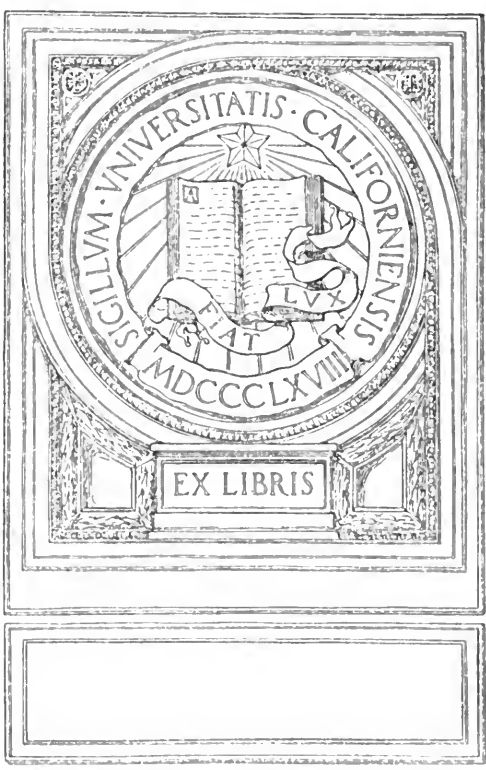


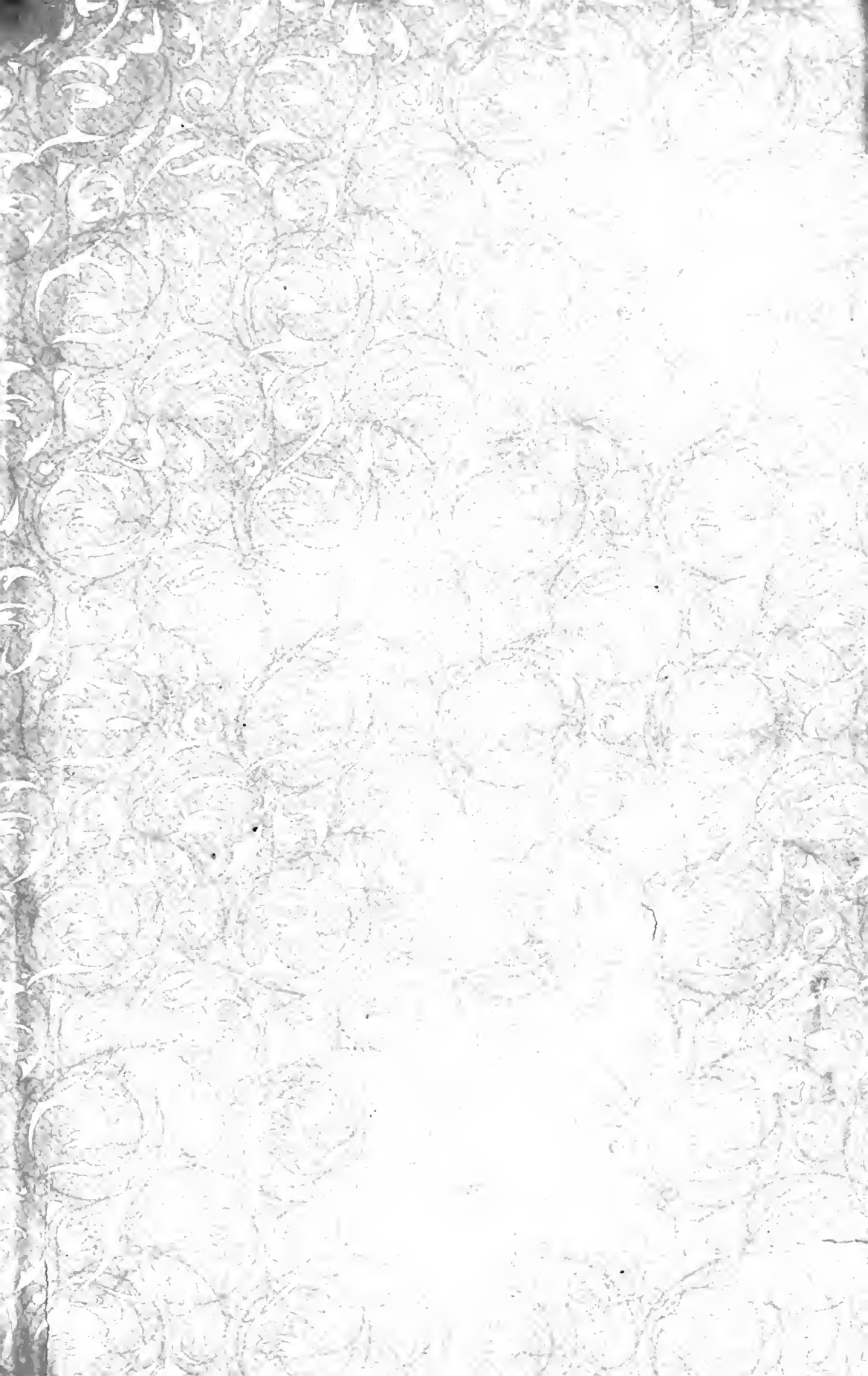
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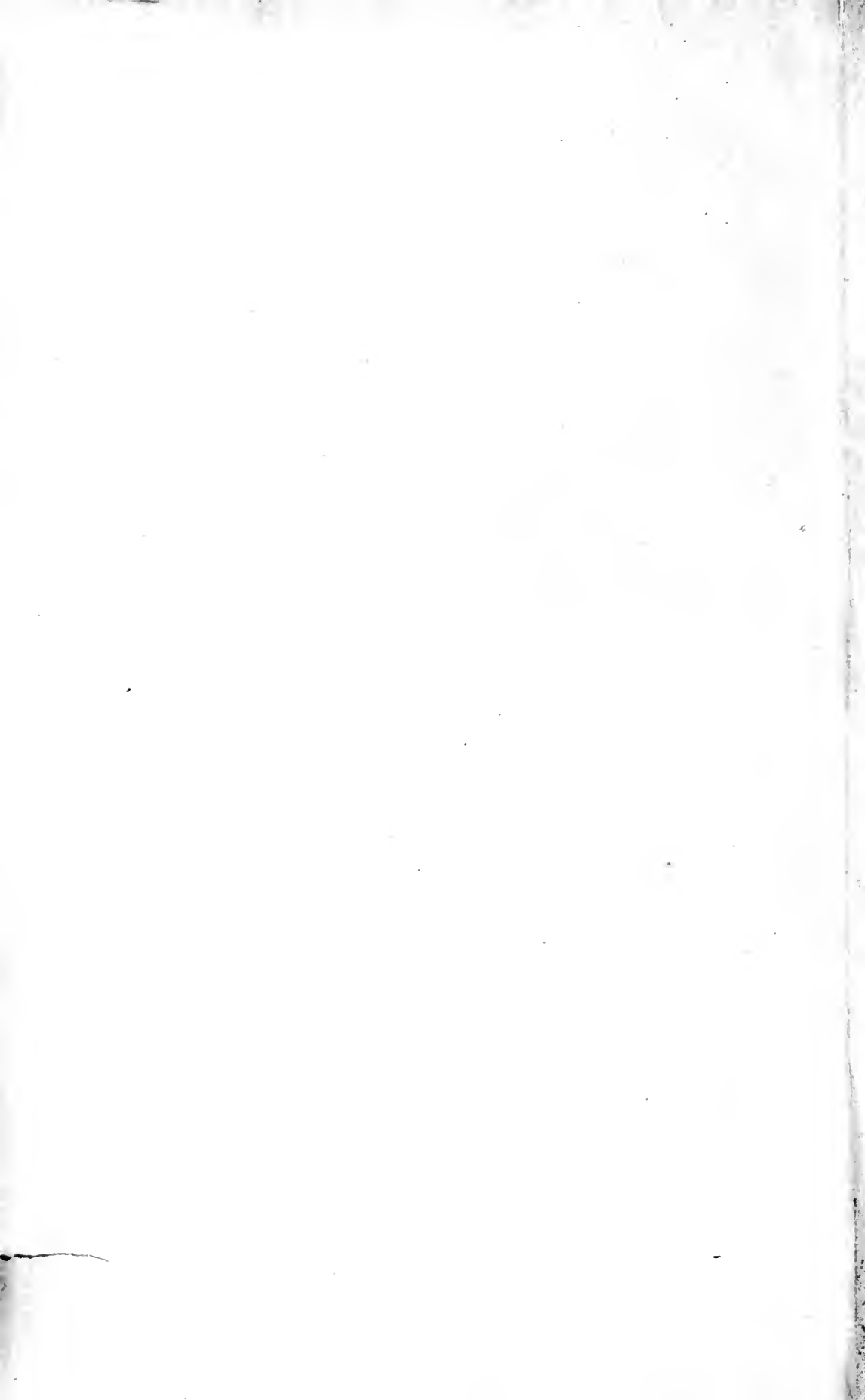
St. Louis, June 16th,  
1896.

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*M. E. M.*











WILLIAM MCKINLEY, OF OHIO.



GARRET A. HOBART, OF NEW JERSEY.

TO VINDI  
ABSOLUTIAO



REPUBLICAN *party*  
NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ST. LOUIS,  
JUNE 16<sup>TH</sup> TO 18<sup>TH</sup>, 1896.

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ILLUSTRATED.

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BY  
C. M. HARVEY

WITH A HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND  
A SURVEY OF NATIONAL POLITICS SINCE THE  
PARTY'S FOUNDATION, Etc., Etc.

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BY

CHARLES M. HARVEY,

ASSOCIATE EDITOR ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

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ST. LOUIS.

I. HAAS PUBLISHING AND ENGRAVING COMPANY.  
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## PREFACE.

THE scope and purpose of this book could not readily be fully set forth on the title page. The largest single feature of the book is its record of the proceedings of the Republican National Convention of 1896, which it gives with a close approach to absolute completeness. This presents the speeches of the Convention's Temporary Chairman and Permanent President; the platform; the committees; the rules by which the Convention was governed; the speeches on both sides in the contests for seats; the silver substitute for the financial plank of the platform; Senator Teller's address in favor of the substitute; the votes by which the substitute was rejected and the financial plank adopted; the silverites' protest and valedictory read by Senator Cannon; the bolt of the silver men and the scenes attending it; the speeches presenting the various aspirants for President and Vice-President and the votes for each, and all in the order in which they occurred. The speeches, platform, rules and silver men's protest are given verbatim and the votes are all given by States. All are presented in attractive shape for permanent reference.

Following the proceedings of the Convention are brief biographical sketches of the candidate for President and the candidate for Vice-President; the roll of the delegates and alternates, and tables of the popular and electoral votes for President and Vice-President from the beginning of the Government; also lists of the Presidents of the United States, the Presidents of the Senate, and the Speakers of the House, with their residence, the

## PREFACE.

periods of their service and their politics. The politics of the Presidents of the Senate and of the Speakers will ordinarily indicate the partisan complexion of their branches of Congress during their service.

Preceding the doings of the Convention of 1896 are a "History of the Republican Party" from its foundation in 1854 to 1896; a sketch of the rise, growth, and decline of the sectional issue in politics, and the ballots for the candidates for President and Vice-President in the various Republican National Conventions.

Necessarily the history of the Republican party is the largest of these features. Necessarily, also, owing to the limitations of space imposed upon the author, the history is in some respects only an outline of the record of the party. Much ground had to be covered in these forty-two years of the party's life. Many of the mightiest events in the Nation's annals occurred in this period, and in nearly all of them the Republican party bore a positive part. All are mentioned here, and the principal causes and consequences of each are given, but if the restrictions of space could have been relaxed the author would gladly have treated some of them with greater fullness. There is peril in this method of writing history, for compression can easily squeeze the spirit out of a narrative. Nevertheless it is hoped that this history has not degenerated into a catalogue of facts and dates.

On most of the prominent questions which have been dealt with by Congress the vote by parties is given, so that the exact attitude toward them of each of the two great organizations is shown. The partisan divisions of the past on the tariff and silver issues, which are here set forth, will be of interest at the present

## PREFACE.

day, when the former is arousing nearly as much concern as it ever did, and when the latter is receiving far more attention than it ever commanded in any previous period

The story of the political events of the past forty-two years—the history of the Republican party and the record of the Democratic party during this period—is told with absolute impartiality. Nothing has been extenuated, nor has aught been set down in malice.

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

*St. Louis, July 1, 1896.*





CHARLES M. HARVEY.

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# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

BY CHARLES M. HARVEY.

## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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**S**Ocial forces are commonly in operation long before they begin to impress themselves upon affairs. This truth is vividly manifested in the career of political organizations. It has a conspicuous illustration in the history of the Republican party.

When, to the bill appropriating \$2,000,000 for the purchase of territory from Mexico outside of Texas, David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, proposed an amendment providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted," the basic principle of the Republican party of a later day was laid down. This amendment, which was proposed August 8, 1846, demanded the restriction of slavery to the States in which it then existed, and came to be known in the politics of the time as the Wilmot Proviso. This was eight years before the foundation of the Republican party.

The Wilmot Proviso.

War with Mexico was under way three months when Wilmot introduced his amendment. The war was forced by the South, through the annexation of Texas in 1845, in order to increase the area of the slave territory, and to preserve the balance in the Senate between the free and slave States. As a consequence of the war the region now known as California, Nevada and a large part of Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico, was obtained from Mexico, for which the United States paid Mexico \$15,000,000, and assumed debts of \$3,250,000 due by Mexico to United States citizens. Most of this territory is south of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, in which slavery was permitted by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, while north of that line slavery was specifically prohibited by that compact.

The War with Mexico.

The Missouri Compromise.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Ostend  
Manifesto.

Endeavors, inspired in the South, to gain possession of Cuba, as a means of adding one or two more slave States to the Union, began to take shape immediately after the Mexican war, and they culminated in the meeting, in 1854, of James Buchanau, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule, the United States Ministers to England, France and Spain respectively, at Ostend, Belgium, from which consultation resulted a memorable letter to the Administration of President Pierce, urging the Government to buy Cuba, and to seize it if Spain refused to sell. This proposition figured in the history of the time as the Ostend manifesto.

The North was opposed to the increase of territory in the slave region for the same reason that the South favored it. This is what prompted the Wilmot slavery restriction.

The Free Soil  
Party.

A sectional division on the question was immediately created, most of the Northern members of Congress favoring the proviso, and most of the Southern members opposing it. It passed the House, in which the free States were preponderant through representation by population, but it failed in the Senate through the balance between slave and free States which the South had contrived to preserve until the admission of California as a free State in 1850. The proviso created the Free Soil party, which appeared in the presidential canvasses of 1848 and 1852, was a rallying point for the friends of freedom in all parties, who were necessarily confined almost wholly to the North and the border States, and consolidated these elements—anti-slavery Whigs, anti-slavery Democrats and Free Soilers—when Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act of May 30, 1854, placed slavery on an equal footing with freedom in territory north of latitude 36 degrees and 30 minutes, and struck down the Missouri barrier erected by the compromise of 1820. This combination, at first vaguely known as Anti-Nebraska men, eventually became the Republican party.

Need for a New  
Party.

The necessity for the creation of a new party, on the single basis of opposition to the encroachment of the slave element, became plain to the friends of freedom of both the great organizations when the Southern end of the Democracy forced, and the Whig party adopted, the fugitive slave law of 1850 as compensation for the permission allowed to the citizens of California to form a free State. The admission of California, the fugitive slave law and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, were the most important of the measures constituting the compromise of 1850.

The Compromise  
of 1850.

Death of the  
Whig Party.

Each organization, the Whig and the Democratic, was dominated by its Southern end, which was much the smaller end as regards the Whig party. As a consequence of the Whigs' surrender in 1850, and their platform indorsement of that surrender in 1852, they lost ground in the presidential canvass of the latter year, carrying only four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee—out of the thirty-one. The Whig wreck became complete when, in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska act made slavery extension the Democratic programme, and

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

the Whigs became the larger element of the new party which adopted the Republican name.

The Congress, overwhelmingly Democratic in both branches, which came into existence with the Democratic President, Franklin Pierce, in 1853, had not been in session two months when the pretense that the compromise of 1850 had "settled" the slavery question was proven to be illusory. This was shown when Senator Archibald Dixon, a Kentucky Whig, gave notice that when the bill creating the Territory of Nebraska came up he should offer a resolution repealing the Missouri compromise in that Territory, so as to allow slaves to be held in it.

Stephen A. Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, had already reported to the Senate a bill to create the Territory of Nebraska. This bill provided that the proposed Territory, or any part thereof, when admitted as a State, should be received with or without slavery, as its Constitution should prescribe. On hearing Dixon's proposition Douglas immediately had the bill recommitted, and on January 23 it went before the Senate in its final shape. The new bill split the Territory into two divisions, one to be called Kansas and the other Nebraska, the boundaries being nearly the same as those of the present States of those names, except that the westerly limit of Kansas was the Rocky Mountains. The bill provided that the question of slavery in each Territory should be left to the representatives of the residents, that questions of titles to slaves might be appealed from the local tribunals to the Supreme Court, and that the provisions of the fugitive slave laws of 1793 and 1850 should be extended over each Territory.

•The Kansas-  
Nebraska Bill.

The provision to allow the people of the two Territories to decide for themselves whether they would have freedom or slavery, was the popular sovereignty doctrine, proposed by Lewis Cass as early as 1847, which John C. Calhoun dubbed "squatter sovereignty," and which, as patented and put in practical operation by Douglas in the Kansas-Nebraska controversy of 1854-60, usually bore the latter designation.

"Squatter Sov-  
ereignty."

Both Territories being in the Louisiana purchase north of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes, slavery in them was prohibited by the Missouri compromise. The Douglas bill, however, removed this restriction. That part of the bill which extended the laws of the United States over the Territories had the stipulation—"except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

•Repeal of the  
Missouri Com-  
promise.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Alarm  
Throughout  
the Country.

The Douglas bill startled the country. The South, except a few of its leaders, had not asked for it or expected it. The North, not dreaming of the possibility of such a surrender to slavery, was alarmed and angered. Here was the Missouri barrier erected by Clay, which had existed with the approbation of the country for thirty-four years, removed at a signal from Clay's successor, Dixon. The interests of freedom in the North, which no Southern man, except Calhoun and a few others of the ultras, ever thought of threatening, were here assailed by a Northern Senator, Douglas. That agitation of the slavery question which the Democratic and Whig parties supposed in 1852 was ended by the compromise of 1850, which the Democracy in its Convention in 1852 pledged itself to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it," "under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," was reopened in 1854 by a representative Democrat.

Protests from  
the North.

This bill, which gave slavery an equal chance with freedom in a region solemnly dedicated to freedom by the friends and foes of slavery a third of a century earlier, called out protestations in the shape of resolutions from the Legislatures and memorials from representative citizens of nearly all the Northern States, which poured in on Congress from the time of the presentation to the passage of the bill. The bill was opposed earnestly by the Free Soilers in both branches of Congress, and by most of the Northern Whigs, and by some Northern Democrats. The strongest speeches made against it in the Senate were by Seward, Sumner, Fessenden, Wade and Chase.

To an argument by Badger, of North Carolina, Wade made a retort which was often cited afterward. "Why," said Badger, "if some Southern gentleman wishes to take the nurse who takes care of his little baby, or the old woman who nursed him in childhood, and whom he called 'mammy' until he returned from college, and, perhaps, afterwards, and whom he wishes to take with him in his old age, when he is moving into those new Territories for the betterment of the fortunes of the whole family—why, in the name of God, should anybody prevent it?" "The Senator," remarked Wade, "entirely mistakes our position. We have not the least objection to the Senator's migrating to Kansas and taking his old 'mammy' along with him. We only insist that he shall not be empowered to sell her after taking her there."

Benton's  
Speech  
Against the  
Kansas Bill.

The most impressive speech delivered in the House on the bill was by Thomas H. Benton, who opposed it. Benton, who was one of Missouri's first Senators, who had been in the Senate thirty years continuously, retiring in 1851, and who entered the house in 1853, declared that the movement for the annulment of the Missouri Compromise had been initiated "without a memorial, without a petition, without a request from any human being." He denounced Douglas for reopening the slavery question, and declared that the Missouri compact, which, he said, had been forced upon the North by the South, was not a "mere statute to last for a day," but "was intended for perpetuity, and so declared itself."

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Benton was nearly the last survivor of the generation of statesmen who entered public life in the early days of Clay, Webster and Calhoun. He was a Jackson and not a Calhoun Democrat. Although representing a slave State, he opposed slavery extension. On this account the slave-holding element defeated him when he sought a sixth term in the Senate, and the scepter of supremacy in his State, which he had worn for over a quarter of a century, passed to David R. Atchison.

The opponents of the bill, however, were beaten at every point. It passed the Senate March 3, 1854, by a vote of 37 to 14. The geographical line was conspicuously revealed in the vote. All the Southern Democrats, except one (fourteen), and all the Southern Whigs, except one (nine), voted for the bill. The Northern Democrats were not as true to the sentiment of their section, for fourteen of them voted with the South, which made the thirty-seven votes for the bill. The fourteen opponents of the bill were: Fessenden, of Maine; Foote, of Vermont; Smith, of Connecticut; Seward and Fish, of New York, and Wade, of Ohio, all Whigs; Hamlin, of Maine (subsequently Vice-President); James, of Rhode Island, and Dodge and Walker, of Wisconsin, all Democrats; Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Chase, of Ohio, Free Soilers, and two Southern men, Bell, of Tennessee, Whig, and Houston, of Texas, Democrat. This list was published often in the Northern papers of that time as a roll of honor.

The bill passed the House on May 22, by a vote of 113 to 100. Sixty-nine (fifty-seven Democratic and twelve Whig) of the 113 votes were furnished by the South, and forty-four (all Democratic) by the North. Ninety-one (forty-four Whig, forty-four Democratic and three Free Soil) of the 100 votes against the bill were from the North, and nine (seven Whigs and two Democrats) were from the South. The two Democrats who voted against the majority of their party and the overwhelmingly predominant sentiment of their section deserve grateful remembrance. They were John S. Millson, of Virginia, and Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. May 30, President Pierce put his signature to the bill, and it became a law.

The North was profoundly stirred by the Nebraska bill. Eleven weeks after it passed the Senate and one week before it passed the House, Horace Greeley declared that Douglas and Pierce had made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Phillips could have made in half a century. Douglas was denounced throughout all the free States, and his middle name—Stephen Arnold Douglas—was emphasized for the treason to the country with which it was associated. Garrison's paper said 103 ladies in an Ohio village sent him thirty pieces of silver, as the price of his betrayal of freedom. Horace Bushnell, a Hartford clergyman, applied to him the terrible words of the Hebrew prophet: "Tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him; therefore, he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many, yet he shall come to his end and none shall

Passage of the Bill.

Wrath of the Free States.

Cited in Rhodes' History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 496.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

help him." He himself afterward said that he could have traveled from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies.

The South, or a large part of it, which appeared to care little about the bill when it first came up, quickly saw it meant victory for slavery and rejoiced at its passage. But it was a victory of Pyrrhus. It hurt victors more than vanquished.

Momentous  
Effects of the  
Kansas Act.

No other act placed on the national statute book in the sixty-five years of the Government along to that time ever brought such mighty consequences. By putting the slavery question at the front and driving out all other issues, it destroyed the partisan affiliation between the West and South; it started an armed struggle in Kansas between the free and slave States; it killed the Whig party by driving its Southern end through the half-way houses of the American (Know-nothing) party in 1856 and the Constitutional Union party in 1860 over to the Democracy; it united the Free Soilers, the political abolitionists, the majority of the Northern Whigs and a large element of the Northern Democrats in 1854-6, in a new organization, formed to fight slavery extension, called the Republican party; it split the Democracy in 1860, thus giving the Republicans the victory which sent the South out of the Union, precipitated the war, overthrew slavery, and put a solid North and a solid South in politics and kept them in almost until this day.



# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER II.

### SPREAD OF THE PARTY THROUGHOUT THE NORTH.

AUGUST 8, 1846, when David Wilmot introduced his slavery extension restriction, and May 30, 1854, when President Pierce signed the bill opening the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to slavery, the former of which gave the party its creed and the latter of which brought the party into being, are important datemarks in Republican history.

Datemarks in  
Republican  
History.

Five great ingredients, standing thus in order of numerical importance—Whigs, Know-nothings, anti-slavery Democrats, Free Soilers and political abolitionists—entered into the combination which became the Republican party. The Whigs, who outnumbered all the other elements together, gave the new party its liberal and elastic theories of constitutional interpretation, the Democrats gave it its regard for popular methods, the Free Soilers furnished it its policy, and the abolitionists contributed a dash of radicalism which tempered the conservatism, that was occasionally disposed to be reactionary, of the Whig element. The Know-nothings contributed little toward the party except votes, and these they did not begin to furnish until a split occurred in their convention in 1856, on account of the slavery issue.

Ingredients of  
the Party.

Seward, Lincoln, Greeley and Sherman were among the Republican leaders who were drawn from the Whig party. Henry Wilson and Henry Winter Davis came from the Know-nothings; Hamlin, Trumbull and the Blairs from the Democrats; Sumner, Chase and Julian from the Free Soilers, and Giddings and Lovejoy from the abolitionists, though the two last named had also acted with the Free Soilers.

Early Republi-  
can Leaders.

Apparently the first systematic movement to form a new party was started in Ripon, Wisconsin, where a few Whigs, anti-slavery Democrats and Free Soilers, the leading spirit of whom was Alvan E. Bovay, a Whig, met in a church, on February 28, 1854, to take steps to unite all the opponents of slavery extension in a single party. This was four days before the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed the Senate, but when its enactment was inevitable. At another meeting by the same persons, held March 20, Bovay declared that the new combination, which had begun to take shape in that town, would assume the Republican name. It is said that in 1852 he predicted to Horace Greeley that the campaign which the Whigs had just started on would be their last national canvass; that a new party on the sole issue of hostility to slavery extension would take the Whig party's place, and that the name he would suggest would be Republican.

The Party's  
Birthplace.

The Ripon,  
Wis., and  
Washington,  
D. C., Move-  
ments.

May 23, 1854, a day after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the House, thirty Whig and Democratic members of that body, at the suggestion of Israel Washburn, Jr., of Maine, at a meeting at the rooms of two Massachusetts Representatives, Edward Dickinson and Thomas

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

D. Eliot, pledged themselves to do all in their power to form a party to combat slavery extension, and they agreed that it should be called Republican. These are the earliest authenticated instances of the application of the Republican name to the party created by the act of 1854, throwing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska open to slavery.

Some of the histories and most of the books of political reminiscences say the Republican party obtained a foothold earlier in the Eastern States than it did in the West, and Massachusetts and New York are often made the birthplace of the party. This, however, is a mistake. • Michigan has the honor of being the first State to officially baptize the Republican party. At a State Convention composed of men who had been members of the Whig, Democratic and Free Soil parties, held in Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854, the delegates pledged themselves and their constituents to "co-operate and be known as Republicans until the contest be terminated"—meaning the contest in the Territories between slavery and freedom, which the Kansas-Nebraska act precipitated. That was the earliest formal and specific adoption of the Republican name by any large body of citizens

• The signers of the call for the Michigan Republican Convention included several men who subsequently became national figures, among them being Jacob M. Howard, Austin Blair, Isaac P. Christiancy and Zachariah Chandler. Horace Greeley wrote to Howard telling him Wisconsin, in its convention to be held July 13, was going to adopt the Republican name, and advised Michigan to get ahead of her, which she did. Kinsley S. Bingham, who headed the State ticket nominated by the Michigan Convention, which ticket swept the State, was the first Governor who was ever a candidate on the Republican ticket. Exception, of course, is here made of the Jeffersonian Republican party of 1792-1829.

• State Conventions which formally adopted the Republican name met in Wisconsin and Vermont July 13, 1854, a week later than Michigan's, in Massachusetts September 7, and in New York September 26. Other Northern States nominated anti-slavery tickets in 1854, without assuming the new name. Throughout nearly all the remainder of the North the name was adopted in State Conventions in 1855.

The reason why the West joined the East when the sectional division between the States took place, instead of clinging to the South as it had done in earlier days, were these: The development of the railroad connection with the Atlantic seaboard States in the ten or fifteen years preceding 1854, created a stronger physical bond between West and East than the Mississippi had established between West and South. This, and the fact that the East furnished the principal home market for Western products, and provided most of the supplies for which these were exchanged, is the economic reason why the agricultural West broke from the agricultural South and joined the manufacturing East. Immigration to the West, so far as it consisted of home immigrants, was

The First Republican State Convention—Michigan's.

Horace Greeley's Part in Suggesting the Republican Name.

Conventions in Wisconsin, Vermont, Massachusetts and New York.

Why the West Joined the East Instead of the South.



SPEAKER THOMAS B. REED, OF MAINE.

4 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

from the East far more largely than from the South. This is the social reason for the break with the South and the affiliation with the East when the crisis came. The moral reason for the change was in the strong anti-slavery sentiment carried with them by the immigrants from New England, whose influence could be traced along lines of latitude in the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and in Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Most of the foreign immigrants to the West in those days were Germans, three-fourths of whom were anti-slavery men.

There are two principal causes why the Republican party got a foothold somewhat earlier in the West than it did in the East. First, the West was assailed more directly than the East by the Douglas act which threw the Territories open to slavery; and, secondly, party organization and discipline being less extensive and rigid in young States than in old ones, the chances in the former for forming new partisan combinations are always better.

Why the Party  
Got an Earlier  
Start in the  
West than in  
the East.

On January 17, 1856, a call was issued by the Chairmen of the Republican State-Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, inviting "the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention" at Pittsburg on February 22, 1856. From the day of the meeting of that gathering the life of the Republican party as a national organization dates. That assemblage formed a Republican National Committee, which committee, on March 29, 1856, called the National Delegate Convention which nominated Fremont for President.

First  
Republican  
National  
Gathering.

Before 1856 came the Republicans had gained control of most of the free States. In the congressional elections of 1854 they secured a plurality in the House of Representatives, but not a majority, the Whigs who had as yet resisted absorption in the new Republican party or the Democracy, together with the Know-nothings, the anti-Alien and anti-Catholic party of that day, holding the balance of power. This condition of things resulted in the longest contest for Speaker in the record of the House of Representatives, Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, a Republican, being elected by the aid of a few Whigs and Know-nothings, on a plurality vote, on February 2, 1856, after a struggle of sixty-one days.

Banks Elected  
Speaker.

This was the first Republican triumph, and it gave the party much encouragement in the presidential canvass. Its ticket in that year, nominated in a convention which met at Philadelphia on June 17, was John C. Fremont, of California, for President, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. The platform declared that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery"; demanded the admission of Kansas with its free State constitution, and condemned the Ostend manifesto as "the highwayman's plea that might makes right." The tariff was not mentioned in the national platform until 1860.

Fremont  
Nominated.

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The Know-nothing or American party as it began to be called then, nominated ex-President Millard Fillmore for President, and Andrew J. Donelson for Vice-President, in a convention which met in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856, and the Democrats, in a convention which met in Cincinnati on June 2, nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge for the first and second offices respectively.

Civil War in  
Kansas.

The conflict for the possession of Kansas, between the free State settlers and the friends of slavery, which by this time had developed into a condition of civil war, aided the Republicans, yet their time to carry the country had not yet come. The business interests, always conservative, dreading a change of control in the Government at that time, threw their influence in favor of the Democracy, and that party carried the country. Buchanan received 1,838,169 popular and 174 electoral votes, as compared with 1,341,264 and 114 respectively for Fremont and 874,534 and 8 (the electoral votes of Maryland) for Fillmore. All the free States except New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California went Republican. The vote of Pennsylvania and of any one of the other four free States would have given the Republicans the victory.

Republican  
Defeat in 1856.

The Dred Scott  
Decision.

In addition to their failure in 1856 to gain the Presidency, the Republicans lost the House of Representatives, which they had won on a plurality vote in 1854, but they secured that of 1858. The Republicans had been assisted by the Dred Scott decision of 1857, declaring that slave holders had a right to take their property into the Territories; by the unpopularity in the North of the Buchanan Administration, which was dominated by the Southern end of the Democracy, and which tried to force the Lecompton pro-slavery Constitution on Kansas, in opposition to the convictions of a majority of its citizens. This Lecompton contest in Congress, in which most of the Northern Democrats voted with the Republicans against the Administration, was the great political event of 1858, and next to it in interest was the struggle for the Senatorship in Illinois, in the series of joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas. Douglas was re-elected, but the Republicans gained the House of Representatives, though not by a clear majority. This produced a speakership contest almost as long as that which occurred four years earlier, and much more exciting. John Brown's invasion of Virginia in October, 1859, and the publication of Helper's "Impending Crisis of the South," which was an attack on slavery by a Southern poor white, helped to intensify the bitterness between the sections. The speakership contest began when Congress met, December 5, 1859, three days after Brown's execution, and lasted fifty-eight days. John Sherman, the original Republican candidate, who had indorsed Helper's book, withdrew, William Pennington, of New Jersey, was put in his place, and he was elected by the aid of a few Northern Know-nothing votes.

The Lincoln-  
Douglas De-  
bate.

John Brown's  
Invasion.

Helper's  
"Impending  
Crisis."

The Republicans were nominally in control of the House of 1859-61, presided over by Pennington, but the Senate and Executive were

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against them. Fortune, however, was on their side, for the Democracy split in the convention which met in Charleston April 23, 1860, and subsequently at Baltimore, put up two tickets, Breckinridge heading the Southern end and Douglas the Northern. This turned the tide strongly in the Republicans' favor, and the contest for their candidacy in the convention which met in Chicago on May 16 was spirited. Seward led on the first ballot, with Lincoln, who became known to the country in the contest with Douglas two years before, second. Most of Seward's enemies went to Lincoln, and he was nominated on the third ballot. The platform denounced the Southern threats of disunion, condemned the Buchanan Administration for its subserviency to slavery, declared that the normal condition of all the territory of the country was that of freedom, demanded a homestead law, and set forth 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."

Democratic  
Split in  
the Charleston  
Convention.

Nomination of  
Lincoln.

A fourth ticket was also in the field in 1860, that of the Constitutional Union party, composed of old Whigs and Know-nothings, who still kept outside both the great organizations. This party, in a convention which met at Baltimore on May 9, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

Four Tickets  
in the Field.

No canvass before or since was as earnest or exciting as that of 1860. In the North the contest was between Lincoln and Douglas, except in the States in which there was a fusion between Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell; while in the border States and the South the struggle was between Breckinridge and Bell. Lincoln received only a trifling number of votes in any of the slave States, except in Missouri, where he had 17,028, or more than he got in all the rest of the slavery region combined. The split in the Democracy gave the Republicans the victory, yet the popular vote was far short of a majority. Lincoln received 1,866,352 popular and 180 electoral votes; Douglas, 1,375,157 and 12, respectively; Breckinridge, 845,763 and 72, and Bell, 589,581 and 39. Lincoln carried all the free States, except New Jersey, and got 4 out of the 7 electoral votes of that State, Douglas receiving the other 3, and getting Missouri's 9 in addition. Breckinridge got the electoral votes of all the slave States, except those of Missouri, which went to Douglas, and those of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, which went to Bell. The popular vote of the combined opposition was 944,149 greater, and its electoral vote was 57 less than those of the Republican party.

Lincoln's Elec-  
tion.

Then came the oft-threatened secession. South Carolina's ordinance dissolving her relations with the Union was passed December 20, 1860; Mississippi's, January 9, 1861; Florida's, January 10; Alabama's, January 11; Georgia's, January 19; Louisiana's, January 26, and Texas', February 1. After the Republican power began, four other States seceded, Virginia going out on April 17, 1861; Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 26, and Tennessee, June 8.

Secession.

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## CHAPTER III.

### POLITICS IN THE WAR PERIOD.

Formation  
of the  
Confederacy.

WHEN, on March 4, 1861, the Republican party went into power, the Government had entered that most eventful and critical period of its history since its establishment in 1789. Over a large part of the country the Government's power was obstructed and its authority defied. On February 4, 1861, the Confederacy was founded, which consisted at the outset of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. After hostilities began four other States—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—joined these, which constituted the eleven States under the sway of Jefferson Davis. The four other slave States—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri—did not secede, though all of them, except Delaware, contributed many soldiers to the Confederate armies as well as to the forces of the Union.

This history, however, will not concern itself with military movements and battles except where they determine the course of parties and influence politics.

Period of Re-  
publican Sway.

The Republicans were now the party of the Government, and maintained complete control of affairs for fourteen years, or until 1875, when a Democratic House of Representatives came into power, and held the Presidency for twenty-four years, or until Grover Cleveland had his first inauguration, in 1885. At the outset, however, they would not have had a clear majority in either branch of Congress if the South had remained in the Union. If all the States had been represented in the Congress of 1861-63, the combined opposition—Douglas Democrats, Breckinridge Democrats and Constitutional Unionists—would have had a majority over the Republicans of eight in the Senate and of twenty-one in the House, and the Republicans, of course, would thus have been powerless to enact any partisan measures. Lincoln's hands would have been tied. But secession gave the preponderance to the Republicans, and the conflict which it brought sent most of the Northern end of the Constitutional Union party into the Republican ranks. It also put an element of the Northern Democracy, the war Democrats, into close alliance with the Republican party until 1866 or 1867, when the reconstruction policy sent most of them back into the old fold.

Lincoln Pre-  
sents the  
Olive Branch.

In the beginning the Administration held out the olive branch to the South. "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Thus said Lincoln in his inaugural address, quoting from one of his earlier speeches. He declared, in substance, that he should enforce the fugitive



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slave law, and that he took the official oath "with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rule." Warning the South that "no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union," he said that "acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary," and that to the extent of his ability he should take care, as the Constitution enjoins, "that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States." The power confided in him, he said, would be used to hold the property and places "belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts," but beyond what might be necessary for these objects there would be "no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

The inaugural closed with this eloquent appeal for peace: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. \* \* \* We are not enemies, but friends. \* \* \* 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 angels of our nature."

"It is a peace offering rather than a war message," said Douglas in the Senate on March 6. This was the Northern view. It was the Southern view, however, that the loyal part of the country awaited. That view was not long delayed. The Lincoln policy "will meet with the stern and unyielding resistance of a united South," said the Richmond "*Whig*" on March 5. "Civil war must now come. \* \* \* Virginia must fight. \* \* \* War with Lincoln or with Davis is the choice left us." This is from the Richmond *Enquirer* of the same day.

While Lincoln, perplexed by the divided councils of his Cabinet (Seward, Secretary of State; Cameron, Secretary of War, and Smith, Secretary of the Interior, advising the abandonment of Fort Sumter, and Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Welles, Secretary of the Navy; and Blair, Postmaster General, advising its relief and defense; with Bates, Attorney-General, undecided), hesitated and temporized with the hope of keeping all the border slave States in the Union, and at last started the relief expedition too late to accomplish anything, the Confederates attacked and captured Sumter. When the flag fell from Sumter on April 14, the Government's vacillation ended, 75,000 militia were called for and quickly provided. Congress was summoned to meet in extra session on July 4, and the war began.

In ability, character and courage the Congress which met on the Nation's birthday in 1861—the Thirty-seventh Congress—was worthy to grapple with the tremendous problems which presented themselves. Among the conspicuous figures in the Senate when it met in extra ses-

Appeal for Peace.

Southern Newspaper Opinions.

Cited in Rhodes' "History of the United States," vol. iii., pp. 318-319.

The Historic Thirty-Seventh Congress.

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Celebrities in  
the Senate.

sion were Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, James W. Grimes of Iowa, and William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, three of the seven Republicans whose votes saved Andrew Johnson from conviction in the trial before the Senate seven years later; the veterans Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts; Kinsley S. Bingham and Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, the former of whom was the first candidate for Governor ever selected by the Republican party, being nominated in the earliest Republican State Convention ever held, that which met in Jackson, Mich., on July 6, 1854, of which body his colleague, Chandler, was a delegate; John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, the first avowed anti-slavery man elected to the Senate, and Presidential candidate of the Free Soil party in 1852; Preston King, of New York, a conspicuous Free Soiler of the earlier day; Benjamin F. Wade and John Sherman of Ohio, the latter of whom had just entered upon the career in the Senate which was destined to far exceed Thomas H. Benton's in duration; Edward D. Baker, of Oregon, who was killed three months later at the head of his troops in the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff; David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, whose slavery restriction proviso of 1846 became the basic principle of the Free Soil and Republican parties; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who clung to the Union despite the secession of his State, and whose courage and patriotism won him the prominence among the War Democrats which gained the fateful prize of the Vice-Presidential nomination on the Lincoln ticket in 1864, and James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, who broke with the Republicans early in the fight against Johnson. In the Senate also at the opening of the extra session were John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, recently Vice-President, who a few weeks later joined the Confederacy, thus ending what appeared to be the most promising political career opening to any Democratic statesman of that day, and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, who was expelled from the Senate a few months later for having, in a letter to Jefferson Davis, recognized him as President of the Confederacy.

Great Figures  
in the House.

The House of the Thirty-seventh Congress was presided over by a man who, for Congressman at large in the election of 1894, received a larger plurality (246,462) than was ever given to any other candidate for any office in the United States, but who, between 1863 and 1894, was in private life. This was Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a member of the present House of Representatives. Among the other members of the House of 1861-63 then or subsequently distinguished, were John A. Logan, Owen Lovejoy (brother of the Alton, Ill., abolition martyr of 1837), and Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; Schuyler Colfax, George W. Julian and Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana, the first of whom was afterward speaker three terms and Vice-President one term; the second of whom was the Free Soil Vice-Presidential candidate in 1852, and one of the founders of the Republican party, and the third of whom is one of Indiana's present Senators; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, who retired from the Senate in 1893; William Windom, of Minnesota,

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who subsequently won fame as Secretary of the Treasury under two Presidents, separated eight years from each other in time; Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, who, early in 1861, did more than any other one man to save that State to the Union, and candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket in 1868; Roscoe Conkling, Reuben E. Fenton and Elbridge G. Spaulding, of New York, the last named of whom became the "father of the greenbacks"; William Allen, Samuel S. Cox, George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio; William D. Kelley, for years "father of the House," and Thaddens Stevens, a leader in the legislation of the war and reconstruction days, both of Pennsylvania, and Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, who gave his name to the tariff act placed upon the statute book a few months earlier, and who, still in active service, has had his name on the roster of Congress longer (forty-one years on March 4, 1896) than any other man in the country's history.

In his message, July 4, 1861, to Congress, President Lincoln recited the situation in the seceded States, and asked for "legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one," recommending the placing at the control of the Government of "at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000."

All that the President and the heads of the different departments asked, Congress promptly granted. The extra session ended on August 6, lasting just thirty-three days, but in that time it passed sixty-one public bills and five joint resolutions. In no other session of Congress of equal duration was an amount of business at all approaching this in extent and importance ever transacted. The Republicans were overwhelmingly predominant in both branches of Congress, and they remained so throughout the war, but most of the Democrats were as earnest as the Republicans in the desire for a prompt suppression of the rebellion.

Among the more important work of the extra session were measures to allow the enlistment of 500,000 volunteers for three years; authorizing a loan of \$250,000,000; increasing, on August 5, 1861, duties under the Morrill tariff of March 2, 1861; levying an internal revenue and income tax; directing a blockade of the Southern ports; imposing a direct tax of \$20,000,000 on the States and Territories; defining and punishing conspiracy; legalizing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus which had been made by the President through the Commanding General, and confiscating property, including slaves, used against the Government. The last named act was signed August 6, 1861, the last day of the session.

During the entire four years of the war the Republicans pushed legislation in this vigorous fashion. They raised vast armies, created great navies, and devised ways and means to meet an expenditure which, during a large part of the war, averaged nearly \$3,000,000 a day. The Republicans created the greenbacks by the act of February 25, 1862, passed a homestead law May 20, 1862, established the national banking system by the act of February 25, 1863, and abolished the note-issuing

Work of the  
Extra Session  
of 1861.

Creation of the  
Greenbacks  
and the National  
Banks.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

function of the State banks by the act of March 3, 1865, imposing a tax of 10 per cent on the circulation of those institutions.

Slavery Causes  
Embarrassment.

The slavery issue which caused the war began to make trouble for the Administration very early in the struggle. Gen. Butler, May 24, 1861, refused to give up to their owner slaves who had fled to Fortress Monroe, holding that as they had been employed in constructing a Confederate battery they were "contraband of war," and he put them at work in the Government service. Though the Administration was disposed to deal tenderly with slavery, it cautiously sanctioned Butler's policy, and the entrance of "contrabands" into the Union lines received a great impetus from this course. This was more than two months before the passage of the confiscation act.

Fremont's Pre-  
mature At-  
tempt to Free  
the Slaves Re-  
voked.

But a few months later the question presented itself in a more embarrassing phase. Gen. Fremont, commanding the Western Department, issued a proclamation August 31, 1861, three weeks after the confiscation act was passed, freeing all the slaves in Missouri belonging to men in the Confederate service. Lincoln told Fremont that this proclamation would ruin the Union cause in Kentucky, and asked him to retract it so as to conform to the confiscation act of August 6, 1861, which freed the slaves used against the Government and no others. Fremont, unwilling to do this, asked Lincoln to openly order him to do so, which Lincoln did.

Geo. W. Julian  
in "Political  
Recollections," p. 199.

This, in the language of a well-known Republican member of the Congress of 1861-3, "produced a bitter feeling through the North." "The Republican press everywhere applauded it" (the Fremont proclamation), said another Congressman of that day, "and even such Democratic and conservative papers as the *Boston Post*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Chicago Times* and the *New York Herald* approved it." The revocation of the proclamation, he said, was a "terrible disappointment to the Republican masses, who could not understand why loyal slaveholders in Kentucky should be offended because the slaves of rebels in Missouri were declared free."

A proclamation of General David Hunter in South Carolina, May 9, 1862, abolishing slavery in his department, was also disavowed by Lincoln.

Congress At-  
tacks Slavery.

Slavery, however, began to be attacked by Congress early in 1862. April 16, it was abolished in the District of Columbia, and on June 19 a bill became law which prohibited it in the Territories. The latter act carried out the principle of the Wilmot proviso of 1846, and thus framed into statute the creed on which the Republican party was founded. The fugitive slave law was abolished on June 28, 1864.

Lincoln's  
Emancipation  
Proclamation.

Before the last named date, however, the crowning work of slavery destruction was performed. The South rejected the overtures which had been made for compensated emancipation, and now emancipation without compensation was to come. Lincoln submitted to the Cabinet in August, 1862, a draft of an emancipation proclamation, which Seward



BENJAMIN HARRISON, OF INDIANA.

TO THE  
SECRETARY

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

induced him to postpone, on the ground that if issued then, while the North was depressed and the South elated over the recent Union defeats, particularly that of Pope, it would be considered a despairing appeal. The Union victories at South Mountain on September 14 and at Antietam on the 17th parted the clouds, and the proclamation was issued on the 22d. This was the warning that unless the States in insurrection returned to their allegiance by January 1, 1863, the slaves in them would be declared free, and their freedom would be maintained by the military and naval forces of the United States. The warning being unheeded, the emancipation proclamation proper was issued on the latter date. After quoting the substance of the preliminary proclamation, it declared that the slaves in all the States then in insurrection except in the forty-eight counties of Virginia subsequently admitted to Statehood as West Virginia and in the districts in the other part of Virginia and in Louisiana within the Union lines were free, and set forth that "the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons." Congress subsequently gave legal sanction to the emancipation proclamation, and emancipation was made complete and permanent by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was proclaimed in force December 18, 1865.

Notwithstanding the emancipation proclamation and other evidences that Lincoln was at last in favor of striking slavery as hard as any element of the Republican party wanted, a movement to defeat him for renomination began in 1863, six or eight months before the National Convention met. Part of Lincoln's opponents desired the nomination of Chase, and Chase equally desired the candidacy, but he left the decision of the question to his own State, Ohio, and that State's Legislature, on February 25, 1864, declared in favor of Lincoln for a second term. Soon afterward Chase, in a letter, directed his friends to discontinue coupling his name with the candidacy.

Another element, which had its center of inspiration in Missouri, favored Fremont, and thought that his removal from command in the Department of the West, although his incompetency seemed to most persons to be fairly revealed, was persecution on the Administration's part. B. Gratz Brown was one of the leaders of this element. In a mass convention which met in Cleveland, May 31, 1864, a week before the regular Republican Convention assembled, Fremont was nominated for President, and Gen. John Cochrane, of New York, for Vice-President. They withdrew from the canvass on September 21.

There was strong opposition to Lincoln among Republican leaders. A prominent Republican Congressman of that day still alive says: "Of the more earnest and thoroughgoing Republicans in both houses of Congress, probably not one in ten really favored it"—Lincoln's renomination. "It was not only very distasteful to a large majority of Congress, but to many of the most prominent men of the party throughout the country."

Republican  
Opposition to  
Lincoln.

Factional  
Hostility to Lin-  
coln.

Julian's "Polit-  
ical Recollec-  
tions," p. 243.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The people, however, in Lincoln's words, felt that it was bad policy to "swap horses while crossing a stream," and their will prevailed. In the regular Republican and Union Convention, which met in Baltimore June 7, Lincoln received 484 votes on the first ballot, every vote in the Convention except Missouri's, which were cast for Grant. These, though, were immediately transferred to Lincoln, and he was renominated unanimously. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, a war Democrat, was selected for Vice-President, in recognition of the aid which the Union received from the hundreds of thousands of Democrats in the army, and from an element of them in Congress.

Lincoln  
Renominated.

Many of the Republican leaders, and also Lincoln himself, thought at the beginning of the campaign that Republican success was contingent on military victories. The blunder of the Democrats, indeed, at the Convention which met in Chicago August 29, in declaring the war to be a "failure," aided the Republicans materially, although Gen. McClellan, the Democratic candidate, repudiated that utterance in his letter accepting the nomination. Grant's negative successes in the Richmond campaign in the summer and fall of 1864, and Sheridan's positive victories in the Shenandoah Valley, Sherman's in Georgia and Farragut's in the Gulf of Mexico made a complete and radical change in the situation, proved the war not to be a "failure," and elected the Republican and war Democratic candidates. Lincoln and Johnson carried twenty-two States, every State which voted except New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky. These went to McClellan. Lincoln's electoral vote was 212, and McClellan's 21. The popular vote was 2,216,067 for Lincoln, and 1,808,725 for McClellan.

Gen. McClellan  
Put Up by the  
Democrats.

Lincoln Re-  
elected.

The story of the remaining political events of the war days is quickly told. In the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, which began December 6, 1864, the most important legislation was the passage of the thirteenth amendment, which went through the Senate in the first session of that Congress (April 8, 1864), by a vote of 38 (36 Republicans and 2 Democrats) to 6 (all Democrats). It passed the House January 31, 1865, by a vote of 119 (105 Republicans and 14 Democrats) to 56 (all Democrats), and was signed by the President February 1. This legalized and completed the work of the emancipation proclamation, and, indorsed at Appomattox two months later and subsequently ratified by the States, it decreed that slavery should never exist "within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The War  
Amendments.

The thirteenth amendment was declared in operation December 18, 1865; the fourteenth, proposed in 1866, was adopted July 28, 1868; and the fifteenth, proposed in 1869, went into effect March 30, 1870.

The War  
Ended.

Before the thirteenth amendment went into operation the war was ended, Lincoln was assassinated, and the work of restoring the seceded States to their old relations to the Government was begun.



# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER IV.

### REBUILDING THE NATION.

THE end of war brought problems to the Republican party as serious and perplexing as that conflict presented. The State Governments and entire civil authority of the eleven seceded States were overthrown when the armies of the Confederacy surrendered at Appomattox, and the region was virtually held as conquered territory. How were those States to be treated? What process should be adopted to restore them to their old relations to the Union?

Reconstruction Problem.

These questions received several sorts of answers. President Lincoln's theory, as based on a proclamation issued on December 8, 1863, was that the States were never legally out of the Union, and all that was necessary to put them back in their old positions was that a sufficient number of their citizens, one-tenth being the proportion prescribed by him, should take the oath of allegiance and set up a loyal Government. Amnesty at the same time was to be granted to all who served in the Confederacy, except a small specified number of its leaders. Practically speaking, Congress was to have nothing to do directly with the restoration of the seceded States, except to pass upon the admission of these States' representatives. This, in its principal features, was Lincoln's reconstruction policy, which Johnson attempted to carry out after Lincoln's death, April 15, 1865, but which was defeated by Congress.

Lincoln's Plan.

This plan encountered opposition in Congress on the ground that the terms were too lenient, and that they did not exact a sufficient guarantee for the South's observance of even these conditions in good faith. A bill to remedy these defects, or assumed defects, was pushed through Congress, but was killed by the "pocket veto" on July 4, 1864, on the adjournment of Congress. Lincoln issued a proclamation July 8, defending his course, to which Henry Winter Davis, of the House, and Benjamin F. Wade of the Senate, the leading advocates of the bill, replied in a letter published in the *New York Tribune*.

Congress Opposes It.

The Davis-Wade manifesto concluded with this threat: "The President has greatly presumed on the forbearance which the supporters of his Administration have so long practiced, in view of the arduous conflict in which we are engaged and the reckless ferocity of our political opponents. But he must understand that our support is of a cause and not of a man; that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected; \* \* \* and if he wishes our support he must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and execute, not make the laws—to suppress by arms armed rebellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress."

The Davis-Wade Manifesto.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Conflict Between Lincoln and Congress.

See Chapter III.

Congress Defeats Johnson's Programme.

Congress Overrides Vetoes.

Johnson Effaced.

This brought on a conflict between Lincoln and the majority of the Republicans, and for a time raised up some opposition to his re-election, which disappeared, however, before November came. Lincoln had been renominated a month earlier, in a National Union Convention, which met at Baltimore, June 7, and, as stated in a previous chapter, was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, but died April 15, 1865, six weeks after the beginning of his second term. Thus was left to Andrew Johnson, who shared Lincoln's views that the insurgent States were never out of the Union, and who had, in addition, some States rights notions which Lincoln, as an old Whig, never entertained, a task which would have severely taxed Lincoln's resourcefulness, tact and persuasiveness, a series of qualities which Johnson conspicuously lacked.

In carrying out the Lincoln programme of reconstruction President Johnson had, by the time Congress met, December 4, 1865, recognized all the seceded States, except Texas, on their ratification of the thirteenth amendment. Congress believed that the protection of the liberated negroes in the South could not be secured under the presidential scheme, and a more drastic policy was framed. Admission to the representatives of the seceded States was refused by Congress, and that body, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, the leading spirit of which was Thaddeus Stevens, gradually formulated the policy which ultimately prevailed by being passed over the veto.

