) are there or in Mexico, and as these have been deemed insufficient the entire National Guard has been ordered out; that is, we are summoning practically all our movable military forces in order to prevent bandit incursions. In view of the warnings of the past three years, it is inexcusable that we should find ourselves in this plight. For our faithful guardsmen, who with a fine patriotism responded to this call and are bearing this burden, I have nothing but praise. But I think it little short of absurd that we should be compelled to call men from their shops, their factories, their offices and their professions for such a purpose. This, however, is not all. The units of the National Guard were at peace strength, which was only about one-half the required strength. It was necessary to bring in recruits, for the most part raw and untrained. Only a small percentage of the regiments recruited up to war strength will have had a year's training in the National Guard, which at the maximum means one hundred hours of military drill, and, on the average, means much less. Take the Eastern Department as an illustration. The States in this Department contain about 72 per cent. of the entire organized militia of the country. I am informed, by competent authority, that the quota of militia from this Department, recently summoned with the units raised to war strength as required would amount to about 131,000 men; that in response to this call there are now en route to or on the border about 54,000 men, and in camp in their respective States about 28,000 men; and thus, after what has already been accomplished, there still remain to be supplied in recruits about 48,000 men. Men fresh from their peaceful employments and physically unprepared have been hurried to the border for actual service. They were without proper equipment, without necessary supplies; suitable conditions of transportation were not provided. Men with dependent families were sent; and conditions which should have been well known were discovered after the event. And yet the exigency, comparatively speaking, was not a very grave one. It involved nothing that could not readily have been foreseen during the past three years of disturbance, and required only a modest talent for organization. That this Administration while pursuing its course in Mexico should have permitted such conditions to exist is almost incredible.

In the demand for reasonable preparedness the Administration has followed, not led. Those who demanded more adequate forces were first described as "nervous and excited." Only about a year and a half ago we were told that the question of preparedness was not a pressing one; that the country had been misinformed. Later, under the pressure of other leadership, this attitude was changed. The Administration, it was said, had "learned something," and it made a belated demand for an increased army. Even then, the demand was not prosecuted consistently and the

pressure exerted on Congress with respect to other Administrative measures was notably absent. The President addressed Congress but little over six months ago, presenting the plans of the War Department, and Congress was formally urged to sanction these plans as "the essential first steps." They contemplated an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its then strength of 5,023 officers and 102,985 enlisted men, to a strength of 7,136 officers and 134,707 enlisted men, or 141,843 all told. It was said that these additions were "necessary to render the army adequate for its present duties." Further, it was proposed that the army should be supplemented by a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens raised in increments of 133,000 a year, through a period of three years. At least so much "by way of preparation for defense" seemed to the President to be "absolutely imperative now." He said: "We cannot do less." But within two months this program was abandoned and the able Secretary of War who had devoted himself persistently to this important question felt so keenly the change in policy that he resigned from the Cabinet. Now, the Army Organization Bill provides for an army on paper of 178,000, but in fact it provides for only 105,000 enlisted men for the line of the regular army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and I am informed that for the net fiscal year there will be an increase of only 15,000. The plan for the supplemental Federal Army completely under Federal control was given up.

We are told that the defects revealed by the present mobilization are due to the "system." But it was precisely such plain defects that under the constant warnings of recent years, with the whole world intent on military concerns, should have been studied and rectified. The Administration has failed to discharge its responsibilities. Apparently, it is now seeking to meet political exigencies by its naval program. But it has imposed upon the country an incompetent naval administration.

We demand adequate national defense; adequate protection on both our Western and Eastern coasts. We demand thoroughness and efficiency in both arms of the service. It seems to be plain that our regular army is too small. We are too great a country to require of our citizens who are engaged in peaceful vocations the sort of military service to which they are now called. As well insist that our citizens in this metropolis be summoned to put out fires and police the streets. We do not count it inconsistent with our liberties, or with our democratic ideals, to have an adequate police force. With a population of nearly one hundred million we need to be surer of ourselves than to become alarmed at the prospect of having a regular army which can reasonably protect our border, and perform such other military service as may be required, in the absence of a grave emergency. I believe, further, that there should be not only a reasonable increase in the regular army, but that the first citizen reserve subject to call should be enlisted as a Federal army and trained under Federal authority.