Congress' refusal to admit the representatives of the seceded States was the first gun in the war between that body and the President on the reconstruction question. The contest was vigorous and persistent until it culminated in Johnson's impeachment in 1868. The civil rights bill for the protection of the emancipated negroes in the South which Congress passed, the President vetoed March 27, 1866; and the Senate passed it over the veto April 6, and the House did it April 9. A freedman's bureau bill for the relief of ex-slaves, to continue the work of an act for this object, which was passed March 3, 1865, to last a year, was vetoed by Johnson, February 19, 1866. In a slightly different shape it was passed in July of the latter year, vetoed on the 16th of that month, and passed over the veto the same day. Johnson retaliated in a speech in Washington, February 22, 1866, and in others in Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis, in August and September of that year in his "swing around the circle," in which he fiercely attacked Congress. Some of the charges in these speeches figured in the subsequent articles of impeachment.

The conflict aroused great popular interest, enabled the Republicans to hold their majority, then overwhelmingly large, in the congressional elections of 1866, and after passing, some of them over the veto, bills establishing negro suffrage in the District of Columbia and in the Territories, admitting Nebraska to Statehood on condition that it should never deny the franchise to any person on account of race or color, an army appropriation bill with a clause virtually taking the command of

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

the army from the President and giving it to the General (Grant) of the army, and the tenure of office act, which tied Johnson's hands in the matter of removals, Congress brought forward its reconstruction scheme proper.

This measure, which was passed over the President's veto March 2, 1867, divided the South into five military districts, under command of Generals, who were to supervise the registration of voters, including negroes and excluding the ex-Confederates disqualified by the fourteenth amendment, which voters were to frame State Constitutions. These States, after their Constitutions were accepted by Congress, were to be admitted to representation at Washington when they had ratified the fourteenth amendment.

Congressional  
Reconstruction  
Scheme.

The State Constitutions which were adopted under the reconstruction act of March 2, 1867, abolished slavery, repudiated the debts incurred in the prosecution of the war against the Government, renounced the right of secession, and agreed to pass no laws abridging the liberty of any class of citizens. Complete sets of State officers were elected under these constitutions in all of the eleven seceded States. Negro suffrage, which was one of the important features of the reconstruction policy in its ultimate phase, was, from the beginning, a fundamental condition in Thaddeus Stevens' plan of State restoration.

Conditions of  
State Restora-  
tion.

Under this scheme the "carpet bag" and negro regime began. Tennessee had been admitted to representation before the reconstruction act was passed, or on June 24, 1866, while Arkansas, Alabama, the two Carolinas, Florida and Louisiana were let in in 1868, and Virginia, Mississippi, Texas and Georgia in 1870; the last four, as punishment for their delay in conforming to the prescribed conditions, being required to ratify the fifteenth amendment also. With Georgia's final readmission by the act of July 15, 1870, the roll of States was again complete. The measures mentioned, with the so-called "force bills" of 1870 and 1871, constituted the chief features of the work of rebuilding the Union.

The "Carpet  
Bag" Regime.

Long before this time, however, the impeachment of President Johnson had occurred. Congress, which had effaced the President early in the conflict between them, then determined to remove him. January 7, 1867, two months before the passage of the reconstruction act, James M. Ashley, of Ohio, in the House charged Johnson with corruptly using the appointing, pardoning and veto power, and with committing other acts which were "high crimes and misdemeanors." Five of the Judiciary Committee which investigated the charges reported in favor of impeachment and four opposed it, but the House, December 7, voted it down by 109 to 56.

A stronger pretext for impeachment, however, now presented itself. Secretary of War Stanton, the only Cabinet officer hostile to Johnson's reconstruction policy, was suspended by Johnson August 12, 1867, as the tenure of office act of March 2 of that year permitted, and Gen. Grant was made Secretary ad interim, and, as that act required, Johnson laid

The Johnson-  
Stanton Quar-  
rel.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

his reasons for this course before the Senate when it met. That body, January 13, 1868, by a party vote of 35 to 6, refused to sanction this action, and Grant retired and Stanton resumed office.

February 21, Johnson, taking the ground that the tenure of office act did not apply to Cabinet officers appointed by Lincoln, removed Stanton and selected Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas in his place ad interim. Stanton, backed by a vote of the Senate that the President had no power to remove him, refused to vacate the office.

The House Impeaches Johnson.

February 24, by a strict party vote—126 to 42—the House adopted a resolution of impeachment, and on the 25th appointed, as managers of the prosecution, John A. Bingham, of Ohio, George S. Boutwell and Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, James F. Wilson of Iowa, Thomas Williams and Thaddens Stevens of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois. On March 4, the House prosecutors presented eleven articles of impeachment in the Senate. The first nine mainly charged violations of the tenure of office act in the Stanton and other cases; the tenth said that Johnson attempted to “bring into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt and reproach the Congress of the United States” by a speech made in Washington, August 18, 1866, at Cleveland September 3 of the same year, and at St. Louis September 8; and the eleventh set forth that in the Washington speech before mentioned he declared that the Thirty-ninth (1865-67) Congress was not a Congress authorized to exercise legislative power, but a Congress of only part of the States, “thereby denying and intending to deny that the legislation of said Congress was valid and obligatory upon him.”

It soon became evident to the impeachers that the only articles on which there was any chance for conviction were the second, third and eleventh. The vote in the Senate on the eleventh article was taken first. Johnson's answer, through his counsel, to the tenth and eleventh articles was the general right of free opinion and free speech.

Republican Votes Against Conviction.

May 16, the Senate's judgment on the eleventh article was rendered by thirty-five Senators voting “guilty,” and nineteen “not guilty.” The thirty-five were all Republicans, and the nineteen were twelve Democrats and seven Republicans. The seven Republican Senators who voted with the Democrats were W. P. Fessenden of Maine, J. S. Fowler of Tennessee, J. W. Grimes of Iowa, J. B. Henderson of Missouri, E. G. Ross of Kansas, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and P. G. Van Winkle of West Virginia. One vote transferred from the smaller to the larger side would have given that side the necessary two-thirds, and the President would have been removed.

Johnson's answer to the second and third articles, on which the impeachment case then rested, was, in substance, that Stanton, being an appointee of Lincoln, and not reappointed, was not embraced in the terms of the tenure of office act; that, therefore, his removal was in the power of the President, and that Thomas' appointment was to fill an actual vacancy.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

May 26 the Senate passed judgment on these two articles by exactly the same vote as on the eleventh. A motion to drop the prosecution at this point was then carried by 34 yeas to 10 nays. By a perilously narrow margin the Republican party was saved from a grave partisan blunder, and a profound and lasting humiliation to the country was averted. The Chief Justice directed a verdict of acquittal to be entered on the record, and the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, adjourned without day.

The Senate  
Acquits Him.

Several months before President Johnson's trial ended, the Republicans began to turn to General Grant as the presidential standard-bearer. There was some doubt as to his politics, for the only vote he ever cast for President was for Buchanan in 1856. Seward and Chase—the first by continuing to serve in Johnson's Cabinet and to aid in attempting to carry out his policy, and the second by his hostility, or imagined hostility, to the project to remove Johnson—had lost caste in their party, and there was no Republican in Congress who could command the support of all the party's elements. The strength of a military candidate had been shown in the case of Jackson, W. H. Harrison and Taylor, the last named of whom, like Grant, had never held a civil post at the time of his nomination.

The Repub-  
licans Turn to  
Grant.

Grant's attractions as a presidential quantity appealed powerfully to the Republican leaders. He was the first soldier of the age; he was no politician, and therefore might, in office, be readily managed by the politicians; his connection with the reconstruction troubles showed him to be hostile to Johnson's policy, while he had not been mixed up in them prominently enough to arouse antagonism in any element of the party. Moreover, as in the case of the Whigs and General Taylor twenty years earlier, the Republican party managers feared that if they did not appropriate Grant the Democrats would. Grant received a unanimous nomination in the National Convention which met in Chicago May 20, 1868, six days before President Johnson's acquittal, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, who was then serving his third term as Speaker of the House, was selected for Vice-President, his principal rivals for that honor being Benjamin F. Wade, Reuben E. Fenton and Henry Wilson, the last named of whom was nominated for the office four years later.

Grant Nomi-  
nated.

The Democrats, in a convention which opened in New York on July 4, put up Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, for Vice-President. Reconstruction was the principal issue dealt with in the platforms of both parties and in the campaign. Not the faintest doubt was any time felt as to the result of the election. Negro suffrage and the disfranchisement of many ex-Confederates made several Southern States sure for the Republicans, and they would have no difficulty in securing a large majority of the Northern States. Grant carried twenty-six States, and Seymour only eight (New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana,

The Demo-  
crats nominate  
Seymour.

Grant Elected.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Kentucky and Oregon), receiving 3,015,071 popular and 214 electoral votes, as compared with 2,709,613 of the former and 80 of the latter for Seymour. Virginia, Mississippi and Texas had not yet complied with the terms of the reconstruction act, and their votes were not counted.

The "Southern Question."

The "Southern question" was the chief disturbing element in Grant's first term, as it had been in that of Johnson, but in Grant's time the Executive and Congress were in harmony. As previously mentioned, the general work of reconstruction was completed before his first term ended; the so-called "force bills" and ku-klux legislation were enacted and subsequently modified by eliminating their harsher features; the seceded States had all taken their old places in the Union, Georgia, the last of the erring sisterhood, being readmitted by the act of July 15, 1870, and the negro governments, made possible by the reconstruction law of March 2, 1867, had been ousted from many of the Southern States.

The Public Credit Act.

Among the important measures of Grant's first term, aside from the Southern legislation, were the law, signed March 18, 1869, for "the establishment of the public credit," which pledged the faith of the Government to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the greenbacks and bonds, and the redemption of the greenbacks in coin at the earliest practicable moment; and acts reducing the income tax and cutting many duties (July 14, 1870), putting tea and coffee on the free list (May 1, 1872), and reducing duties on cotton and woolen goods, wool, iron, glass and other articles (June 6, 1872). In 1872 the income tax expired. These acts are dealt with at greater length in subsequent chapters.

See Chapters VII. and VIII.

The Liberal Republican Bolt.

In 1872 also occurred a Republican schism which at first threatened to be disastrous. This was the bolt in which Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, George W. Julian, Lyman Trumbull, B. Gratz Brown, Charles Francis Adams and other men who had been conspicuous in the party participated. The secession was a protest against what its leaders called a "usurpation of power" by the Administration in its coercive measures against the South, and the corruption and general recklessness of some of the Administration agents, and the seceders were known as the Liberal Republican party.

Greeley Made the Liberal Republican and Democratic Candidate.

The Liberal Republicans, at a convention which met in Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, nominated Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President, on a platform demanding civil service reform, local self-government and universal amnesty, but which dodged the tariff by remitting it to Congress because of "honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion" on the subject. This expression was a bid for indorsement by the Democracy, and it was successful. That party, in a convention which opened at Baltimore, July 9, accepted the Liberal Republican ticket and platform, though a small section of the Democracy refused to be bound by this action, and nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.



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## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Nevertheless, Grant was renominated unanimously in a convention which opened in Philadelphia June 5, 1872, and Henry Wilson was selected for Vice-President, his only competitor being Schuyler Colfax, who held the office at the time. The Grant ticket gained a larger majority than it did in 1868, hundreds of thousands of Democrats refusing to support their old enemy, Greeley. Grant carried thirty-one States and had 286 electoral votes, as compared with six States (Maryland, Georgia, Texas, Missouri, Tennessee and Kentucky), and 63 electoral votes, divided up among several persons of the opposition, Greeley having died between the time when the popular vote was cast and the Electoral College met. Grant's popular vote was 3,597,070 and Greeley's 2,834,079. O'Connor, the candidate of the bolting Democrats, received 29,408 votes, and James Black, the nominee of the Prohibition party, which entered national politics in that year for the first time, 5,608.

Grant Renominated and Re-elected.

The Republican platform of 1872 contained the first reference to a protective tariff made by any National Convention of the party along to that time except by the Convention of 1860. It said that "revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country." The rest of the platform declared for "complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights;" for reform in the civil service, and for pensions for disabled soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans; and denounced "repudiation of the public debt in any form or disguise as a national crime."

The Tariff and Honest Money.

The last mentioned pronouncement was a part of the policy of rigorous and courageous Republican honesty which took practical shape in the act of January 14, 1875, which brought all the nation's currency up to the gold level in 1879.

The chief measures enacted in the first half of Grant's second term were, the law signed January 14, 1875, under which specie payments were resumed January 1, 1879, and the country's currency brought up to the gold level for the first time since December 28, 1861; the civil rights law, to prevent discrimination against negroes in hotels, schools, theaters and on railroads, signed March 1, 1875, and an act advancing duties and internal taxes on a few articles, the first advance made since 1867, which was approved March 3, 1875.

The Resumption Act.

All these were strictly partisan measures, almost all of the Republicans being for them and nearly all of the Democrats against them. The first of these measures, the resumption act, which was one of the most important pieces of financial legislation ever enacted in the United States, carried out the pledge made by the Republican party in the public credit act of March 18, 1869, and has been a bulwark against national insolvency in recent years, by enabling the Government to borrow

Bulwark Against National Insolvency.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

\$162,000,000 of gold on 4 per cent bonds and \$100,000,000 on 5 per cent bonds since February, 1894, to protect the Treasury reserve.

Democrats  
Capture the  
House.

That was the last of the strictly partisan legislation which had any chance of enactment until six years later. The Republicans from March 4, 1861, to the same date in 1875 had control of both branches of Congress, sometimes, as in that of 1873-5, by overwhelming majorities. In 1874, however, the Democrats swept the country in the congressional elections, securing a majority of sixty in the House of Representatives of 1875-7. They held the House, though by narrower margins than this, in the next two Congresses also, and had the Senate in the latest of them, that of 1879-81.

Why the  
Democrats  
won in 1874.

The leading causes of the Democratic victory in 1874, the first that party gained in a congressional election since 1856, were the Credit Mobilier, salary grab, whisky ring, and other scandals in which a few Republicans were implicated, but for which the entire party suffered, and the panic of 1873. Financial convulsions, regardless of their cause, always injure the party in power at the time.

But the Republicans rallied, held on to the presidency in the election of 1876, reduced the Democratic majority to thirteen, in the House, elected in that year, and largely through Democratic excesses in the Southern States, which created a solid North as a counterpoise to a solid South, elected a President in 1880 and regained control of Congress.

Hayes  
Nominated.

There was some fear in 1876 that Grant might seek a third nomination, but this proved groundless, and the chief aspirants for the candidacy in the convention of that year, which opened on June 14 in Cincinnati, were, in the order in which they stood on the first ballot, James G. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, R. B. Hayes and J. F. Hartranft. Blaine, who had the field opposed to him, had 285 votes on the first ballot, or 93 short of the number needed for a choice. Hayes, who had only 61 on the first ballot, gained steadily, and he was nominated on the seventh, through the concentration upon him of all Blaine's enemies.

The Platform  
of 1876.

The Republican platform of 1876 demanded a "continuous and steady progress to specie payments;" declared it to be the solemn obligation of the Legislative and Executive departments of the Government to secure to every American citizen "complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights;" pronounced for reform in the civil service, and demanded an investigation by Congress of the effects of Chinese immigration on the material interests of the country. The Democratic platform of 1876 demanded, among other things, the repeal of the resumption law of 1875.

Tilden Put Up  
by the Demo-  
crats.

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden for President and Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President, in a convention which opened in St. Louis on June 27, 1876, and the Independent National, popularly called the Greenback party, in a convention on May 18, in Indianapolis, put Peter Cooper and Samuel F. Cary on its ticket. This was the

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Greenback party's first appearance in the national field, and it remained in until after the presidential election of 1884. In 1876 it demanded the repeal of the resumption act of 1875, and during its whole career advocated the withdrawal of national bank currency and the substitution thereof of United States notes or greenbacks.

The elections of 1876 and the disputed count which followed it constituted the most exciting and disturbing presidential contest in American history. The Republicans lost New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana, in the North, all of which went Democratic, and it seemed at first that they had not carried a single State in the South, all of which were claimed by the Democracy. One of Oregon's three electoral votes was also claimed by the Democrats, because of the ineligibility, or alleged ineligibility, of a Republican elector. There were double returns, however, in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, one set showing a majority for Tilden and the other for Hayes. These, with the Oregon elector, made twenty votes which were in dispute.

The Disputed  
Electoral  
Count.

Of the 369 votes in the Electoral College Hayes had 165 without question, and Tilden, also without question, had 184, while 185 was a majority. One of the twenty disputed votes would have given the Democrats the victory, while the Republicans would have to get all of them in order to win. Fraud in the three disputed Southern States was charged on both sides. The twenty-second joint rule of Congress, under which any electoral votes objected to by either branch were to be thrown out, and which, if in force at the time of this controversy, would have elected Tilden, had been repealed a year earlier by the Republican Senate, or on January 20, 1876.

As the House was Democratic, and the Senate Republican, a dangerous deadlock and possible civil war were inevitable over the counting of the votes. To avert these calamities, the Electoral Commission to pass upon the disputed returns was created. This consisted of fifteen members—five Senators, five Representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court. The Senators were, three Republicans (George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton and Frederick T. Freylinghuysen) and two Democrats (Thomas F. Bayard and Francis Kernan); the Representatives were, three Democrats (Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton and Josiah G. Abbott) and two Republicans (James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar), while the Supreme Court Justices were Nathan Clifford, Stephen J. Field, William Strong and Samuel F. Miller. The first two of these were Democrats and the others were Republicans. Those four, who were designated by the Electoral Commission act, were to select a fifth Justice, and they chose Joseph P. Bradley, a Republican.

The Electoral  
Commission.

Thus the commission consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. The decision of that body could not be reversed, except by the concurrent vote of both branches of Congress. On every material point in controversy the commission divided on party lines. The twenty

Hayes De-  
clared Elected.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

disputed votes were given to the Republicans, making Hayes' total 185 and Tilden's 184.

Some dissatisfaction with the result was felt by Democrats, but as the creation of the commission was considered by most persons to be a legitimate exercise of power by Congress, and as it afforded the only chance of a peaceful settlement which could be devised at the time, its decision was acquiesced in by everybody. That was the last of the crises which imperiled the nation. Henceforward politics was to be less volcanic, and "third" parties were to be prominent factors in every national campaign.



SENATOR WILLIAM B. ALLISON, OF IOWA.

THE  
MUSEUM OF  
ART AND HISTORY  
OF THE  
CITY OF  
NEW YORK

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER V.

### POLITICS IN THE NEW UNION.

THE years 1876-77 may be said to mark the beginning of a period of profound political change in the United States. Old issues and leaders were being forced into the background and new ones were coming to the front. "Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States," said President Hayes in his inaugural address, March 4, 1877, "that it is my earnest desire to regard and promote their truest interests, \* \* \* and to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out in our political affairs the color line and the distinction between the North and the South, to the end that we may have not merely a united North or a united South, but a united country."

New Issues.

This assurance the President made good by appointing an ex-Confederate officer and Democrat, David McKay Key, Postmaster General, and by removing the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana a few weeks after he entered office.

An ex-Confederate Put in the Cabinet.

Forces had already begun to assert themselves which dictated this course. Two new parties, the first minor organizations which appeared since 1860, nominated presidential tickets in 1872. These were the Labor Reform and the Prohibitionist. Two—the Greenback and the Prohibitionist—entered the national canvass of 1876. None of these had any concern in the Southern question. The Grangers, or Patrons of Husbandry, a secret association in the interest of workingmen, especially of farmers, which affiliated with the Greenback party in politics, captured the Legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin in 1873 and 1874 and assailed the railroads for "extortion and unjust discrimination," thus starting a crusade which resulted in the enactment of the interstate commerce law of 1887. The attack extended to other corporations and "monopolies" shortly afterward.

"Third" Parties Appear.

Most of the old leaders had passed off the stage with the old issues. Of the men who dictated Republican policy at any time between the foundation of the party, in 1854, to the date of the readmission of the last of the seceded States to representation in Congress, in 1870, Fessenden, Collamer, Stevens, Corwin and Henry Winter Davis were dead; Seward, Greeley, Sumner, Wilson, Hale and Chase died before Hayes' election, and Morton died in Hayes' first year of service. Wade, Trumbull, Doolittle, Colfax and Julian were in retirement, all of them except Wade and Colfax being also out of harmony with the party. Among the Republican leaders at the beginning of the Hayes administration were Sherman, Blaine, Conkling, Morrill, Allison, Dawes, Hoar and

New Leaders.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Edmunds. McKinley and Reed had just entered Congress, and had not yet become national figures. Sherman, Morrill, Dawes and Conkling began their service before the war, yet even Sherman and Morrill, the oldest of these in point of service (and Morrill in age), attacked the problems of the time with some of the vigor and zest of youth. New men were at the front to deal with the issues of the new nation.

Embarrassments of President Hayes.

In 1877, for the first time since 1849, there was a break in the partisan correspondence between the President and House of Representatives chosen at the same time. The Republicans had the presidency and Senate, while the Democrats had the House. The partisan divergence between the two branches of Congress and the Democratic belief that their party was cheated out of the presidency produced several deadlocks and incited many assaults on the President by the House. On the latter account, and because of the social disturbances in the North due to the panic of 1873-8 and the railroad strikes of 1877, and the political disturbances in South Carolina and Louisiana, due to the contest between two sets of State officers and Legislatures in each State, the position of the Administration was seriously embarrassing.

Republican Hostility to Hayes.

The Administration, too, was hampered by the hostility of one element of its party, which feeling was extended and intensified by the contest in which Arthur, then Collector of the Port at New York, was involved. Hayes' conciliatory policy toward the South, his endeavors, partially successful, to settle the controversies between the rival State officers in South Carolina and Louisiana, and his withdrawal of the troops from those States practically ended the Southern difficulties in their more serious aspect. The action of the Democrats, however, in failing to make the necessary appropriations to meet the expenditures of the Government forced him to call Congress in extra session twice, once on October 15, 1877, in the first year of his term, and again on March 18, 1879.

Greenback Contraction Stopped.

The important business of the Hayes Administration, aside from the settlement of the reconstruction question, dealt with the finances. A bill was signed by the President May 31, 1878, stopping the contraction of the greenbacks, then under way, and leaving the amount nominally outstanding \$346,681,016, a figure at which they have remained to this day.

The Bland-Allison Act.

Three months earlier than this, or on February 28, 1878, the President vetoed the Bland-Allison bill requiring the coinage of \$2,000,000 of silver bullion each month into standard silver dollars, and permitting the coinage of \$4,000,000 a month. The bill, however, was passed over the veto the same day by the constitutional two-thirds, and the law remained in operation until superseded by the act of July 14, 1890, popularly called the Sherman law.

Specie Payments Resumed.

Ten months after the enactment of the Bland-Allison silver coinage law, and seven months after the contraction of the greenbacks was suspended, or on January 1, 1879, the specie resumption law signed by



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

President Grant January 14, 1875, went into force. This act brought all the country's currency up to the gold level, below which it had dropped on January 1, 1862, when the Government suspended specie payments. Gold was at a premium in currency from the beginning of 1862 to the beginning of 1879. The premium reached its highest point in the darkest days of the war. This was touched on July 11, 1864, when it took \$2.85 in greenbacks to buy \$1 in gold. These questions receive more extended treatment in a subsequent chapter.

See  
Chapter VIII.

The embarrassments which President Hayes encountered from a hostile House of Representatives in the first half of his term, or in 1877-79, were increased in the succeeding two years. In the canvass of 1878 the Democrats held on to the House and captured the Senate. This was the first time since the opening days of 1861, when Southern members withdrew to follow their States into the Confederacy, that the Democrats had a majority in the Senate. The attacks from both branches of Congress, to which the President was now exposed, sent the lukewarm and hostile Republicans to the rescue, and closed the breach in the party. However, the Republican breach was destined to be opened in another place in the early days of Mr. Hayes' successor, and with disastrous consequences to the party.

The Democrats  
Have House  
and Senate.

See  
Chapter VI.

In the Democratic House of the Congress of 1877-79 "riders" were attached to appropriation bills in the latter part of the term, to which the Republican Senate objected. These "riders" were alien to the legitimate purpose of the measures and were designed to defeat or repeal the laws, then many years on the statute book, for the employment of troops at the polls and for supervisors of election and special deputy marshals at elections of members of Congress. In the deadlock between the two branches Congress expired without providing the necessary money for the support of the Government, and the new Congress was summoned by the President to meet on March 18, 1879, in extra session, to furnish the required funds.

Contest Be-  
tween Hayes  
and Congress.

In this Congress, in which the Democrats had both houses, and were thus better able to hamper the President, the tactics of the preceding one were repeated. Hayes promptly vetoed the bills containing the objectionable provisions, repeatedly calling the attention of Congress to the impropriety of tacking general legislation on appropriation measures. Eventually Congress receded and passed all the bills without the obnoxious features, except one measure, which the veto killed for the session.

Hayes was not an aspirant for re-election, but a member of the Administration, the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, sought the nomination. He had more powerful rivals in ex-President Grant and Senator James G. Blaine. It was foreseen long before the National Convention met in Chicago, on June 2, 1880, that Grant would lead on\* the first ballot. The anti-third term sentiment was strong in the Republican party, as was shown before Grant's second term ended, when

The Conven-  
tion of 1880.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

the cry of "Caesarism," or the danger that Grant would hold on to the presidency for life, was ringing through the Democratic press.

Republican Attack on Third-termism.

The Pennsylvania Republican State Convention, on May 26, 1875, adopted this resolution: "That we declare a firm, unqualified adherence to the unwritten law of the republic, which wisely, and under the sanction of the most venerable examples, limits the presidential service of any citizen to two terms; and we, the Republicans of Pennsylvania, in recognition of this law, are unalterably opposed to the election to the presidency of any person for a third term." This called out a letter from Grant, on May 29, to the presiding officer of the Convention, in which he said, among other things: "Now for the third term, I do not want it any more than I did the first. \* \* \* I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as would make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise."

Grant as a Third Term Aspirant.

Historical Convention Speeches.

As a third term aspirant, Grant was far more formidable in 1880 than he could have been in 1876. He had been three and a quarter years in retirement in the interval, and in his travel around the world in that time he had received honors never accorded to any other American. Grant's forces were skillfully led by Roscoe Conkling, who presented Grant's name to the convention in one of the three historically great speeches made on such occasions, Ingersoll's "plumed knight" speech for Blaine, in the convention of 1876, being one of the other two, and Garfield's for Sherman, in the convention of 1880, being the other. By the breaking of the "unit rule," however, each delegate thus being allowed to declare his individual preference, Grant's strength was lessened. He lost nineteen votes out of the seventy of the New York delegation on that account, most of which went to Blaine, and many votes from other delegations drifted away from him.

Garfield Nominated.

On the first ballot Grant got 304 votes, Blaine 284, Sherman 93 and Senator George F. Edmunds 33, while a few others received smaller numbers. This order was maintained, except as regards Edmunds, who dropped lower immediately, until the last ballot except one, or the thirty-fifth. Garfield, who received two votes on the second ballot, and seventeen on the thirty-fourth, got fifty on the thirty-fifth. Then almost all the delegates, except the Grant men, went to Garfield, and he was nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot, receiving 399 votes as compared with Conkling's old guard of 306 for Grant. To placate the Conkling element, the vice-presidential candidacy was given to Chester A. Arthur.

The Platform of 1880.

In its platform of 1880 the Republican party reaffirmed its belief that duties levied for revenue should discriminate in favor of American labor; declared that "slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity polygamy must die in the Territories"; pronounced in favor of granting to all citizens the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution, said that "the solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot," and demanded the restriction of Chinese immigration.

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SENATOR MATTHEW S. QUAY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Garfield's candidacy did not inspire much enthusiasm among the Republicans at the beginning. Moreover, he was fiercely assailed by the Democrats for alleged corrupt connection with the Credit Mobilier, and the number "329," to represent the number of dollars he was said to have received as dividends in that enterprise, was printed on Democratic posters and chalked on sidewalks all over the country to embarrass his supporters. The "Morey" forged letter, too, favoring the Chinese, which was printed near the end of the canvass and distributed by the Democrats, did him harm, especially on the Pacific Coast.

The Morey  
Letter.

The Grant and Conkling forces held aloof at first, and in September, when Maine, Blaine's State, elected a fusion Democratic and Greenback State ticket, the current seemed to be against the Republicans. Then all the factions rallied to the support of the party ticket. Grant induced Conkling to enter the canvass, and these two, Grant by five-minute talks and Conkling by longer speeches, did effective work on the stump through the remainder of the canvass. Ohio and Indiana, in October, in the State elections went Republican, and then it was seen that the tide had turned.

Grant and  
Conkling rally  
the Republican  
Forces.

The Republicans carried every Northern State except New Jersey, Nevada and California, though they secured one of California's five electors. These three and all the ex-slave States went to Hancock, the Democratic nominee. The Republicans had 4,449,053 of the popular vote and 214 of the electoral vote, and the Democrats 4,442,035 and 155 respectively. New York turned the scale in 1880, as she had done in 1844 and 1848, and as she did in 1884 and 1888. In 1880 the phenomenon of the solid South, which has been a feature of presidential canvasses up to and including 1892, made its first appearance in politics.

Garfield  
Elected.

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A PERIOD OF UNPARTISAN POLITICS.

"Mixed" Politics.

**D**URING a large part of the Garfield-Arthur Administration the anomaly of politics without partisanship came nearer to realization than it did in almost any other equal period since Monroe's days in the presidency. There was no "era of good feeling" at any time between 1881 and 1885, nor, indeed, was there between 1817 and 1825, except on the surface of affairs. The period which included the two years' contest on the Missouri admission question was really an era of very bad feeling. The difference and resemblance between the two periods may be broadly stated thus: In the earlier one the chief contests, apart from that on the Missouri issue, were usually wrangles between groups and rival leaders of the only party nominally in existence, while in the later one the principal fights were feuds between rival chieftains and factions of the dominant party, the President (Monroe) in the first being neutral, and in the second (Garfield, though not Arthur) being one of the parties to the conflict.

The only contests of prime importance in which party lines were rigidly drawn in Congress during the Garfield-Arthur Administration were that for the organization of the Senate at the beginning of the term in 1881, and the one on the tariff in the latter part of 1882 and the early part of 1883. Apart from the tariff, the great measures of the Administration were the anti-polygamy act of March 22, the Chinese exclusion law of May 1, the bank charter extension law of July 12, all of 1882, and the civil service reform act of January 16, 1883. On none of these did parties act as a unit.

Contest on the Organization of the Senate.

Mahone Appears.

The Congress which went into existence at the beginning of Garfield's term, had a Republican majority of eight in the lower branch, but was a tie in the upper. William Mahone, a Virginia Readjuster Democrat, and David Davis, of Illinois, a Republican until 1872, afterward a Liberal Republican, and then an Independent, held the balance between the parties. Meeting in special session March 4, 1881, to act on the President's nominations, the Senate promptly confirmed the men selected for the Cabinet. Then the struggle for the control of the Senate began. Three Senators—Blaine, Windom of Minnesota, and Kirkwood of Iowa—went into the Cabinet, and their places were soon filled by men of the same political faith. Mahone avowed himself a Democrat, but declared he was not indebted to the Democrats for his seat in the Senate. He voted with the Republicans in the indecisive contest for the organization of that body, and subsequently became a regular member of

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

that party. Davis, who swung from one party to the other in the struggle, was chosen President pro tempore October 13, 1881, in the second special session of the Senate, succeeding Thomas F. Bayard, whom the Democrats elected to that post, and who held it only a few days.

Now comes a factional conflict which had serious consequences for the Republican party. It had its origin in a contest over the distribution of the Federal patronage in New York, and contributed strongly to the creation of the sentiment which forced the enactment of the Pendleton civil service law of 1883, which will soon be mentioned, taking the offices out of politics.

Long before the contest on the organization of the Senate ended, a fight between the New York Senators, Conkling and Platt on one side and the President on the other, on appointments of officers in New York, took place. On March 22, 1881, eighteen days after the term and the Senate's first special session began, the President sent in a list of nominations of men for New York offices, nearly all of whom were political friends of Conkling, and on the 23d William H. Robertson, a political foe of Conkling, who led the revolt in the New York delegation in the convention of 1880 against Grant, when the unit rule was broken, was named for Collector of the Port at New York.

The  
Conkling-Gar-  
field Feud.

This precipitated the contest between Conkling and Garfield, which was merely a continuation of the old feud between Conkling and Blaine, for it was generally believed that Blaine "inspired" the Robertson nomination. Conkling declared that the appointment was a violation of pledges made to him by Garfield. This was denied by Garfield, who also disclaimed any intention to offend Conkling, or to slight his pretensions to be consulted in the selection of New York appointees, contending that the collectorship was a national office, over which there could not justly be any local claims. Efforts on the part of leading Republicans to arrange a truce, to induce the President to withdraw Robertson, or to get Conkling to cease his opposition, failed.

The Robertson  
Collectorship  
Nomination.

The crisis came on May 5, when the President, thinking Conkling wanted the uncontested nominations confirmed, and the Robertson appointment postponed to December, withdrew all the New York nominations except that of Robertson, so as to force action on that one first. Conkling and Platt, finding there was no chance to defeat Robertson, resigned on May 16, expecting to secure vindication by an immediate re-election, the New York Legislature then being in session, and on the 18th Robertson was confirmed by the Senate with but little opposition.

Conkling and  
Platt Resign.

The contest for re-election began on May 31, and was the longest and most exciting in the history of the State of New York. In this fight the lines between the "Stalwarts," or the friends of the two Senators, and the "Half-breeds," or supporters of Blaine and Garfield, were rigidly drawn, and produced a split in the Republican party in New York, which projected itself into national politics, and had a profound

They Fail of  
Re-election.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

influence on the fortunes of both the great organizations. It beat Folger for Governor in 1882 by 192,854, overthrew the Republicans in the country at large in the Congressional elections that year, and defeated Blaine for President in 1884 by swinging New York, Conkling's State, to Cleveland. Warner Miller, on July 17, was elected in Platt's place, and E. G. Lapham, on July 23, was chosen to succeed Conkling. Meanwhile, Guiteau's shot, on July 2, vacated the Presidency on September 19, and sent Arthur, who immediately ceased to be a factionist, to the White House.

Polygamy As-  
sailed.

February 16, 1882, a bill making polygamy a misdemeanor and practically denying the franchise to polygamists was reported in the Senate by Mr. Edmunds, from the Judiciary Committee, and after a contest on matters of details in the bill, it passed the Senate without a division. March 14 it passed the House by a vote of 199 (comprising Republicans, Democrats and Greenbackers) to 42 (all Democrats), and it was signed by the President March 22. This solved a problem which, in one shape or another, had perplexed the Government for a generation, and with some supplementary legislation subsequently, extirpated polygamy and prepared the way for the admission of Utah as a State, which took place January 4, 1896.

Anti-Chinese  
Legislation.

The Chinese immigration question, which had been a leading issue in California politics for over a dozen years at this time, was also up for decisive action in Congress in 1882. This question, which provoked the Dennis Kearney crusade of 1877 and subsequent years, received the attention of Congress in 1879, when a bill was passed limiting to fifteen the number of Chinese passengers who might be admitted to the United States from a single vessel. President Hayes, on March 1 of that year, vetoed the bill on the ground that it violated treaty stipulations, and Congress failed to pass it over the veto. April 4, 1882, President Arthur vetoed a bill prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers for twenty years, the grounds of objection being that the bill violated the treaty of 1880 with China, which allowed the limitation or suspension of Chinese immigration, but forbade its prohibition. A modified bill, suspending the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years, and requiring other Chinamen visiting this country to be provided with proper certificates, passed the House April 17 by a vote of 202 to 37, and the Senate April 25, by 32 to 15, and received the President's approval May 6.

Beginning of  
Civil Service  
Reform.

Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield (in his inaugural) and Arthur had urged Congress to pass a law making the tenure of the minor appointive Federal offices independent of partisan changes in the presidency, and both parties in their national platforms were pledged to this policy. The first step in this reform was made in the civil service law of March 3, 1871, under which Grant appointed a commission to ascertain and act on the fitness of candidates for appointive offices. In 1874, however, Congress refused to make further appropriations for the support of the commission, and the law became a dead letter. The wrangle



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

about the New York collectorship and the assassination of Garfield, though, aroused a public sentiment in favor of the eradication of the spoils system, which Congress dared no longer resist.

December 21, 1882, George H. Pendleton, Democrat, from the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, reported to the Senate a measure entitled "A bill to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," which passed that body December 20 by a vote of 38 (23 Republicans, 14 Democrats and 1 Independent) to 5 (all Democrats). It went through the House January 5, 1883, by 155 (101 Republicans, 49 Democrats and 5 Independents) to 47 (7 Republicans, 39 Democrats and 1 Independent), and it was approved by President Arthur January 16.

The Pendleton  
Civil Service  
Act.

Under the operation of this law the number of offices taken out of the reach of the politicians has been steadily increased under successive Presidents. The law provided for a Civil Service Commission of three members, representing both parties, which should provide competitive examinations for entrance into such classes of the civil service as the President should designate.

How the Act  
Has Been En-  
forced.

The law went into effect in the middle of Arthur's term, and in two years he applied it to 15,773 places. Cleveland added 11,757 places to these in his first term, and Harrison increased the list by 15,598, bringing the total of classified places up to 43,128 on March 4, 1893. By successive additions to the roll, President Cleveland in his second term has increased it by 42,025, bringing the grand total of Federal offices under the civil service rules up to 85,153 at the present time (June, 1896). The holders of these posts can be removed only for cause, and their successors can be chosen only after a competitive examination.

About 75,000 civil employes of the Government are still outside of the classified service, 60,000 of whom are fourth-class postmasters, and many of the other 15,000 are common laborers, while most of the rest of them occupy confidential positions in the departments.

Shortly after the civil service act was passed, a tariff law was enacted which ended the life of the series of laws, beginning with 1861, which figured under the general designation of the Morrill tariff. This was the act signed by President Arthur on March 3, 1883, which made a complete revision of the customs schedules and of most of the internal taxes. It was based in its leading principles on the report of the Tariff Commission appointed by President Arthur. A more detailed account of this act, and its place in the general scheme of Republican policy, is given in another chapter.

Tariff of 1883

See  
Chapter VII.

The tariff act of March 3, 1883, finished the important work of the Congress of 1881-83 and of the first half of the Arthur Administration, and it was the only strictly partisan legislation of the presidential term. In the next two years there was a divided Congress, the Republicans holding on to the Senate, but the Democrats controlling the House. Republican factional quarrels and a revolt against bossism in caucuses

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Democratic  
Tidal Wave of  
1882.

and conventions produced a reaction against the Republicans which swept Pennsylvania (by 20,000), Massachusetts (by 14,000) and other Republican States into the Democratic column in 1882, gave Cleveland a 192,854 plurality over Folger, the Secretary of the Treasury, for Governor in New York, and put the Democrats in a plurality of seventy-eight in the House of Representatives. It was a Democratic avalanche, exceeding in extent and power even that of 1874, and never surpassed except in 1890, when the Democrats again won, and in 1894, when the Republicans swept the country.

The Conven-  
tion of 1884.

When the Republican National Convention met in Chicago on June 3, 1884, it had a long list of aspirants out of which to select a candidate, including President Arthur, ex-Senator and ex-Secretary Blaine, and Senators Edmunds, Logan and Sherman.

President Arthur's friends felt that the creditable record which he had made under embarrassing conditions entitled him to the candidacy. He was the first Vice-President going to the presidency on the death of the person chosen to that office who had given satisfaction to the country or to his party, and no scandals or corruption had been associated with his regime, except the star route frauds which began during the preceding Administrations and which were exposed and abolished in Arthur's. Logan was a favorite with the ex-soldiers and Edmunds with the civil service reformers, while the length and value of Sherman's public service, which began earlier than that of any of his rivals, made many persons couple his name with the candidacy. Blaine's name, however, among the Republican masses seemed to evoke far greater enthusiasm than did that of any other aspirant.

Blaine  
Nominated.

Blaine led in the balloting from the start, receiving 334½ votes on the first ballot, as compared with 278 for Arthur, 93 for Edmunds, 63½ for Logan, 30 for Sherman, and smaller numbers for others. This order was maintained to the end, Blaine steadily gaining ground and all the others losing, and he received 541 votes and the nomination on the fourth ballot. Logan was put on the ticket for Vice-President.

Cleveland  
Nominated by  
the Democrats.

The tide, however, was against the Republicans, as the elections of 1881, 1882 and 1883, especially of 1882, proved. Moreover, it was reasonably certain, ever since Republican defection permitted Cleveland to defeat Folger in 1882 in New York by nearly 193,000, that Cleveland would be the presidential candidate of the Democracy in 1884, and of his strength in the decisive State of the Union the country had practical evidence. Cleveland was nominated in a convention which met in Chicago, July 8, 1884, and Thomas A. Hendricks was selected for Vice-President. Perhaps, under those circumstances, Blaine ran as well as anybody mentioned in connection with the candidacy could have done. A prominent Republican, himself an aspirant for the nomination at the time, says on this point: "In the then condition of political affairs it is not certain that any Republican would have been elected."

Sherman's  
"Recollections  
of Forty  
Years," Vol. ii.,  
p. 886.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The campaign called out greater bitterness and more virulent personalities on both sides than any which the country had since 1828 in the canvass between John Quincy Adams and Jackson. Blaine took the stump himself in Ohio, Indiana and New York, and made a number of short speeches of great brilliancy and effectiveness. It was while returning from this Western stumping tour that the historic gathering of clergymen occurred at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York, at which Dr. Burchard coupled the Democracy with "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This piece of stupidity, which was unnoticed by Blaine or anybody else in the gathering, was published by the press of the country, and was used with effect by Democratic papers and stump orators through the remaining few days of the campaign.

"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."

In several respects the election turned out as expected. The South was solid for the Democratic party as in 1880, and, also as in 1880, New York turned the scale, this time in favor of the Democracy. Blaine carried all the North except the four "doubtful States," New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana, losing New York, and thus the election, by only 1,047 votes. His electoral vote was 182 and his popular vote 4,848,334. The four Northern States and the sixteen Southern which went Democratic gave Cleveland 219 electoral votes, and his popular vote was 4,911,017. The close balance in New York, where 600 votes out of the 1,167,000 cast in that State would, if transferred to Blaine, give him the election, put the result in doubt for two days after the voting. A day or two more passed before the country could fairly adjust its perception to the fact that the great party which had been victorious in six successive presidential elections, which had carried the war to a successful conclusion, abolished slavery, restored the seceded States to their old relations to the Union, and which had controlled the Government for twenty-four years, had at last been overthrown.

Cleveland Elected.

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE TARIFF.

Tariff and  
Finance.

THOSE acquainted with even the surface of politics will notice that ever since a short time after Mr. Cleveland's first inauguration the tariff and silver questions have filled a large place in public discussion. This has been due to several causes—the subsidence of war issues; Mr. Cleveland's efforts, through his celebrated message of 1887 to stop Democratic dodging and shuffling on the tariff and to place that party in its old position as a champion of low duties; and the belief by a large element of the people that the shrinkage in prices of farm products and the recent depression in industry are in some way connected with the fall in silver, and that each could be cured by the free coinage of that metal.

Survey of  
Tariff Legisla-  
tion.

A survey of the previous legislation on both questions since the foundation of the Republican party will be a useful introduction to the contests of the past few years on each issue. The present chapter gives the Republican party's dealings with the tariff from the creation of the Morrill act in 1861 to the eve of the passage of the McKinley law in 1890, and the next chapter will tell the party's connection with the currency question in its various phases from the adoption of the greenbacks in 1862 to a time just before the enactment in 1890 of the so-called Sherman law.

The Tariff Not  
an Early Re-  
publican  
Issue.

In the beginning of its career the Republican party did not concern itself seriously with industrial or monetary questions. Opposition to slavery extension into the Territories was the issue which called the party into being, and that question presented itself in such a portentous shape that for several years no other issue could get a hearing. The platform of 1856, adopted in the first National Convention which the Republican party ever had, confined itself to the question of slavery extension in its various bearings, except that it coupled polygamy with slavery as "twin relics of barbarism," which Congress legally could and morally should prohibit in the Territories, and that it advocated a "railroad to the Pacific Ocean" and appropriations for the "improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character."

Tariff Acts of  
1846 and 1857.

The Democratic Walker tariff of 1846, abolishing the specific and compound duties of the Whig act of 1842, putting ad valorem duties in their place and making a general reduction in rates, was in operation when the Republicans held their first National Convention, and a year



SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN, OF OHIO.

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## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

later than this, or in 1857, a bill making a further reduction was passed. This brought the general line of duties to a lower level than it had touched since before the war of 1812.

A few months after the cut in duties in 1857 the panic of that year occurred, but it was not wholly due to the cut. Speculation in lands in the West, and the vicious banking system with its "wild-cat" currency in operation throughout a large part of the West and South, helped to bring on the convulsion. The balance of trade was against the country during almost the entire life of the tariffs of 1846 and 1857, and in nearly every year of the period the gold exportation was heavy. Though the merchandise imports were larger, the duties under the act of 1857 were so low that the Government's revenue fell short of its expenditures, loans had to be made and the debt was increased. Manufacturers at the same time cried out for higher duties for the purpose of protection.

In the Vermont State Convention, which met on July 13, 1854, and which adopted the name Republican for the new party which was just arising to keep slavery out of Kansas, there was framed a declaration of principles in which appears this demand: "A tariff for revenue, with proper discrimination in favor of American industry."

Vermont Leads  
With the  
Tariff.

This was the earliest tariff plank ever placed in a Republican platform. Other States in the next few years made similar declarations, but none were incorporated in a platform of a National Convention until the party was six years old. Here is the first tariff plank which ever appeared in a Republican national platform: "That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

First Republic-  
can Tariff  
"Plank."

This declaration was made by the Republican National Convention of 1860. It was said at the time that this utterance was for the purpose of winning Pennsylvania's vote for the party. It should be remembered, however, that the Whig element of the Republican party, which was its largest ingredient, and which comprised such leaders as Seward, Lincoln, Sherman, Greeley, Weed, Fessenden, Collamer and Corwin, always had leanings toward protection as a policy.

But before the Republican Convention of 1860 met, a measure passed the House which was discussed oftener and longer in the coming years than any other act of its class ever placed on the national statute book. This was the Morrill tariff. It received this name from Justin S. Morrill, a member of the sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee, who reported the bill and who took a prominent part in framing it. The object of the bill was revenue and incidental protection, both of which were assailed by the law of 1857. "The Morrill tariff bill," said an eminent statesman, then and still in Congress, "came nearer than any other to meeting the double requirements of providing ample revenue for the support of the Government and of rendering the proper protection to home industries."

The Morrill  
Tariff.

John Sherman  
in "Recollections  
of  
Forty Years,"  
Vol. i., p. 188.

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The Morrill tariff bill passed the House, in which the Republicans had a plurality, on May 11, 1860, by a vote of 105 to 64, but it was obstructed in the Democratic Senate until after the withdrawal of many Southern members on the secession of their States, when it went through that body by a vote of 25 to 14, on February 20, 1861, and was signed by President Buchanan on March 2. The act changed, as far as practicable, the ad valorem rates of the tariff of 1857 to the specific form, and advanced most of them. The principal increase was on iron and wool and the products of each.

At the time when it was framed, however, there was no serious expectation of war, and it proved inadequate for the revenue demands which the creation and support of large armies and a strong navy entailed. Mr. Morrill estimated that it would produce \$65,000,000 a year, which would be sufficient for the requirements of peace, but which was far below the needs of war even in the first six months of the conflict.

Every possible source of revenue was utilized during the war, and the tariff, as a consequence, was changed often, usually, of course, increased. On some articles the rates of duties defeated the purpose of their imposition by being pushed so high as to be prohibitive. The tariff was changed more than forty times between March 2, 1861, and March 3, 1883, often only slightly, however, the entire series of acts and modifications of acts, except that of 1883, which made a general revision of the entire list of duties and internal taxes, being known as the Morrill tariff.

August 5, 1861, during the extra session, the first change was had. It made an advance on most of the rates established on March 2 of that year, and added some commodities to the dutiable list. An internal revenue act was passed July 1, 1862, putting a tax on many articles of home production, and the articles and the rates were often increased in the next few years. Taxation of incomes began with an act of August 5, 1861, and, with many changes, was continued until 1872, when it was abolished. A few industries were taxed out of existence by the internal revenue tax. The first tax on incomes was 3 per cent on all incomes over \$800 a year. The lowest amount exempted in the various changes was \$600.

During the latter part of the war "every mode of taxation known to men was adopted except the French octroi, Government monopolies in necessaries of life and public lotteries." The situation in the United States at that time was very much like that described in England by Sydney Smith: "Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste—taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion—taxes on everything on earth and the waters under the earth, on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home—taxes on the raw material—taxes on every fresh value

Tariff Legisla-  
tion of the  
War Period.

Internal  
Revenue and  
Income Taxes.

Ellis H. Rob-  
erts' "Govern-  
ment Rev-  
enue," p. 122.

Sydney Smith  
on British  
Taxes.



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

that is added to it by the industry of man—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride—at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay.''

*Edinburgh Review*, 1820.

On March 2, 1867, when duties on wool and woollen goods were advanced, the war imposts reached their highest point. A turn toward lower rates was made soon afterward. A reduction in internal taxes began in 1866 and continued to 1883, the act of March 3 of that year abolishing all these except on spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, and bank circulation, to which, in 1886, oleomargarine was added. A decided downward tendency in duties began with the law of July 14, 1870, affecting many articles. Tea and coffee were placed on the free list May 1, 1872; and June 1, 1872, a cut of 10 per cent in duties was made on most of the commodities on the tariff schedules, while July 1, 1879, quinine was made free.

The Tariff's  
Highwater  
Mark.

Taxes Turn  
Downward.

Before the latter date, however, an upward swing in duties set in. The panic of 1873 reducing the Government's income, the 10 per cent cut from the duties in 1872 was restored March 3, 1875. A few changes, generally of minor importance, were made in the next few years, and on March 3, 1883, an act based in a general way on a report of the Tariff Commission appointed by President Arthur was signed.

Duties Tempo-  
rarily  
Advanced.

This act has a curious history. The Tariff Commission appointed under the act approved May 15, 1882, made a report which went over all the tariff schedules, and recommended reductions ranging from 5 or 6 per cent up to 40 or 50 per cent, the general average of the cut being about 20 per cent. These reductions were in line with suggestions made by the President. On the basis of the commission's report the Committee of Ways and Means reported a bill to the House January 16, 1883. Meantime a bill to reduce internal revenue taxation, which had previously passed the House, was reported by the Finance Committee to the Senate January 4, 1883, with amendments in line with the Tariff Commission's suggestions covering all the tariff, and was passed by that body February 19 by a vote of 42 to 19. The House abandoned its own bill, but was disposed to resent this action of the Senate as being contrary to the provision of the Constitution which declares that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," and non-concurred in the Senate's amendments. A conference committee of members of both branches took the matter up and agreed upon a report, leaving the bill in form and scope substantially as the Senate framed it, but advancing some of the duties above the Senate's figures.

Tariff of 1883.

The Treasury surplus or excess of receipts over ordinary expenditures, which amounted to \$100,000,000 in the fiscal year 1881, \$145,000,000 in 1882, and \$133,000,000 in 1883, dictated the reduction

Treasury Sur-  
pluses.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

in the last named year. The surpluses were a perplexing problem from 1881 to 1890. But Frederick D. Grant was right when he said that surpluses are easier to manage than deficits. Often and often since the end of the fiscal year 1892 has a return of this problem which disturbed Secretaries Folger, Gresham, Manning, Fairchild and Windom been sighed for by Treasury chiefs.

This is a rapid survey of the general tariff and internal revenue legislation from the beginning of the war down to and including 1883. The tariff was not changed again until 1890, when the McKinley act was passed. This act will be treated in a subsequent chapter.

See Chapter X.



*Justin S. Morrill*

SENATOR JUSTIN S. MORRILL, OF VERMONT.

TO THE  
ADMINISTRATIVE

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE FINANCE QUESTION.

IN dealing with the finances, the Republican party during the war period was forced to create an immense debt, which it refunded at lower rates of interest afterward, and then reduced to comparatively small figures. An enumeration of the successive loans, with their varying periods and interest rates, would be tedious, and the matter will be touched on here in only its larger features.

The War Debt

On March 31, 1865, the Government's obligations reached their highest mark, which, in round figures, was \$2,846,000,000. Of this amount, \$2,381,000,000 bore interest—\$830,000,000 of it at 7 3-10 per cent, \$1,282,000,000 at 6 per cent, and \$269,000,000 at 5 per cent. The annual interest charge at that date was \$151,000,000.

The Debt's High-water Mark.

By successive refunding schemes the interest rate was cut to lower figures, and through excess of revenue over expenditure the debt was for years steadily and rapidly reduced. In 1891-4 the interest-bearing debt was at its lowest since 1862, \$585,000,000, and consisted of \$560,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds and \$25,000,000 of 4½ per cents continued at 2 per cent. The annual interest charge at the time was \$23,000,000. The interest-bearing debt started upward in 1894. Through successive bond sales by President Cleveland, the debt was increased \$50,000,000 in February, 1894, and \$50,000,000 in November of that year, all at the rate of 5 cent, and \$62,000,000 in February, 1895, and \$100,000,000 in February, 1896, all at the rate of 4 per cent.

The Republican party's dealings with the currency question began in 1862, when it created the legal tender notes, popularly called greenbacks. The impossibility of getting enough revenue to meet the rapidly increasing demands of the Government became evident before the end of 1861, and a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee, composed of E. G. Spaulding, of New York, Samuel Hooper, of Massachusetts, and Erastus Corning, of New York, framed a measure which in its final shape provided for the issue of legal tender notes. Spaulding, who headed the subcommittee, thus obtained the name of the "father of the greenbacks."

Currency Legislation.

On account of the legal tender provision which the bill contained it was opposed, on the ground of expediency or constitutionality, or both, by a few Republicans and nearly all the Democrats. Justin S. Morrill, Roscoe and F. A. Conkling and Owen Lovejoy among the former, and George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallandigham among the latter, made strong speeches in the House against it; but it was pressed vigor-

Opposition to the Greenback Bill.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

ously, and it passed that body February 6 by a vote of 93 (88 Republicans and 5 Democrats) to 59 (29 Democrats, 17 Republicans and 13 Unionists).