The country demands that our military and naval programs shall be carried out in a business-like manner under the most competent administrative heads; that we shall have an up-to-date preparation; that the moneys appropriated shall be properly expended. We should also have careful plans for mobilizing our industrial resources; for promoting research and utilizing the investigations of science. And a policy of adequate preparedness must constantly have in view the necessity of conserving our fundamental human interests; of promoting the physical well-being of our population, as well as education and training; of developing to the utmost our economic strength and independence. It must be based upon a profound sense of our unity, and democratic obligation. It must not mean the abandonment of other essential governmental work, but that we shall have, in both, efficiency, and, in neither, waste or extravagance. We should also be solicitous, by wise provision and conference, to remove so far as possible the causes of irritation which may in any degree threaten friendly relations. In our proposals there is, I repeat, no militarism. There is simple insistence upon common sense in providing reasonable measures of security and avoiding the perils of neglect. We must have strength of self-respect; a strength which contains no threat, but assures our defense, safeguards our rights and conserves our peace.

THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

We are deeply interested in what I may term the organization of peace. We cherish no illusions. We know that the recurrence of war is not to be prevented by pious wishes. If the conflict of national interests is not to be brogught to the final test of force, there must be the development of international organization in order to provide international justice and to safeguard so far as practicable the peace of the world.

Arbitration treaties are useful within their proper sphere, but it is worse than folly to ignore the limitations of this remedy or to regard such treaties as an adequate means of preventing war. There should be an international tribunal to decide controversies susceptible of judicial determination, thus affording the advantage of judicial standards in the settlement of particular disputes and of the gradual growth of a body of judicial precedents. In emphasizing the desirability of such a tribunal for the disposition of controversies of a justiciable sort, it must not be overlooked that there are also legislative needs. We need conferences of the Nations to formulate international rules, to establish principles, to modify and extend international law so as to adapt it to new conditions, to remove causes of international differences. We need to develop the instrumentalities of conciliation. And behind this international organization, if it is to be effective, must be the co-operation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized. If the peace of the world is to be main-

tained, it must be through the preventive power of a common purpose. Without this, it will still remain not only possible, but practicable, to disregard international obligations, to override the rights of States, particularly of small States, to ignore principles, to violate rules. And it is only through international co-operation giving a reasonable assurance of peace that we may hope for the limitation of armaments. It is to be expected that nations will continue to arm in defense of their respective interests, as they are conceived, and nothing will avail to diminish this burden save some practical guaranty of international order. We, in this country can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the Twentieth Century. If at the close of the present war the nations are ready to undertake practicable measures in the common interest in order to secure international justice, we cannot fail to recognize our international duty. The peace of the world, is our interest, as well as the interest of others, and in developing the necessary agencies for the prevention of war we shall be glad to have an appropriate share. And our preparedness will have proper relation to this end as well as to our own immediate security.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE—A FOOL'S PARADISE

When we contemplate industrial and commercial conditions, we see that we are living in a fool's paradise. The temporary prosperity to which our opponents point has been created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war. With the end of the war there will be the new conditions determined by a new Europe. Millions of men in the trenches will then return to work. The energies of each of the now belligerent nations, highly trained, will then be turned to production. These are days of terrible discipline for the nations at war, but it must not be forgotten that each is developing a national solidarity, a knowledge of method, a realization of capacity, hitherto unapproached. In each, the lessons of co-operation now being learned will never be forgotten. Friction and waste have been reduced to a minimum; labor and capital have a better understanding, business organization is more highly developed and more intelligently directed than ever before. We see in each of these nations a marvellous national efficiency. Let it not be supposed that this efficiency will not count when Europe once more at peace pushes its productive powers to the utmost limit.

On the other hand, in this country, with the stoppage of the manufacture of munitions, a host of men will be turned out of employment. We must meet the most severe competition in industry. We are undisciplined, defective in organization, loosely knit, industrially unprepared.

Our opponents promised to reduce the cost of living. This they have failed to do; but they did reduce the opportunities of making a living.

Let us not forget the conditions that existed in this country under the new tariff prior to the outbreak of the war. Production had decreased, business was languishing, new enterprises were not undertaken, instead of expansion there was curtailment, and our streets were filled with the unemployed. It was estimated that in the City of New York over 300,000 were out of work. Throughout the country the jobless demanded relief. The labor commissioners of many States, and our municipal administrations, devoted themselves to the problem of unemployment, while the resources of our voluntary charitable organizations were most severely taxed. What ground is there for expecting better conditions when the unhealthy stimulus of the war has spent its force and our industries and working-men are exposed to the competition of an energized Europe?