The real contest in the Senate was on the legal tender provision of the bill. But before the bill was acted on in that body, the necessities of the Treasury had become so urgent that Fessenden, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, received a note from Chase asking the immediate enactment of a law allowing the issue of \$10,000,000 in demand notes of the variety authorized by the law of July 17, 1861. A bill to this effect was at once enacted.

The First  
Greenback Bill  
Passed.

The needs of the Treasury disarmed much of the hostility to the legal tender bill, yet the motion to strike out the legal tender clause had 17 votes (9 Republican and 8 Democrats), but the clause was retained by 22 votes (18 Republicans and 4 Democrats). Among the prominent Republican Senators who spoke and voted against the legal-tender clause were Collamer, Cowan and Fessenden. Zachariah Chandler, Sherman, Sumner, Wade and Wilson were among the Republicans who defended this provision. The opposition to the rest of the bill mustered comparatively few votes, and the measure passed by 30 (25 Republicans and 5 Democrats) to 7 (4 Democrats and 3 Republicans). Changes in the bill made in the Senate were fixed up in a conference committee, and the measure was signed by the President February 25, 1862.

That is an important date in the political and financial history of the country. The law which then went into operation provided for the issue of \$150,000,000 of notes, \$50,000,000 of which were to be in lieu of the demand notes of that amount created by the law of July 17, 1861, the whole to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the national debt, both of which obligations were to be payable in coin. The notes, it was provided, could be exchanged for 6 per cent 5-20 bonds, \$500,000,000 of which was authorized to be issued by that act.

Two  
More Green-  
back Acts.

A little more than three months after the legal tender act was signed, or on June 7, 1862, Secretary Chase asked for a further issue of \$150,000,000 of notes, saying, among other things, that "the condition of the Treasury renders prompt action desirable." "Prompt action" was had, for a bill authorizing this issue was signed July 11, a month and four days after Chase spoke.

The Funding  
Privilege Re-  
pealed.

But this did not end the legal tender issues. An additional \$150,000,000, making \$450,000,000 by the three acts, was authorized by a law signed March 3, 1863. This act had a clause, dictated by Chase, which stopped the exchange of legal tender notes for bonds on July 1, 1863. The consequences of this change in the character of the notes were momentous and far-reaching, but they could not have been foreseen at the time. As a high official of the Treasury Department afterward well said, the change was "not only a violation of the contract with the holder (of the notes), but was also a serious financial mistake. It had

John Jay Knox  
in "United  
States Notes,"  
p. 138.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

the effect to materially reduce the value of the Treasury notes in the market, prevented the further funding of the Treasury notes after July 1 (1863), and undoubtedly postponed for many months the date for the resumption of specie payments."

The word "years" should be substituted for the "months" used by the ex-Comptroller of the Currency in the sentence last quoted, for the greenbacks were originally designed to meet a temporary need. It was supposed that they would disappear after the close of the war, which they would have done if the funding privilege had remained, and in that event resumption, of course, could have taken place years before the date, January 1, 1879, at which it was brought about.

In three historically and politically important decisions of the Supreme Court the greenback has figured. The first was in the December, 1869, term of the Court, in the case of Hepburn vs. Griswold. Chief Justice Chase delivered the opinion of the Court, which was that the act of February 25, 1862, creating the legal tender notes or greenbacks might be a rightful exercise of the war powers of Congress, but that it was unconstitutional so far as it made these notes a legal tender for debts existing prior to its passage. This was the point involved in the case. Four Associate Justices—Nelson, Clifford, Field and Grier—concurred with Chase.

Greenbacks  
Attacked in the  
Supreme  
Court.

8 Wallace, 603.

Justice Miller presented a dissenting opinion, in which Justices Swayne and Davis concurred, holding that Congress had the constitutional power to make this act apply to pre-existing debts. The Court divided on this question on partisan lines. The five members who denied this power were Democrats—for Chase was a Democrat before he became a Free Soiler and a Republican, he usually held Democratic views on constitutional interpretations while in the Republican party, and the year before this decision was rendered his name was prominently coupled with the Democratic presidential candidacy. The three Justices who asserted this power were Republicans.

Republican  
Judges Defend  
the Green-  
backs.

A year later, in the December, 1870, term, cases came up by which the Court reversed itself on the greenback question. This was due, however, to changes in membership of the Court and not to any alteration of opinion of any member of it. When the earlier decision was rendered the bench consisted of eight members, there being one vacancy. Grier, one of the Justices who united with Chase in declaring the legal tender acts unconstitutional as applied to debts existing prior to their passage, resigned shortly afterward, reducing the number on Chase's side to four. This created two vacancies, and both were filled by President Grant in 1870 by men known to hold the opinion that the laws applied to contracts made before their passage as well as afterward. These new Justices were Strong, who succeeded Grier, and Bradley, the additional member, both Republicans. It was asserted at the time that the Court was "packed" in this instance to reverse the former decision. This re-enforcement to Justices Miller, Swayne and Davis, the members who

The Supreme  
Court Reverses  
Itself on the  
Greenback  
Question.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

took the ground in 1869 that the law was retroactive, brought that side up to five.

It was by a five to four division that the question which came before the Court in the term of December, 1870, was decided. The cases were those of *Knox vs. Lee*, and *Parker vs. Davis*. They were argued in that term, decided May 1, 1871, and the decision was rendered January 15, 1872. Justice Strong delivered the opinion. He held that if Congress can constitutionally give to United States notes the character of money, and this power he declared to be held by "every independent sovereignty other than the United States," then "such notes must be available to fulfill all contracts (not expressly excepted) solvable in money, without reference to the time when the contracts were made."

The opinion, which overruled the former decision, was concurred in by Justices Bradley, Miller, Davis and Swayne, all Republicans. Chief Justice Chase delivered the dissenting opinion, representing the view also of Justices Nelson, Clifford and Field, all Democrats, Chase for the reasons before given, being classed here as a Democrat.

On March 3, 1884, in the case of *Julliard vs. Greenman*, the status of the greenbacks was again passed on by the Supreme Court. May 31, 1878, an act of Congress went into operation prohibiting the retirement of greenbacks paid into the Treasury, and providing that they should be reissued and kept in circulation. This law virtually asserted the power of Congress to create legal tender notes in time of peace. In the two decisions already rendered the constitutionality of the issue of legal tender notes was based on the war powers of Congress, the earlier one holding that the notes did not apply to debts prior to the passage of the acts creating them, and the later one asserting that they were a valid payment for all debts, irrespective of the time at which they were contracted.

The decision in the *Julliard vs. Greenman* case was that Congress has the constitutional power to issue legal tender notes in time of peace as well as of war, and to make them apply to debts (except where otherwise expressly provided) whenever contracted. Justice Field, the only Democratic member of the bench, dissented. There was a feeling in the business community at the time, among Republicans as well as Democrats, that this authority by Congress to create legal tender notes in time of peace was a dangerous power, and resolutions were introduced in Congress for an amendment to the Constitution withholding this power, but they resulted in nothing, and the matter dropped out of the public attention.

These decisions settled the legal status of the greenbacks. A few words will now be given to the changes in their volume which have taken place at different times.

The legal tender notes, or greenbacks, created by the acts of February 25 and July 11, 1862, and of March 3, 1863, reached their outstanding maximum, \$449,338,902, on January 3, 1864, and had in obedience

Republican  
Judges Again  
on the Green-  
back Side.

12 Wallace, 457.

The Court  
Once More Sus-  
tains the  
Greenbacks.

110 United  
States, 421.

Justice Field  
Dissents.

Greenback  
Contraction  
Suspended.





SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

NO. 1001  
ANNEX 1001

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

to the act of March 12, 1866, providing for their gradual retirement, shrunk to \$356,000,000 December 31, 1867. They were alternately expanded and contracted afterward by small amounts, and on May 31, 1878, an act was signed by President Hayes stopping their further contraction, which was then under way. At that date the amount of the greenbacks nominally outstanding was \$346,681,016, at which figure it has remained ever since. The bill stopping the contraction had large majorities (177 to 35 in the House and 41 to 18 in the Senate), but the division was not on partisan lines.

Now the successive steps will be detailed by which the greenbacks were brought to par and made convertible into gold.

The Congress of 1869-71, overwhelmingly Republican in both branches, passed a bill "pocketed" by President Johnson on his retirement from office, which pledged the faith of the Government to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the greenbacks and bonds, and to provide for the redemption of the greenbacks in coin at the earliest practicable moment. This measure, called the "act to strengthen the public credit," the first bill approved by President Grant, was signed March 18, 1869, fourteen days after he entered office. This measure passed the House by a vote of 97 (all Republicans) to 47 (34 Democrats and 13 Republicans), and the Senate by 42 (all Republicans) to 13 (6 Democrats and 7 Republicans).

The  
Public Credit  
Act.

Here the first step was taken which led to the resumption of coin payments, the redemption of greenbacks, by the Government on January 1, 1879, during Hayes' presidency. The second step toward redemption was taken when President Grant, on April 22, 1874, vetoed a bill to inflate the greenbacks to the extent of \$44,000,000. Six weeks later, in a letter to Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, then an earnest advocate of the restoration of the gold standard, the President gave his views as to the necessity of the resumption of specie payments at greater length than he did in his veto message. They attracted earnest attention throughout the country, and did much to start the movement which brought resumption about.

Grant's Infla-  
tion Veto.

The third step toward specie restoration was taken when John Sherman, from the Committee on Finance, reported a resumption bill to the Senate December 21, 1874, and it was passed on the 22d by a vote of 32 (31 Republicans and 1 Liberal Republican) to 14 (11 Democrats, 2 Liberal Republicans and 1 Republican), and it went through the House January 7, 1875, by 136 (all Republicans) to 98 (78 Democrats and 20 Republicans). It was signed by President Grant January 14, and went into effect January 1, 1879.

The Resump-  
tion Act.

The passage of the resumption law at this time was providential. If presented a year or two earlier the resumption bill might have failed, as a solid Republican vote for it could not have been obtained then. If presented a year later it certainly would have been defeated, for the Democrats secured a majority in the House in the election of 1874.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Democratic control of the House began less than two months after the bill was signed, and it continued for six years without interruption.

A Great Date  
in Financial  
History.

Resumption was one of the great events in the country's financial history. The Democrats, committed by their platform of 1876 to hostility to resumption, attempted in the Congress of 1877-9 to repeal the resumption law, but the Republicans, pledged by the platform declarations and the promises of their leaders to the defense of this policy, prevented repeal. As Secretary of the Treasury in the Hayes Cabinet from 1877 to 1881, John Sherman, the author of the resumption act, put it in operation. Soon after he entered office he began accumulating coin to meet the probable demands in currency redemption, and at the end of 1878 he had on hand \$135,000,000 of gold coin and bullion, and \$17,000,000 of silver dollars coined under the law of 1878. The coin available for resumption purposes, after deducting all matured coin liabilities, was \$135,000,000, which was about 40 per cent of the amount of the notes to be redeemed.

Resumption  
Goes Into  
Operation.

As the day for resumption drew near and the Treasury's preparations to put it and maintain it in operation became known, the gap between currency and coin steadily and rapidly lessened, and on January 1, 1879, the day set apart by the law of January 14, 1875, for resumption, the country's circulating medium touched the gold level for the first time since December 28, 1861, when specie payments were suspended. Since January 1, 1879, every dollar of the country's circulation—silver coins, silver certificates, greenbacks, Treasury notes of 1890 ("Sherman notes"), national bank bills and every form of currency has been held up to its face value in gold coin.

Recent Benefits  
of the Re-  
sumption Act.

In passing the resumption law the Republicans builded better than they knew. The Government was forced to invoke it at a later period than any of its early friends expected, and it has rendered a service of which they did not dream at the time of its enactment. Four times, beginning with February, 1894, and ending with February, 1896, bonds have been sold under the authority of the resumption act of 1875, amounting in the aggregate to \$262,000,000, to protect the Treasury's gold reserve and to avert governmental insolvency.

This ends the Republican party's dealings with the legal tender notes in any form or connection thus far. Another variety of currency which the party created will now be touched upon.

The  
National Bank-  
ing System.

As part of the general scheme to provide money for the Government during the war, which it did through the sale of bonds, the national banking system was created. At the beginning of 1861 there were about 1,600 banks in the country operating under the widely different laws of the several States, which banks had a circulation of about \$200,000,000. This comprised the greater part of the country's currency, and these institutions had about \$116,000,000 specie, principally of gold, against this currency and their other liabilities. The

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

banks suspended specie payments December 28, 1861, and the Government did likewise on January 1, 1862.

On repeated recommendations from Secretary Chase a banking system based, in some of its features, on the scheme in vogue in the State of New York, was adopted. When first proposed, in 1861, Samuel Hooper, of Massachusetts, was almost its only outspoken champion in the House, and John Sherman was one of its earliest and most active friends in the Senate. It did not go through Congress until a year after the first greenback bill was enacted. In the Senate the vote was 23 (22 Republicans and 1 Democrat) for, to 21 (14 Democrats and 7 Republicans) against, and in the House the vote was 78 (76 Republicans and 2 Democrats) for, to 68 (39 Democrats and 29 Republicans) against the bill. The bill was signed by President Lincoln on February 25, 1863. On March 3, 1865, an act was passed taxing the notes of State banks 10 per cent, wiping out that element of the currency, and giving to the national institutions a monopoly of the bank circulation.

The Bank Bill  
Passed.

As modified at different times, the banking system created by the act of 1863 has been in operation ever since, and, despite some defects in it, as the absence of elasticity in its note issue feature, it has given satisfaction to the business interests of the country. The notes are guaranteed by the Government, which inspects the banks from time to time, and they are issued to the extent of 90 per cent of the par value of the Government bonds which the banks have deposited with the Comptroller of the Currency as a basis for the circulation. The national banking system greatly aided the Government at the outset by enlarging the market for its bonds, and has provided the country with the best bank currency which it has ever possessed. According to the latest annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency there were, on October 31, 1895, 3,715 national banks in operation, with a capital, in round figures, of \$664,000,000, and a circulation of \$214,000,000.

Bank  
Currency.

The Republican party began to deal with the silver question in 1873, when it passed the act discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar. Only 8,045,838 silver dollars had been coined from 1792, when its coinage was first authorized, down to its discontinuance in 1873. At the 16 to 1 ratio, established by the act of 1837, the amount of silver in the dollar was worth from 2c to 3½c more as coin than it was as bullion. Consequently, only a trifling amount of it went to the mint, and it had virtually disappeared from circulation, except in the smaller denominations, long before gold payments were suspended January 1, 1862. Gold did not reappear until the resumption law went into operation January 1, 1879. In 1873 the country's sole currency of the denomination of \$1 and upward was greenbacks and national bank notes, and gold was at a premium of 115 in this currency in that year.

The Silver  
Question.

April 25, 1870, the Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, sent to Congress a copy of a bill making changes in the laws relating to the mint, one of which changes discontinued the coinage of the silver

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

dollar. This, however, was only a minor feature of the measure proposed by the Secretary, and attracted but little attention, for the market premium of 3c on silver at the legal ratio made gold the unit of account, and gold had been such since the 16 to 1 proportion was established in 1837. The bill did not pass until the next Congress. It was, however, read several times in both Senate and House, printed thirteen times by order of Congress, considered by the appropriate committees of both branches during five different sessions, and the debates upon it fill 144 columns of the "*Congressional Globe*."

The Demone-  
tization Act of  
1873.

The bill, which was put in its final form by a conference committee, was signed by President Grant February 12, 1873. In dropping the silver dollar from the list of pieces authorized to be coined, the act of 1873 was simply a statutory recognition of something which had been a physical fact for thirty-six years.

Bland Intro-  
duces His Bill.

On November 5, 1877, in the first of President Hayes' two extra sessions of Congress, Representative Bland moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill directing the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains of standard silver, as provided by the act of January 18, 1837, the coins to be a "legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract," and stipulating that any owner of silver bullion might deposit the same at the mints to be coined into such dollars for his benefit, upon the same terms as gold bullion. With this motion Mr. Bland became a national character, and the silver question became an absorbing issue in national politics.

Changed to a  
Limited Coin-  
age Measure.

The motion was agreed to by a vote of 164 (67 Republicans and 97 Democrats) to 34 (24 Republicans and 10 Democrats). Mr. Allison, from the Committee on Finance, reported the bill to the Senate on November 21, but changed from the free coinage form which it had when it left the House into a limited coinage bill. It provided that not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 silver bullion be purchased each month and coined into dollars of the weight prescribed in the House measure, the profit from the coinage to go into the Treasury, and not, as the bill in its original form provided, into the pockets of the owners of silver bullion.

Passed Over  
Hayes' Veto.

The bill in this shape passed the Senate by a vote of 48 (24 Republicans, 23 Democrats and 1 Independent) to 21 (14 Republicans and 7 Democrats). It was accepted by the House in this form, went to the President, was vetoed by him, and on February 28, 1878, was passed over the veto by a vote of 196 (77 Republicans and 119 Democrats) to 73 (51 Republicans and 22 Democrats) in the House, and by 46 (20 Republicans, 25 Democrats and 1 Independent) to 19 (10 Republicans and 9 Democrats) in the Senate, becoming a law on that day.

See Chapter X.

This was the end of the silver legislation down to the enactment of the law of 1890, the Sherman law, which act will be treated in a subsequent chapter.

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE DEMOCRATIC RESTORATION

THE Republican defeat in 1884, after its victory in six successive Presidential elections, is such an important event in the party's history that it merits an extended inquiry into its cause. Perhaps John Sherman was right when he said that "in the then condition of political affairs it is not certain that any Republican would have been elected."

Reasons  
for Republican  
Defeat.

James G. Blaine, however, despite his ability as a statesman, his dexterity and experience as a party leader, and his great personal popularity, had two distinct and important elements of weakness—his connection with the Conkling-Robertson factional feud of 1881 and the association of his name with the transactions mentioned in the Mulligan letters. The former alienated many of Conkling's adherents and the latter produced the Mugwump revolt. It was within the power of the Democrats to render this revolt transient and comparatively valueless to themselves or to make it directly and permanently advantageous. They could make the bolting element stay away from the polls or vote "in the air" by casting its ballots for some of the minor candidates, or they could attract it to their own side and secure from it a double benefit. All this depended on the character of the candidate they would select. They did the latter when they nominated Grover Cleveland.

Blaine's  
Weakness.

The immediate effect of the Conkling-Robertson wrangle in 1881, has already been mentioned. It led to the defeat of Conkling and his Senatorial colleague, Thomas C. Platt when seeking re-election, split the Republican party in New York, led to the defeat of the Conkling adherent, Charles J. Folger, when running for Governor in 1882, by cutting down the Republican vote in New York that year 213,000 as compared with the vote for Garfield two years earlier, and permitted Cleveland, his Democratic opponent, to secure a 193,000 plurality, a lead unexampled in extent in Governorship canvasses in any State along to that time. By the Congressional canvass of the same year a House of Representatives with eighty-four Democratic plurality was chosen to succeed a House in which the Republicans had a lead. That revolution was ominous. The history of the country shows that the party holding the Presidency which meets any such reverse as this in the middle of the term is sure to be beaten in the coming canvass for President.

Effect of  
the Conkling-  
Robertson  
Fight.

There was a difference of opinion as to whether there was anything incriminating in the letters written by Blaine to Warren Fisher, which had fallen into the hands of James Mulligan, a former clerk of Fisher. Blaine's enemies based charges of corruption upon the references in them to legislation favorable to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad and other transactions, while Blaine's friends contended that there was nothing improper in them. The letters, however, which came to light

The Mulligan  
Letters.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

shortly before the meeting of the Republican National Convention of 1876, were one of the causes of his defeat for the Presidential nomination in that year. If he had obtained the candidacy at that time there would have been a bolt in the party, and when he got it eight years later the bolt came. The revolt had been threatened long before the convention of 1884 was called, which nominated Blaine. George William Curtis, Carl Schurz and Charles R. Codman were the most prominent of the Republicans who refused to support Blaine, and *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Times*, the *Boston Herald* and the *Springfield Republican* were the most conspicuous journals which joined in the revolt.

The Mugwump  
Revolt.

The Independent Republicans, at a meeting in New York on June 16, a week after Blaine's nomination, adopted resolutions declaring that Blaine and Logan were nominated in "absolute disregard of the reform spirit of the nation," which resolutions concluded thus: "That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic party; they have the proper men—we hope they will put them before the people for election." This meant Cleveland. July 22, ten days after his nomination, a conference of Independents was held, at which an address was issued appealing to that element throughout the country to support Cleveland.

Cleveland's  
Strength.

Unquestionably the Mugwump revolt contributed something to the sum of the influences which nominated Cleveland. In putting him forward the Democrats made a wise choice. Though a new man, who was unknown outside of his own county three years earlier, he had many elements of strength, which none of the veteran statesmen who were his rivals in the convention could command. His connection with the cause of reform in his city and State attracted to him the Republican seceders all over the country, and his uniform success in his political ventures and the tremendous majority by which he had won the governorship of New York in 1882, brought to him a floating element of voters who care more to be on the winning side than they do for principle. The platform on which he stood, though true on most points to the historical Democratic position, was portentously long and was clumsily drawn, but this made no difference in the result. The personality of the candidates counted for more and the issues of the day for less in 1884 than they had done in any previous canvass in the country's history, except that of 1828, when Jackson was elected the first time, and that of 1840, when W. H. Harrison was victorious.

Absence of  
Partisan Legis-  
lation.

Confronted with a Republican Senate throughout the whole of his first term, though the House during that period was controlled by his side, President Cleveland between March 4, 1885, and that date in 1889, did not have an opportunity to promote or accept any strictly partisan legislation. His chief objects during his term were the repeal of the Bland-Allison law of 1878, and a reduction of the duties imposed by the tariff of 1883. In both endeavors he was unsuccessful. The gap at that time between gold and silver was not as broad as it became later,



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

the bullion value of the silver dollar being about 83 cents in March, 1885, as compared with 62 cents at the time the Sherman law was repealed in 1893, and 52 cents, the average of the first half of 1896. Silver was not a burning issue during Cleveland's first term, and no very serious attempts were made in Congress to stop its coinage. The fact that the Senate was Republican accounts for the failure of the endeavors to cut duties.

On February 27, 1885, just before he entered office, Mr. Cleveland's first assault on silver was made. It was in the memorable letter to A. J. Warner, an Ohio Congressman, in which the repeal of the coinage law of 1878 was advocated. His most vigorous attack on the tariff was made in the historic message of December 6, 1887. On both these questions Mr. Cleveland was in harmony with the majority of the Mugwumps.

Cleveland  
Assails Silver  
and the Tariff.

On the civil service issue, however, which was one of the questions which attracted them toward him, the President did not give entire satisfaction to the Independents. They wanted him to "take the offices out of politics," but pressure from his party prevented him from doing this if he ever had any such intention. The Democrats, after their long exclusion from office were naturally as "hungry and thirsty" as George William Curtis had previously declared them to be, and wanted the "clean sweep" which had been the rule on each party change in the Presidency since Jackson's first accession to office. The President did not surrender to this demand. On the contrary, under the authority given by the civil service act signed by President Arthur in 1883, he added, in his first term, 11,757 places to the number filled by competitive examination, as compared with 15,773 by Arthur, 15,598 by Harrison, and 42,025 by himself in his second term. He reappointed the Republican postmaster of New York, and allowed many Republican officials to serve out their terms. At the same time he made many removals for political reasons. In thus attempting to conform to the wishes of both elements he pleased neither.

His Attitude  
Toward the  
Civil Service  
Act.

Two measures of urgent and lasting importance were passed during Cleveland's first term. These were the Presidential succession and the electoral count acts. On neither of these, however, were partisan lines rigidly drawn. The Presidential succession bill passed the Senate without a division, and the House by a vote of 185 (146 Democrats and 39 Republicans) to 77 (75 Republicans and 2 Democrats), and it was signed by the President January 18, 1886. It withdrew the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House from the line of succession to the Presidency in the cases where the offices of President and Vice-President were vacant for any cause, and provided that the Presidency should pass in that contingency to members of the Cabinet, beginning with the Secretary of State, or, if there were no such official at that time, then to the Secretary of the Treasury, and so on to the different members in the order of the creation of their offices.

The Presiden-  
tial Succession  
Law.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Electoral  
Count Act.

The electoral count bill passed the Senate without a division and went through the House in a modified form by 141 (133 Democrats and 8 Republicans) to 109 (101 Republicans and 8 Democrats), and was signed February 3, 1887. Under this law each State, through its own tribunals, can settle all disputes arising out of contests for the Presidency within its limits, but this must be done by a law passed before the electors are chosen, and the decision must be made at least six days before the electors meet. If there is a dispute between different tribunals in a State as to the vote, and if the two branches of Congress cannot agree as to which vote shall be received, the one which has been certified by the State's Executive shall be counted. This is the only contingency in which Congress can interfere, except that in cases where electoral votes are not protected by State judicial determination such votes may be rejected by the concurrent voice of the two branches.

The assassination of Garfield when there was no President pro tem. of the Senate and no Speaker of the House, suggested the enactment of the Presidential succession law, and the disputed count in the Hayes-Tilden case dictated the passage of the electoral vote act.

The Interstate  
Commerce  
Law.

The enactment of the interstate commerce law and the repeal of the tenure of office act were the most important of the other legislation of the first half of the Presidential term. There was no partisan division in the interstate commerce law, which was signed February 4, 1887. It forbids discrimination in rates and the "pooling" of rates by competing lines of railway, and creates a semi-judicial tribunal to enforce the provisions of the law. The law repealing the tenure of office act passed the Senate by a vote of 30 (26 Democrats and 4 Republicans) to 22 (all Republicans), and the House by a vote of 171 (139 Democrats and 32 Republicans) to 67 (65 Republicans and 2 Democrats), and was approved March 3, 1887.

Repeal of the  
Tenure of  
Office Law.

The act which this law repealed was passed by the Republicans in 1867 to tie the hands of President Johnson, and provided that, with certain exceptions, no officer subject to confirmation by the Senate should be removed without the consent of that body, but during a recess of the Senate the President might remove an officer and appoint his successor till the Senate could act. Some of the harsher features of this law were repealed during President Grant's service, and the remainder of it, as before mentioned, was swept away by the act of March 3, 1887.

Chinese  
Immigration.

A law approved October 1, 1888, prohibiting Chinese immigration, and rendering certificates of returning Chinamen void, was the most important legislative act of the second half of Cleveland's first term. There was no partisan division on this question.

Morrison's  
Tariff Bill.

Partisan contests of great vigor and interest occurred on two measures between 1885 and 1889. Both of these were attacks on the tariff, and neither of them was enacted. The first of these was the Morrison bill, reducing duties, which was killed in the House of Representatives on June 17, 1886, by a rejection of the motion to consider the bill. The



SENATOR JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, OF CONNECTICUT.

NO. 1000  
AUGUST 1900

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

vote was 140 (136 Democrats and 4 Republicans) for consideration, to 157 (122 Republicans and 35 Democrats) against it. The 35 Democrats who aided the Republicans to defeat the bill were the Randall contingent, who were destined to shrink to very small proportions, and then to vanish altogether in the coming years.

The second of the tariff contests was on the Mills bill, which passed the House of Representatives July 21, 1888, by a vote of 162 (161 Democrats and 1 Republican) to 149 (145 Republicans and 4 Democrats). Within two years the protectionist Democrats, whose weight in the scale with the Republicans against the Morrison bill was decisive, had practically disappeared. The Mills bill was antagonized in the Republican Senate by a Republican substitute measure, which passed that body, but which was not considered in the House. In the House, which passed the Mills bill, as well as in the one which rejected the Morrison measure, the Democrats were in the majority. The Republicans who took a particularly conspicuous part in the House in the contest against the Mills bill were Thomas B. Reed, William McKinley and Julius C. Burrows.

The Mills Bill.

The inciting cause of the Mills bill of 1888 was the historic message of December 6, 1887, in which the President broke all precedents in deliverances of this sort, and confined his attention to a single subject—the tariff. The treasury surpluses were the leading influence in instigating the message. Ever since 1880 the Government's revenue largely exceeded its expenditure, the excess ranging between \$63,000,000 in the fiscal year 1885 and \$146,000,000 in 1882. A Republican tariff reduction, the act of March 3, 1883, cut down the revenues to a considerable extent, yet they were embarrassingly large when Cleveland entered office in 1885, and the surplus was \$103,000,000 in the twelve months ending with June 30, 1887, five months before the message spoken of was written.

Cleveland's  
Tariff Message  
of 1887.

The President called the attention of Congress to the redundant revenues, advised a reduction of duties on many articles, raw and manufactured, and recommended the repeal of the impost on wool. The existing tariff laws, he said, were the "vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation," and "ought to be at once revised and amended." "Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling on the theories of protection and free trade," he said. "This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory."

"A Condition,  
Not a Theory."

This deliverance, and the Mills bill, which was designed to give it practical shape, constituted the chief issue of the canvass of 1888. James G. Blaine, then in Paris, made a vigorous reply to the message in an interview, which was cabled to the United States and published in the leading newspapers. The Blaine reply strengthened the hold of its author on the regard of the Republican masses, and created an apparently irresistible demand for his nomination in 1888. This was so widespread

Blaine's "Paris  
Message."

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

and powerful that though he withdrew from the contest on the score of ill-health, in two letters from Europe, he received many votes in the convention.

The Conven-  
tion of 1888.

The convention met in Chicago June 19, declared in favor of protection, denounced the Mills bill, opposed the introduction of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, declared its hostility to trusts, demanded the admission to Statehood of all the Territories fitted for that condition, and said, "the Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver."

The  
Tariff "Plank"  
of 1888.

This was the tariff utterance in full: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States. The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers."

Harrison's  
Nomination.

On the first ballot the aspirants stood in this order, beginning with the one having the largest number of votes: John Sherman, Walter Q. Gresham, Chauncey M. Depew, Russell A. Alger, Benjamin Harrison, William B. Allison and James G. Blaine, with a few local favorites bringing up the rear. Sherman lost the first place on the seventh ballot, Harrison taking it, and Harrison was nominated on the eighth ballot.

Cleveland's  
Renomination.

Cleveland was renominated by acclamation in a convention which met in St. Louis June 5. Clinton B. Fisk was nominated by the Prohibitionists, and Alanson J. Streeter by the Union Labor party.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The canvass was moderately spirited, but much less personal, active and exciting than that of 1884. A discreditable episode in the canvass was the publication of correspondence between a man signing himself "Charles F. Murchison" and Lord Sackville, the British Minister at Washington, in which the bogus "Murchison" pretended to be a former British subject, now a naturalized American citizen, and asked Sackville how he ("Murchison") ought to vote. The Minister fell into the trap and said that a vote for Cleveland would be more friendly to England than one for Harrison. The correspondence was published two weeks before election, and was used by the Republicans as an evidence of British friendship for the Democrats. On the request of President Cleveland the guileless Minister was recalled.

The  
"Murchison"  
Letter.

In the election the Republicans carried the country, securing the electoral votes of all the North and West except Connecticut and New Jersey, while the Democrats won these two States and the solid South. New York, as in 1844, 1848, 1880 and 1884, turned the scale in 1888. Neither of the minor parties obtained any electoral votes. Harrison's electoral vote was 233 and Cleveland's 168. Of the popular vote Harrison had 5,440,551; Cleveland, 5,538,494; Fisk, 250,290, and Streeter, 147,045.

Harrison's  
Election.

The Republicans, after four years of exclusion from sway, were again placed in power, regaining the House as well as the Presidency. They had held the Senate during Cleveland's entire term.

# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER X.

### POLITICS IN HARRISON'S DAYS.

Uncertainties  
of Politics.

THE experience of the country between 1889 and 1893, during the term of President Harrison, furnishes a conspicuous illustration of the uncertainty of the tenure on which parties hold power when a strong and alert opposition organization exists; the extent to which independence in voting is carried in the present age, and the swiftness and sureness with which a party's overthrow follows on the heels of its errors or blunders.

On March 4, 1889, the Republicans recovered the Presidency which they lost in 1885 and the House, which was taken away from them in 1883, and they retained their hold on the Senate. Four States in the Republican section—North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington—which had been created by bills signed by President Cleveland shortly before his retirement in 1889, seemed to intrench them in power in the Senate and in the Electoral College for many years without any possibility of dislodgement. Their position, too, was farther strengthened, or appeared to be, by the creation of two more States in the same locality—Idaho and Wyoming—in 1890.

Republican  
Reverses of  
1890 and 1892.

Within two years, however, the whole face of affairs changed. The election of 1890 placed them in one of the smallest minorities in the House of Representatives ever known in the entire history of the country, and that of 1892 completed the work by turning them out of power in the Presidency and the Senate. The change was caused by the work of the first Congress of the presidential term—that of 1889-91.

Harrison and  
the Surplus.

On December 3, 1889, a day after the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, President Harrison, in his message, called attention in these words, to a problem which had for two or three years excited much concern throughout the country: "The existence of so large an actual and anticipated surplus (\$43,700,000 in excess of ordinary expenditures and the requirements of the sinking fund in the fiscal year to end seven months later, June 30, 1890) should have the immediate attention of Congress, with a view to reducing the receipts of the Treasury to the needs of the Government as closely as may be. The collection of moneys not needed for public uses imposes an unnecessary burden upon our people, and the presence of so large a surplus in the public vaults is a disturbing element in the conduct of public business."

The Reed  
Rules.

One of the earliest tasks in the House of Representatives of the Congress which President Harrison thus addressed—the Fifty-first Congress—was the adoption of a code of rules devised by Speaker





SENATOR WILLIAM P. FRYE, OF MAINE.



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Thomas B. Reed, to enable the party responsible for legislation to exercise a more complete control over it than was possible under the rules prevailing before that time. The rules were designed chiefly to prevent dilatory motions, and to enable the Speaker to "count quorums." They gave the Speaker powers which were never before possessed by that official.

The contest over the rules was long and exciting, and the Democratic opposition was bitter and constant, yet the leading principles of the innovations were adopted afterward by the Democrats in a House presided over by Charles F. Crisp. The narrowness of the Republican margin in the House at the outset in the Fifty-first Congress—their plurality was only seven—and the ease with which the minority were able to break quorums by refusing to answer roll-calls, dictated the change in rules. The new rules were adopted by a vote of 161 to 144, a strict partisan division, 23 members not voting.

In the intervals in the contests on the adoption of rules, the Ways and Means Committee was at work on a tariff bill which William McKinley, its chairman, reported to the House April 16, 1890. The measure, which was called a bill to "reduce the revenue and equalize the duties on imports and for other purposes," passed the House May 21 by a vote of 164 (all Republicans) to 142 (1 Republican, 140 Democrats and 1 Independent). The Senate, on September 9, attached a reciprocity amendment to the bill by a vote of 38 (all Republicans) to 29 (2 Republicans and 27 Democrats), modified it in other particulars, and passed the bill on the 11th by a strict partisan vote of 40 to 29. The House refused to concur in the Senate amendments, and a committee of conference was chosen, which made a report on the points in disagreement. This report, which was practically an indorsement of the Senate's changes in the measures, was accepted by the House September 27, by a vote of 152 (all Republicans) to 81 (79 Democrats, 1 Republican and 1 Independent). The Senate agreed to it on the 30th, and it was signed by President Harrison October 1, 1890.

The McKinley act advanced duties on many articles, reduced duties on a few, and placed some articles on the free list. Raw sugar was the most important product made free. The sugar provision was highly popular with Republicans, and so was the reciprocity section, which was suggested by Secretary Blaine, and through which advantageous trade treaties were had with several countries. The advances in duties, however, which covered many articles in the textile and metal schedules, were received with some disfavor by an element of the Republicans in many of the Western States, and lessened the party's vote in 1890 and 1892.

The object of the act was to reduce the revenue and increase protection, and this it accomplished. In the fiscal year 1890, before the act was passed, the customs amounted to \$230,000,000. They were \$220,000,000 in 1891, during part of which year the law was in opera-

The McKinley  
Tariff.

Scope and  
Character of  
That Act.

It Cuts the  
Revenues.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

tion, and they were \$177,000,000 in 1892, throughout the whole of which the law was in force. In the last named year the excess of revenue over expenditure was \$10,000,000, while it was \$86,000,000 in 1890.

Harrison  
on the Silver  
Issue.

Of even greater importance than the tariff bill was the silver measure, which was taken up later, but passed earlier. The President in his message of December 3, 1889, told Congress that the Bland-Allison law of February 28, 1878, "requiring the purchase by the Treasury of \$2,000,000 of silver bullion each month, to be coined into silver dollars, \* \* \* has been observed by the Department, but neither the present Secretary nor any of his predecessors has deemed it safe to exercise the discretion given by law to increase the monthly purchases to \$4,000,000," and he added that he thought it was clear that "if we should make the coinage of silver at the present ratio free, we must expect that the difference in the bullion values of the gold and silver dollars will be taken account of in commercial transactions,"—that is, that gold would disappear, and that the country's currency would drop to the silver level, the bullion value of the silver dollar at that time being about seventy-two cents in gold.

The President said he favored the use of silver in the currency, and he approved a plan submitted by Secretary Windom, and afterward embodied in a bill introduced in the House. It provided for the issue of notes against the deposits of American silver bullion at the market price of the bullion on the day of its deposit.

The Conger  
Silver Bill.

A bill introduced by E. H. Conger, of Iowa, in the House was substituted for this one, and passed that body. It provided for the purchase of \$4,500,000 worth of silver bullion a month, and the issue of treasury notes against it, and one of its sections provided for free coinage when the market price of silver reached \$1.00 for 371½ grains of the pure metal.

Plumb's Free  
Coinage Bill.

This conditional free silver bill was transformed into an absolute free coinage measure in the Senate June 17, 1890, on motion of Mr. Plumb, by a vote of 43 (14 Republicans and 29 Democrats) to 24 (22 Republicans and 2 Democrats). The House, on June 25, refused to accept the bill in this form, rejecting the free coinage amendment by 152 (131 Republicans and 21 Democrats) to 135 (22 Republicans and 113 Democrats), and a committee of conference was ordered, which framed a compromise bill.

This measure, in brief, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month at the market price, and to issue in payment for it Treasury notes, these notes to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise provided in the contract, the notes to be redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary. This bill, which repealed the Bland-Allison act, was accepted July 10 by a vote of 39 to 26 in the Senate, and July 12 by 122 to 90 in the House (all the affirmative votes in each branch,

The "Sherman  
Law."

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

except the one Independent in the House, being Republican and all the negative votes Democratic), and was signed by President Harrison July 14, 1890, becoming what was popularly called the Sherman law, the law that had its purchase clause repealed by the measure signed by President Cleveland November 1, 1893.

The "Sherman Law."

It was believed by the public at the time that the silver law of 1890 was adopted by the Republicans as a means of averting free coinage. This, too, was the explanation which has been given by its sponsor on many occasions. In his book he says: "The situation at that time was critical. A large majority of the Senate favored free silver, and it was feared that the small majority against it in the other house might yield and agree to it. The silence of the President (Harrison) on the matter gave rise to an apprehension that if a free coinage bill should pass both houses he would not feel at liberty to veto it. Some action had to be taken to prevent a return to free silver coinage, and the measure evolved was the best attainable. I voted for it, but the day it became a law I was ready to repeal it if repeal could be had without substituting in its place absolute free coinage."

Sherman Tells Why It Was Passed.

John Sherman's "Recollections of Forty Years," Vol. ii., p. 1069.

Hon. Henry M. Teller, who was a member of the Senate in 1890 and for years before that time, gave in a discussion in the Senate on April 29, 1896, an entirely different reason for the adoption of the law of 1890. "Mr. President," he said, "I do not intend to go into this discussion now, but in the interest of history and truth and exactness, I challenge the statement made by the Senator from Ohio that the Sherman bill was made for the purpose of avoiding free coinage. \* \* \* We had passed a bill and sent it to the other house, and had been beaten by more than thirty votes. We had in the White House a President who had said to numerous members of this body that if the free coinage bill came to him he would veto it. We had a Secretary of the Treasury (Windom) who had declared again and again to Senators and members that a free coinage bill would be vetoed by the President. On the day the Sherman bill passed, there was no more show of a free coinage bill becoming a law than there was of the heavens falling."

Teller Challenges Sherman's Statements.

"I will, in the interest of history," added the Colorado Senator, "state why the Sherman bill passed. If it is a party secret I will give it out, because the statement of the Senator from Ohio has been repeatedly made that he yielded to that measure. \* \* \* We had in this body a majority for free coinage, and we who were in favor of a tariff bill were in favor of a free-coinage bill if we could get it, and if we could not get it we wanted something that would come near to it. We did not believe that we could use the tariff bill to secure free coinage. We did not believe the Executive would sign a bill if it had a free-coinage measure attached, although it might be a tariff bill that suited him. We knew then that if we put the free-coinage bill upon the tariff bill the free-coinage bill and the tariff bill both alike would be lost. But we determined that we would put the free-coinage bill upon the tariff bill,

Says It Was a Bribe for Silver Votes for the Tariff Bill.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

which we knew we could do with the help of the Democrats, who, of course, would vote with us. That we said we would do, and that is why the Senator from Ohio yielded his judgment. That is why the Republicans on this side who had been opposed to the free coinage of silver yielded, not to free coinage, but to what they thought was a lesser evil, what they thought would answer the purpose of satisfying the silver Republicans and secure their votes."

Congressional Record, Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, pp. 5005, 5006.

Republicans, However, Ready to Repeal the Law.

The Colorado Senator's statement that the silver law of 1890 was given to the silver mining States in compensation for votes of silver Republican Senators for the Republican tariff bill passed later in the same year, was not challenged by anybody in the Senate on the day it was made. Nevertheless, Senator Sherman and other Republicans, as the records of Congress show, stood ready to vote for the silver law's repeal long before the panic of 1893 came, which made repeal imperative

The "Force Bill."

A measure of fully as great partisan interest to the Republicans as the tariff—that is, the measure called by its enemies the "force bill"—which had long been part of the Republican programme, was pressed vigorously in the Congress of 1889-91, and met with a final defeat near the end of the term. The bill proposed to extend and strengthen the Federal election laws of 1870, 1871 and 1872, in the canvasses in which members of Congress were chosen, and was directed against the suppression of the negro vote in the South. The measure, which encountered more violent opposition from the Democrats than even the tariff aroused, passed the House July 2, 1890, by a vote of 155 (154 Republicans and 1 Independent) to 149 (147 Democrats and 2 Republicans).

The Bill Killed by Silver Republican Votes.

In the Senate on January 26, 1891, the bill was killed by a combination of six Republicans—Cameron of Pennsylvania, Jones and Stewart of Nevada, Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, and Washburn of Minnesota—with the Democrats. By a motion of Senator Wolcott on that day the apportionment bill was taken up instead of the elections measure, the vote for the motion being 35 (the 6 Republicans named and 29 Democrats), and the vote against the motion was 34 (all Republicans). The bill thus side-tracked was never taken up again. In 1891-3 the House was overwhelmingly Democratic, and no measure of that sort could pass; and in 1893-5, all branches of the Government being Democratic, the laws which this measure was designed to strengthen were swept from the statute book by the act signed by President Cleveland, February 12, 1894.

A Busy Congress.

In amount of important work accomplished or attempted, the record of the Fifty-first Congress, that of 1889-91, the first Congress of the Harrison presidential term, is not often equaled. There are two reasons why the record, in this respect, of the next Congress did not closely approach it. First, the second Congress of an Administration seldom does or tries to do as much serious work as the first one, much of its time being spent in maneuvering for party position in the presidential



SENATOR STEPHEN B. ELKINS, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

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campaign, which takes place in that congressional term; and secondly, and chiefly, as respects this particular period, the party which had the Presidency and both branches of the first Congress controlled only one branch of the second one.

In the congressional elections of 1890 the Republican party was overwhelmingly defeated, its representation in the House being cut to one of the smallest minorities (88 Republicans, 233 Democrats and 9 Populists) ever known in that body. The Republicans were under serious disadvantages in that year. By the McKinley tariff they increased many duties, which is about as hazardous a thing as to reduce them, giving the opposing party an opportunity to cry out that one element of the community—the consumers in the case of advances and the producers in the case of reductions—is being assailed. As the consumers are the larger class this cry was particularly hurtful to the Republicans, especially as the tariff did not go into operation until about a month of the election. In such a case, when practical knowledge of an act can not be gained, the worst which has been charged against it is apt to be believed, whether fuller acquaintance with it shows it to be good or bad.

Republican  
Defeat in 1890.

The Chinese exclusion bill was the one great act of that Republican Senate and Democratic House, constituting the Congress of 1891-3. This measure, the Geary law, extended for ten years the operation of all laws prohibiting and regulating Chinese immigration, provided for the deportation of all Chinamen not lawfully entitled to remain in the United States, and required Chinese laborers in this country to secure certificates of residence from Collectors of Internal Revenue, within a year, on penalty of deportation.

The measure in this shape, which was the work of a conference committee, was agreed to by the Senate May 3, 1892, by a vote of 30 (19 Republicans, 10 Democrats and 1 Populist) to 15 (7 Republicans, 7 Democrats and 1 Populist). The House adopted it May 4 by 186 (25 Republicans, 154 Democrats and 7 Populists) to 27 (9 Republicans and 18 Democrats). The bill was approved by President Harrison May 5, 1892. As money for deporting the large numbers of Chinamen who failed to procure certificates was not available, it was modified by an act signed by President Cleveland November 3, 1893, and its harsher features became a dead letter.

Anti-Chinese  
Legislation.

Another question which acquired prominence in politics later came up when President Harrison, on February 15, 1893, sent to the Senate a treaty concluded a day earlier, annexing Hawaii to the United States. A month earlier than that, or on January 17, a bloodless revolution had taken place in Honolulu, by which the Queen was deposed and a republic established under a provisional Government, which asked for annexation by the United States.

The Hawaiian  
Matter.

The treaty sent to the Senate for ratification provided for annexation, for the assumption by the United States of the Hawaiian debt to the limit of \$3,250,000, and for the payment of \$20,000 a year to the

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

dethroned Queen Lilioukalani, and \$150,000 in a gross sum to the Princess Kaiulani. The Senate had not acted on the treaty when the presidential and congressional term ended, sixteen days later, and it was withdrawn by President Cleveland March 9, 1893, five days after his inauguration.

Convention of  
1892.

The Hawaiian matter was among the last of the important questions which engaged the attention of the Harrison administration. In the canvass of 1892 the Republican party was overthrown and the Democracy installed in power. The campaign of that year was opened by the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis, which met on June 7, two weeks before the Democratic Convention at Chicago, which nominated ex-President Cleveland. The contest over the McKinley act at the time of its passage, in 1890, and the Democratic attacks upon it afterward made the tariff the great issue of 1892, and the doctrine of protection as exemplified in that law and the reciprocity policy which it established received sanction in the Republican platform. The restoration of the mercantile marine by home-built ships, the strengthening of the navy, the restriction of criminal and pauper immigration, the maintenance of civil service reform, and the control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States Government, also in the platform, found emphatic indorsement.

The  
Silver "Plank"  
of 1892.

This is the silver utterance of the platform of 1892: "The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world."

The  
Tariff "Plank"  
of 1892.

This is the tariff "plank" of the platform of 1892: "We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming in competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested

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by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon. We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world."

President Harrison and ex-Secretary Blaine, who resigned his post as head of the State Department shortly before that time, were the only men prominently mentioned in connection with the candidacy, although William McKinley, who was not an aspirant, received many votes in the Convention. The President was renominated on the first ballot, by a vote of 535 1-6, as compared with 182 5-6 for Blaine and 182 for McKinley, with a few scattering votes. Whitelaw Reid was nominated for Vice-President.

Harrison  
Renominated.

It was easy to see before the campaign was under way a month that the tide was in favor of the Democrats. The influences which turned the scale against the Republicans in the congressional elections of 1890 were still strongly in operation. For the first time in a presidential campaign in its entire career the Republican party lacked vigor and enthusiasm. It was not despondent. The party's discipline, cohesiveness and *esprit de corps* warded off everything like despair or panic. It was simply, in the phrase of the day, "apathetic." Its processions and other spectacular demonstrations were tame, its mass meetings were spiritless, its "spell-binders" in the press and on the stump had lost their magic. The defeat which it saw to be inevitable it met with the stoicism attributed to the Indian brave walking to the stake.

Republican  
"Apathy."

The party needed all its steadiness and courage, for its defeat was the most extended and overwhelming sustained by any party in a presidential canvass since the war days, except by the Democracy in 1872. It carried only fifteen out of the forty-four States, although it received one or more electoral votes in a few others.

Sweeping Re-  
publican  
Defeat.

Not only did it lose the four Northern "doubtful States" of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana, but Colorado, Kansas and Nevada, hitherto Republican since their creation (except Nevada in 1880), went against them, with the new State of Idaho, also in the Republican region. The four last named States went to the Populists, partly through a fusion by them with the Democrats. They lost Illinois, also, which had been Republican in presidential elections from 1860 onward, and Wisconsin, which had stuck to them from the foundation of the party, while their plurality in the pioneer Republican State of Ohio was cut so low (it was only 1072) that they lost one of its twenty-three electors. The Republicans won only nine out of Michigan's fourteen electoral votes (that State voted by districts in that year), one

Old Republi-  
can States  
Lost.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

out of California's nine, and one out of North Dakota's three. The rest of Michigan's and California's electors went to the Democrats, and the Democrats carried one and the Populists the other of the two other votes of North Dakota.

Cleveland's  
Big Majority.

Aside from the votes they gained in California and North Dakota, the Democrats carried New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and the sixteen ex-slave States. Harrison's electoral vote was 145, and his popular vote 5,175,202, while Cleveland's were respectively 277 and 5,554,226. Weaver, the Populist candidate, received 22 electoral votes and 1,042,631 popular votes. Bidwell, the Prohibition candidate, had 262,799 votes.

In that hour of overwhelming Republican defeat and Democratic triumph, there was no man astute enough to foresee that the conditions as between the two parties would be swiftly and completely reversed in the closely approaching years.



SENATOR SHELBY M. CULLOM, OF ILLINOIS.



# HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

## CHAPTER XI.

### EVENTS OF CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM.

March 4, 1893, when President Cleveland's second inauguration took place, the Democratic party found itself in complete control of the Government for the first time since the end of the Congress of 1857-59. That Congress covered the first half of President Buchanan's term. In the second half of the term the Republicans had a plurality in the House of Representatives and elected the Speaker by the aid of a few Know-nothing, or American votes. Throughout all of President Cleveland's first term the Senate was in Republican hands.

The Democrats in Control.

On March 4, 1893, the conditions seemed as favorable to a long period of Democratic supremacy as they appeared four years before to be to an extended period of Republican sway. In the later, however, as in the earlier instance, disaster came quickly. The principal causes of the series of Democratic reverses in the next four years were the panic of 1893, the assault on the tariff in 1894, and the deadlock between Senate and House on that question which resulted in the "party perfidy and party dishonor" letter of the President to W. L. Wilson, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, all of which will be mentioned later in this chapter.

Reverses Come Quickly.

Panics, irrespective of their causes, always hit the party which is in power when they occur. There is dynamite in radical tariff changes either upward or downward when two great and alert parties taking opposite sides on this question are in existence.

The Administration was equally unfortunate in its foreign policy, particularly in the Hawaiian question. The Hawaiian annexation treaty, mentioned in a preceding chapter, which had been sent to the Senate by President Harrison shortly before his retirement in 1893, was withdrawn from that body on March 9, 1893, by President Cleveland, and ex-Congressman James H. Blount was sent to the islands as a special Commissioner, having paramount authority to inquire into all the relations between the United States and Hawaii.

The Hawaiian Question.

April 1, 1893, as a result of Blount's investigations, and by his direction, the American flag, which had been flying on the Government building since the deposition of the Queen ten weeks earlier, was hauled down, the marines were withdrawn, and the quasi-protectorate was ended.

American Flag Hauled Down.

This created some dissatisfaction in the United States, among Democrats as well as Republicans. A far greater measure of popular disapproval, however, greeted his attempt to restore the Queen, which would mean the subversion of the republic. The President, thinking the revolution was due to the improper influence of United States

Attempt to Restore the Queen.

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Minister Stevens, who was superseded in May, 1893, by Blount, deemed it the duty of the United States Government to disavow and undo its share of the work.

An attempt was made through Minister Willis, who succeeded Blount, to induce the ex-Queen, if restored, to grant pardon to the revolutionary leaders, and to induce these to withdraw and accept the old regime. In both particulars the endeavor was a failure, and the republic, under President Dole, still stands.

The restoration attempt, whether the suspicion of American co-operation in producing the revolution was just or unjust, was a serious blunder, and was among the influences which produced the Republican tidal wave in the congressional elections of 1894.

The Cuban Question.

The Cuban question was a later development. A considerable element of the people in both parties deemed the Administration's conduct in the Cuban affair nerveless, and this feeling contributed to the Republican majorities in the State elections of 1895.

The Venezuelan Matter.

A still later issue in diplomacy was the Venezuelan question. Here the President proposed a vigorous foreign policy. It attracted those whom his Cuban conduct repelled, and *vice versa*, but it did not affect the fortunes of the Administration. The issue was forgotten quickly and therefore could hardly change many votes.

These were the chief questions of foreign policy during the second Cleveland Administration. The great issues of domestic policy will now be treated.

The Panic of 1893.

Soon after his entrance into office in 1893, President Cleveland was confronted with a crisis similar to that which met President Van Buren on his accession to power in 1837. In April, 1893, for the first time since the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879, the net gold in the Treasury dropped below the \$100,000,000 line; during the five months of 1893 ending with May, the net gold exportation from the country was \$61,000,000, and the outward stream still continued. Alarm seized the people; "runs" were made on banks in many cities; many banks suspended or collapsed; great business houses went down in several cities, carrying with them numerous smaller concerns in every State; mills and factories suspended or closed; wages were reduced on all hands, and a panic was "on."

Congress Called.

Appeals from business men all over the country were made to Cleveland, as in the earlier instance were made to Van Buren, to call Congress in extra session to provide a remedy for the national ills. On June 30, the President issued the call, and on August 7 it met in extra session.

The Sherman Law Blamed.

"I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government," said the President in his message to Congress at the opening of the session, referring to the business calamities which were under way. "This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative."