It is plain that we have protective, upbuilding policies. It is idle to look for relief to the Democratic Party which as late as 1912 declared in its platform that it was "a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, had no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue. We are told in its present platform that there have been "momentous changes" in the past two years, and hence, repudiating its former attitude, the Democratic Party now declares for a "non-partisan tariff commission." But have the "momentous changes" incident to the European War changed the Constitution of the United States? Is it proposed to use a tariff commission to frame a tariff for revenue only? Is the opposing party ready to confess that for generations it has misread the Constitution? Is that party now prepared to accept the protective principle? Rather, so far as the tariff is concerned, it would appear to be without principle. Witness its action in connection with the sugar duties, its reaffirmation of the doctrine of a revenue tariff, its dye-stuffs proposal, and its formulation in lieu of protective duties of an "anti-dumping" provision, the terms of which are sufficient to show its ineffective character.

The Republican Party stands for the principle of protection. We must apply that principle fairly, without abuses, in as scientific a manner as possible; and Congress should be aided by the investigations of an expert body. We stand for the safeguarding of our economic independence, for the development of American industry, for the maintenance of American standards of living. We propose that in the competitive struggle that is about to come the American working-man shall not suffer.

The Republican Party is not a sectional party. It thinks and plans nationally. Its policies are for the promotion of the prosperity of every part of the country, South, East, North and West. It is not simply a question of a wise adjustment of the tariff in accordance with sound principle, but there is also the need in other respects for stable conditions for commercial and industrial progress. If we are to meet effectively the conditions which will arise after the war is over, we must put our

house in order. Let it be understood that the public right is to be maintained without fear or favor. But let us show that we can do this without impairing the essential agencies of progress. There is no forward movement, no endeavor to promote social justice, which in the last analysis does not rest upon the condition that there shall be a stable basis for honest enterprise. This subject has several important phases to which at this time I can allude only briefly. We should place our transportation system on a sure footing. We should be able wisely to adjust our regulative powers so that the fundamental object of protecting the public interest can be fully secured without uncertainties or conflicts and without hampering the development and expansion of transportation facilities. This national end may be accompanied without the sacrifice of any interest that is essentially local, or without weakening public control. Our present system is crude and inadequate. Moreover, in the severe economic struggle that is before us, and in seeking, as we should, to promote our productive industries and to expand our commerce—notably our foreign commerce—we shall require the most efficient organization, quite as efficient as that found in any nation abroad. There must be no unnecessary wastes and no arbitrary obstructions. We have determined to cut out, root and branch, monopolistic practices, but we can do this without hobbling enterprise or narrowing the scope of legitimate achievement. Again, we must build up our merchant marine. It will not aid to put the Government into competition with private owners. That, it seems to me, is a counsel of folly. A surer way of destroying the promise of our foreign trade could hardly be devised. It has well been asked—Does the Government intend to operate at a profit or at a loss? We need the encouragement and protection of Government for our shipping industry, but it cannot afford to have the Government as a competitor.

LABOR

We stand for the conservation of the just interests of labor. We do not desire production, or trade, or efficiency in either, for its own sake, but for the betterment of the lives of human beings. We shall not have any lasting industrial prosperity, unless we buttress our industrial endeavors by adequate means for the protection of health; for the elimination of unnecessary perils to life and limb; for the safeguarding of our future through proper laws for protection of women and children in industry; for increasing opportunities for education and training. We should be solicitous to inquire carefully into every grievance, remembering that there are few disputes which cannot easily be adjusted if there be an impartial examination of the facts. We make common cause in this country, not for a few, but for all; and our watchword must be co-operation, not exploitation. No plans will be adequate save as they are instinct with genuine democratic sympathy.

I stand for adequate Federal Workmen's Compensation laws, dealing not only with the employees of Government, but with those employees who are engaged in interstate commerce, and are subject to the hazard of injury, so that those activities which are within the sphere of the constitutional authority of Congress may be dealt with under a suitable law.

AGRICULTURE—CONSERVATION

We propose to promote by every practicable means our agricultural interests, and we include in this program an effective system of rural credits. We favor the wise conservation of our natural resources. We desire not only that they shall be safeguarded, but that they shall be adequately developed and used to the utmost public advantage.

NATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP—THE PHILIPPINES

We turn to other considerations of important policy. One of these is our attitude toward the Philippines. That, I may say, is not a question of self-interest. We have assumed international obligations which we should not permit ourselves to evade. A breach of trust is not an admissible American policy, though our opponents have seemed to consider it such. We should administer government in the Philippines with a full recognition of our international duty, without partisanship, with the aim of maintaining the highest standards of expert administration, and in the interest of the Filipinos. This is a matter of National honor.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

I endorse the declaration in the platform in favor of woman suffrage. I do not consider it necessary to review the arguments usually advanced on the one side or the other, as my own convictions proceed from a somewhat different point of view. Some time ago, a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay, but in my judgment cannot defeat this movement. Nor can I see any advantages in the delay which can possibly offset the disadvantages which are necessarily incident to the continued agitation. Facts should be squarely met. We shall have a constantly intensified effort and a distinctly feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization to the subversion of normal political issues. We shall have a struggle increasing in bitterness, which I believe to be inimical to our welfare. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country, the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women.

ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY—CIVIL SERVICE LAWS—BUDGET

Confronting every effort to improve conditions, is the menace of incompetent administration. It is an extraordinary notion that democracy can be faithfully served by inexpertness. Democracy needs exact knowledge, special skill and thorough training in its servants. I have already spoken of the disregard of proper standards, in numerous instances, in appointments to the diplomatic service. Unfortunately there has been a similar disregard of executive responsibility in appointments to important administrative positions in our domestic service. Even with respect to technical bureaus the demands of science have been compelled to yield to the demands of politics.

We have erected against importunities of spoilsmen the barriers of the civil service laws, but under the present Administration enactments providing for the creation of large numbers of places have been deliberately removed from the merit system. The principles of our civil service laws have been shamelessly violated. We stand for fidelity to these principles and their consistent application. And, further, it is our purpose that administrative chiefs shall be men of special competence eminently qualified for their important work.

Our opponents promised economy, but they have shown a reckless extravagance. They have been wasteful and profligate. It is time that we had fiscal reform. We demand a simple business-like budget. I believe it is only through a responsible budget, proposed by the Executive, that we shall avoid financial waste and secure proper administrative efficiency, and a well-balanced consideration of new administrative proposals.

We live in a fateful hour. In a true sense, the contest for the preservation of the Nation is never ended. We must still be imbued with the spirit of heroic sacrifice which gave us our country and brought us safely through the days of civil war. We renew our pledge to the ancient ideals of individual liberty, of opportunity denied to none because of race or creed, of unswerving loyalty. We have a vision of America prepared and secure; strong and just; equal to her tasks; an exemplar of the capacity and efficiency of a free people. I endorse the platform adopted by the Convention and accept its nomination.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN OF ILLINOIS

Notifying Mr. Fairbanks of His Nomination for the Vice-Presidency

Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman's, of Illinois, speech notifying Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President follows:

"Pursuant to instructions of the Republican national convention of 1916 and in behalf of the committee of notification, you are formally advised of your nomination as the candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President.

"Both candidates on our national ticket enlisted on the call of the Republican convention representing a majority of the American people. Neither hesitated in volunteering his services. Both are now rendering that service in the common cause of redeeming the country from the misrule and habitual incapacity of the Democratic party now nearing the end of its third failure in half a century.

"In the providence that watches over the affairs of men, the mismanagement of the Democratic party is always limited to one term. The inclusion of a one-term pledge in its platform in 1912 and its significant absence in 1916 will not prevent the practical operation of the principle. President Wilson relied upon it when a candidate and not only failed to keep it when in office but repudiated it in his Palmer letter a month before he was inaugurated. The American people will enforce obedience to his broken promise as well as the penalty for a series of the most remarkable breaches of platform pledges in the history of American politics.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FLAYED

The Republican party does not rely merely upon the broken faith of its political adversary. The performances of the Democratic party are worse than its broken promises. It is a helpless aggregation drifting aimlessly in our foreign affairs and driving with malign purpose toward industrial ruin in our domestic affairs.

"It has utterly failed to read the significance of world-wide events and resulting conditions in their relation to our future trade. It leaves us exposed and helpless for either offensive or defensive business operations at home or abroad when peace is restored.