These references to the "truce" and to "those intending to be more conservative" were complimentary to the anti-free coinage Republicans who had passed the law, and whose votes for its repeal would have to be gained if it was to be removed from the statute book. The Republicans believed that the silver law was only one of the causes of the panic. They thought and said that the Democratic victory in 1892 on a platform which pledged the party to assail the tariff, was the principal cause of the convulsion. Nevertheless they (except the small silver faction) worked earnestly and effectively for its repeal.

On August 28, 1893, the Wilson bill, so-called from W. L. Wilson of West Virginia, who introduced it, passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 239 (138 Democrats and 101 Republicans) to 109 (76 Democrats, 24 Republicans and 9 Populists).

Repeal Bill  
Passed in the  
House.

Previous to the passage of the Wilson bill, attempts were made by the silver men to pass a free coinage bill at any one of the ratios between 16 to 1 and 20 to 1, but all were defeated by decisive majorities. Then the silverites endeavored to revive the Bland law of 1878, but this proposition was voted down by 213 (110 Republicans and 103 Democrats) to 136 (112 Democrats, 15 Republicans and 9 Populists). Republican votes here saved the country from the re-enactment of the Bland law.

Narrow Escape  
from the  
Bland Law.

The Wilson bill repealed the purchase clause of the Sherman law, but left unimpaired the legal tender quality of the standard silver dollars already coined, and the pledge to maintain the parity of all coins.

Thomas B. Reed, W. Bourke Cockran and W. L. Wilson made the most notable speeches on the repeal side heard in the House, while R. P. Bland and W. J. Bryan delivered the best speeches made in behalf of silver.

The boast of Senator Jones, of Nevada, and of other silver men, that they would "tie up the Senate," and obstruct all anti-silver legislation, was made good for several months. On October 30, however, a repeal bill passed that body by a vote of 43 (23 Republicans and 20 Democrats) to 32 (19 Democrats, 8 Republicans and 5 Populists).

The Senate  
Passes the Re-  
peal Bill.

This measure was different in a few unimportant particulars from the one which passed the House. The House on November 1, 1893, accepted the substitute, which then went to the President, who signed it on the same day, and silver absorption by the Government, which had been under way since February 28, 1878, ceased.

Silver Absorp-  
tion Ended.

Before the Sherman law repeal bill had passed the Senate, the Committee of Ways and Means started to frame a bill which was to supersede another law of 1890. This was the Wilson tariff bill, which was to replace the McKinley act. The name of the bill was "an act to

The Wilson  
Tariff Bill  
Framed.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes.”

December 19, 1893, W. L. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, reported the bill to the House. February 1, 1894, an internal revenue feature, including an income tax, was incorporated in the bill by a vote of 182 (166 Democrats, 10 Populists and 6 Republicans) to 48 (45 Democrats and 3 Republicans), 122 members (116 Republicans, 5 Democrats and 1 Populist) not voting. The entire bill then passed the House by a vote of 204 (194 Democrats and 10 Populists) to 140 (125 Republicans and 15 Democrats).

The House  
Passes the Bill.

March 20, 1894, the bill was reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee with many amendments, and, 634 amendments having been attached to it by this time, it passed the Senate July 2 by a vote of 39 (37 Democrats and 2 Populists) to 34 (31 Republicans, 2 Populists and 1 Democrat). The solitary Democratic Senator who voted against the measure was David B. Hill. His chief reason for doing this was his hostility to the income tax feature.

The Senate  
Passes It With  
634 Amend-  
ments.

A deadlock between House and Senate then ensued which was one of the longest and most exciting that ever occurred on a tariff measure when both branches belonged to the same party. The Senate's changes in the bill were almost wholly in the direction of greater protection. Several raw materials which the bill as it came from the House placed on the free list the Senate put back on the dutiable schedules. The principal reason assigned for the changes was that the House bill would not provide enough revenue.

Deadlock Be-  
tween House  
and Senate.

Sugar, which was on the free list in the bill when it went to the Senate, and on which that body placed a duty, provoked the bitterest contest. Charges were made that this change was a bonus to the Sugar Trust, in payment for a campaign contribution by the Trust to the Democracy, and there were accusations that the Trust had attempted to bribe certain Senators to vote for the duties. A committee investigated these charges, but the inquiry amounted to nothing.

The Contest on  
Sugar.

Angered by the conduct of the Democrats of the Senate in refusing to permit as much tariff reduction as the House Democrats thought their party was pledged by its platform of 1892 to furnish, the latter accused their Senate colleagues of treachery to Democratic principles. The Senate, however, was obdurate, and the Conference Committee, after several meetings, failed to reach an agreement.

July 19, 1894, seventeen days after the Senate passed the bill with its 634 amendments, a letter from the President to Chairman W. L. Wilson of the Ways and Means Committee, attacking the Senate Democrats who were responsible for the changes, was read in the House. The President appealed to Wilson to insist on “party honesty and good faith and a sturdy adherence to Democratic principles,” which was an injunction not to accept the Senate amendments. “Every true Democrat,” he said, “and every sincere tariff reformer knows that this bill in

Cleveland's  
Bombshell.



SENATOR WILLIAM J. SEWELL, OF NEW JERSEY.



## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

its present form [that is, in the form in which the Senate put it] \* \* \* \* falls far short of the consummation for which we have long labored, for which we have suffered defeat without discouragement, which, in its anticipation, gave us a rallying cry in our day of triumph, and which, in its promise of accomplishment, is so interwoven with Democratic pledges and Democratic success, that our abandonment of the cause or the principles upon which it rests means party perfidy and party dishonor."

"Party Perfidy  
and Party  
Dishonor."

This was a bombshell in the Senate Democratic camp. Senator Gorman, who took the leading part in changing the bill, and who was the Democrat most directly assailed, characterized, in a speech in the Senate, the President's letter as "the most extraordinary, the most uncalled for, and the most unwise communication that was ever penned by a President of the United States." The Senator said the changes were made for the purpose of securing enough votes in the Senate to pass the bill, and declared that Secretary Carlisle was consulted as to every detail and approved it, and that every important amendment before it was attached to the bill was well known to the President.

Senator Gor-  
man Replies.

At last, on August 13, six weeks after the bill's passage by the Senate, the long struggle ended by the capitulation of the House. The House accepted the bill as it came from the Senate by a vote of 182 (174 Democrats and 8 Populists) to 106 (93 Republicans and 13 Democrats), and it was sent to the President.

The House  
Surrenders.

The House then passed four separate bills—the "popgun bills"—putting sugar, coal, barbed wire and iron ore on the free list, but they failed in the Senate.

The "Popgun  
Bills."

Meanwhile the President was placed in a serious dilemma by the passage of the bill. He could not consistently sign a bill which he had denounced as meaning "party perfidy and party dishonor," while a veto would leave in operation the McKinley act, which he was committed against by the platform on which he was nominated, by his letter of acceptance and by subsequent utterances. He neither signed nor vetoed the bill, and it became a law at the expiration of the ten day limit on August 27, 1894.

The Wilson-  
Gorman Bill  
Neither Signed  
Nor Vetoed.

The Wilson-Gorman law reduced many duties, put several articles, including wool, on the free list, and took raw sugar from the free list, where it was placed by the McKinley act of 1890, fixing a duty of 40 per cent ad valorem upon all grades; a differential of an eighth of a cent extra on refined sugar, and added a tenth of a cent to sugars from countries paying an export bounty. The law discontinued the bounty to the domestic producers. It also contained an income tax provision, which was declared unconstitutional in 1895 by the Supreme Court.

Character of  
the Wilson-  
Gorman Law.

The other great measures of the first half of the second Cleveland Administration were the passage of the silver seigniorage bill, subsequently vetoed, and the repeal of the Federal election laws. The former passed the House March 1, 1894, by a vote of 168 (136 Democrats, 22 Republicans and 10 Populists) to 129 (80 Republicans and 49

Silver  
Seigniorage  
Passed

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Democrats), and went through the Senate March 7th by 44 (30 Democrats, 10 Republicans and 4 Populists) to 31 (23 Republicans and 8 Democrats). It provided for the coinage of \$55,156,681 in silver dollars, which was the assumed profit made by the Government on the purchases of silver bullion under the law of 1890, the Sherman act. This is what ex-Congressman and ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, called "coining a vacuum."

The  
Seigniorage  
Bill Vetoed.

A strong veto message, one that compared favorably with Grant's against the inflation bill in 1874 and with Hayes' against the Bland bill in 1878, was sent by the President, and, like Grant's negative, it prevailed. The attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed, and the seigniorage coinage project was dead.

Bond Sales.

A few weeks before the President vetoed the seigniorage bill the first of the bond sales which have been frequent during this period, and which have been one of the influences that have operated against the Democracy in the elections, took place. This was a sale on February 1, 1894, of \$50,000,000 ten years 5 per cent bonds. In November of that year a sale of a like amount at the same rate of interest was made. In February, 1895, \$62,000,000, 4 per cent bonds, to run thirty years, were sold, and in February, 1896, \$100,000,000 at the same rate and for the same time were disposed of. These sales were to protect the Treasury gold reserve, and were made under the authority of the resumption law of 1875. The Republicans attributed the shrinkage in the reserve to the deficit in the revenues, while the President and Secretary of the Treasury ascribed it to the "endless chain" formed by the act of May 31, 1878, which compels the reissue of the legal tender notes after they reach the Treasury.

A measure of legislation will now be mentioned which forms an epoch in the country's history, and which will have a profound influence on the fortunes of the Republican party. This is the repeal of the federal election laws.

"Free Ballot  
and  
Fair Count."

The Republican National Convention of 1892 demanded in its platform that "every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be returned and counted as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen \* \* \* this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution," and declared that "the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State."

The "Force  
Bill."

This utterance called out the response in the Democratic platform framed two weeks later that "the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming election [that of 1892], will mean the enactment of the 'force bill' and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States." The same platform pledged the Democratic party, if it were intrusted with power, to defeat the "force bill."

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No "force bill" had any chance of passage after the election of 1892, for the Democrats then came into complete control of all branches of the Government. The pledge of their platform, however, was made good by the repeal of the election laws which the "force bill" was designed to supplement. These laws were part of the general reconstruction policy of the half a dozen years immediately succeeding the war, and were passed in 1870, 1871 and 1872. They operated all over the country, but were primarily designed to protect the negroes in the Southern States.

The Federal  
Election  
Laws.

October 10, 1894, a bill to "repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and deputy marshals, and for other purposes" passed the House by a vote of 201 (194 Democrats and 7 Populists) to 102 (all Republicans), and it passed the Senate February 7, 1894, by 39 (36 Democrats and 3 Populists) to 28 (all Republicans). It was approved by the President on February 12.

The Laws Re-  
pealed.

This ended "force-billism." The object of the federal election laws was good, but the laws failed to meet the expectations of their framers. After the removal of the troops from the South they became a dead letter in nearly every State below the Potomac and the Ohio. The existence of these laws was a constant irritation, and the attempt to strengthen them by new legislation was an ever present menace which made the Republican party an alien organization throughout that region, and made and kept the South solidly Democratic. The repeal of the federal election laws removed the specter of "negro domination," relaxed the pressure which held differences of views on economic questions in imperative subjection to the one over-mastering issue, and permitted the South to divide like the rest of the country on the living questions of the day.

End of  
the Repression  
Policy.

Nine months after the federal election laws were stricken from the national statute book in February, 1894, the Republicans gained an overwhelming victory in the Congressional and State canvasses. In the House of Representatives elected in 1892 the Democrats had a plurality of 92 over the Republicans, while in that chosen in 1894 the Republicans gained a lead of 140 over the Democrats. The partisan pendulum never swung so fast and so far in any previous election.

Sweeping  
Republican  
Victories in  
1894.

In the sixteen States which are popularly designated the South for partisan purposes, the Republicans elected thirty-two members of the House of Representatives in 1894, as against fourteen members chosen by the Democrats in the twenty-eight other States. Usually the preponderance in this method of comparison is overwhelmingly on the Democratic side. In the canvass of 1892, while the federal election laws were still on the statute book, and when the Republicans were pledged to supplement and strengthen them if successful in the campaign, the Republicans elected only seven Congressmen in the South, or less than a fourth of the number they chose in 1894. The great increase in the latter year is significant.

Republicans  
in the South.

## HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Republican  
Victories  
in State Elec-  
tions.

At the beginning of 1894 the Republicans had sixteen Governors of States out of the forty-four, the Democrats twenty-five and the Populists three. At the beginning of 1896, out of the forty-five Governors, including Utah's, the Republicans had twenty-six, the Democrats seventeen and the Populists two. This, in a general way, marks the extent of the Republican gains in the State elections of 1894 and 1895.

Southern Re-  
publican  
Governors.

Three of the Governors chosen in recent elections in Southern States—those of Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky—have been Republicans. In Missouri the Republicans chose minor State officers in 1894 and two-thirds of the members of the popular branch of Congress, while they gained the solid Congressional delegation of West Virginia that year.

New Epoch  
in the  
Party's Career.

Thus the Republican party has entered on a new epoch in its career. Some of the older leaders, as Sherman, Morrill, Hoar, Hawley and Allison, are still at work, but the moulding of its policy and the active direction of its affairs have fallen into younger hands. A newer generation of chieftains, among whom are McKinley, Reed, Lodge, Dingley, Burrows, Aldrich, Davis and Thurston, are at the front.

Southern Re-  
publican  
Leaders.

In the South the Republican party has many able, forceful and active leaders, conspicuous among whom are Gov. Bradley, of Kentucky; Gov. Lowndes, of Maryland, and H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee. All of these are of the highest standing in the community; none of them were identified with the old carpetbag element.

The Republi-  
can Future  
Bright  
With Promise.

The Southern States promise to be the great recruiting ground of the party in the future. The forces and influences which made and which kept the Republican party sectional are dead, and it must henceforth be a national organization. From the outset it has controlled most of the States of the North and West; the probabilities point to its ascendancy in the future in many of the States of the South. If the Republican party is true to its best traditions and intelligently alive to its opportunities, the coming years may have in store for it grander conquests than any which it achieved in the past.





REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, OF OHIO.



# HISTORY OF SECTIONALISM IN POLITICS.

**T**HE question is often asked, "Why did the Republican party, which never received an electoral vote in the South except during the artificial and abnormal conditions of the war and reconstruction era, hold its National Convention in 1896 in the principal city of the Southern States?"\*

Why St. Louis  
Got the  
Convention.

The inquiry is invested with additional interest by the circumstance that a feature of national canvasses, familiar to the present and the preceding generation of voters, has suddenly and completely disappeared. This is the sectional spirit in politics.

The End of  
Sectionalism.

No complaint was heard in any of the Republican conventions in the Northern States which chose delegates to the St. Louis assemblage of 1896 that any race was being deprived of its political rights; there was no demand by the party anywhere for the revival of the Federal election laws which the Republicans placed upon the national statute book in 1870 and 1871, which they often tried to strengthen afterward, and which the Democrats repealed in 1894. There was scarcely an expression or a hint in the proceedings of any Republican gathering in 1896 to indicate that such a thing as a geographical line in partisanship was in existence until yesterday.

The "Negro  
Issue" Dead.

Sectionalism in politics did not begin with the creation of the Republican party, although the appearance of the party gave it an intensity and a rigidity unknown before that time. It was shown in the Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution; it revealed itself in the Missouri admission discussion of 1819-21, in the middle of the period of treacherous surface calm called the "era of good feeling;" it was shown in the Democratic Convention of 1844, which defeated Van Buren for the presidency, and then and there helped to sow the wind out of which grew the whirlwind of the Charleston Convention sixteen years later; it caused the war with Mexico in 1846-48, and the contest against the admission of California that forced the compromise of 1850; it cut off the Southern section from the Whig party in 1852, and prepared the way for the party's destruction through the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854; it erected what was virtually a geographical line in the vote on Banks for the speakership and Buchanan for the presidency in 1856, a

Many Phases  
of Section-  
alism.

\*Missouri is here placed with the South, but this division is for political convenience only. Geographically, industrially and socially Missouri belongs to the West instead of to the South. The necessities, or assumed necessities of the situation—the preservation of the balance in the Senate between the slave and free States, constrained the Southern leaders of the day to insist that Missouri should come into the Union as a slave State. Slavery existed in Missouri until 1865, though it held only a minor place among the State's interests, and every other State west of the Mississippi in Missouri's latitude was always a free State. Although slavery was only a trifling concern, however, in the State the passions and prejudices which it bred arrayed the State, after the close of the reconstruction period, with the rest of the section in which slavery had existed. Thus, in the phraseology of the day, it was a part of the "solid South." In a partisan sense it became known as a Southern State, and this classification will be deferred to here.

## HISTORY OF SECTIONALISM IN POLITICS.

line which was made sharper and clearer in the canvass of 1860; it split the Democracy in that year and excluded it from the presidency for a quarter of a century; it caused eleven States to endeavor to get out of the Union, precipitated the war, put a solid South and a solid North in politics, and kept them in until 1895. The sectional spirit was created by slavery, and it endured for a third of a century after its inciting cause was removed.

“If the Convention thinks that North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia will ever agree to the plan unless their right to import slaves be untouched the expectation is vain. The people of those States will not be such fools as to give up so important an interest.”

This was a warning given the Northern and border States in the Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, by John Rutledge, one of South Carolina's representatives in that assemblage, that the three States named would not enter the new Union unless Congress should be forbidden to prohibit the importation of slaves or to tax it more highly than other imports.

The Convention was here brought to a standstill, as it already had been on the question of the representation of the States in the Senate and on that of the control of Congress over commerce, and here again a compromise was entered into. Congress was forbidden to prohibit the importation of slaves prior to 1808, but it was permitted to impose a tax upon them, though not to exceed \$10 a head.

Rutledge's words and the spirit which they revealed were full of evil omen for the country in the coming years. The question of slavery presented itself to the Constitutional Convention, of course, in its material aspects chiefly. In only two of the Northern States, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had slavery been abolished as early as 1787. Slavery was seldom spoken of in the Convention on its moral side. Yet the contest on slave importation revealed conflicting prejudices and interests which brought untold woes to the nation in the after time.

Shortly before his death in 1850 John C. Calhoun wrote to a member of the Alabama Legislature that it was the duty of the South to force upon the North the issue of the preservation of slavery in the Union. “We are now stronger,” he said, “than we shall be hereafter, politically or morally. Unless we bring on the issue delay to us will be dangerous indeed.”

This was true. And the fact that it was true was of evil significance for the country. Delay was perilous to the political power of the South as a defender of slavery. Relatively to the North, the South was stronger in 1790, at the time of the first national census, than it was in 1820, when the Missouri compromise was adopted; stronger than in 1850, when another readjustment was entered into, and stronger in that year than in 1861, when the war began. In 1790 the population of the free and the slavery region was nearly the same, or about 1,900,000 for each. In 1860 the free States and Territories had 19,000,000 and the slave States 12,000,000.

The "Color Line" in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Elliot's "Debates," Vol. v., p. 460.

A Slavery Compromise in the Constitution.

Calhoun's Warning.

## HISTORY OF SECTIONALISM IN POLITICS.

Calhoun's warning, on the eve of his death, and very nearly two-thirds of a century after Rutledge, in the Federal Convention, had presented North Carolina's, South Carolina's and Georgia's "ultimatum," brought out in a clear light the potency and persistency of sectional prejudices, interests and ambitions in politics. In the beginning the Union consisted of seven free and six slave States, giving the original thirteen States the classification accorded them subsequently, but a balance was soon afterward established, and, with a few brief interruptions, it was maintained for half a century.

Balance Between Free and Slave States.

By 1796 there were sixteen States in the Union, eight free and eight slave, the three States which joined the original thirteen being Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, one free and two slave. Ohio came in in 1802, giving the free section a preponderance, but when Louisiana was admitted, in 1812, the equality was restored. It was the aim of the Southern leaders subsequently to make this equality permanent. The object was, by means of the balance in the Senate, to raise up a barrier against legislation hostile to slavery.

From the beginning the North drew ahead of the South in population, and in 1812, in the year of Louisiana's admission, the North's representation in the House was 103, as compared with seventy-eight for the South. The necessity of preserving a balance in the Senate, in which the States were equal, became so imperative as a protection to the South, that for years afterward States were admitted in pairs, a slave State being linked to a free State.

The North's Gains on the South in Population.

Thus, Indiana, which came in in 1816, was followed by Mississippi in 1817; Illinois in 1818, by Alabama in 1819; Maine in 1820, by Missouri in 1821. In the pairs subsequently the slave State preceded the free State. Arkansas, which was admitted in 1836, was followed by Michigan in 1837; Florida and Texas in 1845, by Iowa in 1846, and Wisconsin in 1848. Texas was the last of the slave States ever created. Thirty States were in the Union when Wisconsin came in, fifteen free and fifteen slave.

Jefferson foresaw the portentous consequences of sectional politics earlier than any of his contemporaries. "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror," wrote the ex-President in a letter dated April 22, 1820, to John Holmes. "I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." Then with words which future events proved to be prophetic, he added: "It is hushed, indeed, for the moment, but this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will make it deeper and deeper."

Jefferson's "Firebell in the Night."

This note of warning was called out by the contest on the question of the admission of Missouri to statehood, and was precipitated by the following amendment, introduced February 13, 1819, by James Tall-

Jefferson's "Works," Vol. vii., p. 159.

The Tallmadge Proviso.

## HISTORY OF SECTIONALISM IN POLITICS.

madge, Jr., a New York Democrat, to the admission bill: "And provided also that the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall be duly convicted; and that all children of slaves born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years."

The Missouri Admission Contest.

The ominous sectional line was revealed in the vote, the few Federalists and the many Democrats, in nearly every instance, voting with their region. The House, in which the North was predominant by virtue of population, passed the bill with the proviso, but in the Senate the South, aided by a few votes from the North, defeated the slavery restriction. In its various phases the contest lasted two years, Missouri at last being admitted with slavery; but that institution was excluded from all the rest of the Louisiana territory north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, a line coinciding closely with Missouri's southern boundary.

Talk of Civil War and Disunion in 1820.

"The words civil war and disunion," wrote Clay during the Missouri controversy, "are uttered almost without emotion." They were uttered often afterward during Clay's life, and once, near the end of his career, with an even more menacing tone than was heard in the Missouri admission controversy. This was in 1850, when California knocked for entrance into the Union as a free State.

There were thirty States at that time, fifteen free and fifteen slave. California's admission would destroy the balance in the Senate which the Southern leaders had maintained almost from the beginning of the Government. It would destroy this permanently, as everybody saw, for the Northwest was growing far more rapidly than the Southwest, and had material out of which to carve more States than could be had below the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes. Many Southern statesmen saw by this time, as Calhoun did, that their true policy as defenders of slavery was to "force the issue" of slavery preservation in the Union "on the North." Delay would be dangerous, for while the South was practically standing still, the North was growing by leaps and bounds in population and wealth.

Compromise of 1850.

Out of the convulsion caused by California's erection into statehood came the so-called compromise of 1850, whose principal features, in addition to California's admission, were the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, a fugitive slave law, and the organization of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah with a slavery option.

The effect of the compromise was to bring the delay which Calhoun dreaded, to allow the North's predominance to increase, and to postpone the conflict which Calhoun and other slavery champions foresaw to be inevitable until slavery's destruction in the conflict was rendered certain.

Sectional Rancor in the Democratic Conventions of 1844 and 1860.

The destructive effects of sectionalism on the Democratic party was displayed in the National Conventions of that party in 1844 and 1860. In the former Convention, ex-President Martin Van Buren was defeated

## HISTORY OF SECTIONALISM IN POLITICS.

for the Presidential nomination because of a letter by him, published just before that gathering, in which he cautiously opposed the annexation of Texas, then the issue of supreme importance. The South favored and the North opposed Texas annexation chiefly because of the enlargement of the area of the slave region which it would bring. In the Democratic National Convention of 1860, the sectional spirit culminated in a split in the party, and a bolt of the Southern wing because its extreme views regarding slavery extension were not accepted by the party's Northern end. That bolt was a prelude to secession and civil war.

Traces of a geographical line in politics began to appear early. In the first of the contested elections for the presidency, that of 1796, it is visible, most of the electoral votes given to Adams, the successful Federalist candidate, coming from the States constituting the free region, and all of those given to Jefferson, the Republican or Democratic nominee, coming from the slave States, except fourteen from Pennsylvania. The sectional line was seen in the election of 1800 also, in which Jefferson was elected.

Geographical  
Line in Elec-  
tions.

Subsequently for a third of a century the sectional division in elections became faint, but this was because Democratic predominance was so marked, that virtually there was only one party in the country. In the Whig days, too, the sectional line was not clearly defined in presidential elections, although ordinarily the Whigs were stronger in the North and the Democrats in the South than were their opponents.

The Line  
Grows Faint in  
Whig Days.

In 1848, though this relation was reversed, Taylor, the Whig, who, however, was a Southerner and a slaveholder, carrying more slave States than Cass, Democrat; and Cass, who was a Northern man, getting more free States than Taylor.

But the tariff and internal improvements, and for a short time the United States Bank, were the chief issues through the greater part of the Whig period, and on these each section divided. When the slavery issue went to the front in a menacing shape, however, with the passage of Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854, this idyllic condition of things quickly ended. This issue cut across party lines, and destroyed the Whig organization, by sending most of the Southern members into the Democracy and by driving most of its Northern members into a combination with the political abolitionists, the Free Soilers and the anti-slavery Democrats, under the name of the Republican party.

The Kansas-  
Nebraska Act  
Revives Sec-  
tionalism.

The sectional line then came back into politics, and it has been in in presidential canvasses ever since, except during a part of the reconstruction period. All the States carried in 1856, by Fremont, the first Republican candidate, were free States, and all those won by Buchanan, the Democrat, were slave States, except five—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California. All of Lincoln's electoral votes in 1860 were from the North, and he had all the North's electors except three in New Jersey, who went to Douglas. The opposition candidates, Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell, carried the whole South, and received no

The Geograph-  
ical Line  
in Republi-  
can Days.

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electoral votes outside of the South, except the three which Douglas gained. In every election from 1880 to 1892, both years included, the South cast a solid vote for the same party.

Subsidence of  
Sectional  
Politics.

There are evidences, however, that geographical politics has ended. Five of the ex-slave States—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia (in the Congressional election), Kentucky and Missouri—were carried by the Republicans in 1894 or 1895, and the conditions which brought a break in the line will be continuous. The break was caused by the division in the negro vote and the repeal of the Federal election laws.

The Negro  
Vote Divided.

For several years past Democrats as well as Republicans in some of the Southern States have been appealing for the support of the negroes, and in the State election in Louisiana in 1896 the Democratic candidate received most of his vote in the parishes in which the negroes are predominant, and his opponent's greatest strength was in the localities in which the whites are in the lead.

The Federal election laws, which were passed in the reconstruction period, which were divested of some of their harsher features a few years later, but which the Republicans unwisely attempted to strengthen subsequently, were repealed in 1894. With their removal and the split in the black vote, the dread of "negro domination" in the South ended, the pressure which kept that section "solid" disappeared, and it will henceforth divide on the vital issues of the time, like the remainder of the country.

The Republi-  
can Party  
Advances Into  
the South.

With the disappearance of the geographical line in politics the Republican party ceases to be a sectional organization, and becomes as national in its scope as it always was in its spirit and purpose. The old Mason and Dixon barrier has been removed, and the South, from which it was excluded from its foundation until recently, now becomes a great recruiting ground for the party. Undoubtedly the South and Southwest will be the field of some of the Republican party's grandest contests in the coming time.

Why the  
"Southern  
Question"  
Dropped out  
of Politics.

This is why none of the Republican Conventions in 1896, District, Territorial, State or National, said anything about the "Southern question." This is why the advantages of St. Louis, a city of what in the partisan classification of the time has been called a Southern State, as a meeting place for the Republican National Convention in 1896, prevailed with the Republican National Committee.\*

\*This was the committee of St. Louis gentlemen who presented before the Republican National Committee the city's advantages as a meeting place for the Republican National Convention of 1896: Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge, Richard C. Kerens, Chancey I. Filley, Edwin O. Stanard, Clark H. Sampson, Samuel M. Kennard, Daniel M. Houser, William H. Thompson, Nathan Frank, Frederick G. Niedringhaus, F. B. Brownell, H. C. Townsend, Joseph M. Hayes, William G. Boyd, Charles C. Rainwater, Frank Gaiennie, Charles M. Flach, Nathan Cole, William Warner (Kansas City), Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Hon. Charles F. Joy, and Hon. Seth Cobb. Clark H. Sampson was Chairman of the Delegation.





NATHAN FRANK



RICHARD BARTHOLDT



F.G. NIEDRINGHAUS



CHAS. F. JOY



F. B. BROWNELL



CHAUNCES I. FILLEY



H. C. TOWNSEND



CLARK SAMPSON

MAYOR

C. P. WALBRIDGE



THOS. BOOTH



W. H. THOMPSON



NATHAN COLE



E. O. STARNARD

88

NO. 111  
ANNALS  
OF THE  
BOSTON SOCIETY OF  
NATURAL HISTORY

## RECORD OF BALLOTS

IN

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

**T**HE first Republican National Convention held to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President met in Philadelphia June 17, 1856.

First Republican National Gathering.

There was a gathering of Republicans, which is sometimes called a National Convention, but which ought to be called a National Conference, in Pittsburg on February 22, 1856. This met in obedience to a call issued by the Chairman of the Republican State Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, "for the purpose of perfecting the national organization and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican party at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856."

At the Pittsburg gathering, in which there were representatives of the Republican party from almost all the free States and from some of the slave States, a National Committee was appointed, which body called a National Delegate Convention to meet in Philadelphia on June 17, to nominate a Presidential ticket.

The Pittsburg Conference of 1856.

Republican organizations had been formed in some of the Northern States in 1854, and in nearly all the rest of them in 1855. But from the Pittsburg Conference of February 22, 1856, the existence of the party as a national organization dates.

A National Organization Established.

At the Philadelphia Convention which was held June 17-19, 1856, all the free States, as well as Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky of the border slave region, were represented. Hon. Robert Emmet, of New York, was made Temporary President of the Convention, and Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, Permanent President.

Convention of 1856.

On an informal ballot this was the vote for candidate for President:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| John C. Fremont, of California . . . . .   | 359 |
| John McLean, of Ohio . . . . .             | 196 |
| Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts . . . . . | 2   |
| William H. Seward, of New York . . . . .   | 1   |

## BALLOTS IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

Fremont and  
Dayton.

Fremont was then unanimously nominated. An informal ballot was also had for Vice-President, with this result :

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| William L. Dayton, of New Jersey . . . . .     | 259 |
| Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . .         | 110 |
| Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts . . . . . | 46  |

Dayton then was unanimously nominated.

Convention  
of 1860.

The second Republican National Convention was held at Chicago May 16-18, 1860. It had representatives of the party from all the free States, and from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Texas of the slave section, as well as from the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and from the District of Columbia. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, whose historic slavery restriction proviso of 1846 became the basis of the creed of the Free Soil and Republican parties, was made Temporary Chairman, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, Permanent President. Here are the votes for candidates for President and Vice-President on the different ballots :

|  | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. | Third<br>Ballot. |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| William H. Seward, of New York . . . . .   | 173½             | 184½              | 180              |
| Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . .     | 102              | 181               | 231½             |
| Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania . . . . .   | 50½              | 2                 | . .              |
| Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio . . . . .         | 49               | 42½               | 24½              |
| Edward Bates, of Missouri . . . . .        | 48               | 35                | 22               |
| William L. Dayton, of New Jersey . . . . . | 14               | 10                | 1                |
| John McLean, of Ohio . . . . .             | 12               | 8                 | 5                |
| Jacob Collamer, of Vermont . . . . .       | 10               | . .               | . .              |
| Scattering . . . . .                       | 6                | 2                 | 1                |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .            | 233              | 233               | 233              |

As Lincoln came within one and-a-half votes of the nomination on the third ballot, four votes were immediately transferred to him from Ohio, and then a stampede toward him took place, which gave him 354 votes, or 111 less than the whole convention. The nomination was then made unanimous.

Lincoln and  
Hamlin.

Two ballots were had for Vice-President, with this result, Hamlin getting the candidacy on the second ballot :

|  | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. |
|--|------------------|-------------------|
| Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine . . . . .            | 194              | 367               |
| Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky . . . . .         | 101½             | 86                |
| John Hickman, of Pennsylvania . . . . .        | 58               | 13                |
| Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania . . . . .    | 51               | . .               |
| Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts . . . . . | 38½              | . .               |
| Scattering . . . . .                           | 15               | . .               |

Convention  
of 1864.

The third National Convention was held in Baltimore June 7-8, 1864. It was called a Union National Convention, and war Democrats as well as Republicans were represented in it. A large majority of the delegates, however, as well as of those for whom they spoke, were Repub-

## BALLOTS IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

licans. The call under which the convention met was addressed to all those who "desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war and all apt and efficient means."

As Temporary President, the Convention had Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, uncle of John C. Breckinridge, Vice-President of the United States from 1857 to 1861, and then an officer in the Confederate army, and father of William C. P. Breckinridge, also a Confederate officer and recently (1885-1895) a Representative in Congress from Kentucky. The Permanent President was ex-Governor William Denison, of Ohio. This was the vote on the only ballot had :

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . .  | 494 |
| Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois . . . . . | 22  |

The votes for Grant were those from Missouri, which were cast according to that State's instructions. Immediately after the ballot, however, they were transferred to Lincoln, whose nomination was made unanimous.

This was the vote for candidate for Vice-President :

Lincoln and  
Johnson.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee . . . . .     | 200 |
| Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine . . . . .        | 150 |
| Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York . . . . . | 108 |
| Scattering . . . . .                       | 61  |

Johnson's lead being apparent before the result of the vote was declared, changes of votes immediately began, and Johnson received 494, Dickinson 17, and Hamlin 9. Thus Johnson was put on the Lincoln ticket.

The fourth Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago May 20-21, 1868. Carl Schurz, of Missouri, was the Temporary Chairman, and Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, Permanent President. There was no contest for the Presidential candidacy. Ulysses S. Grant was nominated by a unanimous vote.

Convention  
of 1868.

For candidate for Vice-President this was the vote on the five ballots which were had, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, then Speaker of the House, being nominated :

Grant and  
Colfax.

|   | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. | Third<br>Ballot. | Fourth<br>Ballot. | Fifth<br>Ballot. |
|---|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio . . . . .         | 147              | 170               | 178              | 206               | 38               |
| Reuben E. Fenton, of New York . . . . .     | 126              | 144               | 139              | 144               | 69               |
| Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts . . . . .    | 119              | 114               | 101              | 87                | ..               |
| Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana . . . . .       | 115              | 145               | 165              | 186               | 541              |
| Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania . . . . . | 51               | 45                | 40               | ..                | ..               |
| Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine . . . . .         | 28               | 30                | 25               | 25                | ..               |
| James Speed, of Kentucky . . . . .          | 22               | ..                | ..               | ..                | ..               |
| Scattering . . . . .                        | 40               | ..                | ..               | ..                | ..               |

## BALLOTS IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

Convention  
of 1872.

Philadelphia was the meeting place of the fifth Republican National Convention, and June 5-6, 1872, was the date at which it was held. Morton McMichael, of Pennsylvania, was the Temporary Chairman, and Thomas Settle, of North Carolina, was Permanent President. President Grant was renominated by a unanimous vote.

Grant and  
Wilson.

The vote for candidate for the Vice-Presidency resulted thus, Wilson being chosen :

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts . . . . . | 399½ |
| Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana . . . . .    | 308½ |
| Horace Maynard, of Tennessee . . . . .   | 26   |
| E. J. Davis, of Texas . . . . .          | 16   |
| Scattering . . . . .                     | 2    |

Convention  
of 1876.

The sixth Republican National Convention was held in Cincinnati on June 14-16, 1876. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, was made Temporary Chairman, and Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, Permanent President. This was the vote for candidate for President, Rutherford B. Hayes being nominated on the seventh ballot :

|  | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. | Third<br>Ballot. | Fourth<br>Ballot. | Fifth<br>Ballot. | Sixth<br>Ballot. | Seventh<br>Ballot. |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| James G. Blaine, of Maine . . . . .          | 285              | 296               | 293              | 292               | 286              | 308              | 351                |
| Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana . . . . .       | 125              | 120               | 113              | 108               | 95               | 85               | ..                 |
| Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky . . . . .   | 113              | 114               | 121              | 126               | 114              | 111              | 21                 |
| Roscoe Conkling, of New York . . . . .       | 99               | 93                | 90               | 84                | 82               | 81               | ..                 |
| Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio . . . . .       | 61               | 64                | 67               | 68                | 104              | 113              | 384                |
| John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania . . . . . | 58               | 63                | 68               | 71                | 69               | 50               | ..                 |
| Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut . . . . .    | 11               | ..                | ..               | ..                | ..               | ..               | ..                 |
| Scattering . . . . .                         | 3                | 4                 | 3                | 5                 | 5                | 5                | ..                 |
| Whole number of delegates voting . . . . .   | 755              | 754               | 755              | 754               | 755              | 753              | 756                |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .              | 378              | 378               | 378              | 378               | 378              | 377              | 379                |

Hayes and  
Wheeler.

William A. Wheeler, of New York, Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, were proposed as the candidates for Vice-President. As the voting proceeded a Connecticut delegate made a motion that Wheeler's nomination be declared unanimous, which was carried.

Convention  
of 1880.

At Chicago on June 2-8, 1880, the seventh National Republican Convention assembled. Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, was the Temporary Chairman and Permanent President. More ballots were cast in that Convention than in any other national gathering of the Republican party ever thus far held, or thirty-six in all. Here is the vote on the first, thirtieth, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth ballots. The changes on the others were on the whole comparatively slight. Grant's highest vote, 313, is given in the table, and so is Sherman's, which was 120. Blaine's highest, 285, was on one of the omitted ballots. Garfield, who was nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot, received one vote on the second ballot, and received one or two votes on most of the ballots afterward until the thirty-fourth, when his votes jumped to seventeen.

## BALLOTS IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

|   | First<br>Ballot. | Thirtieth<br>Ballot. | Thirty-fourth<br>Ballot. | Thirty-fifth<br>Ballot. | Thirty-sixth<br>Ballot. |                        |
|---|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois . . . . .   | 304              | 306                  | 312                      | 313                     | 306                     | Thirty-six<br>Ballots. |
| James G. Blaine, of Maine . . . . .       | 284              | 279                  | 275                      | 257                     | 42                      |                        |
| John Sherman, of Ohio . . . . .           | 93               | 120                  | 107                      | 99                      | 3                       |                        |
| George F. Edmunds, of Vermont . . . . .   | 33               | 11                   | 11                       | 11                      | . .                     |                        |
| Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois . . . . . | 31               | 33                   | 30                       | 23                      | 5                       |                        |
| William Windom, of Minnesota . . . . .    | 10               | 4                    | 4                        | 3                       | . .                     |                        |
| James A. Garfield, of Ohio . . . . .      | . . . . .        | 2                    | 17                       | 50                      | 399                     |                        |
| Whole number of delegates . . . . .       | 755              | 755                  | 756                      | 756                     | 755                     |                        |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .           | 378              | 378                  | 379                      | 379                     | 378                     |                        |

This was the vote for candidate for Vice-President on the only ballot had, Arthur's nomination then being made unanimous: Garfield and Arthur.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Chester A. Arthur, of New York . . . . .   | 468 |
| Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois . . . . .  | 199 |
| Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut . . . . .  | 43  |
| Horace Maynard, of Tennessee . . . . .     | 30  |
| Edmund J. Davis, of Texas . . . . .        | 20  |
| Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi . . . . . | 8   |
| James L. Alcorn, of Mississippi . . . . .  | 4   |
| Thomas Settle, of Florida . . . . .        | 2   |
| Stewart L. Woodford, of New York . . . . . | 1   |

The eighth Republican National Convention was held at Chicago on June 3-6, 1884. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, was made Temporary Chairman, beating Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, in a contest for that post. Lynch's vote being 431 and Clayton's 387. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, became Permanent President. This was the vote for presidential candidate, on the four ballots which were taken, Blaine's nomination being made unanimous after receiving his majority on the fourth ballot: Convention of 1884

|  | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. | Third<br>Ballot. | Fourth<br>Ballot. |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| James G. Blaine, of Maine . . . . .        | 334½             | 349               | 375              | 541               |
| Chester A. Arthur, of New York . . . . .   | 278              | 276               | 274              | 207               |
| George F. Edmunds, of Vermont . . . . .    | 93               | 85                | 69               | 41                |
| John A. Logan, of Illinois . . . . .       | 63½              | 61                | 53               | 7                 |
| John Sherman, of Ohio . . . . .            | 30               | 28                | 25               | . .               |
| Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut . . . . . | 13               | 13                | 13               | 15                |
| Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . .   | 4                | 4                 | 8                | 2                 |
| William T. Sherman, of Missouri . . . . .  | 2                | 2                 | 2                | . .               |
| Whole number of delegates voting . . . . . | 818              | 818               | 819              | 813               |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .            | 410              | 410               | 410              | 407               |

This was the vote for a Vice-Presidential candidate: Blaine and Logan.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| John A. Logan, of Illinois . . . . .    | 779 |
| Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio . . . . .    | 1   |
| Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana . . . . . | 6   |

The ninth Republican National Convention was held in Chicago June 19-25, 1888, and had for Temporary Chairman John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, and for Permanent President M. M. Estee, of California. Here was the vote for candidate for President, Harrison getting the nomination on the eighth ballot: Convention of 1888.

BALLOTS IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

|   | First<br>Ballot. | Second<br>Ballot. | Third<br>Ballot. | Fourth<br>Ballot. | Fifth<br>Ballot. | Sixth<br>Ballot. | Seventh<br>Ballot. | Eighth<br>Ballot. |
|---|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| John Sherman, of Ohio . . . . .               | 229              | 249               | 244              | 235               | 224              | 244              | 231                | 118               |
| W. Q. Gresham, of Indiana . . . . .           | 111              | 108               | 123              | 98                | 87               | 91               | 91                 | 59                |
| Chauncey M. Depew, of<br>New York . . . . .   | 99               | 99                | 91               | . .               | . .              | . .              | . .                | . .               |
| Russell A. Alger, of Mich-<br>igan . . . . .  | 84               | 116               | 122              | 135               | 142              | 137              | 120                | 100               |
| Benjamin Harrison, of In-<br>diana . . . . .  | 80               | 91                | 94               | 217               | 213              | 231              | 278                | 544               |
| William B. Allison, of Iowa . . . . .         | 72               | 75                | 88               | 88                | 99               | 73               | 76                 | . .               |
| James G. Blaine, of Maine . . . . .           | 35               | 33                | 35               | 42                | 48               | 40               | 15                 | 5                 |
| John J. Ingalls, of Kansas . . . . .          | 28               | 16                | . .              | . .               | . .              | . .              | . .                | . .               |
| Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wis-<br>consin . . . . . | 25               | 20                | 16               | . .               | . .              | . .              | . .                | . .               |
| William W. Phelps, of New<br>Jersey . . . . . | 25               | 18                | 5                | . .               | . .              | . .              | . .                | . .               |
| E. H. Fidler, of Pennsyl-<br>vania . . . . .  | 24               | . .               | . .              | . .               | . .              | . .              | . .                | . .               |
| Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . .      | 3                | 2                 | 2                | 1                 | . .              | . .              | 2                  | . .               |
| William McKinley, Jr., of<br>Ohio . . . . .   | 2                | 3                 | 8                | 11                | 14               | 12               | 16                 | 4                 |
| Scattering . . . . .                          | . .              | . .               | 2                | 2                 | . .              | 2                | 2                  | . .               |
| Whole number of votes . . . . .               | 817              | 830               | 830              | 829               | 827              | 830              | 831                | 830               |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .               | 409              | 416               | 416              | 415               | 414              | 416              | 416                | 416               |

Harrison and  
Morton.

Here was the vote for the nominee for Vice-President:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Levi P. Morton, of New York . . . . .          | 519 |
| William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey . . . . . | 119 |
| William O. Bradley, of Kentucky . . . . .      | 103 |
| Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi . . . . .     | 11  |
| Walter F. Thomas, of Texas . . . . .           | 1   |

Convention  
of 1892.

At Minneapolis, on June 7-10, 1892, the tenth Republican National Convention assembled. J. Sloat Fasset, of New York, was the Temporary Chairman, and William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, was the Permanent President. This was the vote for candidate for President, Gen. Harrison being renominated on the first ballot:

Harrison and  
Reid.

|  |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|
| Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana . . . . .  | 535 | 1-6 |
| James G. Blaine, of Maine . . . . .      | 182 | 5-6 |
| William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio . . . . . | 182 |     |
| Thomas B. Reed, of Maine . . . . .       | 4   |     |
| Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois . . . . . | 1   |     |
| Whole number of votes . . . . .          | 905 |     |
| Necessary to a choice . . . . .          | 453 |     |

Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.







CONVENTION AUDITORIUM



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PROCEEDINGS

Republican National Convention

ST. LOUIS, JUNE 16—18, 1896.

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# PROCEEDINGS

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

St. Louis, June 16—18, 1896.

The eleventh National Convention of the Republican party was called to order at 12.20 P. M. by Senator Thomas H. Carter, of Montana, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, after which Rabbi Samuel Sale, of St. Louis, offered the following prayer:

The Convention Opens.

All Merciful and Most Gracious Father, Fountain of Light and Life, we seek thy presence and implore thy guidance in the toils and tasks of our earthly being. O, Thou who art enthroned in the soul of man and rulest in the destinies of nations, be nigh unto us now and show forth thy wondrous ways in this assembly of thy people. Harken unto thy servants, the bondmen of freedom, and pour out on them, who have come to do thy bidding in the service of truth and honor, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. Make righteousness the girdle of their loins and faithfulness the girdle of their hips, so that they may manfully discharge the sacred duties of their gathering, to further the well-being of the people, and to safeguard the honor and integrity of the nation.

Rabbi Sale's Prayer.

O, kindle anew in the hearts of our generation the altar flame of devotion to the high aims that inspired the minds of the founders of our republic, and, above all, illumined and immortalized the life of the Father of his Country. Fill us with a deep and abiding sense of the transcendent dignity and nobility of American citizenship and of the sacred obligations that should attend it, so that we may grow from day to day in the beauty of civic virtue, and our beloved land, from "hundred-harbored Maine" to the vine-clad hills of the Golden Gate, from the ice-bound North to the warm and sunny South, may go from strength to strength, until it achieves its destiny to become the fixed and shining mark for every bark bound for the haven of law and liberty.

Plea for a Sense of the Dignity of American Citizenship.

Let not the glory of our past be greater than the present, nor let us come to shame and grief by the worship of gods of gold and silver to the neglect of those ideals of the mind and soul which alone are worthy of a free man's homage and alone can secure the continued possession and enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Remove from around us the

Warning Against "Worship of Gods of Gold and Silver."

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

din and noise of insincerity and hollow-sounding shows, let bitter strife and wrangling cease, and, firmly bound in the love of our common country, let us realize how good and lovely it is for brethren to dwell together in harmony.

Prosper Thou the work of this council, convened in the cause of the people, and when its message goes forth over the land may its golden ring bring to them the glad assurance that prosperity will brighten our homes, and the immediate jewel of our soul, the good name of our people and the credit of our government, shall remain untarnished forever

May thy grace, O God, come upon us, and do thou establish the work of our hands. Amen.

The Call Read.

At the conclusion of the invocation Secretary Joseph H. Manley, of the National Committee, read the call in pursuance of which the Convention met.

Temporary Chairman Appointed.

Then by direction of the National Committee Chairman Carter proposed, for the Convention's approval, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Temporary Chairman. The selection was indorsed by the Convention, and Mr. Fairbanks addressed that body as follows:

### TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN FAIRBANKS' ADDRESS.

The Convention's Duties and Responsibilities.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I am profoundly grateful for this expression of your generous confidence. As citizens we were never called upon to discharge a more important duty than that which rests upon us—the nomination of a President and Vice-President of the United States. This duty is a peculiarly impressive one at the moment, for it is already written in the Book of Fate that the choice of this Convention will be the next President and Vice-President of this great Republic.

Disaster from Democratic Rule.

Three years of Democratic administration have been three years of panic, of wasted energy, of anxiety and loss to the American people, without a parallel in our history. To-day the people turn to the Republican party hopefully, confidently; and it is for us to meet their expectations; it is for us to give them those candidates upon whom their hearts have centered, and to give them clear, straightforward, emphatic expression of our political faith. The Republican party is a party of convictions; and it has written its convictions in the history of the Republic with the pen and the sword; with it the supreme question always has been not what is merely "politics," but what is everlastingly "right." The great men we have given to the Nation and to history, the mighty dead and the illustrious living, are our inspiration and tower of strength. If we are but true to their exalted example, we cannot be false to our countrymen.

A Third of a Century of Republican Sway.

For a third of a century prior to the advent of the present Democratic Administration, we operated under laws enacted by the Republican

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

party. All great measures concerning the tariff and the currency originated with it. Tariff laws were formed upon lines which protected our laborers and producers from unequal and unjust foreign competition, and upon the theory that the best market in the world is the home market and that it should be enjoyed by our own countrymen.

Under the currency laws our currency was made national. The wild-cat State bank money of the Democratic party was wiped out of existence. The unprecedented demands growing out of the war were met by a paper currency which ultimately became as good as gold. Since the resumption of specie payment in 1879 every dollar of our money, paper, silver and gold, has been of equal purchasing power the world over. The policy of the party has been to make and keep our currency equal to the best in the world.

Republican  
Financial Man-  
agement.

Under the operation of these honest tariff and honest money Republican laws the country grew in wealth and power beyond precedent. We easily outstripped all other Powers in the commercial race. On November 8, 1892, there was work for every hand and bread for every mouth. We reached high-water mark. Labor received higher wages than ever, and capital was profitably and securely employed. The national revenues were sufficient to meet our obligations and leave a surplus in the Treasury. Foreign and domestic trade were greater in volume and value than they had ever been. Foreign balances were largely in our favor. European gold was flowing toward us. But all of this is changed. The cause is not hard to seek. A reaction began when it was known that the legislative and executive branches of the Government were to be Democratic.

Prosperity Un-  
der Republican  
Rule.

The Democratic party had at Chicago condemned the protective tariff principle as unconstitutional, and solemnly pledged itself to the overthrow and destruction of the McKinley law and to the adoption of free trade as the policy of the United States. This bold, aggressive attack upon the long settled policy of the Republican party bore its natural fruit in shaken confidence and unsettled business, and we were soon drifting against the rock of destruction.

Democratic  
Attacks on the  
Tariff.

Before the work of demolition was actually begun a run was started upon the Treasury reserve which the Republican party had wisely accumulated for the protection of the Government credit. The drain upon the reserve for the redemption of greenbacks and Treasury notes greatly surpassed all prior experience and emphasized the discredit into which the Democratic Administration had fallen. An utter want of confidence in the Administration possessed the people.

"Runs" on  
the Treasury  
Reserve.

The Democratic party was harmonious upon one subject, and that was the destruction of the McKinley law. But when they came to the exercise of the creative faculty, the enactment of a great revenue measure in its stead, there was discord. The imperiled interests of the country watched and waited through long and anxious months for some settlement of the important question. They wanted an end of uncertainty.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The Wilson-Gorman Law of "Perfidy and Dishonor."

At length the Wilson bill was adopted, and it was characterized by a Democratic President as the child of "perfidy and dishonor." It was so bad that he would not contaminate his hand by signing it. A bill that is too base for Mr. Cleveland to approve is too base for the approval of the American people.

This important law was wanting in the primary purpose of a revenue measure, for it failed to provide adequate revenue to meet the requirements of the Government. The deficiency thus far amounts to some \$150,000,000. The end is not yet, for the deficiency grows day by day. This leaves the Treasury and the public credit in constant peril. Our foreign credit is impaired and domestic capital feels insecure. The sectional favoritism of the Wilson law was one of its marked features. Its blow at sheep husbandry was an unpardonable offense. It was a flagrant wrong to the farmers of the United States. This great industry had developed and grown under Republican protective laws until it was one of our greatest. We are now sending abroad millions of dollars for wool which were paid to our farmers under the McKinley law.

Reciprocity Struck Down.

The bill struck down reciprocity, one of the highest achievements of American Statesmanship. No measure was ever enacted which more directly advanced the interests of the American farmers and manufacturers than reciprocity. With its destruction fell advantageous commercial agreements, under which their products were surely finding larger and profitable foreign markets, and without the surrender of their own.

The Treasury Defrauded.

The substitution of ad valorem for specific duties has opened the way for systematic wholesale frauds upon the Treasury and producers and employes of the country. By means of undervaluations, foreign goods pass through the custom houses without paying their just tribute to the Treasury of the United States. Thus we have lost millions of dollars in revenue, and the foreign producers have been enabled to unfairly possess our home markets.

Neither time nor place will permit further reference to the unfortunate revenue legislation of the Democratic party, nor to the hurtful, demoralizing effect of it. Suffice it to say that it has been the great and original factor in breaking down confidence, progress, emptying the Treasury, causing continued deficits and enforced idleness among millions of willing workers.

Democratic Debt-Making in Times of Peace.

To meet the monthly deficits and protect our credit and save the Government from protest the President has been forced to sell bonds; in other words, he has been obliged to mortgage the future in a time of peace to meet the current obligations of the Government.

This is in sharp contrast with the Republican record. Our tariff laws not only raised revenue, but they protected our domestic industries; they impartially protected the farmer and manufacturer, both North and South. Not only that, but they also raised sufficient revenue to gradually reduce the public debt, and without imposing a grievous



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REPRESENTATIVE GALUSHA A. GROW, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

burden upon the people. During the administration of Harrison \$236,000,000 of obligations were paid, while Cleveland, during the last three years, has added to our interest-bearing debt \$262,000,000. Against such Democratic financiering the Republican party enters its emphatic protest.

Republican  
Debt-Paying.

Having attempted to reverse the tariff policy of the United States with such lamentable results, the Democratic party now proposes to reverse the currency policy.

It turns to the currency as the parent of our ill. Its effort to shift the responsibility will deceive no one. Its attack upon the tariff, its record of inefficiency and insincerity, is a part of the unfortunate history of the Republic.

Democratic  
Assault on the  
Currency.

The present currency system is the fruit of Republican wisdom. It has been adequate to all our past necessities, and, if uncorrupted, will meet our future requirements. Our greatest prosperity was attained when Republican currency laws were in full operation. When the Republican party was in power, our currency was good; it was made as good as the best on the globe. We made sound money; and we also made an honest protective tariff to go with it. Sound money and an honest protective tariff, hand in hand, together; not one before the other.