"It trusts to chance for its issues and to opportunity for its alleged principles. If it ever arrives at any given point it is by accident and not by intelligent design in following a defined and intended course of action. As the inevitable result of war it claims the credit of trade balances with which the legislation of the Democratic party has no more to do than the change of seasons which Holy Writ promises us while the earth remaineth. The largest affirmative result in this Democratic administration is its appropriations. Its largest negative thing is its treasury deficit visible through the most marvelous system of bookkeeping ever devised since the ancients invented the science of numbers. It is worthy of a promoter rather than a financier.

CALLED INCOMPETENT

"It has resorted to an odious stamp tax in time of peace for the first time in our history. Its excise taxes on occupations, investments, merchandise and insurance, with its small collections on customs duties, brand the Democratic party as incapable in peace and incompetent to develop and protect our resources for defensive war.

"The Republicans and the majority of the American people favor a protective tariff. One-half our government receipts ought to be collected from customs duties protective in character. We believe in this as a cardinal principle of our party faith. Our adversaries admit the soundness of the Republican principles by restoring the duty on sugar and favoring in the revenue bill now pending a protective rate on dyes and their component materials and an anti-dumping law the essential principle of which they rejected when offered by Republicans as an amendment to the Democratic tariff act of 1913.

"We will distribute the burdens of taxation equitably and not sectionally. Property is now classified and taxed so that some kinds are exempt and other are taxed so as to bear nearly all the burdens of obnoxious special taxes. Our American foreign policies never have been and are not now expressed in and will not be performed by diplomatic notes worthless at their face value and gone to protest in the foreign capitals of both hemispheres.

FOREIGN POLICY

"Our foreign trade will be encouraged and sustained by protecting American citizens and their property wherever found. Our citizens abroad for commercial purposes will not be accused of commercial greed and selfish ends when they ask their country for protection and safety.

"If there ever was any reason why the American people should go to war with any nation in Europe this principle campaign asset would weigh with the thinking people of the republic. It is a claim to a spurious virtue for there is no more cause for war with any European belligerent than Pierce had in the Crimean war, Grant in the Franco-Prussian war or

Roosevelt in the Russ-Japanese war. If this administration can not manage the Mexican affair, what would it do with a powerful, resourceful and united nation?

"Mr. Fairbanks, you will bring to your office experience, ability, devotion to duty and a high standard of Republican faith. On behalf of our committee and our party I congratulate you, the State of Indiana, and our country on your selection as a candidate for the highest office save one in the gift of the American people."

MR. FAIRBANKS' REPLY

The speech of acceptance of Charles Warren Fairbanks of the nomination for Vice-President of the United States on the Republican ticket, follows:

Senator Sherman and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee—I am deeply sensible of the high honor of the commission which you bring me. To be chosen as the candidate of the Republican party for the vice-presidency of the United States is a distinction which any patriotic American may well covet, I accept the nomination and pledge you my utmost service during the campaign. If the people ratify the choice of the convention I shall consecrate my best efforts to the discharge of my official functions. As you are aware, this is a call which was unsolicited by me; that fact intensifies my sense of duty to those in behalf of whom you speak.

The platform adopted by the Chicago convention has my hearty approval. Carried into the public administration and written into the statutes it will insure industrial and national prosperity during the years of our ascendancy.

This is an hour when we must put our faith to the test. We should have nothing short of the best political party in the management of the vast and complicated mechanism of our government.

We have before us for our judgment the platforms of the political parties which are appealing for the popular suffrage. The Democratic party has established an unchallenged reputation for the repudiation of its platform utterances at its will. We never know what covenants it will keep or what it will reject when clothed with power.

Political parties have individualities by which we may easily identify them. We readily recognize the Republican party by its long and successful conduct of the public business—its efficient administration of our political concerns. It has been a pledge-making and a pledge-redeeming party. To keep faith with the people has been its supreme desire.

One of the greatest problems which presents itself for our solution goes to the very root of our national prosperity and to the contentment of

millions of our countrymen. We may take counsel of our friends who are engaged in the great war. Although the hour of peace is beyond their vision, they are already planning with reference to their industrial affairs when they leave the trenches. We have given much thought to military invasion. We should prepare for commercial invasion which would paralyze American industry and blight our happiness.

HOW DEMOCRATS CAME INTO POWER

The Democratic party came into power through an unhappy division within our own ranks. It represented a minority of the people, and does not today hold a commission from the majority. When invested with power it immediately set to work to force down the throats of the majority policies to which they were and ever since have been opposed. Democracy stands, as it had stubbornly stood for many years, for a free trade or revenue tariff, while the Republican party stands, as it has always loyally stood for the great doctrine of American protection. Our future industrial prosperity depends upon our choice between the two in the pending campaign.

What protection and free trade mean we know from our actual experience; they are not in the domain of the academic.

The present free trade, or tariff for revenue law, which Democracy regards with such high favor, has worked infinite damage. This law, which is to be maintained if Democracy triumphs, must stand or fall, not by what Democratic conventions say of it, but by what it has said for itself under normal trade conditions. Even before it was approved by Mr. Wilson, who took pride in the executive act, business began to furl its sails. The coming storm was apparent and prudence took possession of our people. The certainty of the law spread fear among us. Our competitors in Europe and in the Orient were filled with joy. Commercial travelers from England, France, Germany and elsewhere were put upon the road in the United States and promptly began writing orders. The slowing down process began with a wrench. The workingmen, who were the first to feel the blighting effects of the reversal of our great economic policy, began to lose their jobs; factories were closed; trains were taken off our railway schedules; thousands of idle cars accumulated upon the sidetracks; mines were closed; the workers in our charities received increased appeals from the unfortunate victims of the free trade policy. That Democracy was again in power was made evident throughout the republic.

THE IRONY OF FATE

So strong was the pressure of the unemployed that the administration was obliged to organize for the purpose of securing them work and wages. This seemed like mockery. To close the field of labor's opportunity and

rob them by the thousands of their chance for wage, and then to organize search for work among those who were holding fast to what they had, seemed like the very irony of fate. The best employment agencies we have had in a half century have been Republican protective tariff measures, such as bore the name of William McKinley and others.

With the loss of work and wages under the Wilson administration, the public revenue diminished. The Underwood law proved not only disastrous to labor, but failed as a revenue producer. The melancholy experiences of the years following the repeal of the McKinley law were being repeated under the Underwood enactment; the experiences of the years beginning with 1893 were being repeated in 1913. Hope was fast dying out, when all Christendom was shocked by the European war. Demands from the belligerent nations were made upon us for urgent military requirements; our idle men were recalled to the fields of industry; our foreign commerce rose to colossal figures and the golden currents sought our shores; prosperity returned to us in many quarters—not because of Democracy, but in spite of it. It is not the prosperity of peace; it is not prosperity thoroughly diffused throughout the country; it is the prosperity of war, based upon the misfortunes of others; it is a prosperity which is known to be but temporary; there is no thought of permanence in it; all is spectacular, artificial, ephemeral.

There is no observer who does not know that when the war ceases and the contest is transferred from the trenches to the factories, an unprecedented war of markets will be on. Our standard of wages and living will be matched against the lower wage and living standards of other countries more sharply than ever in our past history.

DISASTROUS TO INDUSTRIES

The protective tariff when again adopted by the Republican party must prove our safeguard. The Democratic free trade measure was disastrous to our industries and public revenues before the war began. Upon what theory, based upon rational judgment, can we assume that we shall have a more favorable experience when peace is again restored than we had in the midst of peace when Democracy overthrew our industries?

The Democratic party threw away millions of dollars at our customs houses by the enactment of their unwise law. Many millions were given to our foreign competitors without the gain to us of a dollar. This is strikingly illustrated in a number of instances. I shall advert to one of the largest. It is but a type of many others.

We are the greatest sugar consuming nation in the world. We are sending approximately \$150,000,000 annually to foreign countries for sugar which should be produced at home.

When McKinley came into power he sought to stimulate a wide interest in the development of the beet sugar industry. A duty of \$1.95 a

hundred pounds was placed upon sugar, which continued for sixteen years with but little change. Nearly \$100,000,000 was invested in the industry during this period. At the same time foreign sugar producers paid at the customs houses over \$1,100,000,000 for the privilege of selling their commodity in the market of the United States.

We have succeeded in developing sugar in some fourteen states. Many hundred of millions of dollars have been distributed to farmers, laborers, railroads, etc., in the process of growing, refining and distributing it. To the extent that we have produced sugar at home we have curtailed our foreign demand for it.