The very foundation of the sound currency system is a solvent Treasury. If the people doubt the integrity of the Treasury, they will question the soundness of the currency. Recognizing this fundamental fact, the Republican party always provided ample revenue for the Treasury.

When in the last half century of our history did the Democratic party advocate a financial policy that was in the best interests of the American people? Look at its ante-bellum currency record. Consider its hostility to the currency rendered necessary by the exigency of war; and, later, its effort to inflate the currency in a time of peace by the issue of greenbacks. Witness its opposition to the efforts of the Republican party to resume specie payments. But four short years ago it declared for a return to the old discredited State bank currency.

Bad Financial  
Record of the  
Democracy.

The Republican party has not been unfriendly to the proper use of silver. It has always favored and favors to-day the use of silver as a part of our circulating medium, but it favors that use under such provisions and safeguards as shall not imperil our present national standard. The policy of the Republican party is to retain both gold and silver as a part of our circulating medium, while the policy of free coinage of silver leads to certain silver monometallism. It is an immutable law that two moneys of unequal value will not circulate together, and that the poorer always drives out the better.

The Republi-  
can Party and  
Silver.

The Republican party, desiring fairly to secure a larger use of silver, pledged itself in favor of an international agreement. Harrison, true to the pledge of the party, took the initiatory steps and invited an

Republican  
and  
Democratic  
Record on the  
Question of  
International  
Bimetallism.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

international monetary conference at Brussels, at which the subject of an international coinage agreement was ably and profitably discussed.

The Democratic party was also committed to international bimetallicism, but when it came into power the work which had been so auspiciously begun by the Republican party was abandoned. It was so absorbed in its efforts to break down the McKinley law and empty the Treasury that it had no time to promote international bimetallicism.

Those who profess to believe that this Government can, independently of the other great commercial Powers, open its mints to the free and independent coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, when the commercial ratio in all the great markets is 30 to 1, and at the same time not drive every dollar of gold out of circulation, but deceive themselves.

Peril of Independent Free Coinage of Silver.

Great and splendid and powerful as our Government is, it can not accomplish the impossible. It can not create value. It has not the alchemist's subtle art of transmuting unlimited silver into gold, nor can it, by omnipotent fiat, make 50 cents worth 100 cents. As well undertake by a resolution of Congress to suspend the law of gravitation as attempt to compel an unlimited number of 50-cent dollars to circulate with 100-cent dollars at a parity with each other. An attempt to compel unlimited dollars of such unequal value to circulate at a parity is bad in morals and vicious in policy. Sound thinkers upon the great question of the currency know from the beginning of the experiment how miserably and certainly it would fail. The commerce of the country would be again thrown upon the sea of uncertainty, and the specter of want would continue to haunt us for years to come.

It Would Drive out \$620,000,000 Gold.

Upon opening our mints to the independent free coinage of silver, foreign credits would be withdrawn and domestic credits would be greatly curtailed. More than this, there would be a certain and sudden contraction of our currency by the expulsion of \$620,000,000 of gold, and our paper and silver currency would instantly and greatly depreciate in purchasing power. But one result would follow this. Enterprise would be further embarrassed, business demoralization would be increased, and still further and serious injury would be inflicted upon the laborers, the farmers, the merchants, and all those whose welfare depends upon a wholesome commerce.

And Would Defraud Labor.

A change from the present standard to the low silver standard would cut down the recompense of labor, reduce the value of the savings in savings banks and building and loan associations, salaries and incomes would shrink, pensions would be cut in two, the beneficiaries of life insurance would suffer; in short, the injury would be so universal and far-reaching that a radical change can be contemplated only with the gravest apprehension.

The Great Nations all on the Gold Basis.

A sound currency is one of the essential instruments in developing our commerce. It is the purpose of the Republican party not only to develop our domestic trade, but to extend our commerce into the uttermost parts of the earth. We should not begin our contest for commercial supremacy



*J. C. Burrows*  
*U.S.S.*

SENATOR JULIUS C. BURROWS, OF MICHIGAN.

2000

2000

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

by destroying our currency standard. All the leading Powers with which we must compete, suspended the free coinage of silver when the increased production of silver forced the commercial ratio of silver above the coinage ratio to gold. Shall we ignore their ripened experience? Shall we attempt what they have found utterly impossible? Shall it be said that our standard is below theirs?

You can not build prosperity upon a debased or fluctuating currency; as well undertake to build upon the changing sands of the sea.

A sound currency defrauds no one. It is good alike in the hands of the employe and the employer, the laborer and the capitalist. Upon faith in its worth, its stability, we go forward, planning for the future. The capitalist erects his factories, acquires his materials, employs his artisans, mechanics and laborers. He is confident that his margin will not be swept away by fluctuations in the currency. The laborer knows that the money earned by his toil is as honest as his labor, and that it is of unquestioned purchasing power. He likewise knows that it requires as much labor to earn a poor dollar as a good one; and he also knows that if poor money is abroad, it surely finds its way into his pocket.

Advantages of  
a Sound Cur-  
rency.

We protest against lowering our standard of commercial honor. We stand against the Democratic attempt to degrade our currency to the low level of Mexico, China, India and Japan. The present high-standard of our currency, our honor, and our flag will be sacredly protected and preserved by the Republican party.

The Standard  
of Commercial  
Honor Must  
not be Lowered

There are many and important questions requiring the enlightened and patriotic judgment of the Republican Party. A pan-American commercial alliance was conceived by James G. Blaine, and the highest motives of self-interest require us to accomplish what he had so well begun.

The Monroe doctrine must be firmly upheld, and the powers of the earth made to respect this great but unwritten law. There can be no further territorial aggrandizement by foreign governments on the Western Continent.

Great Questions  
of Repub-  
lican Policy.

Our devotion to the pensioners of the nation was never more emphatic nor more necessary than now.

The Republican party believes in the development of our navy and merchant marine until we establish our undisputed supremacy on the high seas.

The struggle for Cuban liberty enlists the ardent sympathy of the Republican party—a party which has given to liberty its fullest meaning on this continent. We wish to see a new republic born on Cuban soil greet the new century whose dawn is already purpling the east.

My friends, the campaign of 1896 is upon us. The great questions for debate in the august forum of the United States are free trade and free silver against a protective tariff and sound money. As we regard our homes and our honor, our happiness and prosperity, and the future power and majesty of the republic, let us dedicate ourselves to the resto-

Issues of the  
Campaign of  
1896.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ration of a protective tariff which shall be genuinely American, and to the maintenance of an honest standard of value with which to measure the exchanges of the people.

A distinguished Republican has said that the supreme desire of the American people is for an "honest currency and a chance to earn it by honest toil."

Mr. Carter, of Montana, then addressed Temporary Chairman Fairbanks thus:

Temporary  
Officers of the  
Convention.

Mr. Chairman, by direction of the National Committee I recommend to the Convention the temporary Secretary, Stenographer, Sergeant-at-Arms, Reading Clerks, as follows:

### SECRETARY:

CHARLES W. JOHNSON, of Minnesota.

### ASSISTANT SECRETARIES:

WILLIAM R. RILEY, of Kentucky.                      A. B. HUMPHREY, at large.

HARRY A. SMITH, of Michigan.

A. W. MONROE, of Maryland, as Tally Clerk.

### OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER:

JAMES FRANCIS BURKE, of Pennsylvania.

### SERGEANT-AT-ARMS:

T. E. BYRNES, of Minnesota.

### ASSISTANTS:

G. W. WISWELL, of Wisconsin.                      W. P. HUXFORD, of Washington.

W. W. JOHNSON, of Maryland.                      CHAS. E. STONE, of Illinois.

### READING CLERKS:

J. H. STONE, of Michigan.                      JOHN R. MALLOY, of Ohio.

F. H. WILSON, of Missouri.                      R. S. HATCH, of Indiana.

J. B. BEAN, of New Jersey.

These names are suggested subject to the approval of the Convention for the respective offices indicated.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Convention, you have heard the recommendation of the National Committee; all in favor of approving the recommendation will signify the same by saying aye. The motion prevailed.

On motion of William Lamb, one of Virginia's Delegates, the Convention decided to be governed by the rules of the National Convention of 1892, until a permanent organization was effected.

The Commit-  
tees Formed.

Also on motion of Mr. Lamb, the roll of States and Territories was called, and the Chairman of each State Delegation announced the names of the persons selected by each as members of these four Committees: Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, Credentials, and Resolutions:



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

These were the members selected to compose the Committees :

ALABAMA—J. Dawson.  
 ALASKA—J. W. Young.  
 ARIZONA—Isaac C. Stoddart.  
 ARKANSAS—R. L. Reimel.  
 COLORADO—J. W. Rockefeller.  
 CALIFORNIA—O. A. Hale.  
 CONNECTICUT—James M. Cheney.  
 DELAWARE—(Contest pending.)  
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Perry H. Carson.  
 FLORIDA—E. F. Skinner.  
 GEORGIA—B. F. Brownberry.  
 IDAHO—Alex. Robertson.  
 ILLINOIS—J. O. Humphrey.  
 INDIANA—O. L. Montgomery.  
 INDIAN TERRITORY—R. E. Ross.  
 IOWA—E. C. Roach.  
 KANSAS—Grant Hornady.  
 KENTUCKY—L. C. Neat.  
 LOUISIANA—J. L. Donnelley.  
 MAINE—M. M. Nash.  
 MARYLAND—W. J. Smale.  
 MASSACHUSETTS—R. O. Harris.  
 MICHIGAN—Frank W. Wait.  
 MINNESOTA—L. S. Swenson.  
 MISSISSIPPI—Wesley Creighton.

MISSOURI—Samuel Jordan.  
 MONTANA—J. W. Strevels.  
 NEBRASKA—George H. Thummell.  
 NEVADA—C. H. Sproule.  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE—J. H. Brewer.  
 NEW YORK—W. L. Preston.  
 NEW JERSEY—Thomas McEwan.  
 NEW MEXICO—John S. Clark.  
 NORTH CAROLINA—W. T. O'Brien.  
 NORTH DAKOTA—O. S. Hanson.  
 OHIO—C. H. Grosvenor.  
 OKLAHOMA TERRITORY—J. C. Roberts.  
 OREGON—J. W. Meldrum.  
 PENNSYLVANIA—Charles H. Mullen.  
 RHODE ISLAND—Col. E. Charles Francis.  
 SOUTH CAROLINA—T. B. Johnson.  
 SOUTH DAKOTA—H. T. McChun.  
 TENNESSEE—W. M. Randolph.  
 TEXAS—H. L. Grace.  
 UTAH—Arthur Bruus.  
 VERMONT—Victor P. Spear.  
 VIRGINIA—Stith Bowlin.  
 WASHINGTON—R. A. Fairchilds.  
 WEST VIRGINIA—Henry Schmulbach.  
 WISCONSIN—W. D. Hoard.  
 WYOMING—Otto Gramm.

Committee  
 on Permanent  
 Organization.

ALABAMA—H. A. Carson.  
 ALASKA—W. A. Kelly.  
 ARIZONA—Charles H. Akers.  
 ARKANSAS—W. H. H. Clayton.  
 COLORADO—James M. Downey.  
 CALIFORNIA—F. B. Short.  
 CONNECTICUT—John M. Douglas.  
 DELAWARE—(Contest pending).  
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Andrew Gleason.  
 FLORIDA—J. N. Combs.  
 GEORGIA—E. S. Richardson.  
 IDAHO—Benjamin E. Rich.  
 ILLINOIS—Samuel McKnight.  
 INDIANA—G. L. Van Dusen.  
 INDIAN TERRITORY—W. T. Morgan.  
 IOWA—H. W. Macomber.  
 KANSAS—T. D. Fitzpatrick.  
 KENTUCKY—J. L. Butler.  
 LOUISIANA—Mayor Colien.  
 MAINE—J. T. Davidson.  
 MARYLAND—W. D. Straight.  
 MASSACHUSETTS—W. M. Butler.  
 MICHIGAN—John P. Starkweather.  
 MINNESOTA—C. L. Sanderson.  
 MISSISSIPPI—W. E. Elgin.

MISSOURI—Nathan Frank.  
 MONTANA—T. C. Marshall.  
 NEBRASKA—F. M. Witherall.  
 NEVADA—G. F. Turrittin.  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE—Charles T. Neans.  
 NEW YORK—John A. Raines.  
 NEW JERSEY—George Hyers.  
 NEW MEXICO—T. D. Burns.  
 NORTH CAROLINA—George H. White.  
 NORTH DAKOTA—J. W. Devine.  
 OHIO—George W. Wilson.  
 OKLAHOMA TERRITORY—Charles Day.  
 OREGON—Chas. H. Dodd.  
 PENNSYLVANIA—H. H. Bingham.  
 RHODE ISLAND—Albert C. Chester.  
 SOUTH CAROLINA—Robert Moorman.  
 SOUTH DAKOTA—Carl G. Sherwood.  
 TEXAS—J. M. McCormick.  
 TENNESSEE—G. T. Shannon.  
 UTAH—Thomas Kearns.  
 VERMONT—Orin M. Barber.  
 VIRGINIA—William Lamb.  
 WASHINGTON—L. C. Carner.  
 WEST VIRGINIA—J. L. Hunt.  
 WISCONSIN—C. S. Taylor.  
 WYOMING—W. F. Brittain.

Committee on  
 Rules and Or-  
 der of Business

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Committee on  
Credentials.

ALABAMA—N. H. Alexander.  
ALASKA—C. S. Brenakett.  
ARIZONA—Charles W. Wright.  
ARKANSAS—Jacob Trieber.  
COLORADO—Frank C. Goudy.  
CALIFORNIA—George A. Knight.  
CONNECTICUT—Hubert Williams.  
DELAWARE—(Contest pending).  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Perry H. Car-  
son.  
FLORIDA—John G. Long.  
GEORGIA—T. M. Dent.  
IDAHO—Lyttleton Price.  
ILLINOIS—W. A. Rosenberg.  
INDIANA—A. L. Brick.  
INDIAN TERRITORY—P. L. Soper.  
IOWA—W. P. Hepburn.  
KANSAS—J. F. Lambert.  
KENTUCKY—J. H. Haffey.  
LOUISIANA—Henry Demas.  
MAINE—Forest Goodwin.  
MARYLAND—Robert P. Gardner.  
MASSACHUSETTS—Jesse M. Gove.  
MICHIGAN—Gen. O. L. Spaulding.  
MINNESOTA—W. P. Hunt.  
MISSISSIPPI—A. M. Lee.

MISSOURI—John L. Bittinger.  
MONTANA—Alexander Matzell.  
NEBRASKA—Gen. John C. Cowen.  
NEVADA—W. D. Phillips.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Charles B. Gaffney.  
NEW YORK—W. A. Sutherland.  
NEW JERSEY—J. Franklin Fort.  
NEW MEXICO—W. H. H. Llewellyn.  
NORTH CAROLINA—C. J. Harris.  
NORTH DAKOTA—George Bingenheimer.  
OHIO—A. C. Thompson.  
OKLAHOMA TERRITORY—O. A. Mitcher.  
OREGON—Wallace McComant.  
PENNSYLVANIA—W. H. Andrews.  
RHODE ISLAND—W. K. Allen.  
SOUTH CAROLINA—J. H. Fordham.  
SOUTH DAKOTA—M. K. Lucas.  
TEXAS—Vacant.  
TENNESSEE—Vacant.  
UTAH—C. K. Allen.  
VIRGINIA—J. M. McLaughlin.  
VERMONT—Vacant.  
WASHINGTON—J. M. Gilbert.  
WEST VIRGINIA—O. W. O. Hardman.  
WISCONSIN—G. G. Sedgwick.  
WYOMING—B. B. Brooks.

Committee on  
Resolutions.

ALABAMA—H. V. Coshin.  
ALASKA—C. S. Johnson.  
ARIZONA—J. A. Zabriniski.  
ARKANSAS—John McClure.  
COLORADO—H. M. Teller.  
CALIFORNIA—A. B. Lemmon.  
CONNECTICUT—Samuel Fessenden.  
DELAWARE—(Contest pending).  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Andrew  
Gleason.  
FLORIDA—I. L. Purcell.  
GEORGIA—W. H. Johnson.  
IDAHO—F. T. Dubois.  
ILLINOIS—R. W. Patterson.  
INDIANA—Lew Wallace.  
INDIAN TERRITORY—J. P. Grady.  
IOWA—John H. Gear.  
KANSAS—C. A. Swenson.  
KENTUCKY—Leslie Combs.  
LOUISIANA—H. C. Warmouth.  
MAINE—Amos L. Allen.  
MARYLAND—James A. Gary.  
MASSACHUSETTS—Henry Cabot Lodge.  
MICHIGAN—Mark S. Brewer.  
MINNESOTA—W. R. Merriam.  
MISSISSIPPI—E. W. Lampton.

MISSOURI—F. G. Niedringhaus.  
MONTANA—Charles S. Hartman.  
NEBRASKA—Peter Jansen.  
NEVADA—A. C. Cleveland.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Frank S. Streeth.  
NEW YORK—Edward Lauterbach.  
NEW JERSEY—Frank Bergen.  
NEW MEXICO—Solomon Luna.  
NORTH CAROLINA—M. L. Mott.  
NORTH DAKOTA—Alexander Hughes.  
OHIO—J. B. Foraker.  
OKLAHOMA TERRITORY—Henry E. Asp.  
OREGON—Charles S. Moore.  
PENNSYLVANIA—Smedley Darlington.  
RHODE ISLAND—Walton A. Reed.  
SOUTH CAROLINA—W. D. Crum.  
SOUTH DAKOTA—David Williams.  
TEXAS—Webster Flanagan.  
TENNESSEE—Foster B. Brown.  
UTAH—F. J. Cannon.  
VIRGINIA—James B. Brady.  
VERMONT—H. D. Holton.  
WASHINGTON—R. F. Burleigh.  
WEST VIRGINIA—F. M. Reynolds.  
WISCONSIN—Robert M. Lafollette.  
WYOMING—D. F. Fowler.

At 1:55 p. m. the Convention adjourned till 10 o'clock  
A. M. Wednesday the 17th.



## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention was called to order on Wednesday at 10.40 A. M. by Temporary Chairman Fairbanks, after which Dr. Wilbur G. Williams, of the Union M. E. Church, St. Louis, made the following prayer :

O, thou great and eternal one; thou to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; thou who hast been our help in days past, who must be our helper to-day, and who art our hope for the years to come; we bring to thee our prayers.

Invocation to  
the God of  
Washington  
and Lincoln.

We pray thee to be with us as thou wert with our fathers when in the day of small things they stood resolutely in the land and laid the foundations in this Western continent of civil and religious liberty. We pray to thee, who hast guided us, the people, in our peril. We pray to the God of Washington and of Lincoln; we pray to the God who has been with us as an agent from Plymouth Rock to this hour. We pray to-day, as thou wast with the founders of this great historic organization, when in high dedication of themselves they took a larger conception and a higher conception of the rights of man to find a larger nation for civilization in this Western world—we come to thee, O God, asking thy blessing upon these successors of the noble fathers, who are assembled here to-day. We ask that they may maintain the same high idea of their duties that guided their worthy and noble ancestry. May these men be dedicated to thee. May they do what they have to do in accordance with the will of the Supreme Ruler. We pray that the platform presented here may be framed in righteousness; that the principles promulgated in this council may be consonant with the principles of the great divine will revealed to man.

We ask thee, O God, that thy blessing shall rest upon the people of this great Nation represented here to-day. We ask thee, O God, that the men whom this council shall place before the people of this great Nation to represent their thought and their programme may be men after thine own heart, to whom the high behest of duty shall be but the voice of God; men whom thou dost approve and who shall seek here in this country the establishment of that kingdom which, coming down out of

Blessing on  
the People  
Asked.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

heaven, is to be builded until it shall include all nations and all institutions on this earth.

Appeal for  
Guidance for  
the Republican  
Party.

We ask thee to guide in the deliberations of this day, and of this entire Convention, and so guide in the future of this historic organization that this country of ours, over which once brooded war's dark cloud, which was once endangered by belligerent factions, and which now, thanks be unto thy good Providence, has become united, purified by her trials, stronger by the struggles she has endured, shall forevermore be the fit champion of mankind in the earth, and the leader of the world in the works of man. And all this we ask, in the name and for the name of the world's Redeemer and Savior, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

After the prayer the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was presented. The Committee selected the following as permanent officers of the Convention, subject to the ratification of that body.

### PRESIDENT:

JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS:

JOHN W. JONES, of Alabama.

M. W. GIBBS, of Arkansas.

U. S. GRANT, of California.

A. M. STEVENSON, of Colorado.

JOHN J. HUTCHINSON, of Kentucky.

LEMUEL W. LIVINGSTONE, of Colorado.

A. J. RICKER, of Georgia.

B. F. POLK, of Indiana.

M. M. MONROE, of Kansas.

E. C. BURLEIGH, of Maine.

CURTIS GUILD, JR., of Massachusetts.

CHAS. F. HENDRIX, of Minnesota.

THOMAS C. MARSHALL, of Nevada.

FRANKLIN MURPHY, of New Jersey.

J. W. FORTUNE, of North Carolina.

FRANK REEDER, of Pennsylvania.

ROBERT SMALLS, of South Carolina.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, of Tennessee.

W. S. McCORMICK, of Utah.

JOHN ANKER, of Virginia.

J. W. CRAWFORD, of West Virginia.

OTTO KRAMER, of Wyoming.

T. B. BURNS, of New Mexico.

JOSEPH W. PIFER, of Illinois.

L. B. WILSON, of Iowa.

W. G. HUNTER, of Kentucky.

WILLIAM P. MALSTER, of Maryland.

WILLIAM MCPHERSON, of Wisconsin.

NATHAN FRANK, of Missouri.

THOMAS P. KENNARD, of Nebraska.

JOHN A. SPAULDING, of New Hampshire.

JOHN T. MOTT, of New York.

J. W. DEVINE, of North Dakota.

DAVID MEISNER, of South Dakota.

E. C. SMITH, of Vermont.

ALBERT GOLDMAN, of Washington.

JAMES H. STOUT, of Wisconsin.

JOHN M. Fair, of Arizona.

JOHN I. DILLE, of Oklahoma.

### SECRETARY:

CHAS. W. JOHNSON, of Minnesota.

### ASSISTANT SECRETARIES:

W. R. RILEY, of Kentucky.

H. A. SMITH, of Michigan.

A. W. MONROE, of Maryland.

A. B. HUMPHREY, of New York.

### OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER:

JAMES FRANCIS BURKE, of Pennsylvania.

The Con-  
vention's Perma-  
nent Officers.

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

## SERGEANT-AT-ARMS:

T. E. BYRNES, of Minnesota.

## ASSISTANTS:

GEORGE W. WISWELL, of Wisconsin.      W. P. HUXFORD, of Washington.  
W. W. JOHNSON, of Maryland.      CHAS. E. STONE, of Illinois.  
GEORGE F. SMITH, of Oklahoma.

## READING CLERKS:

J. H. STONE, of Michigan.      JOHN R. MALLOY, of Ohio.  
F. H. WILSON, of Missouri.      R. S. HATCH, of Indiana.  
JOHN B. BEAN, of New Jersey.

The report was accepted.

The permanent presiding officer then came forward and spoke as follows:

### PERMANENT PRESIDENT THURSTON'S ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The happy memory of your kindness and confidence will abide in my grateful heart forever. My sole ambition is to meet your expectations, and I pledge myself to exercise the important power of this high office with absolute justice and impartiality. I bespeak your cordial co-operation and support, to the end that our proceedings may be orderly and dignified, as befits the deliberations of the supreme council of the Republican party.

Eight years ago I had the distinguished honor to preside over the Convention which nominated the last Republican President of the United States. To-day I have the further distinguished honor to preside over the Convention which is to nominate the next President of the United States. This generation has had its object lesson, and the doom of the Democratic party is already pronounced. The American people will return the Republican party to power because they know that its administration will mean:

An Appeal for  
the Co-operation  
of the  
Convention.

The supremacy of the Constitution of the United States.

The maintenance of law and order.

The protection of every American citizen in his right to live, to labor and to vote.

A vigorous foreign policy.

The enforcement of the Monroe doctrine.

The restoration of our merchant marine.

Safety under the stars and stripes on every sea, in every port.

A revenue adequate for all governmental expenditures and the gradual extinguishment of the national debt.

A currency as "sound as the Government and as untarnished as its honor," whose dollars, whether of gold or silver, or paper, shall have

What Republi-  
can Adminis-  
tration will  
Mean.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

equal purchasing and debt-paying power with the best dollars of the civilized world.

A protective tariff which protects, coupled with reciprocity which reciprocates, thereby securing the best market for American products and opening American factories to the free coinage of American muscle.

Measures of  
Republican  
Policy.

A pension policy just and generous to our living heroes and to the widows and orphans of their dead comrades.

The governmental supervision and control of transportation lines and rates.

The protection of the public from all unlawful combinations and unjust exaction of aggregated capital and corporated power.

An American welcome to every God-fearing, liberty-loving, Constitution-respecting, law-abiding, labor-seeking, decent man.

The exclusion of all whose birth, whose blood, whose condition, whose teaching, whose practices menace the permanency of free institutions, endanger the safety of American society, or lessen the opportunities of American labor.

The abolition of sectionalism—every star in the American flag shining for the honor and welfare and happiness of every commonwealth and of all the people.

A deathless loyalty to all that is truly American, and a patriotism as eternal as the stars.

At the conclusion of President Thurston's address an adjournment was had until 2 o'clock P. M.

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## AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 2:40 P. M. President Thurston called the Convention to order, and Bishop Arnett, President of Wilberforce College, Ohio, made the following prayer:

Thanks for  
Divine Favors.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, the Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things visible and invisible, the Judge of all men, we come before thee this afternoon to thank thee for life and health and the blessings of liberty which have been secured to us by our fathers in the days that are gone.

We invoke thy divine blessing upon our land and upon our country. We thank thee for the institutions of our country. We thank thee for the opportunities that thou hast given to thy children of every race and condition in this land, that they may enjoy the blessings of life, liberty



SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

TO VINDI  
ADPSONLLA



## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

and the pursuit of happiness. Accept our thanks, we pray thee, for this organization that has assembled here to-day, representing the culture, wealth and refinement of more than forty centuries of intellectual effort. We thank thee, O Lord, for the blessings that we enjoy, and we ask thy special favor upon those engaged in this work, and bless them as thou didst their fathers and those that preceded them. We thank thee for this organization, and we thank thee for the men of the past, and for the men of the present. We thank thee that thou didst give us a Lincoln who broke the fetters from the limbs of four millions and a half of people. We thank thee for this organization, and we ask thee, O Lord, that thy blessings may rest upon the persons nominated by this body. May they be men representing the principles of religion, morality and education, who go forth to the conquest of the great principles now underlying the institutions of our country.

These and all other blessings we ask to rest upon this organization, the President of the organization, the members of the organization; and grant, O Lord, that the victories to be gained in the future may redound to the blessing of every citizen of this great land of ours, and may protection and liberty and civil and political rights be secured to every man, woman and child from the lakes of the North to the Gulf on the South; and when we have accomplished all, may thy blessings rest upon us and our country and its flag, and the glory shall be thine forever. Amen.

Blessing In-  
voked for the  
Party.

Then came the first fight of the Convention, that on the reports of the Committee on Credentials. There were two reports, the contests for seats in the Delaware and Texas delegations being the principal subject of controversy. The majority report favored the seating of the Higgins delegation of Delaware, and the Grant delegation of Texas. It also indorsed the action of the National Committee in that body's preparation of the temporary roll of delegates. The minority report favored the seating of the Addicks delegation in Delaware and the Cuney delegation in Texas, and questioned the justice of the National Committee's course in the disposal of the contested cases.

Contest in the  
Addicks and  
Cuney Cases.

Here is the majority report, as presented by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials:

### THE MAJORITY REPORT.

MR. FORT, of New Jersey: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention, I present the report of the Committee on Credentials by its direction:

Work of the  
Committee.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Your Committee on Credentials respectfully report that they met immediately after the adjournment of the session of the Convention on the 16th inst., and organized by the selection of the officers of the Committee, and since that time we have been giving diligent attention to the business of the Committee. Your Committee would report its action in the cases before it with its recommendation therein.

The Delaware  
Wrangle.

As to the State of Delaware, the right to represent the State of Delaware in this Convention was claimed by two full sets of delegates. Patient and full attention was given to the hearing of this case. The contestants for the right to represent that State in this Convention will be designated as the Anthony Higgins delegation and the J. Edward Addicks delegation.

Your Committee recommends that the following persons be seated as the delegates and alternates from the State of Delaware. I will not read them all, simply read the name as designated in the report: The delegation of delegates and alternates headed by Anthony Higgins.

The Texas  
Fight.

In the contest in the State of Texas for delegates at large from that State, your Committee gave attention to that case and heard the contesting delegations whom we will style as the Cuney delegation and the Grant delegation. We recommend that the delegates and alternates at large from Texas headed by John Grant be admitted to this Convention.

The rest of the report of the Committee will be read by the Secretary.

THE SECRETARY (reading): As to other matters of contest presented to your Committee, notice of which was given to the National Committee and heard by it, we recommend that the roll of delegates and alternates to the Convention from the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia as prepared by the National Committee for the temporary organization be approved as the permanent roll of delegates and alternates of this Convention. A copy of the roll of delegates and alternates as so adopted by this Committee is herewith submitted. Respectfully presented for the Committee and by its order.

J. FRANKLIN FORT,

*Chairman Committee on Credentials.*

Here is the report of the minority of the Committee, as presented by Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa:

### THE MINORITY REPORT.

The National  
Committee  
Attacked.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The undersigned members of your Committee on Credentials dissent from the report of the majority of the Committee in this: We are unwilling to accept the roll of delegates as made up by the National Committee. The National Committee did not attempt to consider the merits of the cases

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

presented by any of the 160 odd contestants, only the regularity of the credentials presented being passed upon by the National Committee.

I am informed that in the consideration of the contested cases before the National Committee it was distinctly and repeatedly stated that the action of the Committee was only to secure a prima facie roll, and that the contestants would each have an opportunity to be heard upon the merits of the case before the Committee on Credentials, when appointed.

None of these contestants, except those from Delaware and those from the State at large from Texas, have had any hearing upon the issues made here before any competent tribunal. In those two cases heard by your Committee on Credentials not one word of the testimony adduced was read before your Committee. Affidavits were filed there by the score, but no man knows what they contained, save as their contents are stated by the gentleman making the arguments on the one side or the other.

The Delaware  
and Texas  
Contests.

Your Committee on Credentials persistently voted down propositions, specifically, to investigate cases from Texas other than those from the State at large; those from the State of California; those from the State of Louisiana, and one gentleman, a contestant, from the State at large of Louisiana, makes the statement that he has never had even a hearing upon which to base a prima facie case made up by the National Committee; that he was not in the city until after his case had been heard, and that his lips have been at all times sealed—from the State of Louisiana, from the State of Alabama, and from the Twelfth District of Missouri. I say there has been no investigation of any of these cases, except from the State of Delaware, and four from the State of Texas; and more than 160 Republicans—delegates, as they claim, with their credentials—are crowding now to be heard, in order that the verities involved may be properly ascertained.

We deem it to be a most dangerous precedent to permit the National Committee to pass final judgment on the election and qualification of members of a National Convention. This dangerous exercise of power ought not to be submitted to by any body of men, but should be retained in the hands of the Convention.

Dangerous  
Exercise of  
Power by the  
National Com-  
mittee.

We, therefore, recommend that the delegation from the State of Delaware, headed by J. Edward Addicks, with their alternates, be seated; that the delegation from the State of Texas, headed by N. W. Cuney, with their alternates, be seated; and that the other cases in which hearing has up to this time been denied be recommitted to the Committee on Credentials, with instructions to perform its duties, and to hear and report upon the cases.

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The previous question being moved on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and a roll call being demanded, the States aligned themselves thus on this motion :

|   | STATE.                   | NUMBER                | YEA.                            | NAY.                            |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|   |                          | DELEGATES.<br>VOTING. |                                 |                                 |
| The National<br>Committee<br>Sustained. | ALABAMA . . . . .        | 22                    | 19                              | 3                               |
|   | ARKANSAS . . . . .       | 16                    | 16                              | ...                             |
|   | CALIFORNIA . . . . .     | 18                    | 7                               | 11                              |
|   | COLORADO . . . . .       | 8                     | ...                             | 8                               |
|   | CONNECTICUT . . . . .    | 12                    | ...                             | 12                              |
|   | DELAWARE . . . . .       | 6                     | No vote.                        |                                 |
|   | FLORIDA . . . . .        | 8                     | 7                               | 1                               |
|   | GEORGIA . . . . .        | 26                    | 20                              | 6                               |
|   | IDAHO . . . . .          | 6                     | ...                             | 6                               |
|   | ILLINOIS . . . . .       | 48                    | 30                              | 18                              |
|   | INDIANA . . . . .        | 30                    | 27                              | 3                               |
|   | IOWA . . . . .           | 26                    | ...                             | 26                              |
|   | KANSAS . . . . .         | 20                    | 20                              | ...                             |
|   | KENTUCKY . . . . .       | 26                    | 23                              | 3                               |
|   | LOUISIANA . . . . .      | 16                    | 11                              | 5                               |
|   | MAINE . . . . .          | 12                    | ...                             | 12                              |
|   | MARYLAND . . . . .       | 16                    | ...                             | 16                              |
|   | MASSACHUSETTS . . . . .  | 30                    | 2                               | 28                              |
|   | MICHIGAN . . . . .       | 28                    | 28                              | ...                             |
|   | MINNESOTA . . . . .      | 18                    | 18                              | ...                             |
|   | MISSISSIPPI . . . . .    | 18                    | 12                              | 6                               |
|   | MISSOURI . . . . .       | 34                    | 20                              | 14                              |
|   | MONTANA . . . . .        | 6                     | 1                               | 5                               |
|   | NEBRASKA . . . . .       | 16                    | 16                              | ...                             |
|   | NEVADA . . . . .         | 6                     | 1                               | 5                               |
|   | NEW HAMPSHIRE . . . . .  | 8                     | ...                             | 8                               |
|   | NEW JERSEY . . . . .     | 20                    | 20                              | ...                             |
|   | NEW YORK . . . . .       | 72                    | 19                              | 52                              |
|   | NORTH CAROLINA . . . . . | 22                    | 16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>  | 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>   |
|   | NORTH DAKOTA . . . . .   | 6                     | 6                               | ...                             |
|   | OHIO . . . . .           | 46                    | 46                              | ...                             |
|   | OREGON . . . . .         | 8                     | ...                             | 8                               |
| PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .                  | 64                       | 5                     | 59                              |                                 |
| RHODE ISLAND . . . . .                  | 8                        | ...                   | 8                               |                                 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .                | 18                       | 18                    | ...                             |                                 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA . . . . .                  | 8                        | 8                     | ...                             |                                 |
| TENNESSEE . . . . .                     | 24                       | 23                    | 1                               |                                 |
| TEXAS . . . . .                         | 30                       | 16                    | 8                               |                                 |
| UTAH . . . . .                          | 6                        | ...                   | 6                               |                                 |
| VERMONT . . . . .                       | 8                        | 4                     | 3                               |                                 |
| VIRGINIA . . . . .                      | 24                       | 23                    | 1                               |                                 |
| WASHINGTON . . . . .                    | 8                        | 8                     | ...                             |                                 |
| WEST VIRGINIA . . . . .                 | 12                       | 12                    | ...                             |                                 |
| WISCONSIN . . . . .                     | 24                       | 24                    | ...                             |                                 |
| WYOMING . . . . .                       | 6                        | 6                     | ...                             |                                 |
| ARIZONA . . . . .                       | 6                        | 4                     | 2                               |                                 |
| NEW MEXICO . . . . .                    | 6                        | 1                     | 5                               |                                 |
| OKLAHOMA . . . . .                      | 6                        | 4                     | 2                               |                                 |
| INDIAN TERRITORY . . . . .              | 6                        | 6                     | ...                             |                                 |
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA . . . . .          | 2                        | 2                     | ...                             |                                 |
| ALASKA . . . . .                        | 2                        | 2                     | ..                              |                                 |
|   | TOTALS . . . . .         | 905                   | 545 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> | 359 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |

Chairman Thurston announced that the yeas had it, and that the discussion of the report would now proceed under the rules. He then called Mr. Fort.

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

## FORT TALKS FOR THE MAJORITY.

MR. FORT, of New Jersey: The minority report involves three propositions. I propose to take just five minutes in discussing the question, and then yield five minutes of my time to Mr. Yerkes, of Kentucky, to discuss the Delaware case, and ten minutes to Gen. Grosvenor to close the debate. The three propositions of the minority report are these:

The Minority Report Assailed.

1. Open all contests on the temporary roll fixed by the National Committee.

2. Seat Addicks delegates in Delaware instead of the Higgins delegates.

3. Seat Cuney delegates in Texas instead of the Grant delegates.

Now, as to the first proposition: The Committee on Credentials has worked diligently since we organized yesterday. By a large vote—31 to 14—we determined to accept the roll as made up by the National Committee, with the exception of the Delaware and Texas cases, upon which they had taken no action excepting to refer them to us. One hundred and sixty men appeared before the National Committee by counsel or otherwise. They all had opportunity to be heard. They all were heard. They were heard longer than your Committee could hear them unless they sat in session for a full week, and if we gave them all the time they asked this Convention would sit here for three months.

There are printed briefs in these contests of 400 and 500 pages. In a single instance we have heard them, and we have taken their statement of what the evidence in the record was. It could not be read. It never was read by a National Committee or by a Committee on Credentials in a National Convention. We presume that every Republican, whether a contestant or a sitting member, when he stated his case here, stated the truth. And if he stated the truth, and if each of them stated the truth, reaching a conclusion from that statement, we have a right to see that the temporary roll of the Convention shall stand.

Testimony Taken in the Contests.

It will be said that these gentlemen were not heard at all before the Committee. It was stated in the Committee that almost all of the contestants were satisfied with the determination of the National Committee, and it was also stated that the National Committee reached its conclusion by almost a unanimous vote in most of the cases. The closest vote in that Committee was in the State of New York, and the State of New York, through its representative in our Committee, said there were no contests to be heard from New York. We have tried to be fair.

The Committee did not railroad this case. We gave Delaware two hours and a half in the hearing, limiting them to an hour a side, and they took a half hour more. We gave Texas over two hours in the hearing of their case, and we spent the rest of the time in the discussion of the resolution adopted, and the cases. We come to you then on the general proposition of the minority report first, and ask you to confirm

Appeal for Indorsement of the National Committee's Action.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

the temporary roll, made up with great care, great judgment and great discretion by your National Committee. They are honest men, they are good Republicans, they are selected from the States, and they gave a careful hearing, and a prima facie case is at least made out by the determination of that Committee.

• The Texas  
Case Stated.

Second—I have but three minutes to talk about it in, and I will try to do it—the Texas case. Texas held a State Convention to elect delegates at large. Mr. Cuney was elected temporary Chairman fairly and legally. He assumed the chair, he proceeded in the temporary organization; the temporary organization was made permanent under protest and without a roll-call, and from the time that Cuney took the chair until he declared the Convention adjourned he refused the roll-call in that Convention, no matter who made it, when or where. Every man that moved a roll-call on the report of the Committee on Credentials, every man that moved a roll-call on the permanent organization, every man that moved a roll-call on any question, was ruled out of order. And then they passed a resolution to elect four delegates at large, Cuney at the head, and they put that through by a *viva voce* vote, with another man that Cuney put in the chair to do up the business, and despite all protest, no roll-call. Then somebody moved to adjourn, and the affidavits are here, stacks of them, that Cuney refused to recognize anybody on a motion to adjourn, to accept a roll-call, and he declared the Convention adjourned, went out with his hat, and took the Convention with him.

Well, I must finish. Now, 641 delegates sat in Cuney's Convention, and there were only 801 altogether; and the 641 delegates organized another Convention, and by a unanimous vote elected the four men who ask you for seats here. That is all.

• The Delaware  
Case.

Now, if Mr. Yerkes will come forward and be here in a moment, after I shall state the case of Delaware as well as I can in that time, he may be heard. In the meantime, I will state the case as briefly as I can. The Committee decided by a majority vote to recommend that the Higgins delegates be seated. They have done it because in that State it is claimed by the Republicans before us that the delegates headed by J. Addicks did not represent the Republican party of Delaware or anywhere else. There was the same kind of procedure largely in the Convention—no roll-call, hilarity, excitement, turbulence, force and victory for the dominant faction.

The Addicks  
Element  
Denounced.

We state this: That the records before us show that Mr. Addicks had entered into a combination in Delaware to combine four men in the Legislature of Delaware and unite with the Democratic party and a Democratic Governor in order to allow no Republican United States Senator to be elected from that State. The fact of the matter is simply this: A majority of that Committee believe under the evidence in this cause that Mr. Addicks and his party in Delaware were highwaymen on the road to political fortune, no matter what was the result to the Republican party.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

To rebuke what the United States Senate by a vote of every Republican in that body tried to do to save the State when Addicks did wrong, to rebuke Addicks in defeating Dupont, we seat Dupont in this Convention as a delegate from Delaware with the rest of them.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair presents Mr. Yerkes, of Kentucky.

MR. YERKES: There are, gentlemen of the Convention, two sets of contesting delegates from the State of Delaware, one headed by ex-Senator Higgins, the only Republican ever elected to the United States Senate from that State; the other headed by J. Edward Addicks, the only Republican, so called, who prevented the election of a Republican Senator from that State. Upon the roll with ex-Senator Higgins we find the name of Col. Dupont, who, by thirty-nine votes of Republican United States Senators, and by every Republican vote in that Senate, was affirmed to be the man elected by the Republicans of Delaware to the Senate chamber to succeed ex-Senator Higgins.

Yerkes Attacks  
Addicks.

Now, I admit that this Convention by the rules of its own organization, is by necessity, not only the judge of the election of its members, but of them and of the propriety of their admission to a seat upon its own floor. I admit further that so far as the face of the returns is concerned, that Addicks has a prima facie case. But offset that for a moment, although it may not be argument, by the recollection that the National Committee, in its wisdom, saw fit to refuse a seat upon the floor of this Convention to those gentlemen having that prima facie case. Backed up as they were in that view by the decision of your own Committee on Credentials by a vote of 31 to 14, not only refusing Addicks a seat in this Convention, and those with him, but absolutely seating ex-Senator Higgins, Col. Dupont and their associates. There must be some reason for this. Certainly your two Committees would not have acted without foundation, reason and cause. Now, why was it? We affirm, and the record is here and shows it, that the majority of the delegates to the State Convention of Delaware, wherein Mr. Addicks had a majority of forty alone, was secured by the use of money in bribing and in buying votes. Here are the affidavits presented to the National Committee and presented to your Committee on Credentials, as I am informed.

The Addicks  
Side Accused  
of Bribery.

Now, gentlemen, there are only three ways of securing an election, as was said by a distinguished citizen of New York; first, by the free choice of the electors; second, by force, and fraud and bribery are constituent elements of and for force; and third, by lot. And if this Convention believes, as evidently this Committee did believe, that that majority in that body was secured by methods and means of this nature and this character, then is this Convention, representing the dignity, the wisdom, the honor and the integrity of the Republican party of this nation, willing to accept delegates coming here with such credentials and under such charges as have been made and by affidavits presented to prove them?

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

### HEPBURN SPEAKS FOR THE MINORITY.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa, will now address you for the minority.

MR. HEPBURN: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have the right to assume that any Republican Convention, any body of men representing the Republican party, will declare in favor of fairness. The American people love fairness. They are not willing, I take it, that any man's rights shall be determined without he has had his day in court.

The National  
Committee  
Charged with  
Unfairness.

I say here, without fear of contradiction, that there has been no hearing upon the merits of 160 election cases. I challenge any member of this Convention to deny that proposition. When these gentlemen went before the National Committee there was a gentleman there representing the interests of a certain candidate here. It was his contention, in opposing the admission of all those that he supposed were not favorable to his candidate, that all that the Committee was to pass upon, all it had the right to pass upon, was the regularity of the credentials of the delegates, and over and over again it was said that the Committee, contenting itself with that, would impose no hardship upon the contestant, as the tribunal elected by the Convention was armed with full authority to pass upon the credentials, and there would be an opportunity there to present the merits of the case.

Strange as it may seem, that same man, as one of the judges, a member of the Committee, in the Committee, insisted that there should be no hearing, because the National Committee had passed upon the case. In other words, it was as though he had contended in an inferior court that the court had no jurisdiction to try the cause, and then, where appeal was taken, to insist that the court had yielded to his contention, and refusal to try the cause had estopped the mouths of the appellants. Is that fairness? Is that the justice that a Convention of Republicans proposes to mete out to brother Republicans?

We have contended, as a party, all of the days, that in the Southern States we would see to it that there should be honest elections and there should be a fair count.

Duty of the  
Party.

Every National Convention, almost, for the last twenty years, has insisted that, that was the duty that justice and equity imposed upon the Republican party, and it has been swift to pledge itself that that duty, to the fullness of its ability, should be carried out; and here is the astonishing spectacle, in view of all these charges, that we ourselves are trampling underfoot ruthlessly and remorselessly those very doctrines of equity and justice to which we have pledged ourselves through twenty years of our eventful existence.

There has been no adjudication of these cases. There ought to be. One gentleman in the Committee informed us that these rights were trivial; that they were not property rights; and the burden of this







SENATOR-ELECT JOS. B. FORAKER, OF OHIO.

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argument would be that if it involved in importance the value of a mustang pony, then he would insist upon the procedure of allowing the parties to be heard, but as it only involved the honor of a Republican, the man who said that he was entitled to a seat here and the man who said when the right to a seat was denied that he was not a cheat, that he was not a scoundrel, that he was not here by fraudulent pretense, but that he was elected and selected only by a free constituency; in a question of this kind, involving the honor of a man, it was so trivial that we ought not to subject ourselves to the heated atmosphere of this talk for purposes of that character.

Further, I say with regard to the case that was last suggested, the Addicks case, I say—and I challenge the contradiction—I say that there was no proof of any character considered by your Committee. Not one affidavit was read; no man knows the verities of the case. One who was once a distinguished Senator made the statement that twenty-three delegates in the Convention that would not support him were bribed. No other man said that. No man's affidavit to that effect, stating knowledge, was read. That distinguished gentleman said that somebody else told him that upon an occasion, critical indeed, Mr. Addicks contributed \$5,000 to a Democratic campaign fund. That was the character of the proof. That affidavit was not presented. Again he said that the Standard Oil Company, he had learned, had contributed \$30,000 to Addicks' senatorial election case. Not an affidavit, not a particle of proof—and those are the evidences upon which the political integrity of Mr. Addicks is impeached. If there is more, name it. If you have got anything else that was brought before that Committee, bring it out.

Addicks De-  
fended.

I don't know what affidavits might have been brought here. I say they were not presented or read, nor considered by your Committee, and yet there stood that man thus assailed, stating that he had voted for Abraham Lincoln for President, and for every Republican candidate from that day down. Every one. He stated that never in his life had he voted any other than a Republican ticket, and no man assailed it, save by these wild and loose and irrelevant and unfounded stories.

He was Always  
a Republican.

There was a little gentleman there quite voluble, and I might almost say volatile. And his intellectual proportions were in exact ratio to the geographical limits of his State. That gentleman told us that these five persons were not Republicans, and yet they were the head and front of the Republican organization there, until they preferred Addicks for United States Senator to Higgins. Their Republicanism ceased when they failed to support the pretensions of the ex-Senator. Another gentleman was there. He makes the same statement. Up to about a year ago they were good Republicans. When did they cease to be Republicans? was the query. When they began to associate with Addicks, and yet one of those gentlemen was the Chairman of the Republican State Committee that called the Convention. One of those gentlemen was selected by his vote and as a representative. He had

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

there presenting to us the indorsement of the thirteen officers selected by the Republicans in that county since this Convention—think of it—and he not a Republican; every one of the thirteen that have been selected since the Convention of last May; every one of them indorsing his Republicanism.

A Questionable  
Majority.

Gentlemen, there was in that Convention 160 persons. They assembled the third or the fourth day after their selection. Seven of them had their seats challenged. The Committee in making up the roll omitted those seven from the list, so that 153 were there unchallenged. All of the proceedings of that Convention were harmonious, no man making complaint until it came to the question of seating or unseating the seven. And when that was raised fifty-three gentlemen went out of the Convention and the seven excluded delegates went with them, making sixty. No man claims that more than sixty men out of 160 men joined in the selection of Senator Higgins and his five colleagues.

If I am wrong, correct me in that. Sixty men only—make that a majority of 160 if you can. “Oh, but,” say these gentlemen, “twenty-three men who remained in the Convention were bribed.” No evidence of it was presented there; no evidence presented of that.

A DELEGATE: That they were elected by fraud?

Groundless  
Charges of  
Fraud

MR. HEPBURN: That they were elected by fraud; twenty-three of them. Mind you, Delaware is not a very large State. There are only three counties in it. There were three or four days to establish a fraud if there was any, but not a word about it. It was never heard of until it was necessary to do something to make sixty a majority of 160.

Then the fraud was discovered. Then the gentlemen came to the front, it is said, but no affidavit of that character was presented to the Committee, read and considered. If one was presented, it was never heard of until that gentleman brought them in his pocket 1200 miles from his home, away from the possibility of their being resisted, and then, perhaps, presented to the National Committee. According to my advices, none of them were read—certainly not in our Committee. We do not know whether they contain averments of this kind or not. Now, gentlemen, that is this case. If you turn out Addicks, the contestant, you will leave the State of Delaware without an organization; there is no other party—there is no other power than that which is by the authority of these men that call a State Convention. Are you going to do it simply because some man says that Mr. Addicks is not a sound Republican? Let me challenge a statement made by my friend from New Jersey. He said that this Convention was the tribunal to determine upon the qualifications of its members. I deny it. I say that our constituencies determine the qualifications of their representatives.

A Conkling In-  
stance Cited.

Let us remind you of a Republican National Convention—in 1880—let me call up a memorable scene. A member of that Convention from the State of West Virginia offered a declaration upon that floor. He said that if a certain person was nominated, or a certain proposition was

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

determined upon, he would not support it, and thereupon Senator Conkling introduced a resolution reciting that fact, and moving his expulsion.

The mention of Conkling's name created a wave of applause, which lasted for some moments. When it had subsided the speaker continued as follows:

James A. Garfield took the floor and he laid down before that Convention the rights involved. He discussed in that masterly way of his the verities of the case, and when he was through there was such an overwhelming manifestation of the wishes of that Convention that Senator Conkling rose in his place and withdrew the resolution, establishing in that way what all know must be true, that the constituency determines the qualifications of the members that it sends here. Why, that individual comes here for what purpose? In a representative capacity, to wield the power of those men who send him. They select the man that they are willing to intrust their power with, and if you refuse the recognition of that righteous rule, you will allow Anthony Higgins, who has been repudiated by his people, whom they have said shall not serve them, whom they have refused to repose confidence in, whom they have said cannot properly represent them or wield their power here, you have said that he is to wield their power whether they wish it or not. Is that representation? Who will he represent? The people of Delaware, who said they would not have him, or this Convention, this majority, who says he is to have a seat.

Garfield on the Rights of Constituencies.

Think of it, men! There is a great principle involved in this. It is the principle of the right of free representation, a right dear to all English-speaking people, and to secure which more of English and American blood had been shed than for all other questions put together. Are we, a Republican Convention, ready to abandon that now? I take it not. With reference to the other case—(Cries of "time, time.")

The Right of Free Representation.

THE CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, the Chair will pass on the question of time.

Both sides were notified that an extra allowance of six minutes would be made to cover applause or interruption.

MR. HEPBURN (continuing): With reference to the Texas case. Again I say that you, through your Committee, through your National Committee, have no evidence upon this case. A gentleman said that 141 of the delegates of that Convention remained in their seats and selected the delegates that your Committee have seated. That was challenged—that was denied; it was a statement made by a member on the floor for a contestant and denied by another. The gentleman said that he would take the word of any Republican in a matter of this kind, a comment on their truthfulness that was very complimentary, but what will he do when one Republican says yes and another Republican says no with reference to the same question, speaking almost at the same

The Texas Case.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

time? Ought he not to investigate the proofs? No gentleman did it—no man read an affidavit there establishing, or tending to establish, these facts. The majority of your Committee took the word of one contestant. The others said that it was not proven. We did not take the words of the others, but we say that the case is not proven.

Cuney's Claims  
Defended.

It is claimed on the one hand—and about this there is no dispute—that there was a contest, sharply defined, that the three candidates for the presidency had a following in about equal numbers. Finally, two of them combined and there was a sharp contest over the control of the Convention. After it was discussed *pro* and *con*, upon a roll-call, about which there is no dispute, Mr. Cuney was elected temporary Chairman—on this roll-call—by more than two and one-half votes to one, indicating the temper of the Convention. It is his contention that these men that thus declared themselves authoratively upon the roll-call, about which there is no dispute, were the men who supported him and his ticket, and gave it its overwhelming majority.

### GROSVENOR SPEAKS FOR THE MAJORITY REPORT.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Convention, Gen. Grosvenor, of Ohio.

The Question  
Stated.

GEN. GROSVENOR: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—In the very brief time which I shall occupy, I shall devote substantially the whole of it to the discussion of the question of whether or not the action of the Committee on Credentials, in the matter of the Texas contest, shall be upheld or condemned. I shall put the question to the men of this country, the men who profess sometimes that they are in favor of decent elections, and when I have done that, and when I have stood by the record, without changing a word of it, let us see how much of decency there is in this country.

The Texas  
Case.

I shall not refer to the attacks of the gentleman upon my colleague, the distinguished member of the Committee on Credentials from Ohio. He is well known to the people of the country, and the aspersions cast upon him will fall harmless at the feet of the gentleman who has displayed so much of judicial temperament here on this platform recently.

The Convention in Texas—now follow me, you who are lawyers and you who are not lawyers—the Convention in the State of Texas was assembled under a call issued by the Chairman of the State Committee. It assembled on the 24th day of March. There is no dispute but that it was regularly called, regularly assembled; no question of anything up to a certain point of time which I will give to you, as I have it here in the record. A temporary Chairman was nominated by each of the factions, but because of certain reasons, which I could make very plain, if I had the time, Mr. Cuney was elected upon a roll-call demanded by both sides, as the record shows. A roll-call was had, and 800 and some odd members answered to their names and voted. Cuney was seated. A Committee on Credentials was appointed. • Up to that time

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all parties were co-operating together, and desiring to see that both sets of these delegates derived their title from a common source.