According to the opinion of James Wilson, former secretary of agriculture, we have about 274,000,000 acres suited to the production of sugar beets—more than sufficient for all of our domestic needs. A duty upon sugar is justified from the standpoint of building up a great American industry. Furthermore, in the process of creating it, we shall derive many millions of dollars of revenue and to that extent relieve the tax burdens which would otherwise rest upon the shoulders of our people.

When the Underwood law was enacted it provided that the tariff upon sugar should be gradually reduced until it reached the free list, May 1, 1916. This was a staggering blow to the great industry, and a tremendous loss of public revenue. Forced by the necessities of the administration, congress repealed the free trade clause of the Underwood sugar schedule, not because the tariff aided an industry, but for revenue only. The repeal was effected a short time before sugar was scheduled to go upon the free list. This reversal of the hostile policy of the Democratic administration is but temporary; if the party remains in power it will pursue the sugar industry to its death.

Before congress repealed the free trade provision affecting the sugar schedule, duties amounting to many millions of dollars, which otherwise would have been paid by foreign sugar producers were lost to our treasury and the deficiency was raised by obnoxious stamp taxes imposed upon the people. This was a direct injury to us, not only in the loss of large revenue, but in the crippling of a great and developing industry which the Republican party had carefully sought to foster during the administration of Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

MERCHANT MARINE

The rebuilding of our merchant marine is one of the imperative and urgent needs of the times. Our national safety and industrial independence demand that we shall not dally further with this great question. We must enact such laws as will enable us to compete successfully with other maritime nations. We once held a pre-eminent position in the carrying trade of the high seas, but we have lost our place of leadership, and it devolves upon us now, if we are the great people we profess to be, to

regain it. It is estimated that for the ten years prior to the beginning of the European war we paid to foreign ship owners for carrying our imports and exports approximately \$1,500,000,000. The annual drain since then amounts to approximately \$300,000,000. This tremendous outgo if properly financed would put no additional burden upon the government, and would result in a large saving to the country. The war has emphasized the perils of our dependency upon other nations for the carrying of our foreign commerce. We are seriously handicapped in our effort to expand our markets into and beyond the seas because we must depend so largely upon foreign ship owners for the transportation of our products. A merchant vessel is a good commercial traveler and will search out business in all harbors for the country whose flag it bears.

We are opposed to a government-owned or a government-operated merchant marine. Such a merchant marine is violative of sound governmental policy; it will prove expensive and serve to check individual enterprise from entering one of the most important fields of our national development. In the face of the tremendous drains upon the national treasury it is unfortunate, indeed, that the Democratic party has seen fit to project the government into the purchase of merchant ships and to the expenditure of so vast a sum of money as it now contemplates. With favoring laws sufficient private capital will be invested to enable us to construct in American shipyards and with American labor all the merchant vessels required to give us our rightful place in the ocean-carrying trade of the world. Although we sorely need a great merchant marine we should not seek it, as the Democratic administration proposes, by contravening sound national policies.

ECONOMY

We are resolved to restore economy in government. Our Democratic friends have repeatedly pledged themselves to economy in public administration, but when in power have been extravagant and reckless. Some of the strongest Democratic leaders have denounced the extravagances of their party, but have been impotent to give us relief. Economy is in Democratic platforms, but it seems to have no place in Democratic administration.

For nearly four years we have walked in darkness and doubt; we have endured stress and strain in our domestic affairs and have felt the humiliation of lost prestige in the chancellories of the world. We are eager to put our country's domestic concerns upon a sounder footing and to lift our flag to its former pre-eminence in the esteem of the nations of the earth. We covet nothing more earnestly than the good name of America, and any political party which tarnishes it through ignorance or design forfeits the popular confidence.

We believe unqualifiedly in the maintenance of a firm foreign policy—doing justice to others and demanding like justice for ourselves. This is the surest method of regaining the world's esteem and insuring the prevalence of honorable peace with our international neighbors.

Our opponents pride themselves upon the assumed fact that their candidate for the presidency has kept the country out of war. Their assertion is too broad; it comprehends more than the truth. We have not been kept out of war, for there has been real war in Mexico, due to our own aggression. It does not redound to our credit. That it was not greater is due to the fact that Mexico is not greater. There has been no desire upon the part of any power beyond the seas, either in Europe or in the Orient, to go to war with us.