The Committee on Credentials was sent out and after two or three adjournments of the Convention, the Committee on Credentials came in with a report. A minority of the Committee on Credentials submitted a written minority report, which appears in the record. Mr. Cuney ruled that the minority had no right to make a report, and an appeal was taken from his decision, and he refused to put the appeal to the house. Thereupon he proceeded, as the record shows—I hold it in my hands, and no honest man will deny it—that on more than twenty occasions he refused a division of the house; refused a call of the roll, and decided every question by putting it on one side, and finally a vote was taken upon delegates at large, and at once an uproar broke out; mob violence was imminent, and Cuney, when a little subsidence had taken place, waving a paper over his head, declared that the delegation was elected and that the Convention had adjourned.

Cuney's Arbitrary Course.

Sixteen delegates went out with Cuney, and 641 delegates stayed in the Convention, elected a temporary Chairman, elected and sent out a Committee on Credentials, made the temporary Chairman permanent, had a regular report of the Committee on Credentials, proceeded regularly to elect their delegates at large, the Grant delegates, and certified them up here as the action of a Convention that had never adjourned.

Cuney's Bolt.

Now comes this gentleman and appeals to an intelligent Convention of American Republicans to seat the man that thus defied every principle of parliamentary law.

Now, my position is this, and I should like to have heard the gentleman answer it. I made it before to-day in his hearing and he has not seen fit to refer to it. I say, when the moment arrives that Cuney refused to grant a division of that house all that took place afterward was a simple assumption of power without a shadow of legal right or legal effect behind it. That is my position. Let me illustrate now. Suppose that somebody gets upon this platform and takes the gavel of the presiding officer. Somebody moves that we now proceed with the nomination for President. A *viva voce* vote is taken and a division is demanded and he refuses to permit it. Then an appeal is taken. He refuses to entertain it. Then he declares that an election is ordered. Somebody nominates somebody and someone else wants to put another candidate in, and the Chairman says it is not in order. An appeal is taken, and he refuses to recognize it. He declares his candidate nominated, and the Convention adjourns.

His Illegal Assumption of Power.

Now we have a Convention here of about 900. Suppose 200 get up and go out, would this Chairman be ousted of his power? Would this Convention cease to operate? Or would this Convention be to all intents and purposes in life, in deed and action, and go forward and make the legal nomination just as before? As God is my judge, as God shall hold me to account, that is an illustration of what that record shows. Nothing

Cuney Vigorously Condemned.

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more damnable ever stained the pages of the records of an American Convention. And I congratulate the distinguished gentleman that, with honeyed words about liberty and fair play, speaks of the unfortunate representative of the biggest scoundrel that ever got on record in a Convention of the Republican party.

That was the whole of it. Now, what are you about to do, gentlemen? There are 160 contests; every one of them about an American citizen, as the gentleman from Iowa says; every one of them with some sort of vested rights to something. Vested rights to work their way into a Convention when two committees have said they shall stay out. Will you ask to give two hours to each one of those cases? Ten hours a day is about as much as I am willing to work in this country. And it will take forty days to try these contests, for, if you open up this question and defeat this report you must not, after that, go to drawing discriminations. You must hear the whole of them. We had thirty cases of contests in the House of Representatives this year. Mr. Reed appointed three more committees of nine members each, and they worked day and night, and at the end of the long session of Congress there still remained three or four undisposed-of cases.

Two Committees Have Heard the Contestants.

And you are asked to stay here until the 1st day of August to decide whether Tom, Dick or Harry has the right of an American citizen. They have had a hearing before two committees of this body. The National Committee sat for four long days and nights and heard these appeals. They decided them as well as they could; and I stand here now to say that it is a little matter of cheap, peanut policy to be condemning a great committee because forsooth the gentleman may not have been able to influence that committee as he thought he ought to. Another committee has spent all the time which it has reasonably to give to them, and this is the best that can be done. I stand here to say that no harm will come to the American Republic, no harm will come to the fair fame of the Republican party if you succeed in relegating to private life the man of Delaware and the rascal of Texas.

The Convention Rejects Addicks and Cuney's Claims

The Convention then decided adversely on the minority report, and rejected the propositions to seat the Addicks and the Cuney delegations, after which the majority report was adopted.

The report of the Rules Committee was then read by General Harry Bingham, of Pennsylvania, and was as follows:

### THE CONVENTION'S RULES.

Representation in the Convention.

RULE 1. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of each Senator and Representative in Congress, six delegates each from the Territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma; four from Alaska and two from the District of Columbia.



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RULE 2. The rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress shall be the rules of the Convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules.

RULE 3. 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.

Status of the  
Previous Question.

RULE 4. A motion to suspend the rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of the delegates from any State and seconded by a majority of the delegates from not less than two other States.

RULE 5. It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure, and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it or prejudice such measure.

RULE 6. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories, Alaska and the District of Columbia.

RULE 7. 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 the candidates for President and Vice-President.

Order of Committee Reports

RULE 8. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, Alaska and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories, Alaska and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore established.

RULE 9. 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 any roll-call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the Convention is entitled, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidate shall have received such majority, the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any State has announced its vote, it shall so stand unless in case of numerical error.

Procedure in  
Making Nominations.

RULE 10. In the record of the votes, the vote of each State, Territory, Alaska and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory, Alaska or District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

RULE 11. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of the names of candidates.

Constitution  
of the Repub-  
lican National  
Committee.

RULE 12. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed to consist of one member from each State, Territory, Alaska and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory, Alaska and the District of Columbia shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such Committee. Such Committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention within sixty days at least before the time fixed for said meeting, and each congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of Congress is made in said district, and in Territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode of selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.

RULE 13. The Republican National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the National Committee.

RULE 14. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

RULE 15. No person, except members of the several delegations and officers of the Convention, shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule 16. The Convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.
3. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
4. Naming members of National Committee.
5. Presentation of names of candidates for President.
6. Balloting.
7. Presentation of names of candidates for Vice-President.
8. Balloting.
9. Call of roll of States, Territories, Alaska and the District of Columbia for names of delegates to serve respectively on Committees to notify the nominees for President and Vice-President of their selection for said office.

An adjournment was then had until 10 A. M. on Thursday.

Order of Busi-  
ness.



SENATOR JOHN M. THURSTON, OF NEBRASKA.

TO THE  
SECRETARY

## THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

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Chairman Thurston called the Convention to order on Thursday at 10:32 A. M., and Rev. Dr. John Scott, of Jacksonville, Fla., offered the following prayer:

Thursday,  
June 18.

Our Father, from whose hand the centuries fall like grains of sand: We meet to-day, united, free, loyal to our land and to thee. We thank thee for all the blessings of life that are ours to enjoy, and we beseech thy blessing upon our labors in this Convention, and we ask that all things that we do may be done to thy honor and glory.

Dr. Scott's  
Prayer.

We ask these things for the sake of Him who has taught us in praying to say:

“Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.”

Then Senator-elect Joseph B. Foraker, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the platform, which was as follows:

### THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

Republican  
Deliverance of  
1896.

For the first time since the civil war, the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Demo-

Calamitous  
Consequences  
of Democratic  
Rule.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

cratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration for public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism, and success of the administration of President Harrison.

The Tariff  
Plank.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism. We denounce the Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement and then it wants rest.

Reciprocity.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

enlarged markets for the product of our farms, forests and factories. Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished—protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present Administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

Sugar.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the field as well as to those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep-husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mill—we promise the most ample protection.

Wool and Woolens.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Merchant Marine.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The Currency.

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfilment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Pensions.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Foreign Relations.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

Armenian Massacres.

The massacres of Armenians have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers, and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

The Monroe Doctrine.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

The Cuban Question.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The Navy.

The peace and security of the republic, and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth, demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We, therefore, favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

Foreign Immigration.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The Civil Service.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated





MARCUS A. HANNA, CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

Free Ballot.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching or killing of human beings, suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employes engaged in interstate commerce.

National Arbitration.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party; and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free-homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

Free Homesteads.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona-fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

The Territories.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Women's Rights.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Senator Teller, in behalf of himself and the other silver members of the Resolutions Committee, offered the following substitute for the financial plank of the platform :

We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, being unable to agree with a portion of the majority report which treats

Teller's Free Silver Substitute.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

of the subject of coinage and finances, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

The Republican party authorizes the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to one of gold.

Mr. Teller made the following speech in favor of the substitute, which was also his farewell to the Republican party:

### SENATOR TELLER'S SPEECH.

Teller Recognizes the Situation.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I will not attempt to inflict upon you a discussion of the great financial question which is dividing the people, not only of this country, but of the whole world. The few moments allotted to me by the Convention will not enable me to more than state in the briefest possible manner our objections to the financial plank proposed for your consideration. I am a practical man, and I recognize the conditions existing in this Convention, foreshadowed as they were by the action of the committee selected by the representatives assembled from the different States.

This plank or this proposition was presented to the whole committee and by it rejected. Loyalty to my own opinion, consideration of the great interest that is felt in this country, compels me, in the face of unusual difficulties, to present this for your consideration, not with that bounding hope or with that courage that I have presented this in other bodies with greater measure of success than I can hope for here. The great and supreme importance of this question is alone my excuse now for the few words that I shall say to you.

In connection with this subject, in a public capacity I have dealt with it now for twenty years. I represent a State that produces silver, but I want to say to you here and now that my advocacy of the proposition is not in the slightest degree influenced or controlled by that fact.

Why He Contends for Silver.

I contend for it, because I believe there can be no sound financial system in any country in the world that does not recognize this principle. I contend for it, because since 1873, when it was ruthlessly stricken from our statutes, there has been a continued depreciation of all the products of human labor and human energy. I contend for it, because, in this year of 1896, the American people are in greater distress than they ever were in their history. I contend for it because this is, in my judgment, the great weight, the great incubus, that has weighed down enterprise and destroyed progress in this favored land of ours.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

I contend for it because I believe the progress of my country is dependent on it. I contend for it, because I believe the civilization of the world is to be determined by the rightful or wrongful solution of this financial question. I am tolerant of those who differ with me. I act from judgment, enlightened as best as I have been able to enlighten it, by many years of study and many years of thought. In my judgment the American people, in the whole line of their history, have never been called upon to settle a question of greater importance to them than this. The great contest in which many of you participated, whether we should have two flags or one, was not more important to the American people than the question of a proper solution of what shall be the money system of this land.

The Country's  
Progress De-  
pendent  
On It.

I have said enough to show you that I think that this is not a question of policy, but a question of principle. It is not a mere idle thing, but one on which hangs the happiness, the prosperity, the morality and the independence of American labor and American producers.

A Question of  
Principle. Not  
of Policy.

Confronted for the first time in the history of this glorious party of ours; confronted, I say, for the first time with danger of a financial system that, in my judgment, will be destructive of all the great interests of this land, we are called upon to give to this provision of our platform our adhesion or rejection.

Mr. President, I do not desire to say unkind or unfriendly things, and I will touch in a moment and only for a moment upon the reasons why I object to this provision of this platform. The Republican party has never been the party of a single standard. It was a bimetallic party in its origin, in all its history. In 1888 it declared for bimetallism; in 1892 it declared for bimetallism. In 1896 it declares for a single gold standard.

Mr. President, in 1888 we carried the State that I here represent, for whom? For the Republican nominee; we carried it on a bimetallic platform. We carried it with a majority that was equal, considering our vote, to that of any State in the Union. It has been a Republican State from the hour of its admission. It has kept in the Senate, Republican Senators, and in the House, Republican members.

Colorado's  
Partisan His-  
tory.

Mr. President, I promised you that I would not discuss the silver question, and I will not, except to say that this platform is such a distinct departure from everything heretofore held by this party that it challenges our Republicanism to accept it.

Mr. President, the platform contains some platitudes about international conferences. It provides that we will maintain the gold standard in this country until the principal nations of the world shall agree that we may do otherwise.

Mr. President, this is the first great gathering of Republicans since this party was organized that has declared the inability of the American people to control their own affairs.

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To my horror, this declaration comes from the great political party of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant.

Do you believe that the American people are too weak to actually maintain a financial system commensurate with the greatness of the country of their own volition?

Bimetallic  
Agreement  
With Europe  
Impossible.

Gentlemen of the Convention, you will have no bimetallic agreement with all the great commercial nations of the world, and it can not be obtained. So this is a declaration, that the gold standard is to be put upon this country and kept here for all time. Do you believe that Great Britain, that great commercial nation of the world, do you believe that Great Britain, our powerful competitor in commerce and trade, will ever agree to open her mints to the free coinage of silver, or consent that we shall open ours as long as she gets the advantage of the low prices and the declining values that have been brought to this country by the adoption of a gold standard in 1873 in a partial degree only?

Great Britain's  
Anti-Silver  
Interest.

We are the great debtor nation of the world. Great Britain is the great creditor. We pay her every year millions and hundreds of millions of dollars as income on her investments in this country or her loans. The gold standard, in my judgment, lowers prices and decreases values. And she buys of us millions of millions more than she (Great Britain) sells. She buys upon a gold standard, a lowering and depreciating standard. How long do you think it will be before she will agree to a system of values that raises the price of the farm product or the products of our mines in this country? It is a solemn declaration that the Republican party intends to maintain low prices and stagnate business for all time to come.

Mr. President, there is a beautiful provision in this platform about the tariff. Mr. President, I subscribe to that. I believe in a protective tariff. I have advocated it for forty years. But it is my solemn conviction that a protective tariff can not be maintained upon a gold standard. The tariff protection principle is for the raising of the price of human toil, it is for giving to the producer ample compensation for his labor; the gold standard, on the contrary, everywhere that it is enforced, is for the purpose of reducing values.

Now, gentlemen of the Convention, I am going to make this simple objection as to the protective system, that it is in danger, and then I will call your attention to one other fact, and then I will leave it to your judgment whether this platform shall be adopted or whether it shall be rejected.

The Almighty  
and the  
Double Stand-  
ard.

Under existing conditions, we undoubtedly have the gold standard. I do not deny that, but what I have sought for twenty years is to change it to the bimetallic system. I have believed, and I now believe, that when the Almighty created these twin metals, he intended that the world should use them for the purpose for which they were created. And when he blessed this land of ours with more gold and more silver than



THOMAS C. PLATT, OF NEW YORK

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## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

any other country in the world, he meant that we should use them for the purpose for which they were intended, to-wit: the use of the people as standard money. We to-day reverse the traditions of our country and declare we will use only one. If the American people are in favor of that, I have nothing to say. I must submit to the majority vote and the majority voice in this country of ours.

I do not believe this party of ours, if it could be polled, is in favor of the single gold standard. I believe that 90 per cent of the American people are in favor of bimetallism of the old-fashioned kind, that existed in this country up to 1873.

Republican  
Party Wants  
Bimetallism.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I promised you that I would not take but a few moments, and I believe I am allowed only a few moments in which I can rapidly address you. But I want to say a few things, and they may seem to you to be personal, and that they ought not to be introduced in an audience like this. I must beg your indulgence if I seem to transcend the proprieties of this occasion, if I shall say something personal to myself.

I have formed my convictions on this great question after twenty years of study, after twenty years of careful thought and careful reading. I have been trained in a school that it seems to me ought to fit me fairly well for reaching just conclusions from established facts. I have formed my conclusions to such an extent that they become binding on my conscience. I believe that the adoption of the gold standard in the United States will work great hardship; that it will increase the distress, and that no legislation touching this tariff can remove the difficulties that now all admit prevail in this land. I believe that the whole welfare of my race is dependent upon a rightful solution of this question; that the morality, the civilization, nay, the very religion of my country is at stake in this contest. I know and you know that men in distress are neither patriotic nor brave. You and I know that hunger and distress will destroy patriotism and love of country. If you have love of country, patriotic fervor and independence, you must have your citizens comfortably fed and comfortably clothed. That is what made me a Republican in 1853, that is what made me a Republican during all these years, because I believed that the Republican party was good for the great masses of men, that its legislation was intended to lift up and elevate and hold up and sustain the unfortunate and the distressed, and give all American citizens equal opportunities before the law. I do not believe it can be had with the gold standard.

The Gold  
Standard Will  
Work Hard-  
ship.

You may doubt my judgment, and many of you will, but shall I doubt it? I must act upon my judgment, and not upon yours. I must answer to my conscience and not to my neighbor's: I must do my duty as it is presented to me, and not as presented to you.

I say to you now, that I may hasten my remarks, that with the solemn conviction upon me that this gold plank means ultimate disaster

The Parting of  
the Ways.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

and distress to my fellowman, I can not subscribe to it, and, if adopted, I must, as an honest man, sever my connection with the political organization that makes that one of the main articles of its faith. I repeat here what I said yesterday in the Committee, I would not upon my own judgment alone, carefully as I have attempted to prepare it, take this step alone. My friends, I am sustained in my view of the danger that is coming to us, and coming to the world by the adoption of the gold standard, by the intelligence of the entire world.

Europe and  
Bimetallism.

They may say that the silver question is a craze. Let me tell you that the best part of Europe, the best part of the world, is with the advocates of bimetallism. All the great political teachers of Europe, with the exception of five or six, are the pronounced advocates of bimetallism, unrestricted and unrestrained bimetallism. All of the great teachers of political economy in the European colleges, without exception, are in favor of bimetallism. My own judgment, based, as I have said to you, on careful preparation and careful study for twenty years, bears me out, and puts me in accord with them, and I would be recreant to my trust, given to me by the people of my State, if I fail to protest here, and if I fail when the Republican party makes this one of the tenets of its faith to sever my connection from that party.

A Personal  
Explanation.

Mr. President, I ask your kind permission to say a few things personal to myself, and when I have said that, having told you what my conscience demands that I should do, I will leave this question for your consideration.

Do you suppose that myself and my associates, who act with me and take the same view of this question that I do—do you suppose that we can take this step without distress? Do you suppose that we could take it for any personal advantage, or any honor that could be conferred upon us? We say it is a question of duty. You may nominate in this Convention any man you choose; if you will put him on the right kind of a platform I will vote for him. You may take any methods to nominate him that you think proper. I will defer to your judgment and support him, if the platform is a right one; but when you ask me here now to surrender to you my principles, as an honest man, I can not do that. I realize what it will cost us. I realize the gibes and sneers and the contumely that will be heaped upon us; but, my fellow citizens, I have been through this before—before the political party to which you belong had a being. I have advocated a cause more unpopular than the silver cause. I have stood for the doctrine of free men, free homes and free speech. I am used to detraction; I am used to abuse, and I have had it heaped upon me without stint.

A Life-long  
Republican.

When the Republican party was organized I was there. It has never had a national candidate since it was organized that my voice has not been raised in his support. It has never had a great principle enunciated in its platform that has not had my approbation, until now.

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With its distinguished leaders, its distinguished men of forty years, I have been in close communion and close friendship. I have shared in its honors and in its few defeats and disasters. Do you think that we can sever our connection with a party like this, unless it be as a matter of duty, a duty not to our States, but a duty to all people of this great land?

Mr. President, there are few men in a political party that have been honored more than I have by the people of the State in which they live. There are few men in this Convention or anywhere else that have been longer connected with this organization than I. There are few men in it who have been more active, and none in it, no, not one, who have been more attached to the great principles of this party than I have been, and I can not go out of it without heart burnings, and a feeling that no man can appreciate who has not endured it; and yet I can not, before my country and my God, agree to the provision that shall put upon this country a gold standard, and I will not.

And I do not care what may be the result; if it takes me out of political life, I will go out with a feeling that at least I maintain my consistency and my manhood, and that my conscience is clear and that my country will have no right to find fault with me.

I beg your pardon for saying things so personal, but yet if a personal act, that to some implies perfidy and dishonor, is about to be taken, I think it but just to myself and my associates that I should proclaim to you that we take this step, not in anger, not in pique, not because we dislike the nominee prospectively or otherwise, but because our conscience requires, as honest men, that we should make this sacrifice, for sacrifice we feel that it is.

Leaves the  
Party in  
Sorrow Rather  
Than in  
Anger.

Thanking you, gentlemen, for your kind attention, retiring from you as I do, perhaps never again to have an opportunity of addressing a Republican Convention, I can not do it without saying that after all I have in my heart a hope—nay, I have an expectation, that better counsels will prevail, and that if you should be foolish enough to adopt this platform and force us to leave the Republican party, that better counsel will prevail and ultimately, on a true Republican platform, sustaining Republican principles, I may have the inestimable privilege of again addressing you.

Mr. Foraker moved to lay the silver substitute on the table, and he was seconded by Senator Lodge.

Contest on the  
Silver Sub-  
stitute.

Senator Teller demanded a roll call on the motion, and was seconded by Senator Mantle, of Montana, and Mr. Cleveland, of Nevada.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The roll call was had, and the vote to lay the substitute on the table was as follows—the gold standard men voting yea, and the silver standard men, nay :

| The<br>Silver Substi-<br>tute Beaten. | STATE.                         | TOTAL VOTE. | YEAS                                | NAYS.                               |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|                                       | ALABAMA . . . . .              | 22          | 15                                  | 7                                   |
|                                       | ARKANSAS . . . . .             | 16          | 15                                  | 1                                   |
|                                       | CALIFORNIA . . . . .           | 18          | 3                                   | 15                                  |
|                                       | COLORADO . . . . .             | 8           | ...                                 | 8                                   |
|                                       | CONNECTICUT . . . . .          | 12          | 12                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | DELAWARE . . . . .             | 6           | 6                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | FLORIDA . . . . .              | 8           | 6                                   | 2                                   |
|                                       | GEORGIA . . . . .              | 26          | 23                                  | 3                                   |
|                                       | IDAHO . . . . .                | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | ILLINOIS . . . . .             | 48          | 47                                  | 1                                   |
|                                       | INDIANA . . . . .              | 30          | 30                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | IOWA . . . . .                 | 26          | 26                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | KANSAS . . . . .               | 20          | 16                                  | 4                                   |
|                                       | KENTUCKY . . . . .             | 26          | 26                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | LOUISIANA . . . . .            | 16          | 16                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MAINE . . . . .                | 12          | 12                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MARYLAND . . . . .             | 16          | 16                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MASSACHUSETTS . . . . .        | 30          | 30                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MICHIGAN . . . . .             | 28          | 27                                  | 1                                   |
|                                       | MINNESOTA . . . . .            | 18          | 18                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MISSISSIPPI . . . . .          | 18          | 18                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | MISSOURI . . . . .             | 34          | 33                                  | 1                                   |
|                                       | MONTANA . . . . .              | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | NEBRASKA . . . . .             | 16          | 16                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | NEVADA . . . . .               | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | NEW HAMPSHIRE . . . . .        | 8           | 8                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | NEW JERSEY . . . . .           | 20          | 20                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | NEW YORK . . . . .             | 72          | 72                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 22          | 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>       | 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>      |
|                                       | NORTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 6           | 6                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | OHIO . . . . .                 | 46          | 46                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | OREGON . . . . .               | 8           | 8                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .         | 64          | 64                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | RHODE ISLAND . . . . .         | 8           | 8                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 18          | 18                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | SOUTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 8           | 6                                   | 2                                   |
|                                       | TENNESSEE . . . . .            | 24          | 23                                  | 1                                   |
|                                       | TEXAS . . . . .                | 30          | 30                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | UTAH . . . . .                 | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | VERMONT . . . . .              | 8           | 8                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | VIRGINIA . . . . .             | 24          | 19                                  | 5                                   |
|                                       | WASHINGTON . . . . .           | 8           | 8                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | WEST VIRGINIA . . . . .        | 12          | 12                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | WISCONSIN . . . . .            | 24          | 24                                  | ...                                 |
|                                       | WYOMING . . . . .              | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | ARIZONA . . . . .              | 6           | ...                                 | 6                                   |
|                                       | NEW MEXICO . . . . .           | 6           | 3                                   | 3                                   |
|                                       | OKLAHOMA . . . . .             | 6           | 5                                   | 1                                   |
|                                       | INDIAN TERRITORY . . . . .     | 6           | 6                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA . . . . . | 2           | 2                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | ALASKA . . . . .               | 4           | 4                                   | ...                                 |
|                                       | <b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>         | <b>924</b>  | <b>818<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></b> | <b>105<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></b> |

The motion to table the substitute thus prevailed.

Mr. Foraker moved the previous question on the adoption of the platform, and was seconded by Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Senator Dubois, of Idaho, demanded a separate vote on the adoption of the financial plank of the platform, and was seconded by North Carolina and Montana.

The vote to adopt the financial plank of the platform was as follows, the gold men voting yea and the silver men nay :

| STATE.                         | TOTAL VOTE. | YEAS. | NAYS. |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| ALABAMA . . . . .              | 22          | 19    | 3     |
| ARKANSAS . . . . .             | 16          | 15    | 1     |
| CALIFORNIA . . . . .           | 18          | 4     | 14    |
| COLORADO . . . . .             | 8           | ...   | 8     |
| CONNECTICUT . . . . .          | 12          | 12    | ...   |
| DELAWARE . . . . .             | 6           | 6     | ...   |
| FLORIDA . . . . .              | 8           | 7     | 1     |
| GEORGIA . . . . .              | 26          | 25    | 1     |
| IDAHO . . . . .                | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| ILLINOIS . . . . .             | 48          | 46    | 2     |
| INDIANA . . . . .              | 30          | 30    | ...   |
| IOWA . . . . .                 | 26          | 23    | 3     |
| KANSAS . . . . .               | 20          | 15    | 5     |
| KENTUCKY . . . . .             | 26          | 26    | ...   |
| LOUISIANA . . . . .            | 16          | 16    | ...   |
| MAINE . . . . .                | 12          | 12    | ...   |
| MARYLAND . . . . .             | 16          | 16    | ...   |
| MASSACHUSETTS . . . . .        | 30          | 30    | ...   |
| MICHIGAN . . . . .             | 28          | 25    | 3     |
| MINNESOTA . . . . .            | 18          | 18    | ...   |
| MISSISSIPPI . . . . .          | 18          | 18    | ...   |
| MISSOURI . . . . .             | 34          | 33    | 1     |
| MONTANA . . . . .              | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| NEBRASKA . . . . .             | 16          | 13    | 3     |
| NEVADA . . . . .               | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE . . . . .        | 8           | 8     | ...   |
| NEW JERSEY . . . . .           | 20          | 20    | ...   |
| NEW YORK . . . . .             | 72          | 72    | ...   |
| NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 22          | 14½   | 7½    |
| NORTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 6           | 6     | ...   |
| OHIO . . . . .                 | 46          | 46    | ...   |
| OREGON . . . . .               | 8           | 8     | ...   |
| PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .         | 64          | 64    | ...   |
| RHODE ISLAND . . . . .         | 8           | 8     | ...   |
| SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 18          | 18    | ...   |
| SOUTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 8           | 6     | 2     |
| TENNESSEE . . . . .            | 24          | 23    | 1     |
| TEXAS . . . . .                | 30          | 30    | ...   |
| UTAH . . . . .                 | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| VERMONT . . . . .              | 8           | 8     | ...   |
| VIRGINIA . . . . .             | 24          | 17    | 7     |
| WASHINGTON . . . . .           | 8           | 8     | ...   |
| WEST VIRGINIA . . . . .        | 12          | 12    | ...   |
| WISCONSIN . . . . .            | 24          | 24    | ...   |
| WYOMING . . . . .              | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| ARIZONA . . . . .              | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| NEW MEXICO . . . . .           | 6           | 2     | 4     |
| OKLAHOMA . . . . .             | 6           | ...   | 6     |
| INDIAN TERRITORY . . . . .     | 6           | 6     | ...   |
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA . . . . . | 2           | 2     | ...   |
| ALASKA . . . . .               | 4           | 4     | ...   |
| TOTAL . . . . .                | 923         | 812½  | 110½  |

The Gold Plank Adopted.

The Platform Adopted.

The financial plank of the platform was thus adopted. Then the whole platform was adopted by a *viva voce* vote.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The climax was now at hand. Senator Teller went to the platform, followed by Senator Cannon, of Utah. Chairman Thurston asked the Convention to allow Senator Cannon, as a matter of personal privilege, to read the statement prepared by the silver men. There was no dissent, and the Senator read it, as follows :

### THE SILVER MEN'S STATEMENT.

Appeal to the  
Platform of  
1892.

TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES: In announcing the purpose asserted in this paper it is due to our constituents and to ourselves that there shall be a public showing of vindicating facts. The sole authorized expression of national Republican faith from June 9, 1892, until the present date has been the platform adopted in National Convention at Minneapolis. Neither the utterances of the State Conventions nor the attitude of the individuals could change the tenor of that platform, or abate the sanctity of its binding force. Every delegate to this Convention was elected as its adherent and its advocate.

True, one of its most important paragraphs has been subjected to such a divergence of construction as to make its language unsatisfactory during the intervening time, and dangerous if continued in the future; but of the intent contained within the language there has never been a doubt. It is the rightful province of this Convention to revise the party tenets, and to announce anew the party purpose.

The Platform  
of 1892 in Con-  
flict With It.

The majority of this Convention in the exercise of such authority has this day made official enunciation of Republican law and gospel. With much of the platform we agree; believing that it in many essential particulars compasses the needs of humanity, affirms the maintenance of rights, and proposes the just remedy for wrong. But it declares one elemental principle, not only in direct contravention of the expression of party faith in 1892, but in radical opposition to our solemn conviction. We recognize that in all matters of mere method it is but just and helpful that the minority shall yield to the will of the majority, lest we have chaos in parties and in government.

But as no pronouncement by majorities can change opposing knowledge or belief sincerely entertained, so it cannot oblige minorities to abandon or disavow their principles. Assuredly, as it is requisite for peace and progress that minorities shall yield to majorities in matters of mere method, just so surely is it necessary for that same peace and progress that minorities shall not yield in matters of fundamental truth.

The Deliv-  
erance of 1892  
Meant Bimet-  
allism.

The Republican platform of 1892 affirmed that the American people from tradition and interest favored bimetallism and demanded the use of both gold and silver as standard money. This was accepted by us as a

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

declaration in behalf of the principle upon which rests the interest of every citizen and the safety of the United States. In such terms the platform was then satisfactory to the believers in bimetallism within our party. Only because of equivocal construction and evasion has it since been demonstrated to be insufficient.

The platform this day adopted in the National Republican Convention at St. Louis, says: The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such an agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably these obligations of the United States and all our money, either coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

As the declaration of 1892 has been, by a majority of the party, construed to justify a single gold standard for our monetary basis, and as the recent trend of the official power of the party has been in that direction, we can but assume that the money plank of the new platform, being much more favorable to perpetual gold monometallism, will be determinedly used in behalf of that idea. The Republican party has won its power and renown by pursuing its purposes courageously and relentlessly; it is, therefore, only in accordance with the party's history to assume that if it shall come to present authority in the United States it will crystallize into law and administration, under this tempting platform, the perpetual single gold standard in our finances. This, if long continued, will mean the absolute ruin of the producer of the country, and finally of the nation itself.

The Financial  
Plank of 1896  
Means Gold  
Monomet-  
allism.

The American people not only favor bimetallism from tradition and interest, but from that wise instinct which has always been manifest in the affairs of a people destined for the world's leadership. Under the operation of our great demand for advancement, we have become to other nations the greatest debtor nation of the world. We pay the vast charges which every year accumulate against us in the clearing-house of the world, with the money of the world procured by the disposal of our commodities in the markets of the world. We are a nation of producers. Our creditors are nations of consumers. Any system of international or national finance which elevates the price of human product makes our burden lighter, and gives promise of that day when it shall be entirely lifted and our country freed financially, as it is politically, from the domination of monarchy and foreign autocracy.

The  
United States  
the Greatest  
Debtor Nation.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Any system of finance which tends to depreciate the price of human productions, which we must sell abroad, so far adds to the burden of our debt, and conveys a threat of the perpetual servitude of the producers of our debtor nation to the consumers of creditor nations.

History, philosophy, morals, all join with the commonest instinct of self-preservation in demanding that the United States shall have a just and substantially unvarying standard composed of all available gold and silver, and with it our country will progress to financial enfranchisement. But with a single gold standard the country will go on to the worst destruction; to continued falling prices; until our people would become the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the consumers in creditor nations of the earth.

To such an unholy end we will not lend ourselves. Dear as has been the Republican name to us, adherence to that name is not so dear as the faith itself, and we do not sacrifice one jot or tittle of the mighty principles by which Republicanism has uplifted the world when we say that at the parting of the ways we cling to the faith, let the name go where it will. We hold that this Convention has seceded from the truth; that the triumph of such secession would be the eventual destruction of our freedom and our civilization. To that end the people will not knowingly follow any political party; and we choose to take our place in the ranks of the great mass of citizens who realize that the hour has come for justice.

The Silverites  
Discard the  
Name But  
Cling to the  
Faith.

Did we deem this issue less important to humanity we would yield, since the associations of all our political lives have been intertwined with the men and the measures of this party of past mighty achievements. But the people cry aloud for relief; they are bending beneath a burden growing heavier with the passing hours; endeavor no longer brings its just reward; fearfulness takes the place of courage, and despair usurps the throne of hope, and unless the laws of the country and the policies of political parties shall be converted into mediums of redress, the effect of human desperation may some time be witnessed here as in other lands and in other ages.

Accepting the fiat of this Convention as the present purpose of the party, we withdraw from this Convention to return to our constituents the authority with which they invested us, believing that we have better discharged their trust by this action, which restores to them authority unsullied, than by giving cowardly and insincere endorsement to the greatest wrong ever wilfully attempted within the Republican party—once redeemer of the people, but now about to become their oppressor, unless providentially restrained by votes of free men.

They With-  
draw From the  
Convention.

The statement was signed by Senator Teller, of Colorado; Senator Dubois, of Idaho; Senator Cannon, of Utah; Representative Hartman, of Montana, and Mr. A. C. Cleveland, of





CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, OF NEW YORK.

NO. 1000  
RECEIVED

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Nevada, as the representatives of their respective States on the Committee on Resolutions.

Messrs. Teller and Cannon then shook hands with Chairman Thurston and Mr. Foraker, descended from the platform, edged their way through the aisle, and passed out of the hall, followed by about twenty other silver delegates, amid the yells, hoots, cheers and hisses of the audience, the waving of hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, and flags, the playing of the band, and a general tumult such as was never paralleled in any other Republican National Convention.

The Bolt Takes Place.

Several silver delegates who remained in the hall now explained why they did not bolt. Senator Mantle, of Montana, spoke thus:

The Silverite Non-Bolters Explain.

### SENATOR MANTLE'S STATEMENT.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION: There is evidently a misapprehension as to my position and that which those who remain with me occupy in reference to this Convention. I desire to say that a majority of the delegation from the State of Montana have not felt that under the circumstances surrounding this occasion they were justified in actually walking out of the Convention. But, Mr. Chairman, I must say, in deference to the wishes and opinions of a vast majority of the Republicans of the State of Montana, that we cannot give our approval or our endorsement to the financial plank this day adopted. The gentlemen who are here in this Convention from their respective States represent the sentiments of the people who sent them here. We, of Montana, are here precisely in the same position. Under the pledges made by the Republican party in its national platform, we, of the West, went out and said to our people, "The Republican party is the friend of silver; it has declared that it is in favor of gold and silver as the standard money of this nation." Upon that statement, although we encountered the Populist wave which swept through our Western land, we were enabled to keep the State of Montana within the Republican column and cast its electoral vote for Benjamin Harrison; but, Mr. Chairman, had it been stated that the Republican party was then in favor of the single gold standard, that achievement would have been impossible.

Montana Disapproves the Financial Plank.

I am simply expressing the sentiment of the people who sent us here, and they have never been anywhere but in the Republican party. I have never cast in my life anything but a Republican vote, and I don't want to do it now if I can help it; but we have come here under explicit

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

direction, under strict instructions from the Republicans of our State. We would be false to them and false to ourselves if we did not state their position and their objections at this time.

And Protests  
Against it.

Mr. Chairman, in the name and in behalf of the Republicans of Montana, I protest earnestly, solemnly and emphatically against the financial plank of the platform adopted this day, and I say this, Mr. Chairman, that we can not accept it, we can not indorse it, we can not support it. But here, Mr. Chairman, there is a difference of opinion in this delegation. There are those who are satisfied to utter this protest and still participate in the proceedings of this Convention. There are others who feel that in refusing to support the majority declaration on this great controlling issue that they are in honor bound not to participate in the placing of a candidate upon a platform which they can not indorse. But, Mr. Chairman, whatever the action of the delegation may be among its individual members, I want to say this, that we reserve the right to the Republicans of the State of Montana to accept or reject at such time and in such manner as they may determine, the platform and the candidates this day placed before them in this Convention.

Senator Brown, of Utah, followed. He said :

### SENATOR BROWN'S EXPLANATION.

Utah Sticks to  
the Party.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The delegation from Utah does not bolt. We do not believe that the Republican party is an oppressor, but the guardian of liberty and the protector of honest government everywhere. Three of our delegates have gone and I am here to express our sorrow at their departure. We have begged them to remain and we shall never cease to urge them to return. It is personal, largely, however. As I said before, we have three delegates in this Convention and we have three alternates, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Green and Mr. Smith, all true to the old Republican party. We have come before you as staunch and stalwart Republicans and as loyal to its principles as the everlasting mountains are up where we live. We do not, in saying this, surrender anything of the belief that we have, and I shall not weary you with a speech on that subject. We still remain true to the principles of the free coinage of silver at the old ratio. We do not believe it can be settled by a mere vote this fall or a mere vote in this Convention.

Wants American  
Protection.

Time, prosperity and success only can settle it, and when it is settled that way it will be the redemption of silver as constitutional money. But, as I said, I promised not to speak to you on that subject. I come to say to you that there is one great issue before the American people, one unto which the Republican party was pledged years and years ago; one which we have not yet fulfilled. You have promised to

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

the people of the United States an American tariff and American protection. That promise you must fulfill this fall. You must send protection to every shipowner and every shipmaker; you must send protection to the farmer, to the manufacturer, and I come to say to you that Utah, or part of us, at least, will endeavor to labor to help you in that cause.

We will go to the people of that State; we will go to the protectionists of that State; and we will labor with them to see if we cannot send three electors, who shall vote for the nominee of this Convention, whoever he may be. We will labor to see to it that we have the representation in Congress that will vote for every tariff bill that comes up. We have never faltered at home on that subject; we are with you. We have some doubt or misgiving of the past, but our hearts will reach forward, and we will struggle to convince you that we are right on the silver question. But whether you are right or we are right, we will work together, and we will work with you for the great cause of Americanism. And now, Mr. President, I beg that the three alternates be allowed with us as delegates in this Convention to take the place of those who have retired.

A. F. Burleigh, of the State of Washington, followed Senator Brown, thus:

### MR. BURLEIGH'S REMARKS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: Coming from the only Pacific Coast State which declared in its platform for the maintenance of the present gold standard and against the free coinage of silver, I desire to take your attention for one moment. The young State of Washington, smaller than many of her magnificent sisters in this Union, yields first place, for patriotic devotion to the principles of this Government, and loyal allegiance to the tenets of the Republican party, to none.

Washington  
Believes in  
the Gold Stand-  
ard.

We have not come here to imbibe inspiration on the money question. We brought our inspiration with us, 2500 miles, from the Pacific Coast, and through the States of Idaho and Montana, and it is just as good here now and just as fervent as before it made the journey.

We believe in a single gold standard, because we think that the money which pays interest to the banker on Wall street is none too good to pay the wages of labor in Washington.

And with the principles of this party inscribed upon our banner, with protection, with reciprocity, with sound money as defined by this platform, and with the unanimous choice of the Republicans of that State for President, William McKinley, of Ohio, we shall go to Republican victory at the polls in November, and with us will go the loyal people of the State of Washington.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The roll was then called, that each State and Territory might name its member of the National Committee. This body is as follows:

National Com-  
mittee of  
1896-1900.

ALABAMA—William Youngblood.

ARKANSAS—Powell Clayton.

CALIFORNIA—J. D. Spreckles.

COLORADO—J. F. Sanders.

CONNECTICUT—Samuel Fessenden.

DELAWARE—J. H. Wilson.

FLORIDA—J. G. Long.

GEORGIA—Judson W. Lyon.

IDAHO—George F. Shoup.

ILLINOIS—T. N. Jameson.

INDIANA—W. T. Durbin.

IOWA—A. B. Cummings.

KANSAS—Cyrus Leland.

KENTUCKY—John W. Yerkes.

LOUISIANA—A. T. Wimberly.

MAINE—J. H. Manley.

MARYLAND—George L. Wellington.

MASSACHUSETTS—George H. Lyman.

MICHIGAN—George L. Maltz.

MINNESOTA—L. F. Hubbard.

MISSISSIPPI—James J. Hill.

MISSOURI—R. C. Kerens.

MONTANA—Charles R. Leonard.

NEBRASKA—John M. Thurston.

NEVADA—C. H. Sproule.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—P. C. Cheney.

NEW JERSEY—G. A. Hobart.

NEW YORK—Frederick Gibbs.

NORTH CAROLINA—J. E. Boyd.

NORTH DAKOTA—W. H. Hopkins.

OHIO—Charles L. Kurtz.

OREGON—George A. Steele.

PENNSYLVANIA—M. S. Quay.

RHODE ISLAND—C. R. Brayton.

SOUTH CAROLINA—E. A. Webster.

SOUTH DAKOTA—A. B. Kittredge.

TENNESSEE—W. P. Brownlow.

TEXAS—John Grant.

UTAH—O. J. Salsbury.

VERMONT—George T. Childs.

VIRGINIA—George E. Bowden.

WASHINGTON—P. C. Sullivan.

WEST VIRGINIA—N. B. Scott.

WISCONSIN—H. C. Payne.

WYOMING—Willis Vandevander.

ARIZONA—W. M. Griffith.

NEW MEXICO—Solomon Luna.

OKLAHOMA—Henry E. Asp.

INDIAN TERRITORY—Leo E. Bennett.

Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, was made Chairman of the Committee. The members from the District of Columbia and Alaska were to be selected by the Executive Committee.

Presidential  
Aspirants Pre-  
sented.

The roll of States was then called for the presentation of Presidential aspirants. John N. Baldwin, of Iowa, spoke for Senator Allison, as follows:

### BALDWIN PRESENTS ALLISON.

Blaine's Tri-  
bute to Allison.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: There is one, but only one, of those whose names will be presented to this Convention who can claim that there has been placed for him in history's golden urn an estimate of his character and worth, made by him on whom nature stamped her royal seal, God exhibited as his greatest design of American manhood, genius, statesmanship and patriotism;

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

who, now in heaven, wears a crown of deathless praise and whose great soul is a portion of eternity itself—James G. Blaine.

Blaine, writing to Garfield, said, "Then comes Allison. He is true, kind, reasonable, fair, honest and good. He is methodical, industrious and intelligent, and would be a splendid man to sail along with smoothly and successfully."

Complying with the request of the Iowa delegation, I rise to propose to this Convention the nomination of him to whom this heritage was bequeathed, William B. Allison, and to ask you to make it on the Old and New Testament of Republicanism.

It takes a big man to represent the State of Iowa in the Congress of the United States for thirty-five years, but Senator Allison is that man. With the most perfect knowledge of the details of all our political laws and their histories, he has for thirty-five years upon the floor of the House and Senate been fighting for the interests of the people; carrying onward and upward the nation's legislative work; turning cranks out of place; unsphering stars of Democracy; unmasking the hidden purposes of corrupt measures, until now he holds the place of ungrudged supremacy in the legislative halls of that most splendid of capitols.

Allison's  
Knowledge of  
Politics.

That which this country has lost is that which it now seeks, protection. To get it the people have worked hard, prayed fast, paid high, and now let them have it. Allison does not believe in a tariff for revenue only, but in a tariff for protection and revenue jointly. He has always insisted that the protective system is the mightiest instrument for the development of our natural resources, and the strongest agency to protect American wealth and American labor. Protection built the laborer his American home, and he never again will welcome therein Democratic sirens, singing free trade songs, written and composed by English bards, for, having chiseled the principles of protection in his hearthstone, he will at the next election defend them at his front gate.

Protection.

The great and important issue which is just now coming around the corner is the one of sound money, and we can no more dodge it than we can gravitation. When I say sound money I mean the courageous maintenance of our present gold standard till changed by international agreement. In this respect the situation is easily simple, but certainly serious. A decision upon this important question must be made by this Convention, and remember, gentlemen, a nation listens to catch the click of its fate.

Sound Money.

For Senator Allison you can not build too strong a platform for sound money, and if you place him upon it he will see to it that the dry rot of 16 to 1 does not steal through its staunch timbers. The United States can no more make good money by simply placing the symbol of sovereignty or mark of authority on any kind of metal, regardless of

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

its commercial value or relations to foreign countries, than it can extend its domain by calling a furlong a mile.

Unlimited  
Coinage Means  
Unlimited  
Bankruptcy.

He believes that the American dollar should have some grains of sense as well as more of silver; that there can be no stability to our currency or money, if we keep adopting such shifting policies as that under them the same piece may be a copper cent in one hand and a dollar in another. He believes that unlimited coinage would soon lead to unlimited bankruptcy.

No honest farmer would borrow from his neighbor a 50c. bushel of wheat, and insist upon paying him back with a bushel of 25c. oats, and so this great Government can not expect to keep its credit at the highest point if it borrows dollar gold and insists upon paying back with 50c. silver, any other construction of the word "coin" in any laws or any contracts to the contrary notwithstanding.

The platform of this Convention must be for sound money, in clear, ringing, unmistakable terms. On any other construction of it the party may get into power, but the country would be in danger of falling into the batch of bankrupt governments, and at the end of the party's administration it would probably have no more of an estate than did Rabelais, whose will when opened read: "In the name of God, amen, I have nothing. I owe much. I give the rest to the poor."

Allison and  
the Monroe  
Doctrine.

"At the time when nation wildly looks at nation standing with mute lips apart," Allison did not meet with clenched fist the proffered hand of international adjustment. However, he has stood unwaveringly by the Monroe doctrine and insisted that the United States should recognize any people struggling for liberty and Republican institutions, even if they were insurgents in Cuba.

I ask you to nominate him. If you do, the people from the sand-enshrouded Mexican line to the boundary that separates us from an unborn daughter on the north, will shout as in one glorious, glad anthem "The old temple of Republicanism still stands. Flock to it for shelter."

If you do, every keynote of the campaign will be kept at concert pitch. If you do, the White House will be used no longer as an experiment station.

Nominate him, and not now, perhaps, but when the strife is over, his name will fall like millennial music on your ears.

Nominate him, and a thrill of joy will go from the West to the East, carrying on its trembling way the songs of our reapers only to be lost in the roar of your furnaces.

Allison and  
Prosperity.

Nominate him, and when our corn grows gold in autumn's time, our flocks teeming and our granaries full, every spindle will be turning day and night on the Merrimac. If you will do this, light will fall on our darkened land and instantly a long-suffering people will hear the surges of returning prosperity.



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, presented Thomas B. Reed's name in the following address:

LODGE SPEAKS FOR REED.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Four years ago we met as we meet now, representatives of the great Republican party. Prosperity was in the land. Capital was confident and labor employed. There was the good day's wage for the good day's work, and the spirit of American enterprise was stirring and bold. The Treasury was full, the public revenues ample for the public need. We were at peace with all the world, and had placed a prudent hand on the key of the Pacific.

Prosperity in  
1892.

Four short years have come and gone. Look about you now. The Treasury is empty; our credit is impaired; our revenues are deficient. We meet the public needs, not with income, but by borrowing at high rates, and pledging the future for the wants of the present. Business is paralyzed. Confidence has gone. Enterprise has folded its eagle wings and mopes and blinks in the market place. Our mills are idle and our railroads are crippled. Capital hides itself, and labor idly walks the street. There is neither a good day's wage nor a good day's work. We have met with slights abroad, and have serious differences with other nations. The key of the Pacific has slipped from nerveless hands. Foreign troops have been landed in this hemisphere. Our own boundaries have been threatened in Alaska. The Monroe doctrine has been defended, but is not yet vindicated. The people of a neighboring island fighting for freedom look to us with imploring eyes, and look in vain.

Disaster in  
1896.

The American policy which would protect our industries at home and our flag abroad has faded and withered away. Look then upon that picture and on this. Could you that fair mountain leave to feed and batten on this moor? But four short years have come and gone, and they have brought this change. What has happened? I will tell you in a word. The Democratic party has been in power. That is the answer. Upon us falls the heavy burden of binding up these wounds and bringing relief to all this suffering. The Democrats deceived the people by promising them the millennium, and the miserable results of those lying promises are all about us to-day. We have no promises to make. We pledge ourselves only to that which we believe we can perform. We will do our best. That is all. And, as in 1860 we saved the Union and abolished slavery, so now, in 1896, we will deal with this Democratic legacy of blunders, bankruptcy and misfortune.

Evil Effects  
of Democratic  
Power.

We are gathered here to choose the next President of the United States. That we will win in the election no man doubts. But let us not deceive ourselves with the pleasant fancy that the campaign is to be an easy one. It will be a hard battle; it can not be otherwise when so

The Campaign  
of 1896 Will  
Not Be Easy.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

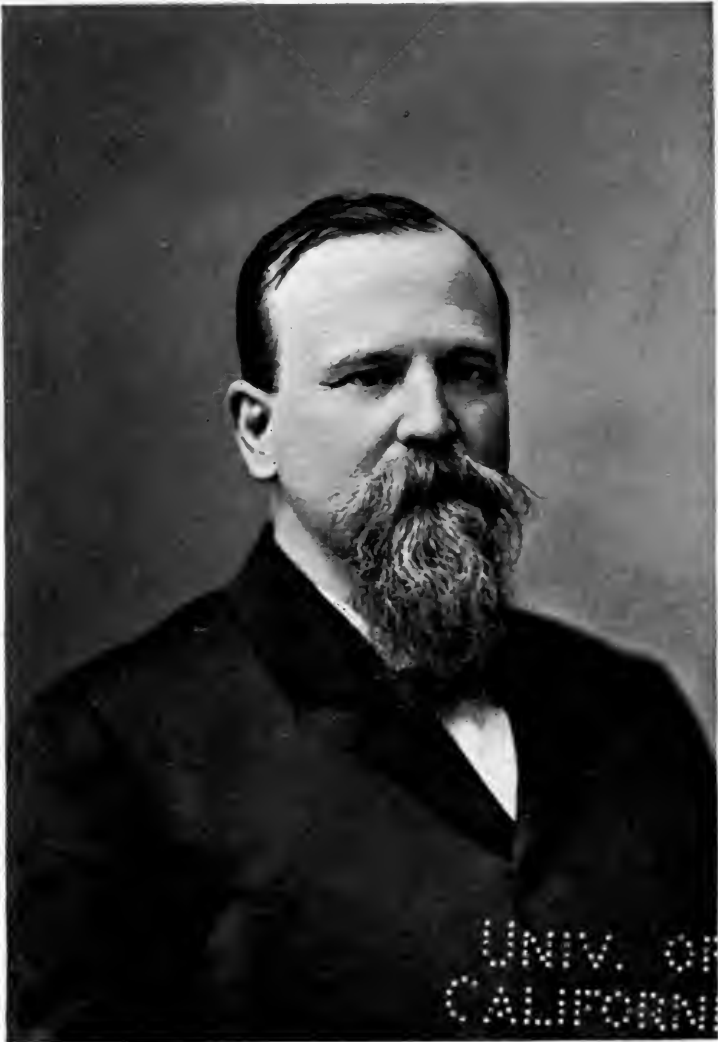
much depends upon the result. Against the Republican party, representing fixed American policies, strength, progress and order, will be arrayed not only that organized failure, the Democratic party, but all the wandering forces of political chaos and social disorder. It is not merely the presidency which is set before us as the prize. The prosperity of the country, the protection of our industries, the soundness of our currency, and the national credit, are all staked on the great issue to be decided at the polls next November. Upon us rests the duty of rescuing the country from the misery into which it has been plunged by three years of Democratic misrule. To drive the Democrats from power is the first step and the highest duty, but we shall triumph in vain, and in our turn shall meet heavy punishment at the hands of the people, if we do not put our victory to right uses. Such a crisis as this can not be met and dealt with by shouts of enthusiasm. We must face it as our fathers faced slavery and disunion, with a grim determination to win the battle, and, that done, to take up our responsibilities in the same spirit with which we won the fight. Now, as then, we can hope to succeed only by the most strenuous endeavor, and now, as then, everything depends upon the Administration we place in office.

The Man Who  
Is Needed.

We want a President who will meet this situation as Lincoln met that of 1861—with the chiefs of the Republicans about him and with party and people at his back. We want a President who, on the 5th day of next March, will summon Congress in extra session and, refusing to make appointments or to deal with patronage, will say that all else must wait until Congress sends to him a tariff which shall put money in the Treasury, and wages in the pockets of the American workingmen. We want a President who will protect at all hazards the gold reserves of the Treasury, who will see to it that no obligation of the Government is presented that is not paid in whatever coin the creditor chooses to demand, and will never forget that the nation which pays with honor, borrows with ease. We want a man who will guard the safety and dignity of the nation at home and abroad, and who will always and constantly be firm and strong in dealing with foreign nations, instead of suddenly varying a long course of weakness and indifference with a convulsive spasm of vigor and patriotism. Above all, we want a man who can lead his party and act with it, and who will not, by senseless quarrels between the White House and the Capitol, reduce legislation and execution alike to imbecility and failure.

A Leader  
Wanted.

Such is the man we want for our great office in these bitter times, when the forces of disorder are loosed and the wreckers with their false lights gather at the shore and lure the ship of state upon the rocks. Such a man fit for such deeds, I am now to present to you. He needs no praise from me, for he has proved his own title to leadership. From what he is and what he has done we know what he can do. For twenty years, in victory and defeat, at the head of great majorities and of small minorities alike, he has led his party in Congress with a power which



WILLIAM O. BRADLEY, FIRST REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY.

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## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

no man could dispute, and with an ability which never failed. I have seen him, with a maddened opposition storming about him, carry through the great reform which has made the House of Representatives the strong and efficient body it is to-day. I have seen him during the past winter guide a great majority so that they have met every demand put upon them, and made no errors which could burden the Republican party in the campaign before us.