It is not a very difficult task for any President to keep out of war if nobody wants to fight us, and when our people thoroughly believe that an enlightened, firm diplomatic policy will meet successfully all of our international necessities.

MEXICO

We regard the dealings of the President with Mexico as vacillating. He has been given a free hand and has no one to blame for what he has done or failed to do except himself. I have tried, so far as my influence would go, to uphold his hands, regardless of whether we agreed among ourselves as to the soundness of his policy. In foreign affairs we have always been loyal to our constitutional leader. Our patience has been put to the test in Mexico. We have sharply disagreed with the President, but have stood by him, nevertheless. We have seen things go from bad to worse; we have seen the butchery of our countrymen upon both sides of the border; we have seen millions of dollars' worth of property destroyed, but we have steadfastly supported him, and shall continue to do so until the close of the chapter of his power. A settlement day is now at hand, not between the President and Mexico, but between the President and the electors of the United States. Our patience is exhausted and we believe our national interest requires a new deal.

It is unnecessary to view the President's course with Mexico in detail; one or two conspicuous facts will suffice. It was our manifest duty to have recognized Huerta as the President, either *de facto* or *de jure*; he was clearly in power under the forms of Mexican law and was entitled to recognition by diplomatic precedent. He was a powerful soldier and the one man above all others in his country who was capable of establishing order. He had been recognized by the leading powers outside of the United States; but our chief executive turned against him, gave aid and encouragement to his enemies and in time effected his overthrow. We have been called upon to incur large obligations in Mexico and along the border which would have been unnecessary, in my judgment, if we

had recognized Huerta. Such recognition would have given him financial credit and added strength to his arm. The interposition of President Wilson in the domestic affairs of Mexico was unwarranted in sound international policy and has proved disastrous in point of fact.

We do not generally appreciate the importance of the Mexican problem. The relations between the two countries are so intimate that everything in honor should be done to maintain good neighborhood between them. The population of Mexico is 15,000,000. There are some 40,000 American dwellers within the republic, and upon its invitation. The wealth of the country is roundly \$2,400,000,000. American investments amount to more than \$1,000,000,000, or approximately 45 per cent. of the total.

The Mexican situation is a challenge to the Monroe doctrine, the maintenance of which is so vital to the future peace and safety of the United States. It is fair to say that except for the engagement of European powers in a war at home, which involves their very existence, a protest would have come from them against the wrongs which have been inflicted upon their subjects and citizens in Mexico. The protest would have come so peremptorily that we could not have disregarded it, or have satisfied the just indignation of our European friends by a few polite notes.

The terrible struggle in Europe will tend to intensify, rather than moderate, the spirit of nationalism throughout the world, and in the future, as never before, it will be necessary for us to maintain a standard of Americanism, free from division by sectionalism, class prejudice or alien sympathy. There never was a time when it was more important for us, as Americans, to avoid creating lines of cleavage in this country based upon place of birth or occupational status. We can not properly censure Americans of foreign birth for sympathy with the nations which once claimed their allegiance, as against the nations with which they are fighting, and the attempt to impute treasonable motives to any one class of our citizens because of their original nationality, or the sympathies which go with it, so long as these do not interfere with their paramount loyalty to this republic, or in any way infringe it, is severely to be condemned. The greatest menace in this country is not so much the man who loves two countries as the man who loves no country at all.

PREPAREDNESS

We stand for preparedness measured by our national needs—a strong army and navy adequate to compel respect for our diplomacy and to insure peace. Hand in hand with our physical preparedness, must go industrial preparedness, which shall insure prosperity for the millions who labor and who, in the final analysis, are the real source of our national strength.

The limitations of the hour prevent me from considering all the phases and issues of the campaign. Later I shall avail myself of the opportunity to discuss them.

In conclusion, my friends, I wish to say that it is a very great pleasure to me to be associated in this contest with Charles Evans Hughes—our leader. He has in the fullest degree exemplified in his life and public services the best aims and highest aspirations of the American people. His election will be an assurance that we shall go forward in the enjoyment of a new era of honor and prestige abroad and prosperity and contentment at home. We rejoice that the light of a better day is breaking.

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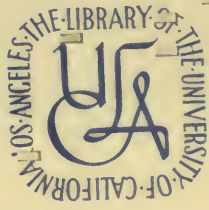


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