Before the people and in the House he has ever been the bold and brilliant champion of the great Republican policies, which, adopted, have made us prosperous, and, abandoned, have left ruin at our doors. He is a thorough American, by birth, by descent, by breeding; one who loves his country and has served it in youth and manhood, in war and in peace. His great ability, his originality of thought, his power in debate, his strong will, are known of all men, and are part of the history of the last twenty years. His public career is as spotless as his private character is pure and unblemished. He is a trained statesman, fit for the heaviest task the country can impose upon him. He commands the confidence of his party and his country. He is a leader of men. We know it because we have seen him lead. To those who have followed him he never said "Go," but always "Come." He is entirely fearless. We know it, for we have seen his courage tested on a hundred fields. He has been called to great places and great trials, and he has never failed nor flinched. He is fit to stand at the head of the Republican column. He is worthy to be an American President.

A Champion of  
Republican  
Policies.

I have the honor, the very great honor, to present to you as a candidate for your nomination the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine.

Such a Man is  
Thomas B.  
Reed.

Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, presented, in the following address, the name of Governor Morton of that State:

### DEPEW NAMES MORTON.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION: National Republican Conventions have been epoch makers. They have formulated the principles, originated the policies and suggested the measures, which in the history of the United States, form its most progressive periods. They have nominated for the Presidency, statesmen and soldiers who were the leaders of the people in their onward march to larger liberty, and broader and better industrial conditions.

What Republi-  
can Conven-  
tions Have  
Done.

No party, no matter however glorious its achievements or how brilliant its successes, can rely upon the past. Its former triumphs are only its certificates of character, which must be met by continuing effort, as beneficent and wise as anything of which it boasts. The party which is to permanently govern a country, and is secure in its past, must not only

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

be equal to the present, but must forecast and provide for the future. The Republican party has held possession of the Government of the United States for more than a generation because it has triumphantly met these conditions. The unequalled successes of the Republican party, its hold upon the country, and its masterful influence upon affairs have been due to the fact that in every crisis its principles have solved the problems of the hour, and its selected leader has been the man for the occasion.

Union and  
Liberty.

The greatest moral and patriotic questions which a free people were ever called upon to meet were slavery and secession in the early days of our organization. But with "Union and Liberty" as our watchword, and with Lincoln as our leader, we saved the Republic and emancipated the slave. The passionate and critical issues of reconstruction were successfully met, and the hostile sections happily united by a policy of conciliation which could only secure the consent of the victors and the assent of the conquered by the influence of the soldier-President, who had the confidence of the armies which he had led in triumph, and the enemies whom he had paroled with honor.

Great  
Republicans.

In a period when progress halted because of the distrust of commonwealths and their citizens of each other, the later and better judgment of the country expressed its acknowledgment to the non-partisanship and judicial fairness of Hayes and Evarts. The youth who came to manhood after the Civil War, and knew little of its agonies or its animosities, found a glorious example of American possibility and achievement in the canal driver, the college student, the school principal, the college president, the Union General, the illustrious debater in the House of Representatives, the brilliant and magnetic Garfield.

In defeat and in victory, for the policies which stood for the development of American industries, for America and Americans, whether native or naturalized, and for the reciprocity which bound the North American and South American continents together, we had the Plumed Knight of our enthusiasm and our love, James G. Blaine. As a new generation came to the majority, to whom the past was a legend, the present, the difficult task of development and prosperity, and the future theory without experience, the Republican party again happily practiced, in its control of the executive and the legislative branches of the Government, that policy of the protection of American industries and that practice of sound finance which gave to the Republic its era of greatest prosperity and its period of the largest returns for capital, the fullest employment for labor and the highest wages for work in the history of our Nation in the closing year of the administration of that able and accomplished statesman, Benjamin Harrison.

A few weeks preceding the Convention of four years ago at Minneapolis I had an afternoon with Mr. Blaine. With marvelous intuition he forecast the future. He said: "Substantially all the forces of opposition,

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

of distrust and of disappointment, of theory and of imagination which accumulate against a party that has been in power for over thirty years are now concentrated for an assault upon our position and are certain to succeed. The Democratic party and its allies of Populism and of all other isms are destined in this campaign, no matter who is our candidate or what is our platform, to secure possession of the Government."

Blaine's  
Prophecy.

The country knows to its loss, its sorrow and its grief, that the prediction has been fulfilled in every part. In its fulfillment the United States has the experience and Europe has the business and prosperity.

We meet to take up the broken cord of national development and happiness and link it once more to the car of progress. Our industries stagnant, our manufactures paralyzed, our agriculture disheartened, our artisans unemployed, our finances disordered, our Treasury bankrupt, our credit impaired, our position among the nations of the world questioned, all look to this Convention and call upon its wisdom for hope and rescue.

The conditions created by the practice of Democratic policies, the promise of Democratic measures and the differences of Democratic statesmen would seem to argue an unquestioned and overwhelming triumph for the Republican party in the coming election. No matter how brilliant the promise, no matter how serene the outlook, it is the part of wisdom, with the uncertainties of politics and our recent experience of the tragic shifting of issues, to be careful, prudent and wise in platform and in candidate.

Wise Choice of  
a Candidate  
Needed.

The last few years have been a campaign of universal education among the people of the United States, and while we may in platform and candidate meet all the requirements of party obligations and party expectations, we must remember that there is a vast constituency which has little fealty to parties or to organizations, but votes for the man and the principles which are in accord with their views in the administration of the country.

The whole country, North, South, East and West, without any division in our lines, or out of them, stands, after what has happened in the last three years, for the protection of American industries, for the principle of reciprocity and for America for Americans. But a compact neighborhood of great commonwealths, in which are concentrated the majority of the population, of the manufactures and of the industrial energies of the United States, has found that business and credit exist only with the stability of sound money.

The Nation  
Wants Protec-  
tion and  
Americanism.

It has become the fashion of late to decry business as unpatriotic. We hear much of the "sordid considerations of capital," "employment," "industrial energies" and "prosperous labor." The United States, differing from the mediæval conditions which govern older countries, differing from the militarism which is the curse of European nations, differing from thrones which rest upon the sword, is pre-eminently and patriotically a

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Business  
Synonymous  
With  
Patriotism.

commercial and a business nation. Thus commerce and business are synonymous with patriotism. When the farmer is afield sowing and reaping the crops which find a market that remunerates him for his toil, when the laborer and the artisan find work seeking them and not themselves despairing of work, when the wage of the toiler promises comfort for his family and hope for his children, when the rail is burdened with the product of the soil and of the factory, when the spindles are humming and the furnaces are in blast, when the mine is putting out its largest product and the national and individual wealth are constantly increasing, when the homes owned unmortgaged by the people are more numerous day by day and month by month, when the schools are most crowded, the fairs most frequent, and happy conditions most universal in the nation, then are the promises fulfilled which make these United States of America the home of the oppressed and the land of the free.

It is to meet these conditions and to meet them with a candidate who represents them, and about whom there can be no question, that New York presents to you for the Presidency, under the unanimous instructions of two successive Republican State Conventions, the name of her Governor, Levi P. Morton.

The State of  
New York.

New York is the cosmopolitan State of the Union. She is both a barometer and thermometer of the changes of popular opinion and popular passion. She has been the pivotal commonwealth which has decided nearly every one of the national elections in this generation. She has more Yankees than any city in New England, more Southerners than any community in the South, and more native-born Westerners than any city in the West, and the representatives of the Pacific Coast within her borders have been men who have done much for the development of that glorious region. These experienced and cosmopolitan citizens with their fingers upon the pulses of the finance and trade of the whole country, feel instantly the conditions that lead to disaster or to prosperity. Hence they swing the State sometimes to the Republican and sometimes to the Democratic column.

In the tremendous effort to break the hold which Democracy had upon our Commonwealth, and which it had strengthened for ten successive years, we selected as our standard bearer the gentleman whom I present on behalf of our State here to-day and who carried New York, and took the Legislature with him, by 156,000 majority.

Morton as a  
Diplomat.

We are building a navy and the White Squadron is a forerunner of a commerce which is to whiten every sea and carry our flag into every port of the world. Not our wish perhaps, not our ambitions probably, but our very progress and expansion have made us one of the family of nations. We can no longer, without the hazard of unnecessary frictions with other Governments, conduct our foreign policy except through the medium of a skilled diplomacy. For four years as Minister to France, when critical questions of the import of our products into that country were imminent, Levi P. Morton learned and practiced successfully the



## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

diplomacy which was best for the prosperity of his country. None of the mistakes which have discredited our relations with foreign nations during the past four years could occur during his Administration. He is the best type of the American business man—that type which is the ideal of school, the academy and the college, that type which the mother presents to her boy in the Western cabin and the Eastern tenement as she is marking out for him a career by which he shall rise from his poor surroundings to grasp the prizes which come through American liberty and American opportunity.

You see the picture. The New England clergyman on his meager salary, the large family of boys and girls about him, the sons going out with their common school education, the boy becoming the clerk in a store, then granted an interest in the business, then becoming its controlling spirit, then claiming the attention of the great house in the city and called to a partnership, then himself the master of great affairs. Overwhelmed by the incalculable conditions of civil war, but with undaunted energy and foresight, he grasped again the elements of escape out of bankruptcy and of success, and with the return of prosperity he paid to the creditors who had compromised his indebtedness every dollar, principal and interest, of what he owed them. The best type of a successful business man, he turns to politics, to be a useful member of Congress, to diplomacy, to be a successful Minister abroad, to the executive and administrative branches of government, to be the most popular Vice-President and the presiding officer of that most august body, the Senate of the United States.

Morton as a  
Business Man.

Our present deplorable industrial and financial conditions are largely due to the fact that, while we have a President and a Cabinet of acknowledged ability, none of them have had business training or experience. They are persuasive reasoners upon industrial questions, but have never practically solved industrial problems. They are the book farmers who raise wheat at the cost of orchids and sell it at the price of wheat. With Levi P. Morton there would be no deficiency to be met by the issue of bonds, there would be no blight on our credit which would call for the services of a syndicate, there would be no trifling with the delicate intricacies of finance and commerce which would paralyze the operations of trade and manufacture.

Whoever may be nominated by this Convention will receive the cordial support, the enthusiastic advocacy of the Republicans of New York, but in the shifting conditions of our Commonwealth, Governor Morton can secure more than the party strength, and without question in the coming canvass, no matter what issues may arise between now and November, place the Empire State solidly in the Republican column.

Morton's  
Political  
Strength.

Mr. Depew's speech provoked considerable applause, which was as much a tribute to the orator as it was to the aspirant.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

When the New Yorker finished, Senator-elect Foraker, of Ohio, named McKinley, in the following speech :

### FORAKER PRESENTS MCKINLEY.

The  
Democracy  
Assailed.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It would be exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to exaggerate the disagreeable experiences of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a Democratic National Administration may be summed up as one stupendous disaster. It has been a disaster, however, not without at least one redeeming feature. It has been fair—nobody has escaped. It has fallen equally and alike upon all sections of our country, and all classes of our population. The just and the unjust, the Republican and the Democrat, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, have suffered in common. Idleness and its consequent poverty and distress have been the rewards of labor; distress and bankruptcy have overtaken business; shrunken values have dissipated fortunes; deficient revenues have impoverished the Government, while bond issues and bond syndicates have discredited and scandalized the nation.

It Commits  
Suicide.

Over against this fearful penalty we can set down one great, blessed, compensatory result. It has destroyed the Democratic party. The proud columns that swept the country in triumph in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles when put to the test of a practical application have proven delusive fallacies, and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of hostile and irreconcilable factions.

Their approaching National Convention is but an approaching national nightmare. No man pretends to be able to predict any good result to come from it, and no man is seeking its nomination except only the limited few who have advertised their unfitness for any kind of a public trust by proclaiming their willingness to stand on any sort of platform that may be adopted.

In the Throes  
of Dissolution.

The truth is, the party that could stand up under the odium of human slavery, opposition to the war for the preservation of the Union, emancipation, enfranchisement, reconstruction and specie resumption, at last finds itself overmatched and undone by itself. It is writhing in the throes of final dissolution, superinduced by a dose of its own doctrines. No human agency can prevent its absolute overthrow at the next election, except only this Convention. If we make no mistake here, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897, to remain out of power until God, in his wisdom, and mercy, and goodness, shall see fit once more to chastise his people.

So far, we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scenes witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

It remains for us now, as the last crowning act of our work here, to again meet that same expectation in the nomination of our candidate. What is that expectation? What do the people want? You all do know.

They want something more than a good business man; they want something more than a good Republican; they want something more than a fearless leader; they want something more than a wise, patriotic statesman; they want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but who in addition, in the highest possible degree, typifies in name, character, record, ambition and purpose the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by the present free trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-saving Democratic Administration. I stand here to present to this Convention such a man. His name is William McKinley.

Senator Foraker was forced to stop right here, for at the mention of McKinley's name the tempest broke loose. For nearly half an hour the Convention went wild. Yells, cheers, and shrieks rent the air, intermingled with the strains of "Marching Through Georgia," "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and other patriotic tunes by the band. During the din, hats, handkerchiefs, flags and parasols were being waved madly, mingled with red, white and blue plumes, which had been secretly brought into the hall earlier in the proceedings. The uproar began at 3.18 P. M., and it was just 3.46 when Senator Foraker, after several attempts, was permitted to resume his speech, which he did as follows:

You seem to have heard the name of my candidate before. And so you have. He is known to all the world. His testimonials are a private life without reproach; four years of heroic service as a boy soldier for the Union on the battlefields of the Republic, under such Generals as gallant Phil Sheridan; twelve years of conspicuous service in the halls of Congress, associated with such great leaders and champions of Republicanism as James G. Blaine; four years of executive experience as Governor of Ohio; but, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, leader of the House of Representatives and author of the McKinley law—a law under which labor had the richest rewards and the country generally the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed in all our history.

No other name so completely meets the requirements of the American people; no other man so absolutely commands their hearts and their affections. The shafts of envy and jealousy, slander and libel, calumny and detraction lie broken at his feet. They have all been shot, and shot in vain. The quiver is empty and he is untouched.

McKinley's  
Name Pro-  
vokes Wild  
Enthusiasm.

Magic of  
McKinley's  
Name.

McKinley's  
Reputation.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

His Popularity.

The American people know him, trust him, believe in him, love him, and they will not allow him to be unjustly disparaged in their estimation. They know he is patriotic; they know he is an American of Americans; they know he is wise and experienced; that he is able and just, and they want him for President of the United States. They have already so declared; not in this or that State or section, but in all the States and all the sections from ocean to ocean and from the Gulf to the Lakes. They expect us to give them a chance to vote for him. If we do we shall give joy to their hearts, enthusiasm to the campaign and triumphant victory to our cause; and he in turn will give us an administration under which the country will enter upon a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad.

By all these tokens of the present, and all these promises for the future, in the name of the forty-six delegates from Ohio, I submit his claims to your consideration.

There was a repetition here of the earlier demonstration, but it did not last as long.

Chairman and Senator Thurston seconded the nomination of McKinley in the following speech.

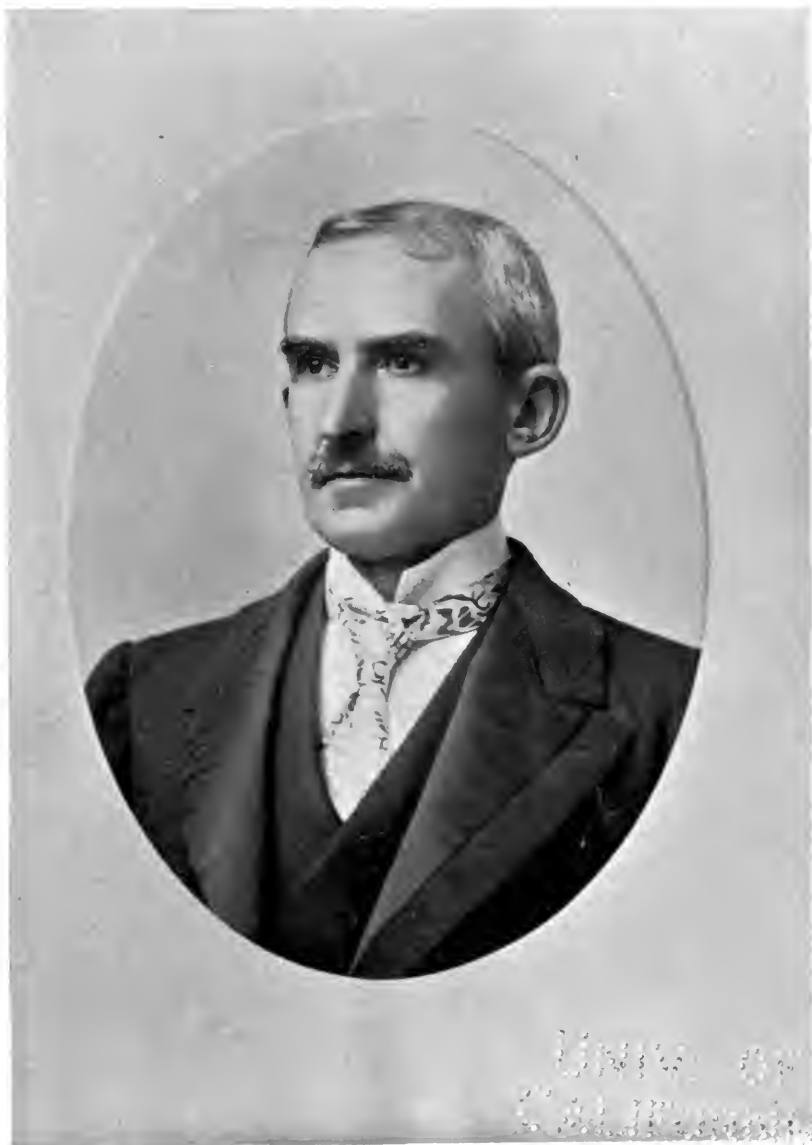
### THURSTON TALKS FOR MCKINLEY.

The Year of the People.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: This is the year of the people. They are conscious of their power; they are tenacious of their rights; they are supreme in this Convention; they are certain of victory, now and in November.

They have framed the issue of this campaign. What is it? Money? Yes; money! Not that which is coined for the mine-owner at the mint or clipped by the coupon-cutter from the bond, but that which is created by American muscle on the farms and in the factories. In the Western mountains the clamor is for silver, and the Eastern seashore cries for gold, but the millions ask for work—an opportunity to labor and to live.

The prosperity of a nation is in the employment of its people, and, thank God, the electors of the United States know this great economic truth at last. The Republican party does not stand for Nevada or New York alone, but for both; not for one State, but for all. Its platform is as broad as the land, as national as the flag. Republicans are definitely committed to sound currency, but they believe that in a government of the people the welfare of men is paramount to the interests of money. Their shibboleth for this campaign is "Protection." From the vantage ground of their own selection they can not be stampeded by Wall street panics or free-coinage cyclones. Reports of international complications and rumors of war pass them lightly by: they know that the real enemy of American prosperity is free trade and the best coast defense is a pro-



LLOYD LOWNDES, FIRST REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

no well  
defined

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

pective tariff. They do not fear the warlike preparations of Europe, but they do fear its cheap manufactures. Their real danger is not from foreign navies carrying guns, but from foreign fleets bringing goods.

This is the year of the people. They have risen in their might. From ocean to ocean, from lake to gulf, they are united as never before. We know their wishes, and are here to register their will. They must not be cheated of their choice. They know the man best qualified and equipped to fight their battles and to win their victories. His name is in every heart, on every tongue. His nomination is certain, his election sure. His candidacy will sweep the country as a prairie is swept by fire. This is the year of the people. In their name, by their authority, I second the nomination of their great champion, William McKinley. Not as a favorite son of any State, but as the favorite son of the United States. Not as a concession to Ohio, but as an added honor to the Nation.

McKinley  
the Popular  
Favorite.

When his country called to arms, he took into his boyish hands a musket and followed the flag, bravely baring his breast to the hell of battle, that it might float serenely in the Union sky. For a quarter of a century he has stood in the fierce light of public place, and his robes of office are spotless as the driven snow. He has cherished no higher ambition than the honor of his country and the welfare of the plain people. Steadfastly, courageously, victoriously and with tongue of fire he has pleaded their cause. His labor, ability and perseverance have enriched the statutes of the United States with legislation in their behalf. All his contributions to the masterpieces of American oratory are the outpourings of a pure heart and a patriotic purpose. His God-given powers are consecrated to the advancement and renown of his own country and to the uplifting and ennobling of his own countrymen. He has the courage of his convictions and can not be tempted to woo success or avert defeat by any sacrifice of principle or concession to popular clamor.

His Public  
Record.

In the hour of Republican disaster, when other leaders were excusing and apologizing, he stood steadfastly by that grand legislative act which bore his name, confidently submitting his case to the judgment of events, and calmly waiting for that triumphant vindication whose laurel crown this Convention is impatient to place upon his brow.

Strengthened and seasoned by long congressional service; broadened by the exercise of important executive powers; master of the great economic questions of the age; eloquent, single-hearted and sincere, he stands to-day the most conspicuous and commanding character of this generation; divinely ordained, as I believe, for a great mission, to lead this people out from the shadow of adversity into the sunshine of a new and enduring prosperity.

The Most Con-  
spicuous  
Character of  
His Genera-  
tion.

Omnipotence never sleeps. Every great crisis brings a leader. For every supreme hour Providence finds a man. The necessities of '96 are almost as great as those of '61. True, the enemies of the nation

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

have ceased to threaten with the sword, and the Constitution of the United States no longer tolerates that shackles shall fret the limbs of men; but free trade and free coinage hold no less menace to American progress than did the armed hosts of treason and rebellion. If the voice of the people is indeed the voice of God, then William McKinley is the complement of Abraham Lincoln. Yea, and he will issue a new emancipation proclamation to the enslaved sons of toil and they shall be lifted up into the full enjoyment of those privileges, advantages and opportunities that belong of right to the American people.

His Administration Will Inspire Respect.

Under his Administration we shall command the respect of the nations of the earth; the American flag will never be hauled down; the rights of American citizenship will be enforced; abundant revenues provided; foreign merchandise will remain abroad; our gold be kept at home; American institutions will be cherished and upheld; all governmental obligations scrupulously kept; and on the escutcheon of the republic will be indelibly engraved the American policy: protection, reciprocity and sound money.

My countrymen, let not your hearts be troubled, the darkest hour is just before the day, the morning of the twentieth century will dawn bright and clear. Lift up your hopeful faces and receive the light; the Republican party is coming back to power, and William McKinley will be President of the United States.

In an inland manufacturing city, on election night, November, 1894, after the wires had confirmed the news of a sweeping Republican victory, two workmen started to climb to the top of a great smokeless chimney. That chimney had been built by the invitation and upon the promise of Republican protective legislation. In the factory over which it towered was employment for twice a thousand men. Its mighty roar had heralded the prosperity of a whole community. It had stood a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night for a busy, industrious, happy people. Now bleak, blackened, voiceless and dismantled, like a grim specter of evil, it frowned down upon the hapless city where poverty, idleness, stagnation and want attested the complete disaster of the free trade experiment.

Pæan of a People's Joy.

Up and up and up they climbed, watched by the breathless multitude below. Up and up and up, until at last they stood upon its summit, and there in the glare of the electric lights, cheered by the gathered thousands, they unfurled and nailed an American flag. Down in the streets strong men wept—the happy tears of hope—and mothers, lifting up their babes, invoked the blessing of the flag; and then impassioned lips burst forth in song—the hallelujah of exulting hosts, the mighty pæan of a people's joy. That song, the enthusiastic millions sing it yet:

Hurrah, hurrah! we bring the jubilee,  
Hurrah, hurrah! the flag that makes us free.  
So we sing the chorus from the mountains to the sea;  
Hurrah for McKinley and protection!



## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Over the city that free flag waved, caressed by the passing breeze, kissed by the silent stars. And there the first glad sunshine of the morning fell upon it, luminous and lustrous with the tidings of Republican success.

On behalf of those stalwart workmen and all the vast army of American toilers, that their employment may be certain, their wages just, their dollars the best of the civilized world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney and the deserted factory at its base, that the furnaces may once more flame, the mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum; on behalf of the thousand cottages roundabout and all the humble homes of this broad land, that comfort and contentment may again abide, the firesides glow, the women sing, the children laugh; yes, and on behalf of that American flag and all it stands for and represents, for the honor of every stripe, for the glory of every star, that its power may fill the earth, and its splendor span the sky—I ask the nomination of that loyal American, that Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman and patriot, William McKinley.

On Behalf  
of the People  
McKinley's  
Nomination is  
Asked.

Gov. Hastings, of Pennsylvania, spoke for Senator Quay thus:

### HASTINGS PRESENTS QUAY.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Pennsylvania comes to this Convention giving you the cordial assurance that whoever may be our national standardbearer he will receive, of all the States in the Union the largest majority from the Keystone State.

Pennsylvania's  
Indorsement  
of  
the Candidate  
Promised.

There have been no faltering footsteps in Pennsylvania when the tenets of Republicanism have been at stake. Our party's principles have always been held as sacred as Independence Hall, or the memory of her dead soldiers. Having within her borders more American citizens relatively who own the homes in which they live, whose principal daily avocation is to subdue and develop her great storehouses of native wealth; whose wage-earners, skilled and unskilled, receive, one year with another, the highest average American wage rate—the Republicans of Pennsylvania, by their chosen representatives, come to this Convention, and, with you, demand, and their every interest demand, a system of national currency equal to the best in the world.

They demand as well that the Government they love and for whose flag they have fought, and still stand ready to defend, shall pay its debts in money and not in promises. They insist that a dollar is not created by the fiat of the Government, but must have 100 cents of intrinsic or exchangeable value, measured by the world's standard, and that any debasement of the standard would be fatal to business security and national honor.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

What Pennsylvanians Believe In.

They believe in the old-fashioned custom of living within their income, and when the income is unequal to the necessary outgo they insist upon increasing their revenue rather than increasing their debt. They believe that the primary object of government is to defend and promote the interests of the people who have ordained that government for the advancement of their common welfare. They hold that the revenue policy and the protective policy go hand in hand, and they stand as the sturdy and unwavering champions of that American system of fair and even-handed protection which, injuring none and helping all, has made this nation great and prosperous.

Pennsylvania comes to this Convention and with great unanimity asks you to name a standard-bearer who will represent not only the principles and conditions, but the brightest hopes and aspirations of the Republican party; a man who has been a loyal supporter of its every great movement; a potent factor in its councils from the day of its birth and baptism on Pennsylvania soil to the present time; a man whose every vote and utterance has been upon the side of sound money, fair protection and a strong and patriotic Americanism.

Pennsylvania's Favorite.

Those whom I represent and who ask his nomination at your hands point to a statesman who has been in the forefront of every battle for his party; who has been its champion, its wise counsellor, its organizer and the successful leader of its forlorn hopes. He was with those patriots who rocked the cradle of Republicanism; he was among the first to comprehend the magnitude of the armed debate of '61 and to give himself to the Union cause. In 1878 he stemmed the tide of currency inflation and won a victory which, while less ostentatious, was equal in importance to his successful rescue of the country from free trade and Grover Cleveland in 1888.

The American citizen who believes that all laws and all policies should be for America's best interest; the American soldier who admires valor as much as he loves the flag of his reunited country; the American wage-earner who loves his home and family, and who will never consent to sink himself to the wage level of the foreign pauper; the American manufacturer, emerging from the tortures of a free trade panic, and anxious to relight the fires of industry where darkness and silence still hold sway; they who loudly proclaim their recent, but perfect, conversion to the true gospel of Republicanism; they who demand dollars as good as gold as the wage for good work; who believe in commercial reciprocity with other nations, but who say "Halt" to any further foreign encroachment upon any part of America—these, all these, have found in him a steadfast friend and able supporter.

A Great Republican Leader.

He was the soldiers' friend in war, and he has been their constant champion in peace. The survivors of those who fought for freedom and won immortal fame recognize in him a comrade whose valor has been proved on hard-fought field and attested in the proudest trophy ever won by soldier—the decoration awarded him by the American Congress.



ASA S. BUSHNELL, GOVERNOR OF OHIO

70 VINT  
ALABAMA

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Called to lead a forlorn hope in the great campaign of 1888, he wrought a task equal to the six labors of Hercules. He organized the patriotism and Republicanism of the country for victory. He throttled the Tammany tiger in his den, and, forcing an honest vote and an honest count in the stronghold of the most powerful and corrupt political organization in the land, rescued the country from the heresies of Democracy. Having thus made himself too powerful and too dangerous to the enemy, the order went forth to assassinate him, but the poisoned arrows of slander and vituperation, thrown in bitter and relentless hatred, fell broken at his feet. He turned to the people among whom he lived and whose servant he was, and his vindication at their hands was a unanimous re-election to the Senate of the United States.

There, representing imperial Pennsylvania and her interests, he stood like a rock, resisting the combined power of a free trade President and party, until the deformity known as the Wilson bill was altered and amended so as to save at least some of the business interests of his State and country from entire and utter ruin.

A Champion of  
Protection.

We welcome the issue—American protection, American credit and an American policy. Let the people in the campaign which this Convention inaugurates determine whether they are willing to live through another free trade panic. Let the wage-earner and the wage-payer contemplate the bitter experiences which brought hunger to the home of one and financial ruin to the other. Let the American farmer compare farm product prices with free trade promises. Let him who has saved a surplus and him who works for a livelihood determine each for himself if he craves to be paid in American dollars disgraced and depreciated to half their alleged value. Let him who fought for his country's flag; let the widow, the orphan, and the loving parent who gave up that which was as precious as life, behold that flag and all that it stands for pawned to a foreign and domestic joint syndicate to raise temporary loans for the purpose of postponing the final financial disaster, and answer whether they want the shame and humiliation repeated. Let the sovereign voice be heard in the coming election declaring that the only government founded on the rock of freedom, blessed with every gift of nature and crowned with unmeasured possibilities, shall not be dethroned, degraded, pauperized, by a party policy at war with the very genius of our national existence.

Nominate him whom I now name and this country will have a President whose mental endowments, broad-minded statesmanship, ripe experience, marvelous sagacity, unassuming modesty, knightly courage and true Americanism are unexcelled. Nominate him and he will elect himself.

Matthew Stan-  
ley Quay.

I name to you the soldier and the statesman, Pennsylvania's choice—  
Matthew Stanley Quay.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The roll of States was then called on the vote for President. This is the vote in detail on the only ballot cast:

| The Vote for<br>the Presiden-<br>tial Candidate. | STATE.                         | NUMBER<br>DELEGATES. | MCKINLEY. | REED. | MORTON. | QUAY. | ALLISON. |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|----------|
|  |                                | ALABAMA . . . . .    | 22        | 19    | 2       | 1     | ...      |
|  | ARKANSAS . . . . .             | 16                   | 16        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | CALIFORNIA . . . . .           | 18                   | 18        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | COLORADO . . . . .             | 8                    | ...       | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | CONNECTICUT . . . . .          | 12                   | 7         | 5     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | DELAWARE . . . . .             | 6                    | 6         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | FLORIDA . . . . .              | 8                    | 6         | ...   | 2       | ...   | ...      |
|  | GEORGIA . . . . .              | 26                   | 22        | 2     | ...     | 2     | ...      |
|  | IDAHO . . . . .                | 6                    | ...       | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | ILLINOIS . . . . .             | 48                   | 46        | 2     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | INDIANA . . . . .              | 30                   | 30        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | IOWA . . . . .                 | 26                   | ...       | ...   | ...     | ...   | 26       |
|  | KANSAS . . . . .               | 20                   | 20        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | KENTUCKY . . . . .             | 26                   | 26        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | LOUISIANA . . . . .            | 16                   | 11        | 4     | ...     | ½     | ½        |
|  | MAINE . . . . .                | 12                   | ...       | 12    | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MARYLAND . . . . .             | 16                   | 15        | 1     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MASSACHUSETTS . . . . .        | 30                   | 1         | 29    | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MICHIGAN . . . . .             | 28                   | 28        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MINNESOTA . . . . .            | 18                   | 18        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MISSISSIPPI . . . . .          | 18                   | 17        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MISSOURI . . . . .             | 34                   | 34        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | MONTANA . . . . .              | 6                    | 1         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NEBRASKA . . . . .             | 16                   | 16        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NEVADA . . . . .               | 6                    | 3         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NEW HAMPSHIRE . . . . .        | 8                    | ...       | 8     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NEW JERSEY . . . . .           | 20                   | 19        | 1     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NEW YORK . . . . .             | 72                   | 17        | ...   | 55      | ...   | ...      |
|  | NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 22                   | 19½       | 2½    | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | NORTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 6                    | 6         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | OHIO . . . . .                 | 46                   | 46        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | OREGON . . . . .               | 8                    | 8         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .         | 64                   | 6         | ...   | ...     | 58    | ...      |
|  | RHODE ISLAND . . . . .         | 8                    | ...       | 8     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .       | 18                   | 18        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | SOUTH DAKOTA . . . . .         | 8                    | 8         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | TENNESSEE . . . . .            | 24                   | 24        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | TEXAS . . . . .                | 30                   | 21        | 5     | ...     | ...   | 4        |
|  | UTAH . . . . .                 | 6                    | 3         | ...   | ...     | ...   | 3        |
|  | VERMONT . . . . .              | 8                    | 8         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | VIRGINIA . . . . .             | 24                   | 23        | 1     | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | WASHINGTON . . . . .           | 8                    | 8         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | WEST VIRGINIA . . . . .        | 12                   | 12        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | WISCONSIN . . . . .            | 24                   | 24        | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | WYOMING . . . . .              | 6                    | 6         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | ARIZONA . . . . .              | 6                    | 6         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | OKLAHOMA . . . . .             | 6                    | 4         | 1     | ...     | ...   | 1        |
|  | NEW MEXICO . . . . .           | 6                    | 5         | ...   | ...     | ...   | 1        |
|  | INDIAN TERRITORY . . . . .     | 6                    | 6         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  | DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA . . . . . | 2                    | ...       | 1     | ...     | 1     | ...      |
|  | ALASKA . . . . .               | 4                    | 4         | ...   | ...     | ...   | ...      |
|  |                                | 924                  | 661½      | 84½   | 58      | 61½   | 35½      |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Absent, or not voting, 22. Some of the absentees were bolters. Montana cast 1 vote for J. Donald Cameron.

McKinley's nomination, on the motion of friends of the other aspirants, was then made unanimous.

McKinley's  
Nomination  
Made  
Unanimous.

The nomination of Vice-President was then in order, and Samuel Fessenden, of Connecticut, presented the name of William G. Bulkley of that State:

Vice-Presiden-  
tial Aspirants  
Presented.

FESSENDEN NAMES BULKLEY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Two acts have already been performed by this great Convention which should receive the hearty and enthusiastic approval and ratification of every loyal Republican of the United States. The first is the nomination of the soldier, patriot and great statesman of Ohio, Governor McKinley, as our choice for the Presidency.

Connecticut  
Likes  
the Presiden-  
tial Candidate  
and the  
Platform.

The second is the adoption of a platform which, in unequivocal terms, pledges the Republican party of this great Nation to an honest currency and to the present gold standard.

Gentlemen of the Convention, that platform has also adopted a declaration for the protection of American industries, also championed by our great leader in this contest, William McKinley.

Now, the people of the State which I have the honor to represent were forward in their Convention in declaring their belief in an honest dollar and a single standard, and that standard gold. The people of the State of Connecticut are vitally interested in this question. Though classed as a doubtful State, we believe that we shall carry her in November for the standard-bearers of the Republican party.

I have the honor and the pleasure of naming for the second place on our national ticket a Connecticut man, a man who represents the sentiments of the Republicans of Connecticut, and of all Republican protectionists and sound money men throughout the nation—a sound and fearless Republican, a man who is distinguished for his rare courage, his ability and his integrity; one, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, whose commanding talents and whose business activity have placed him at the head of one of the greatest financial institutions of our country. For four consecutive terms he was Mayor of the Democratic city of Hartford, and in 1888 was elected Governor of our State. By his bravery, by his generosity, and by his sagacity, his administration became one of the most famous in the history of our State.

Her Favorite  
for Vice-  
President.

That the ticket may be complete, that Connecticut may be doubly sure, and that the name of a son of New England may have a place on the national ticket, in the name of Connecticut, I nominate William G. Bulkley for Vice-President.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

J. Franklin Fort, of New Jersey, presented Garret A. Hobart of that State:

### FORT SPEAKS FOR HOBART.

New Jersey's  
Vice-Presiden-  
tial Favorite  
Son.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I rise to present to this Convention the claims of New Jersey to the vice-presidency.

We come because we feel that we can for the first time in our history bring to you a promise that our electoral vote will be cast for your nominees. If you comply with our request, this promise will surely be redeemed.

For forty years through the blackness and darkness of a universally triumphant Democracy, the Republicans of New Jersey have maintained their organization and fought as valiantly as if the outcome were to be assured victory. Only twice through all this long period has the sun shone in upon us. Yet, through all these weary years, we have, like Goldsmith's "Captive," felt that:

Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,  
Adorns and cheers our way.  
And still as darker grows the night,  
Emits a brighter ray.

The fulfillment of this hope came in 1894. In that year, for the first time since the Republican party came into existence, we sent to Congress a solid delegation of eight Republicans, and we elected a Republican to the United States Senate. We followed this in 1895 by electing a Republican Governor by a majority of 2,000. And in this year of grace we expect to give the Republican Electors a majority of not less than 20,000.

A Redeemed  
and Regener-  
ated State.

I come, then, to you to-day in behalf of a new New Jersey, a politically redeemed and regenerated State. Old things have passed away, and behold all things have become new. It is many long years since New Jersey has received recognition by a National Convention.

When Henry Clay stood for protection in 1844, New Jersey furnished Theodore Frelinghuysen as his associate. The issue then was the restoration of the tariff and was more nearly like that of to-day than that of any other period which I can recall in the nation's political history. In 1856, when the freedom of man brought the Republican party into existence and the great Pathfinder was called to lead, New Jersey furnished for that unequal contest William L. Dayton as the vice-presidential candidate. Since then, counting for nothing, we have asked for nothing. During this period Maine has had a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Massachusetts a Vice-President; New York four



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WILLIAM WARNER, OF MISSOURI.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Vice-Presidents, one of whom became President for almost a full term; Indiana a President, a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Illinois a President twice and a vice-presidential candidate; Ohio two Presidents, and now a candidate for another term; Tennessee a Vice-President, who became President for almost a full term.

We believe that the vice-presidency in 1896 should be given to New Jersey; we have reasons for our opinion. We have ten electoral votes. We have carried the State in the elections of 1893, 1894 and 1895. We hope and believe we can keep the State in the Republican column for all time. By your action to-day you can greatly aid us. Do you believe you could place the vice-presidency in a State more justly entitled to recognition or one which it would be of more public advantage to hold in the Republican ranks?

She Should Get  
the Vice-  
Presidency.

If the party in any State is deserving of approval for the sacrifices of its members to maintain its organization, then the Republicans of New Jersey, in this, the hour of their ascendancy, after long years of bitter defeat, feel that they can not come to this Convention in vain. We appeal to our brethren in the South who know with us what it is to be overridden by fraud in the ballot box, to be counted out by corrupt election officers, to be dominated by an arrogant, unrelenting Democracy. We should have carried our State at every election for the past ten years if the count had been an honest one. We succeeded in throttling the ballot-box stuffer and imprisoning the corrupt election officers, only to have the whole raft of them pardoned in a day to work again their nefarious practices upon an honest people. But to-day, under ballot reform laws, with an honest count, we know we can win. It has been a long, terrible strife to the goal, but we have reached it unaided and unassisted from without, and we come to-day promising to the ticket here selected the vote of New Jersey, whether you give us the vice-presidential candidate or not.

Fraud De-  
feated the Re-  
publicans.

We make it no test of our Republicanism that we have a candidate. We have been too long used to fighting for principle for that. But we do say that you can, by granting our request, lighten our burden and make us a confident party with victory in sight even before the contest begins. Will we carry Colorado, Montana and Nevada this year if the Democracy declares for silver at 16 to 1? Let us hope we may. New Jersey has as many electoral votes as those three States together.

Will you not make New Jersey sure to take their place in case of need? We have in all these long years of Republicanism been the "Lone Star" Democratic State in the North. Our forty years of wandering in the wilderness of Democracy are ended. Our Egyptian darkness disappears. We are on the hilltop looking into the promised land. Encourage us as we march over into the political Canaan of Republicanism, there to remain by giving us a leader on the national ticket to go up with us. We are proud of our public men. Their

Her Forty  
Years of Wan-  
dering in the  
Democratic  
Wilderness  
Ended.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Republicanism and love of country has been welded in the furnace of political adversity. That man is a Republican who adheres to the party in a State where there is no hope for the gratification of personal ambitions. There are no camp followers in the minority party in any State. They are all true soldiers in the militant army, doing valiant service without reward, gain or the hope thereof, from principle only.

She Presents  
Garret A. Hobart.

A true representative of this class of Republicans New Jersey will offer you to-day. He is in the prime of life, a never faltering friend, with qualities of leadership unsurpassed, of sterling honor, of broad mind, of liberal views, of wide public information, of great business capacity, and, withal, a parliamentarian who would grace the Presidency of the Senate of the United States. A native of our State, the son of an humble farmer, he was reared to love of country in sight of the historic field of Monmouth, on which the blood of our ancestors was shed that the Republic might exist. From a poor country boy, unaided and alone, he has risen to high renown among us. In our State we have done for him all that political conditions would permit. He has been Speaker of our Assembly and President of our Senate. He has been the choice for United States Senator of the Republican minority in the Legislature, and had it been in our power to have placed him in the Senate of the United States he would long ere this have been there. His capabilities are such as would grace any position of honor in the Nation. Not for himself, but for our State; not for his ambition, but to give to the Nation the highest type of public official, do we come to this Convention by the command of our State and in the name of the Republican party of New Jersey, unconquered and unconquerable, undivided and indivisible, with our united voice speaking for all that counts for good citizenship in our State, we present to you for the office of Vice-President of the Republic, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey.

S. W. K. Allen, of Rhode Island, spoke for Charles Warren Lippitt, of that State:

ALLEN NAMES LIPPITT.

Rhode Island's  
Choice.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I desire to present to you for the high office of Vice-President of the United States another famous son of New England. He comes, it is true, from what you sometimes tell us is but a little speck on the map, 'way over on the Atlantic coast, but that little speck has sent to you and to this country a Greene in 1776, a Burnside in 1861, and you now have in the councils of this country the father of the McKinley protection act. I present to you, in the name of the State of Rhode Island, his Excellency, Charles Warren Lippitt, for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

William M. Randolph, of Tennessee, presented the name of Henry Clay Evans, of the same State:

RANDOLPH SPEAKS FOR EVANS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It has been more than thirty years since any citizen of a State organized as a Confederate State has been presented by either of the great national parties for the office of President or Vice-President. When the great conflict for the nation's life was entered upon, the Republican party had but just assumed control. It became the champion of the union of the States, and for the preservation of the Government under the Constitution. At the close of the contest, the success of the national arms was regarded as the special triumph of the party. The people of the States of the South had been in revolt, and it was natural that for a time after hostilities had ceased that the Republican party and those people should distrust each other. The one found the great majority of its voters in the States which adhered to the Union, and therefore selected its candidates for President and Vice-President from these States.

Tennessee's  
Position.

The Democratic party had been the dominant party in the States of the South for many generations, and the people regarded that party, not only as their traditional representative, but as the peculiar exponent of their political views. A solid South in a Democratic column of electoral votes was a necessary consequence, and for many years the Republican party has entered upon every national contest, handicapped with 159 electoral votes, absolutely certain against its nominee. To overcome this immense vote thus fixed against it, has required the carrying of some of the doubtful States in the North, and a failure to carry any one of those States, as demonstrated in the defeat of Mr. Blaine in the contest of 1884, meant the election of the Democratic nominee.

Why the South  
Has Been  
Democratic.

To change this condition of affairs requires a change of the relations between the people of the Southern States and the Republican party. To accomplish such a change two things must concur—the people of the South, or a majority of them, must be satisfied that their interests are to be promoted by the success of the Republican party, and also that the Republican party is ready and willing to concede to them when members of it and acting with it, equal recognition with the people of the other States in the selection of officers and agents for the administration of the Government; and the change must be brought about by obtaining converts from the Democratic party.

The Southern  
States and the  
Republican  
Party.

The experience of the last four years of the administration of the National Government upon Democratic principles, and through Democratic officers and agents, has furnished satisfactory proof on the first

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

proposition; and a large majority of the intelligent people of the former solid South is now ready to admit that the principles announced in the platform just adopted, when honestly administered through capable officers and agents, must result in the building up of a new South, not only in name, but in industrial developments and in all that goes to make up a happy and prosperous people.

Southern Re-  
publicans  
Need Recogni-  
tion.

The proof of the other proposition, that the people of the Southern States who are Republicans, and who are honest, worthy and capable, are to be trusted as officers and agents in the administration of the Government under like circumstances, equally with their brothers of the other States, and that no invidious discrimination is to be made against them because of their locality, ancestry or past history or affiliations, remains yet to be made.

Now is the time for the great Republican party to make its first serious effort to build itself up and put itself in a position of impregnable strength among the people of the South. The solid South is reliably solid for the Democratic party no longer. Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri and North Carolina have each given unmistakable indications of drifting away, and with proper encouragement and suitable recognition, they may safely be placed in the Republican column, not only when the result of the election in November is announced, but in future contests, as they periodically occur.

Tennessee the  
Gateway to  
the South.

And Tennessee, the gateway to the South, the great battle-field of the civil war, the State which voted against secession when the question was submitted to its people, by a large majority—the last State to join itself to the Confederate States, and the first State to return to its loyalty to the Union—now presents you one of its distinguished citizens for the second place on your ticket. It is true he is not native born, but he is more—he is a citizen by choice, and he comes from the portion of a State whose people have always been loyal to the Union and Constitution, and who furnished more soldiers for the armies of the Union in proportion to their population than any other territory in the United States.

Our nominee was born in the great State of Pennsylvania; he was reared in the equally great State of Wisconsin. When the President, in the beginning of the nation's danger, called the citizens to arms to preserve the Union and perpetuate the Constitution, though a mere boy, he enlisted as a private soldier, and, after going through all the perils of the war, at the end he was honorably discharged from service. He then became a citizen of the State of Tennessee, and has devoted his industry, energy and abilities to developing the resources of that State. He has won the friendship, respect and confidence of the people among whom he lives. They have put him in various official positions; he has been Alderman and Mayor of a city; member of Congress from his district, and First Assistant Postmaster General in the last Republican

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Administration. In every position he has discharged his duties honestly and faithfully, and to the satisfaction of the people.

After he had thus established himself, the Republicans of Tennessee nominated him for Governor, and the people, at the November election of 1894, gave him a majority of 748 votes over his opponent, as shown by the face of the returns made by the officers holding the election.

Tennessee's  
Popular Son.

After the election a Democratic Legislature enacted a law for the purpose of contesting it. It is not too much to say that the law was designed to deprive him of the office to which the people had elected him; and the same men who, as a Legislature, passed the law, assumed under the law to pass upon his right to the office. A pretended judicial inquiry was instituted. As a matter of fact it was neither judicial nor fair. The issues made were false and the testimony was garbled. Redecision changed the face of the returns. Enough votes were taken from what he had received to give his opponent a majority, and to change his election into defeat.

The ground of the rejection of the votes was not that they had not been cast, nor that the voters were not legal voters, nor that the judges of the election had not been fully satisfied of their right to vote before receiving their vote. All of these facts were admitted; but the decision was put on the grounds that, though the voters had paid their poll tax and had receipts showing the fact for the time required by the law, such receipts had not been produced before the officers holding the election, and those officers for that reason had no right to receive their votes, and a man not elected Governor is now holding office in the State of Tennessee.

The people of Tennessee feel that a great wrong has been done them, and they want an opportunity of showing the confidence they have in the citizen who has thus been defrauded of the office to which they elected him.

They believe he is worthy of any office within the gift of the American people.

Representing them here, I nominate for Vice-President of the United States, Henry Clay Evans.

Henry Clay  
Evans.

D. F. Bailey, of Virginia, presented Gen. James A. Walker, of the same State:

### BAILEY TALKS FOR WALKER.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: When we come to making Presidents and Vice-Presidents there seems to be a line that divides us as a people, and that line, my countrymen, is the same line that separated the two great sections, the North and the South, in the late unhappy war between the States.

An Appeal for  
the Obliteration  
of the  
Sectional Line.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

From 1861 down to this good hour, neither of the great political parties of this country have dared to cross the Rubicon. As a representative of the South, as a representative of the Confederate of the South, I am here to-day to voice the sentiment of the Southern people, and to demand at the hands of this Convention that that dead line be forever obliterated on this occasion. I want to say in behalf of the Southern people that they are as loyal to the Union to-day, that they are as loyal to the nation's flag to-day, as they ever were to the flag of the Confederacy.

I ask, in behalf of the people of the South, that when this great party steps back into power this fall—and it seems that the Gods have so decreed it—I want the people of the South to feel within the fold, under and beneath the protection of the old Republican party, that they of the South can have the same rights and the same privileges; that they can move out on the same lines as the people of the North can.

For the Development of the Wealth of the South.

My countrymen, the combined States of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky are the Garden of Eden of this continent. While their agricultural products will compare favorably with any section of the Union, they are nothing to compare with the mineral wealth of that great section; they are nothing to compare with their forests of timber, with their iron and their mineral products. These are the States, my countrymen, with which we propose this fall to forever break up the solid South and to bring these great States into the Republican column.

I want to say here to you to-day that the financial plank which we have adopted to-day is strong medicine for the Southern States as well as the Western States, but we propose to take it like little men and stand by it fully. Now, there are other things in that platform which are dearer to us than money—than gold or silver. It is the great protective principle which is involved in it. That policy is the policy by which we propose to win those States to the Republican column.

Gentlemen of the Convention, that great section speaks to you to-day. You have heard of the accomplished Evans, of Tennessee. Virginia speaks for one of her ablest sons for your consideration. She brings a man who, in peace and at war, has proved himself to measure up to the high and full stature of man. As a lawyer, he stands in the forefront of the Virginia bar. As a civilian, he has proved true to their trust. As a statesman, he has proved himself to be a man of business and a man of brains.

And for the Nomination of Gen. James A. Walker.

I present to you, gentlemen, in behalf of Virginia, General James A. Walker, a member of this Convention, and the only Republican member from Virginia in the Federal Congress.



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

A ballot was then taken for candidate for Vice-President, with the following result:

| STATES.                     | NUMBER DELEGATES. | HOBART. | EVANS. | BULKLEY. | LIPPITT. | WALKER. |                                |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------|--------|----------|----------|---------|--------------------------------|
| ALABAMA . . . . .           | 22                | 10      | 11     | 1        | ...      | ...     | The Ballot for Vice-President. |
| ARKANSAS . . . . .          | 16                | 10      | 5      | 1        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| CALIFORNIA . . . . .        | 18                | 14      | 3      | 1        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| COLORADO . . . . .          | 8                 | ...     | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| CONNECTICUT . . . . .       | 12                | ...     | ...    | 12       | ...      | ...     |                                |
| DELAWARE . . . . .          | 6                 | 6       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| FLORIDA . . . . .           | 8                 | 5       | 3      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| GEORGIA . . . . .           | 26                | 5       | 21     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| IDAHO . . . . .             | 6                 | ...     | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| ILLINOIS . . . . .          | 48                | 44      | 4      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| INDIANA . . . . .           | 30                | 12      | 16     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| IOWA . . . . .              | 26                | 8       | 5      | 10       | ...      | ...     |                                |
| KANSAS . . . . .            | 20                | 20      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| KENTUCKY . . . . .          | 26                | 8       | 17     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| LOUISIANA . . . . .         | 16                | 8       | 8      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MAINE . . . . .             | 12                | ...     | 5      | 2        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MARYLAND . . . . .          | 16                | 14      | 1      | 1        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MASSACHUSETTS . . . . .     | 30                | 14      | 12     | 4        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MICHIGAN . . . . .          | 28                | 21      | 7      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MINNESOTA . . . . .         | 18                | 6       | 12     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MISSISSIPPI . . . . .       | 18                | 13      | 5      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MISSOURI . . . . .          | 34                | 10      | 23     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| MONTANA . . . . .           | 6                 | 1       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEBRASKA . . . . .          | 16                | 16      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEVADA . . . . .            | 6                 | 3       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE . . . . .     | 8                 | 8       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEW JERSEY . . . . .        | 20                | 20      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEW YORK . . . . .          | 72                | 72      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .    | 22                | 1½      | 20½    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NORTH DAKOTA . . . . .      | 6                 | 3       | 3      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| OHIO . . . . .              | 46                | 25      | 15     | 6        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| OREGON . . . . .            | 8                 | 8       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .      | 64                | 64      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| RHODE ISLAND . . . . .      | 8                 | ...     | ...    | ...      | 8        | ...     |                                |
| SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .    | 18                | 3       | 15     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| SOUTH DAKOTA . . . . .      | 8                 | 8       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| TENNESSEE . . . . .         | 24                | ...     | 24     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| TEXAS . . . . .             | 30                | 11      | 12     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| UTAH . . . . .              | 6                 | 5       | 1      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| VERMONT . . . . .           | 8                 | 8       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| VIRGINIA . . . . .          | 24                | ...     | ...    | ...      | ...      | 24      |                                |
| WASHINGTON . . . . .        | 8                 | 8       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| WEST VIRGINIA . . . . .     | 12                | 12      | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| WISCONSIN . . . . .         | 24                | 3       | 20     | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| WYOMING . . . . .           | 6                 | 6       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| ARIZONA . . . . .           | 6                 | 4       | 1      | 1        | ...      | ...     |                                |
| NEW MEXICO . . . . .        | 6                 | ...     | 6      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| OKLAHOMA . . . . .          | 6                 | 4       | 2      | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| INDIAN TERRITORY . . . . .  | 6                 | 6       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| DISTRICT COLUMBIA . . . . . | 2                 | 2       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
| ALASKA . . . . .            | 4                 | 4       | ...    | ...      | ...      | ...     |                                |
|                             | 924               | 533½    | 277½   | 39       | 8        | 24      |                                |

Twenty-nine delegates were absent when the vote was taking. Of the scattering votes Reed got 3, Fred Grant 2, Senator Thurston 2, Chauncey M. Depew 3, Brown 2 and Governor Morton 1.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Committees were then formed to notify the candidates of their nomination. This Committee was selected to apprise Mr. McKinley:

Committee to  
Notify  
McKinley.

ALABAMA—C. D. Alexander.  
ARKANSAS—Henry A. Cooper.  
CALIFORNIA—Frank A. Miller.  
CONNECTICUT—George Sykes.  
DELAWARE—Henry V. Morse.  
FLORIDA—Dennis Eagan.  
GEORGIA—M. B. Morton.  
ILLINOIS—Charles H. Deere.  
INDIANA—Hiram Brownlee.  
IOWA—Calvin Manning.  
KANSAS—Nathaniel Barnes.  
KENTUCKY—John McCartney.  
MAINE—Geo. P. Wescott.  
MARYLAND—W. F. Airey.  
MASSACHUSETTS—M. H. V. Jefferson.  
MICHIGAN—Thomas J. O'Brien.  
MINNESOTA—Monroe Nichols.  
MISSISSIPPI—W. D. Frazee.  
MISSOURI—J. B. Haughwaut.  
NEBRASKA—John T. Bressler.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE—William D. Sawyer.  
NEW JERSEY—Fred. W. Roebing.

NEW YORK—Frank Hiscock.  
NORTH CAROLINA—Claude M. Benard.  
NORTH DAKOTA—C. M. Jolinson.  
OHIO—M. A. Hanna.  
OREGON—Charles Hilton.  
PENNSYLVANIA—Theo. L. Flood.  
SOUTH CAROLINA—E. H. Deos.  
SOUTH DAKOTA—Walter E. Smead.  
TENNESSEE—Ernest Caldwell.  
TEXAS—J. W. Butler.  
UTAH—L. R. Rodgers.  
VERMONT—James W. Brock.  
VIRGINIA—J. S. Browning.  
WASHINGTON—Henry E. Wilson.  
WEST VIRGINIA—W. N. Lynch.  
WISCONSIN—M. C. Ring.  
WYOMING—H. H. Nickerson.  
NEW MEXICO—Pedro Perea.  
OKLAHOMA—John A. Buckler.  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Joseph R. Foltz.  
ALASKA—C. S. Johnson.

This was the Committee chosen to tell Mr. Hobart:

Committee to  
Notify Hobart.

ALABAMA—W. R. Pettiford.  
ARKANSAS—John Hadis.  
CALIFORNIA—Eli Dannison.  
CONNECTICUT—Edwin O. Keeler.  
COLORADO—Henry A. Dupont.  
FLORIDA—Dennis Eagan.  
GEORGIA—M. J. Doyle.  
ILLINOIS—Isaac L. Edward.  
INDIANA—Jesse Weick.  
IOWA—C. W. Junkin.  
KANSAS—Frank Vincent.  
KENTUCKY—John C. White.  
MAINE—Stanley Cueman.  
MARYLAND—W. G. Tuck.  
MASSACHUSETTS—Willard J. Hale.  
MICHIGAN—R. A. Alger.  
MINNESOTA—A. D. Davidson.  
MISSISSIPPI—J. E. Onsley.  
MISSOURI—B. F. Leonard.  
NEBRASKA—John T. Bressler.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE—James A. Wood.  
NEW JERSEY—W. Barbour.

NEW YORK—Lispnard Stewart.  
NORTH CAROLINA—J. H. Hannon.  
NORTH DAKOTA—J. M. Devine.  
OHIO—George Ketchem.  
OREGON—Charles W. Parrish.  
PENNSYLVANIA—H. S. Denny.  
SOUTH CAROLINA—C. J. Pride.  
SOUTH DAKOTA—H. T. Meacham.  
TENNESSEE—H. C. Jarvis.  
TEXAS—J. O. Lubby.  
UTAH—J. A. Smith.  
VERMONT—Edward C. Smith.  
VIRGINIA—R. T. Hubbard.  
WASHINGTON—James M. Gilbert.  
WEST VIRGINIA—P. E. Houston.  
WISCONSIN—Julius Rohrer.  
WYOMING—B. F. Fowler.  
NEW MEXICO—Pedro Perea.  
OKLAHOMA—William Grimes.  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—John Coyle.  
ALASKA—C. W. Young.

The Con-  
vention's Work  
Ended.

At the conclusion of the call of the roll for the selection of these Committees, which was at 7:53 p. m., Chairman Thurston announced that the eleventh Republican National Convention stood adjourned without day.



RICHARD C. KERENS, OF MISSOURI.

70 1941  
ALABAMA

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

William McKinley was born in Niles, O., on February 26, 1844, He came of mixed ancestry—North of Ireland Irish on his father's side, Scotch on his mother's side, but American for several generations on both sides. Like so many public men of this period his career began with the war. He first went to school at the age of 5, and eleven years later himself became a teacher. There were no hard knocks, and nothing in his boyhood that might now furnish material for romantic tales. A well behaved, studious, affectionate and tractable child of eminently respectable and well-to-do parents in a word gives the history of his life until the war began.

McKinley's  
Early Life.

In May, 1861, he enlisted in an Ohio militia company called the Poland Guards, organized at Poland, O., where young McKinley was teaching school. This company became part of the 23d Ohio infantry, and in that McKinley served until mustered out at the close of the war. He rose from private, through all the grades to Captain and brevet Major. He was made Second Lieutenant for good conduct at Antietam. During his military career he served on the staffs of both Gens. R. B. Hayes and George Cook.

His Military  
Service.

The war ended, he began the study of law at Warren, O., and in 1867 was admitted to the bar and took up his residence at Canton. In 1869 he was elected District Attorney of Stark County, O., and served two years; during that period he married Miss Ida Saxton, and for the next few years devoted himself to his profession.

Mr. McKinley began to forge to the front as an earnest student of political affairs in 1875 and 1876. The acquaintance he made in the army with Rutherford B. Hayes was of great benefit to him just then. Hayes thought much of him, and through his influence, and that of his friends, McKinley, in 1876, secured the nomination for Congress in a strong Republican district. He entered the Forty-fifth Congress, and though the House was Democratic he made his mark with the minority. When the Republicans came into power, in the Forty-seventh Congress, he was already well equipped for leadership. He was elected continuously to the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses, though in the Forty-eighth his opponent contested and was seated at the close of the session. During his earlier terms he served on the Committee on Revision of the Laws,

His Record In  
Congress.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

the Judiciary Committee, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department. When Gen. Garfield received the nomination for the Presidency, having already been elected Senator, McKinley succeeded him on the Committee of Ways and Means. In the Fifty-first Congress he became Chairman of that Committee, and as such leader of the House, of which Mr. Thomas B. Reed became Speaker. McKinley was himself a candidate for Speaker, and if he had then succeeded he might not now be the Republican candidate for President.

His Tariff Act.

It was the mission of the Fifty-first Congress to devise a new tariff bill, and, as that was the work of the Committee of Ways and Means, it became known as the McKinley bill. That bill passed the House May 21, 1890. It passed the Senate September 30, and President Harrison approved it October 1. A month later the elections for the Fifty-third Congress took place, and Mr. McKinley was defeated, along with scores of other Republican members. The next year the Republicans nominated him for Governor of Ohio, and he was elected by 21,000 plurality over Governor Campbell, the most popular Democrat in the State, and was re-elected in 1893. Last year he declined a renomination for Governor, and since then has devoted his time to the adjustment of his private affairs, which had become somewhat involved.

His Home  
Life.

Mr. McKinley lives in Canton, Ohio, in a commodious but unpretentious house, to which he took his bride when they were married. He has no children—two daughters were born to them, but both died in infancy. Mrs. McKinley has been an invalid for several years, and her husband's devotion to her is one of the touching features of his beautiful domestic life. His mother is yet living, aged 78, and makes her home with her distinguished son at Canton.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

GARRET A. HOBART.

Garret August Hobart was born June 3, 1844, in Monmouth County, N. J. His father's name was Addison W., and mother's Sophia. Hobart's father was a school teacher, but later became a farmer.

His early life was spent in Monmouth County, within sight of the historic Revolutionary battlefield of Monmouth, and his early education was obtained in the common schools of Newark and Paterson neighborhood. Later, at the age of 17, he entered Rutgers College, New Brunswick, and spent four years there, graduating with high honors when 21 years old. He went to Paterson and commenced the study of law in the office of Socrates Tuttle, destined to become his father-in-law later in life. After spending three years in the law office he was admitted to the practice of law in the State of New Jersey, and worked up a large and remunerative practice, being counsel of the city and county governments.

Hobart's Early Days.

He was early identified with politics, but sought no political office until 1873, when he was elected a member of the State Legislature. The next year, 1874, he was re-elected and was made Speaker of the Assembly by a unanimous vote of his colleagues. In 1875, he was elected State Senator from the Paterson district, and three years after was given the place as President of the upper body of the Assembly.

A number of times he was solicited to take the nomination for Congressman from his home district, but would not accept. In 1880 he was the Republican nominee for United States Senator, but the Assembly being overwhelmingly Democratic, he failed to secure the coveted seat, the honor falling to John R. McPherson. Mr. Hobart was Chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee for twelve years, and New Jersey member of the National Committee since 1884.

His Political Record.

He was married to Jennie Tuttle, the daughter of Hon. Socrates Tuttle, under whom he had studied law, July 20, 1866, and has one son living, Garret Augustus, now 12 years old. He was appointed one of the Receivers of the New Jersey Midland Railroad, and Hugh McCullough, of New York, was joint Receiver, looking after the New York interests of the road. Later, under the direction of the Court, he

His Business Career.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

became the sole Receiver, and reorganized the road under the name of the Susquehanna Western. At the time of the receivership there were large amounts owing to the army of employes, and Mr. Hobart claims the credit of hiring legal counsel to see that their interests were protected against those of numerous preferred creditors. In acknowledgment for this fair treatment the men passed resolutions thanking him for the interest taken in their behalf.

On December 12, 1895, he was appointed one of three arbitrators for the Joint Traffic Association lines, including thirty-two roads. The purpose of the Arbitration Commissioners is to prevent discrimination and protect the individual lines in all their rights. The arbitrators have not, nor can they have, any pecuniary interest in the roads comprised under the association.

Complaint was made that the existence of the board was contrary to the purpose and intent of the interstate commerce act, but Judge Wheeler, of Vermont, has recently decided that its existence was not only legal, but necessary for the protection of shippers from discrimination by rebates or otherwise.

Mr. Hobart has been in public life in New Jersey ever since he was twenty-three years of age, but his most recent triumph, and one in which he prides himself most, is his participation in the State campaign in New Jersey, which resulted in the selection of John W. Griggs, the first Republican Governor the State has had in thirty years.

His Recent  
Political Tri-  
umph.



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APPENDIX.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Roll of Delegates and Alternates.

ALABAMA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

C. W. Buckley.....Montgomery.
David D. Shelby.....Huntsville.
W. R. Pettiford.....Birmingham.
John H. Jones.....Haynesville.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

M. D. Wickersham.....Mobile.
Benj. DeLemos.....Haynesville.
C. H. Walker.....Selma.
I. N. Carter.....Monterey.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

P. D. Barker.....Mobile. S. S. Turner.....Mobile.
A. N. Johnson.....Mobile. W. E. Sanders.....Mobile.

Second District.

Nathan H. Alexander.....Montgomery. Wm. M. Ackley.....Alco.
Frank Simmons.....Evergreen. John H. Wilson.....Montgomery.

Third District.

Samuel S. Booth.....Montgomery. Dallas D. Smith.....Opelika.
John Harmon.....Eufaula. A. L. Brewer.....Union Springs.

Fourth District.

Thos. G. Dunn.....Anniston. Wylie A. Hudson.....Anniston.
W. J. Stevens.....Anniston. D. M. McClellan.....Talladega.

Fifth District.

Douglass Smith.....Opelika. R. T. West.....Wedowee.
H. A. Carson.....Hayneville. H. R. Chivers.....Wetumpka.

Sixth District.

D. N. Cooper.....Hamilton. Dempsy Winn.....Livingston.
Dr. J. Dawson.....Eustam. H. L. Goins.....Tuscaloosa.

Seventh District.

C. D. Alexander.....Attalla. T. H. Stevens.....Steeles.
J. S. Curtis.....Double Springs. M. F. Parker.....Cullam.

Eighth District.

Walter Simmons.....Courtland. E. W. Garland.....Scottsboro.
H. V. Cashin.....Decatur. F. C. Ashford.....Courtland.

Ninth District.

Ad. Wimbs.....Greensboro. M. L. Fowlkes.....Birmingham.
W. C. Hanlon.....Birmingham. A. A. Hartwell.....Birmingham.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ARKANSAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Powell Clayton.....Eureka Springs.  
Henry M. Cooper.....Little Rock.  
H. L. Rimmel.....Newport.  
M. W. Gibbs.....Little Rock.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

J. A. Freeman.....Millville.  
S. F. Stahl.....Bentonville.  
Lonis Altheimer.....Pine Bluff.  
J. N. Donohoo.....Helena.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.  
Jacob Trieber.....Helena. Jacob Shaul.....Marianna.  
F. W. Tucker.....Clover Bend. J. R. Riggans.....Nodena.

Second District.

W. H. H. Clayton.....Fort Smith. M. A. Eisle.....Hot Springs.  
Ferd. Havis.....Pine Bluff. A. G. Hough.....Swan Lake.

Third District.

B. M. Foreman.....Texarkana. P. K. Savage.....Dermott.  
J. B. Friedheim.....Camden. D. W. Chandler.....Camden.

Fourth District.

John McClure.....Little Rock. Frank Burris.....Atkins.  
D. B. Russell.....Morrilton. Albert DeSha.....Ashvale.

Fifth District.

Thomas J. Hunt.....Fayetteville. John I. Worthington.....Berryville.  
Chas. M. Greene.....Harrison. R. E. Sevier.....Conway.

Sixth District.

B. F. Bodenhamer.....Mountain Home. Chas. F. Cole.....Beebe.  
H. H. Meyers.....Brinkley. J. M. McClintock.....DeVall's Bluff.

CALIFORNIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

L. A. Sheldon.....Los Angeles.  
J. B. Spreckles.....San Francisco.  
U. S. Grant.....San Diego.  
George A. Knight.....San Francisco.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

J. M. Gleaves.....Shasta.  
D. E. Knight.....Yuba.  
J. A. Loutitt.....San Joaquin.  
George Stone.....San Francisco.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.  
Daniel Cole.....Sierra. Dr. F. Horel.....Humboldt.  
A. B. Lemmon.....Sonoma. J. T. Laird.....Modoc.



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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CALIFORNIA—Continued.

Second District.

| DELEGATES.            |             | ALTERNATES.          |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Grove L. Johnson..... | Sacramento. | F. D. Ryan .....     | Sacramento. |
| J. H. Neff.....       | Placer.     | E. C. Voorheis ..... | Amador.     |

Third District.

|                       |          |                    |           |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| E. S. Dennison.....   | Oakland. | C. L. Lang .....   | Alameda.  |
| A. A. Hockheimer..... | Willows. | Wallace Pond ..... | Woodland. |

Fourth District.

|                        |                |                       |                |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Joseph S. Spear .....  | San Francisco. | E. J. Baldwin .....   | San Francisco. |
| Henry I. Kawalsky..... | San Francisco. | Michael Seligson..... | San Francisco. |

Fifth District.

|                    |                |                    |                |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| William Cluff..... | San Francisco. | A. S. Mangrum..... | San Francisco. |
| O. A. Hale.....    | Santa Clara.   | J. L. Koster.....  | San Francisco. |

Sixth District.

|                     |              |                    |                |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Hervey Lindley..... | Los Angeles. | F. P. Flint.....   | Los Angeles.   |
| T. J. Field.....    | Monterey.    | Elwood Cooper..... | Santa Barbara. |

Seventh District.

|                     |                 |                       |            |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| F. H. Short.....    | Fresno.         | W. H. McKillrick..... | Kern.      |
| H. H. Sinclair..... | San Bernardino. | Frank A. Miller.....  | Riverside. |

COLORADO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| Henry M. Teller.....      | Central City.  |
| Frank C. Goudy .....      | Denver.        |
| John W. Rockefeller ..... | Crested Butte. |
| James M. Downing .....    | Aspen.         |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Robert W. Bonyngé ..... | Denver.         |
| Charles F. Caswell..... | Grand Junction. |
| David J. Kelly .....    | Denver.         |
| John A. Williams.....   | Denver.         |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.           |         | ALTERNATES.           |          |
|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|----------|
| A. M. Stevenson..... | Denver. | C. B. Timberlake..... | Holyoke. |
| John F. Vivian.....  | Golden. | James Cowie.....      | Boulder. |

Second District.

|                              |          |                      |               |
|------------------------------|----------|----------------------|---------------|
| C. J. Hart.....              | Pueblo.  | J. J. Elliott.....   | Central City. |
| Charles H. Brickenstein..... | Conejos. | Charles Newman ..... | Durango.      |

CONNECTICUT.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Morgan C. Buckley.....   | Hartford. |
| John I. Hutchinson ..... | Essex.    |
| A. H. Brewer.....        | Norwich.  |
| Samuel Fessenden .....   | Stamford. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                            |             |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Lewis B. Plimpton.....     | Hartford.   |
| Wm. T. Rockwell.....       | Meriden.    |
| Frederick Farnsworth ..... | New London. |
| Howard B. Scott.....       | Danbury     |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONNECTICUT—Continued.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.        |                   | ALTERNATES.           |         |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| J. A. Cheney..... | South Manchester. | Chas. M. Jarvis ..... | Berlin. |
| Geo. Sykes .....  | Rockville.        | Wm. H. Prescott ..... | Vernon. |

Second District.

|                       |             |                       |          |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Rufus Blake .....     | Derby.      | James Graham.....     | Orange.  |
| John M. Douglas ..... | Middletown. | Wm. A. Brathwell..... | Chester. |

Third District.

|                          |           |                        |             |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|
| T. H. Allen .....        | Sprague.  | Jas. Pendleton .....   | Stonington. |
| Charles E. Searles ..... | Thompson. | Lucius H. Fuller ..... | Thompson.   |

Fourth District.

|                      |            |                      |               |
|----------------------|------------|----------------------|---------------|
| E. O. Keeler.....    | Norwalk.   | John A. Rusling..... | Bridgeport.   |
| Hubert Williams..... | Salisbury. | Rufus E. Holmes..... | West Winsted. |

DELAWARE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                          |              |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Anthony Higgins.....     | Wilmington.  |
| John Pilling.....        | Newark.      |
| Henry A. Dupont.....     | Wilmington.  |
| Washington Hastings..... | Wilmington.  |
| Dr. L. H. Ball.....      | Faulkland.   |
| Cornelius P. Swain ..... | Bridgeville. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Henry G. Morse.....   | Wilmington. |
| James H. Wilson.....  | Wilmington. |
| Henry L. Hynson ..... | Milford.    |
| Joshua Parker .....   | Dover.      |
| Robert Arnell .....   | Lewes.      |
| W. E. Cordery .....   | Bethel.     |

FLORIDA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                                 |                |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Joseph E. Lee (colored).....    | Jacksonville.  |
| John G. Long.....               | St. Augustine. |
| Emory F. Skinner.....           | Escambia.      |
| L. W. Livingston (colored)..... | Key West.      |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE:

|                             |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| M. M. Moore (colored) ..... | Orlando.      |
| John R. Scott.....          | Jacksonville. |
| A. Lincoln Pohalski.....    | Key West.     |
| B. C. Tunison.....          | Pensacola.    |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.           |               | ALTERNATES.         |             |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------|
| M. S. White.....     | Apalachicola. | W. H. Northrop..... | Pensacola.  |
| James N. Coombs..... | Pensacola.    | A. C. Sammis.....   | Port Tampa. |

Second District.

|                                 |               |                                |               |
|---------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Dennis Eagan.....               | Jacksonville. | John E. Stillman.....          | Jacksonville. |
| Isaac L. Purcell (colored)..... | Palatka.      | W. A. Wilkinson (colored)..... | Flemington.   |



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

GEORGIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

A. E. Buck .....Atlanta.
H. L. Johnston .....Atlanta.
Henry Rucker.....Atlanta.
John H. Deveaux.....Macon.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

R. D. Locke.....Macon.
L. M. Pleasant.....Savannah.
B. J. Davis .....Dawson.
R. R. Wright .....College.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. M. J. Doyle .....Savannah. ALTERNATES. F. N. Sims .....Thebes.
S. B. Morse .....Savannah. P. J. Majors .....Waynesboro.

Second District.

B. F. Brimberry .....Albany. J. J. Mitchell.....Mercer's Mills.
J. C. Styles.....Dawson. A. E. Dippett .....Albany.

Third District.

W. P. Pierce.....Leesburg. Augustus Pate .....Hawkinsville.
E. S. Richardson.....Marshalville. F. M. Harkless.....Delegat.

Fourth District.

W. H. Johnson.....Columbus. Samuel Lovejoy .....Greenville.
D. V. Norwood.....Newnan. J. H. Grant .....Forsyth.

Fifth District.

D. C. Wimbish.....Atlanta. J. M. Smith .....Monroe.
L. J. Price.....South Atlanta. W. R. Gray.....Cambleton.

Sixth District.

F. J. Wimberly .....Atlanta. P. S. Arnold.....Fayetteville.
I. W. Wood .....Forsyth. Richard Carey .....Griffin.

Seventh District.

Charles Adamson .....Cedartown. Frank Lynch.....Dallas.
T. M. Dent .....Rome. Eli H. Chandler .....Marietta.

Eighth District.

W. A. Pledger .....Atlanta. H. Carter .....Lexington.
M. B. Morton .....Athens. T. L. Kennedy .....Elberton.

Ninth District.

A. J. Spence .....Nelson. H. M. Ellington .....Ellijay.
J. B. Gaston .....Gainesville. H. D. Ingersoll .....Dallionega.

Tenth District.

Judson W. Lions .....Augusta. Wm. A. McCloud.....Wadley.
J. M. Barnes.....Thompson. A. E. Williams .....Gordon.

Eleventh District.

Wm. Jones .....Valdosta. J. M. Holzendorf .....Sheffield.
S. M. Scarlett .....Waycross. Giles McLendon .....Dublin.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

IDAHO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

F. T. Dubois.....Blackfoot.  
 Willis Sweet Moscow .....Littleton.  
 Price Haley.....Wallace.  
 A. B. Campbell.....Wallace.  
 Ben. E. Rich .....Roxbury.  
 Alexander Robertson .....Nampa.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

A. V. Ferguson .....Pocatello.  
 C. J. Bassett.....Pocatello.  
 C. W. Beal .....Wallace.  
 T. A. Deitrick .....Blackfoot.  
 S. C. John.....Hailey.  
 R. W. Purdum .....Nampa.

ILLINOIS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Robert W. Patterson.....Chicago.  
 Wm. Penn Nixon .....Chicago.  
 Joseph W. Fifer .....Bloomington.  
 Richard J. Oglesby .....Elkhart.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Chas. M. Pepper.....Chicago.  
 James W. Ellsworth .....Chicago.  
 Rev. Jordan Chavis .....Quincy.  
 Pleasant T. Chapman .....Vienna.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District,

|                        |          |                     |          |
|------------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| DELEGATES.             |          | ALTERNATES.         |          |
| Martin B. Madden ..... | Chicago. | B. E. Hoppin .....  | Chicago. |
| Frank C. Roby.....     | Chicago. | F. C. Propper ..... | Chicago. |

Second District.

|                        |           |                     |          |
|------------------------|-----------|---------------------|----------|
| Edward S. Conway ..... | Oak Park. | W. H. Bennett ..... | Austin.  |
| Wm. Lorimer .....      | Chicago.  | Walter Page .....   | Chicago. |

Third District.

|                          |          |                     |          |
|--------------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| Edward R. Brainerd.....  | Chicago. | William Murphy..... | Chicago. |
| George M. Schneider..... | Chicago. | John A. Kuns .....  | Chicago. |

Fourth District.

|                           |          |                          |          |
|---------------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| Joseph Bidwill.....       | Chicago. | William H. Curran.....   | Chicago. |
| Thomas O'Shaughnessy..... | Chicago. | Henry S. Burkhardt ..... | Chicago. |

Fifth District.

|                     |          |                      |          |
|---------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| John M. Smyth ..... | Chicago. | James H. Burke ..... | Chicago. |
| Phillip Knopf.....  | Chicago. | James Painter .....  | Chicago. |

Sixth District.

|                         |          |                          |          |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| Samuel B. Raymond ..... | Chicago. | Samuel E. Erickson ..... | Chicago. |
| Graeme Steward.....     | Chicago. | Charles W. Catlin .....  | Chicago. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ILLINOIS—Continued

**Seventh District.**

|                           |           |                           |            |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|------------|
| DELEGATES.                |           | ALTERNATES.               |            |
| Charles Whitney .....     | Waukegan. | Stephen A. Reynolds ..... | Maplewood. |
| George P. Engelhardt..... | Evanston. | Wm. Gahagan .....         | Chicago.   |

**Eighth District.**

|                        |         |                     |            |
|------------------------|---------|---------------------|------------|
| Isaac L. Ellwood ..... | DeKalb. | T. B. Stewart ..... | Elburn.    |
| H. D. Judson .....     | Aurora. | H. D. Crum.....     | Woodstock. |

**Ninth District.**

|                      |           |                        |              |
|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|
| Smith D. Atkins..... | Freeport. | Charles E. Fuller..... | Belvidere.   |
| R. S. Farrand.....   | Dixon.    | F. M. Jenks .....      | Mt. Carroll. |

**Tenth District.**

|                        |           |                     |              |
|------------------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------|
| Chas. H. Deere .....   | Moline.   | W. H. Edwards ..... | Rock Island. |
| L. H. Brookfield ..... | Sterling. | F. G. Ramsay .....  | Morrison.    |

**Eleventh District.**

|                          |            |                     |            |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| Duncan McDougall.....    | Ottawa.    | F. R. Stewart ..... | Strawn.    |
| Thomas J. Henderson..... | Princeton. | Edward Burton ..... | Princeton. |

**Twelfth District.**

|                     |           |                      |           |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| H. K. Wheeler ..... | Kankakee. | J. D. Benedict.....  | Danville. |
| H. M. Snapp.....    | Joliet.   | Addison Goddell..... | Loda.     |

**Thirteenth District.**

|                        |             |                     |              |
|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|
| W. H. Kratz .....      | Monticello. | N. M. Benefit ..... | Atwood.      |
| Charles G. Eckert..... | Tuscola.    | T. M. King.....     | Gibson City. |

**Fourteenth District.**

|                          |         |                      |             |
|--------------------------|---------|----------------------|-------------|
| Charles E. Snively ..... | Canton. | George Hutchins..... | Lacon.      |
| J. C. Pinckney .....     | Peoria. | Frank A. High .....  | Mason City. |

**Fifteenth District.**

|                      |           |                          |               |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------|
| J. Mack Scholl ..... | Carthage. | J. H. Basterat .....     | Quincy.       |
| J. O. Anderson ..... | Decorah.  | Washington Brockman..... | Mt. Sterling. |

**Sixteenth District.**

|                       |             |                    |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Asa C. Mathews.....   | Pittsfield. | E. M. Husted ..... | Roodhouse.  |
| Sargent McKnight..... | Girard.     | Thomas Conlyt..... | Beardstown. |

**Seventeenth District.**

|                       |              |                     |              |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| J. Otis Humphrey..... | Springfield. | N. W. Branson ..... | Petersburgh. |
| Hugh Crea.....        | Decatur.     | J. E. Hill .....    | Lincoln.     |

**Eighteenth District.**

|                    |              |                     |             |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| H. J. Hamlin ..... | Shelbyville. | F. R. Milliner..... | Litchfield. |
| A. H. Kinne .....  | Highland.    | W. W. Lewis .....   | Greenville. |

**Nineteenth District.**

|                   |             |                     |               |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| A. H. Jones ..... | Robinson.   | Aden Knoph.....     | Olney.        |
| H. A. Neal .....  | Charleston. | John Q. Hitch ..... | West Liberty. |

**Twentieth District.**

|                         |              |                    |             |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Thomas S. Ridgway ..... | Shawneetown. | H. S. Plummer..... | Mt. Vernon. |
| Walter Colyer .....     | Albion.      | Van R. Price ..... | Mt. Erie.   |

**Twenty-first District.**

|                       |                 |                    |            |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|
| W. A. Rodenburg ..... | East St. Louis. | H. L. Rhodes.....  | Centralia. |
| J. D. Gerlach.....    | Chester.        | W. D. Carter ..... | Nashville. |

**Twenty-second District.**

|                        |             |                      |             |
|------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Frank A. Prickett..... | Carbondale. | A. N. Starks .....   | Metropolis. |
| James E. Jobe .....    | Harrisburg. | Richard Taylor ..... | Cairo.      |

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

## INDIANA.

### DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Col. R. W. Thompson.....Terre Haute.  
C. W. Fairbanks.....Indianapolis.  
Gen. Lew Wallace.....Crawfordsville.  
Frank M. Millikan.....New Castle.

### ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Hiram Brownlee.....Marion.  
E. O. Hopkins.....Evansville.  
George L. Knox.....Indianapolis.  
R. T. McDonald.....Ft. Wayne.

### DISTRICT DELEGATES.

#### First District.

##### DELEGATES.

Jas. H. McNeely.....Evansville.  
Jas. B. Gamble.....Princeton.

##### ALTERNATES.

E. E. Lockwood.....Poseyville.  
Otto Kolb.....Boonville.

#### Second District.

Nat. U. Hill.....Bloomington.  
B. F. Polk.....Freelandville.

M. C. Stephenson.....Worthington.  
V. V. Williams.....Bedford.

#### Third District.

H. C. Hobbs.....Salem.  
John T. Stout.....Paoli.

John Zimmerman.....Cannelton.  
J. L. Fisher.....Scottsburg.

#### Fourth District.

O. H. Montgomery.....Seymour.  
A. E. Nowlin.....Lawrenceburg.

W. G. Norris.....North Vernon.  
Simon Beymer.....Rising Sun.

#### Fifth District.

Taylor Reagan.....Plainfield.  
Jesse W. Weik.....Greencastle.

David Strouse.....Rockville.  
A. J. Ralph.....Dana.

#### Sixth District.

Elmer E. Stoner.....Greentfield.  
J. W. Ross.....Connersville.

H. R. Lennard.....Matamora.  
T. C. Kennedy.....Shelbyville.

#### Seventh District.

Harry S. New.....Indianapolis.  
Jos. B. Keeling.....Indianapolis.

Wm. Kothe.....Indianapolis.  
W. T. Thompson.....Edinburg.

#### Eighth District.

W. T. Durbin.....Anderson.  
T. H. Johnson.....Dunkirk.

L. C. Davenport.....Bluffton.  
B. W. Quinn.....Decatur.

#### Ninth District.

D. A. Coulter.....Frankfort.  
C. N. Williams.....Crawfordsville.

Jas. B. Johns.....Tipton.  
W. O. Darnell.....Lebanon.

#### Tenth District.

G. S. Van Dusen.....Michigan City.  
Cloyd Laughery.....Monticello.

Elmer R. Bringham.....Goodland.  
Clark Cook.....Fowler.

#### Eleventh District.

A. L. Lawshe.....Converse.  
Lewis Signs.....North Manchester.

C. W. Watkins.....Huntington.  
L. McDowell.....Kokomo.

#### Twelfth District.

Frank S. Roby.....Angola.  
Chas. D. Law.....Fort Wayne.

Chas. Sullivan.....Garrett.  
J. D. Farrell.....La Grange.

#### Thirteenth District.

A. L. Brick.....South Bend.  
J. H. Heatwole.....Goshen.

Alonzo Craig.....North Judson.  
Edwin Newton.....Winamac.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

IOWA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John H. Gear.....Burlington.  
 W. P. Hepburn .....Clarinda.  
 D. B. Henderson.....Dubuque.  
 J. S. Clarkson .....Des Moines.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

George M. Curtis.....Clinton.  
 E. G. McMillen.....O'Brien.  
 Phila Shaller.....Sac City.  
 C. J. A. Erickson.....Boone.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES.

James C. Davis .....Keokuk.  
 Charles M. Junkin .....Fairfield.

ALTERNATES.

J. A. Cunningham.....Washington.  
 E. F. Lacy .....Louisa.

Second District.

Seth L. Baker.....Bellevue.  
 George W. French .....Davenport.

J. L. Smith.....Clinton.  
 W. W. McMullen .....Muscatine.

Third District.

Edward Knott.....Waverly.  
 J. T. Merry .....Manchester.

F. J. Will.....Eagle Grove.  
 Charles T. Hancock .....Dubuque.

Fourth District.

S. B. Zeigler.....West Union.  
 Edward Collins .....Northwood.

F. G. Atherton .....Osage.  
 Wm. H. Parker .....Lawler.

Fifth District.

G. R. Struble .....Toledo.  
 S. W. Rathbun .....Marion.

F. C. Letts.....Marshalltown.  
 W. F. Lake.....Jones.

Sixth District.

Calvin Manning.....Ottumwa.  
 W. H. Needham.....Sigourney.

N. S. Johnson .....Bloomfield.  
 John E. Oflil.....Prairie City.

Seventh District.

A. B. Cummins.....Des Moines.  
 C. D. Bevington.....Winterset.

C. R. Benton.....Dallas.  
 J. A. Mills.....Story.

Eighth District.

L. Banks Wilson.....Creston.  
 R. H. Spence.....Mt. Ayr.

E. J. Dickinson .....Corydon.  
 W. D. Eaton .....Sidney.

Ninth District.

John N. Baldwin .....Council Bluffs.  
 Silas Wilson .....Atlantic.

F. M. Hopkins .....Guthrie Centre.  
 S. J. Patterson .....Logan.

Tenth District.

George C. Call .....Algona.  
 H. W. Maomber.....Carroll.

S. J. Moore .....Boone.  
 J. H. Bradt.....Rockwell City.

Eleventh District.

F. H. Heisell.....Sioux Rapids.  
 E. C. Roach.....Rock Rapids.

C. H. Winterable .....Pringhar.  
 Lyman Whittier.....Onawa.

KANSAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Cyrus Leland, Jr .....Troy.  
 Nathaniel Barnes.....Kansas City.  
 Thomas J. Anderson.....Topeka.  
 A. P. Riddle.....Minneapolis.  
 M. M. Murdock.....Wichita.  
 C. A. Swenson .....Lindsboro.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

KANSAS—Continued.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| W. B. Townsend ..... | Leavenworth.   |
| Thos. Anderson.....  | Wilder.        |
| E. L. Shafer .....   | Council Grove. |
| W. H. Nelson.....    | Arkansas City. |
| T. M. Walker.....    | Alton.         |
| George Huycke .....  | Ellsworth.     |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

|                     |              |                      |         |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| Wm. C. Hook.....    | Leavenworth. | C. F. Isaacson.....  | Seneca. |
| John Schilling..... | Hiawatha.    | Oscar Fagerburg..... | Belvue. |

Second District.

|                     |            |                     |             |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Grant Hornaday..... | Ft. Scott. | T. N. Hancock ..... | Olathe.     |
| W. H. Brown.....    | Paola.     | D. A. Crocker ..... | Pleasanton. |

Third District.

|                     |            |                        |         |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|---------|
| John Randolph ..... | Pittsburg. | Sam'l Fitzpatrick..... | Sedan.  |
| E. G. Dewey.....    | Elk City.  | John Sperry.....       | Thayer. |

Fourth District.

|                    |          |                  |              |
|--------------------|----------|------------------|--------------|
| I. E. Lambert..... | Emporia. | D. P. Blood..... | Douglass.    |
| J. S. Dean ..      | Marion.  | C. A. Sayre..... | Cedar Point. |

Fifth District.

|                            |            |                     |            |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| T. D. Fitzpatrick.....     | Salina.    | A. B. Kimball ..... | Scandia.   |
| Geo. W. Higgenbothen ..... | Manhattan. | T. E. Raines.....   | Concordia. |

Sixth District.

|                     |            |                     |           |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|
| E. F. Robinson..... | Osborne.   | G. A. Gilpin .....  | Oberlin.  |
| I. T. Purcell.....  | Gove City. | Dr. W. A. Lee ..... | Stockton. |

Seventh District.

|                    |             |                         |           |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| H. J. Bone.....    | Ashland.    | John C. Nicholson ..... | Newton.   |
| Frank Vincent..... | Hutchinson. | F. L. Irish.....        | Sterling. |

KENTUCKY.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| L. P. Tarlton ..... | Frankfort. |
| W. J. DeBoe .....   | Marion.    |
| A. R. Broonam ..... | Richmond.  |
| S. E. Smith .....   | Owensboro. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| W. J. Lyons.....     | Newport.     |
| Thos. Forman .....   | Mayville.    |
| Edward Chenault..... | Lexington.   |
| W. F. Welsh.....     | Beattyville. |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

|                    |            |                      |            |
|--------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| J. H. Happy .....  | Eddyville. | Irwin Wood .....     | Kuttawa.   |
| W. B. Yandell..... | Marion.    | Jacob Marshall ..... | Wickliffe. |

Second District.

|                       |            |                          |            |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|
| W. G. Overstreet..... | Owensboro. | Geo. Irwin .....         | Calhoun.   |
| T. W. Gardner .....   | Rome.      | Rev. P. H. Kennedy ..... | Henderson. |



WARNER MILLER, OF NEW YORK.

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anatomia



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

KENTUCKY—Continued.

Third District.

| DELEGATES.         |             | ALTERNATES.         |               |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| W. G. Hunter ..... | Burksville. | J. B. Coffman ..... | Russellville. |
| J. L. Butler ..... | Morgantown. | .....               | .....         |

Fourth District.

|                     |               |                  |                |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| J. B. Carlisle..... | Lebanon.      | J. Canyers ..... | Mumfordsville. |
| B. B. Burton.....   | Hardingsburg. | J. E. Wood.....  | Elizabethtown. |

Fifth District.

|                      |                |       |       |
|----------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| George D. Todd ..... | Louisville.    | ..... | ..... |
| Charles E. Sapp..... | Crescent Hill. | ..... | ..... |

Sixth District.

|                         |               |                  |            |
|-------------------------|---------------|------------------|------------|
| W. McShaw.....          | Covington.    | R. P. Ernst..... | Covington. |
| C. N. Valandingham..... | Williamstown. | John Tettan..... | Falmouth.  |

Seventh District.

|                    |            |                        |             |
|--------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|
| George Denny ..... | Lexington. | R. P. Stoll.....       | Lexington.  |
| Leslie Combs.....  | Lexington. | L. Frank Sinclair..... | Georgetown. |

Eighth District.

|                      |           |                    |           |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| J. W. Yerkes .....   | Danville. | S. E. Welch.....   | Derea.    |
| J. W. Carpenter..... | Richmond. | J. N. Cuelton..... | Redhouse. |

Ninth District.

|                      |               |                          |          |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------|
| J. P. McCartney..... | Flemingsburg. | Dr. T. S. Bardford ..... | Augusta. |
| Frank Coles .....    | Ashland.      | J. B. Wilhoit.....       | Grayson. |

Tenth District.

|                    |               |                        |             |
|--------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Jeff. Prater ..... | Salversville. | Capt. D. L. Cook ..... | Winchester. |
| Howard Wilson..... | Mt. Sterling. | R. L. Stewart.....     | Hindman.    |

Eleventh District.

|                    |             |                    |             |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| John G. White..... | Manchester. | J. A. Coleman..... | Monticello. |
| L. T. Neat .....   | Columbia.   | John Eversole..... | Booneville. |

LOUISIANA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                           |              |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| Henry Demas .....         | Edgard.      |
| J. Madison Vance .....    | New Orleans. |
| Albert H. Leonard.....    | Shreveport.  |
| William Pitt Kellogg..... | New Orleans. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| J. J. Sullivan .....   | Donaldsonville. |
| Joseph Honore, Jr..... | New Orleans.    |
| W. H. Williams.....    | New Orleans.    |
| S. A. Wardell.....     | New Orleans.    |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.             |              | ALTERNATES.        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Henry C. Warmouth..... | Magnolia.    | James Lewis .....  | New Orleans. |
| Waller L. Cohen.....   | New Orleans. | A. T. Gabriel..... | New Orleans. |

Second District.

|                      |              |                      |                |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------|
| A. T. Wimberly ..... | New Orleans. | L. B. Carmouche..... | McDonoghville. |
| Richard Simms .....  | Central.     | Ernest Ducogne ..... | New Orleans.   |

Third District.

|                            |                 |                     |                 |
|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| T. A. Cage (½ vote).....   | New Orleans.    | H. O. Maher .....   | Donaldsonville. |
| Meyer Cahn (½ vote) .....  | Donaldsonville. | J. S. Davidson..... | Bayou Goula.    |
| L. S. Clark (½ vote).....  | Franklin.       | .....               | .....           |
| Wm. J. Behan (½ vote)..... | New Orleans.    | .....               | .....           |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

LOUISIANA—*Continued.*

**Fourth District.**

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

B. F. O'Neal.....Benton. ....  
William Harper.....Shreveport. ....

**Fifth District.**

I. B. Donnelly.....New Orleans. .... J. M. Cook.....East Carroll.  
S. W. Green.....Lake Providence. .... Charles J. Green.....Ruston.

**Sixth District.**

T. B. Brooks.....Opelousas. .... Michael Winfield.....  
W. W. Johnson.....Mandeville. .... Henry Eisle.....Bayou Chicot.

MAINE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Amos L. Allen .....Alfred.  
Charles E. Littlefield.....Rockland.  
Edwin C. Burleigh .....Augusta.  
E. A. Thompson.....Dover.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

John I. Sturgis.....New Gloucester.  
B. F. Briggs.....Auburn.  
Charles A. Marston.....Skowhegan.  
George B. Dunn.....Houlton.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

George P. Westcott.....Portland. .... Charles E. Townsend.....Brunswick.  
J. T. Davidson.....York. .... Joseph F. Warren.....Buxton.

**Second District.**

Harold M. Sewall.....Bath. .... Waldo Pettingell .....Rumford Falls.  
Hiram Ricker.....Poland. .... W. S. White.....Rockland.

**Third District.**

Forrest Goodwin. ....Skowhegan. .... Edward B. Rodick... ..Bar Harbor.  
Edward E. Chase.....Blue Hill. .... Geo. W. Heseltine.....Gardiner.

**Fourth District.**

Stanley Plummer.....Dexter. .... Isaiah K. Stetson.....Bangor.  
W. M. Nash. ....Cherryfield. .... Gleason R. Campbell.....Cherryfield.

MARYLAND.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George L. Wellington.....Cumberland.  
James A. Gary .....Baltimore.  
William T. Malster .....Baltimore.  
Robert P. Graham .....Salisbury.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

W. B. Fletcher .....Annapolis.  
George W. Bryant.....Baltimore.  
H. M. Sinclair.....Cambridge.  
N. M. Rittenhouse.....Baltimore.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MARYLAND—Continued.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.              |            | ALTERNATES.             |              |
|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Wm. D. Straughn .....   | Snow Hill. | Wm. J. Vannort .....    | Chestertown. |
| B. Gootee Stevens ..... | Williston. | John P. Forrester ..... | Centreville. |

Second District.

|                    |            |                        |              |
|--------------------|------------|------------------------|--------------|
| W. J. Smith .....  | Elkton.    | Milton Schaeffer ..... | Westminster. |
| C. Ross Mace ..... | Baltimore. | E. M. Hoffman .....    | Baltimore.   |

Third District.

|                      |            |                       |            |
|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Wm. F. Airey .....   | Baltimore. | John C. Smith .....   | Baltimore. |
| T. Frank Tyler ..... | Baltimore. | John C. Friedel ..... | Baltimore. |

Fourth District.

|                       |            |                         |            |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Felix Agnus .....     | Baltimore. | Robert L. Stevens ..... | Baltimore. |
| Wm. E. Tilghman ..... | Baltimore. | Conrad Willis .....     | Baltimore. |

Fifth District.

|                          |            |                        |            |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Washington G. Tuck ..... | Annapolis. | John I. Brookes .....  | Mutual.    |
| Sydney E. Mudd .....     | Bryantown. | Benjamin F. Hiss ..... | Baltimore. |

Sixth District.

|                          |             |                        |            |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------|
| S. T. Haffner .....      | Frederick.  | David E. Dick .....    | Frostburg. |
| Robert S. Crawford ..... | Hagerstown. | Charles B. Jones ..... | Rockville. |

MASSACHUSETTS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Henry Cabot Lodge ..... | Nahant.   |
| W. Murray Crane .....   | Dalton.   |
| Eben S. Draper .....    | Hopedale. |
| Curtis Guild, Jr. ....  | Boston.   |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                          |              |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Roland H. Boutwell ..... | Belmont.     |
| Richard F. Hawkins ..... | Springfield. |
| Louis C. Southard .....  | Easton.      |
| S. E. Courtney .....     | Boston.      |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.              |             | ALTERNATES.            |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Perley A. Russell ..... | Barrington. | George K. Baird .....  | Lee.        |
| Wm. Whiting .....       | Holyoke.    | Franklin E. Snow ..... | Greenfield. |

Second District.

|                        |              |                           |              |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Elisha Morgan .....    | Springfield. | R. W. Irwin .....         | Northampton. |
| Walter M. Wright ..... | Orange.      | Thomas H. Goodspeed ..... | Athol.       |

Third District.

|                          |            |                         |            |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| A. E. Smith .....        | Leicester. | Granby P. Bridges ..... | Hopkinton. |
| M. V. B. Jefferson ..... | Worcester. | Jas. P. Crosby .....    | Worcester. |

Fourth District.

|                        |            |                       |           |
|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Geo. W. Weymouth ..... | Fitchburg. | Henry Parsons .....   | Marlboro. |
| Chas. K. Moulton ..... | Waltham.   | George J. Burns ..... | Ayer.     |

Fifth District.

|                   |          |                     |          |
|-------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| Wm. M. Wood ..... | Andover. | E. F. Johnson ..... | Woburn.  |
| H. K. White ..... | Lowell.  | N. P. Frye .....    | Andover. |

Sixth District.

|                       |              |                      |             |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Geo. R. Jewett .....  | Salem.       | Chas. O. Baily ..... | Newbury.    |
| H. Hale Willard ..... | Newburyport. | Chas. D. Brown ..... | Gloucester. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MASSACHUSETTS—*Continued.*

**Seventh District.**

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

Amos F. Bread .....Lynn.                   Geo. H. Dunham .....Chelsea.  
 Jas. Pierce .....Malden.                   Walter S. Keene .....Stoneham.

**Eighth District.**

A. E. Winship .....Somerville.           Stanley Ruffin .....Boston.  
 John Hopewell, Jr.....Cambridge.       Edward S. Crockett.....Boston.

**Ninth District.**

Geo. A. Hibbard .....Boston.             Arthur G. Wood.....Boston.  
 Jesse M. Gove.....Boston.             Peter Morrison .....Boston.

**Tenth District.**

Augustus T. Sweat.....Boston.           Stephen M. Marshall .....Boston.  
 Chas. L. Hammond.....Quiney.           Geo. F. Lowell .....Boston.

**Eleventh District.**

Everett C. Benton.....Belmont.           Chas. H. Utely .....Brookline.  
 John S. Richardson .....Boston.       Burrill Porter, Jr...North Attleborough

**Twelfth District.**

Robert O. Harris.....East Bridgewater.   Thos. E. Grover.....Canton.  
 Fred. S. Hall.....Taunton.             A. H. Washburn .....Middleboro

**Thirteenth District.**

Wm. M. Butler.....New Bedford.         Walter I. Rich.....Barnstable.  
 Leontine Lincoln.....Fall River.       Walter O. Luskomb .....Falmouth.

MICHIGAN.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Russell A. Alger.....Detroit.  
 Thomas J. O'Brien.....Grand Rapids.  
 John Duncan.....Calumet.  
 Mark S. Brewer.....Pontiac.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Crawford S. Kelsey.....Battle Creek.  
 Henry A. Haigh.....Detroit.  
 Geo. A. Kempf.....Chelsea.  
 Isaac C. Washington.....Port Huron.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

David Meginity.....Detroit.             Otto E. E. Guelich.....Detroit.  
 Freeman B. Dickerson.....Detroit.       James H. Stone.....Detroit.

**Second District.**

James T. Hurst.....Wyandotte.           Chas. A. Blair.....Jackson.  
 Edward P. Allen.....Ypsilanti.           Henry C. Smith.....Adrian.

**Third District.**

Hamilton King.....Olivet.             Albert A. Dorrance.....Coldwater.  
 Ebenezer O. Grosvenor.....Jonesville.   Herbert E. Winsor.....Marshall.

**Fourth District.**

Frank W. Waitt.....Sturgis.             John L. Yost.....Cassopolis.  
 Richard B. Messer.....Hastings.       Henry Sherwood.....Reedsville.

**Fifth District.**

Gerrit J. Diekema.....Holland.           Neil McMillan.....Rockford.  
 Wm. H. Anderson.....Grand Rapids.       Grant M. Morse.....Ionia.

**Sixth District.**

Wm. McPherson.....Howell.             Theodore M. Wolter.....Detroit.  
 Geo. W. Buckingham .....Flint.       John Robson .....Lansing.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MICHIGAN—Continued.

**Seventh District.**

| DELEGATES.                |          | ALTERNATES.          |             |
|---------------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------|
| John L. Starkweather..... | Romeo.   | Samuel W. Vance..... | Port Huron. |
| William H. Aitken.....    | Sanilac. | J. Herbert Cole..... | Lapeer.     |

**Eighth District.**

|                          |           |                   |          |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------|
| Oliver L. Spaulding..... | St. John. | Geo. W. Hill..... | Saginaw. |
| Theron W. Atwood.....    | Caro.     | Otto Sprague..... | Owosso.  |

**Ninth District.**

|                       |            |                       |            |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Chas. H. Hackley..... | Muskegon.  | Frank P. Dunwell..... | Ludington. |
| Edgar G. Maxwell..... | Pentwater. | Earl Fairbanks.....   | Luther.    |

**Tenth District.**

|                    |             |                      |          |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------|
| Temple Emery.....  | East Tawas. | Pearly C. Heald..... | Midland. |
| J. Frank Eddy..... | Bay City.   | Eugene Foster.....   | Gladwin. |

**Eleventh District.**

|                        |             |                         |            |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Edgar P. Babcock.....  | Kalkaska.   | Legrand E. Slussar..... | Mancelona. |
| Chas. L. Crandall..... | Big Rapids. | Geo. W. Minchin.....    | Evart.     |

**Twelfth District.**

|                        |                |                        |            |
|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|------------|
| James McNaughton.....  | Iron Mountain. | Henry J. Woessner..... | Menominee. |
| Charles E. Miller..... | Ironwood.      | Frank O. Mead.....     | Escanaba.  |

MINNESOTA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                       |              |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| George Thompson.....  | St. Paul.    |
| R. G. Evans.....      | Minneapolis. |
| L. P. Hunt.....       | Mankato.     |
| Chas. F. Hendryx..... | Sauk Centre. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| A. H. Reed.....         | Glencoe.           |
| Ira C. Richardson.....  | Thief River Falls. |
| James Diment.....       | Owatonna.          |
| Burger Thurstenson..... | Cokato.            |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

| DELEGATES.         |             | ALTERNATES.        |            |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|
| A. D. Gray.....    | Preston.    | P. H. Bailey.....  | Waseca.    |
| L. S. Swenson..... | Albert Lea. | Olans K. Dahl..... | Caledonia. |

**Second District.**

|                    |            |                    |                 |
|--------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| W. R. Edwards..... | Tracy.     | L. G. Beebe.....   | Winnebago City. |
| W. H. Rowe.....    | St. James. | D. A. McLarty..... | Granite Falls.  |

**Third District.**

|                    |           |                    |               |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| L. F. Hubbard..... | Red Wing. | F. F. Griebe.....  | Hastings.     |
| T. M. Paine.....   | Glencoe.  | Samuel Bowler..... | Belle Plaine. |

**Fourth District.**

|                     |                |                      |            |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------|
| Wm. R. Merriam..... | St. Paul.      | Fred. S. Bryant..... | St. Paul.  |
| J. H. Crandall..... | Cottage Grove. | H. F. Barker.....    | Cambridge. |

**Fifth District.**

|                         |              |                       |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Chas. A. Pillsbury..... | Minneapolis. | Chas. S. Cairne.....  | Minneapolis. |
| Ell Torrence.....       | Minneapolis. | J. Frank Wheaton..... | Minneapolis. |

**Sixth District.**

|                     |               |                     |            |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|
| Munroe Nichols..... | Duluth.       | W. S. McDonald..... | Annandale. |
| A. D. Davidson..... | Little Falls. | Frank Wilson.....   | Wadena.    |

**Seventh District.**

|                        |               |                    |          |
|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------|
| C. J. Gunderson.....   | Alexandria.   | P. H. Konzens..... | Hallock. |
| Ezra G. Valentine..... | Breckenridge. | G. S. Wattam.....  | Warren.  |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MISSISSIPPI.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

James Hill (colored).....Jackson.
John S. Burton.....Holly Springs.
Albert M. Lee.....Vicksburg.
E. H. Lampton (colored).....Greenville.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Nelson A. Anderson (colored).....Vicksburg.
William B. Sorsbye.....Clinton.
William A. Alcorn, Sr.....Clarksdale.
William E. Mask (colored).....Winona.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.
William F. Elgin .....Corinth. Daniel A. Adams.....Iuka.
Richard D. Littlejohn (col.)..Columbus. John Fears (colored).....Monroe.

Second District.

George W. Buchanan.....Holly Springs. William Kennedy.....Ripley.
William Simmons (colored).....Sardis. J. W. Avant.....Oxford.

Third District.

Wesley Crayton.....Vicksburg. George W. Butler.....Anguilla.
Joseph E. Ousley .....Eutaw. George W. Gilliam .....Lula.

Fourth District.

Charles Rosenbaum.....De Kalb. James M. Loverette.....Walthall.
Eugene E. Pettibone (colored)..Grenada. Byron W. Foree (colored)...West Point.

Fifth District.

R. A. Simmons.....Richland. John C. Hill.....Meridian.
A. J. Hyde .....Meridian. J. W. Smith.....Meridian.

Sixth District.

C. A. Simpson.....Pass Christian. T. J. Keys.....Ocean Springs.
George F. Bowles (colored)....Natchez. J. L. Collins.....Bay St. Louis.

Seventh District.

James M. Matthews, Sr.....Wesson. Emil Engbarth.....Rodney.
George C. Granberry (col'd)..Raymond. Edward W. Jones (colored).....Jackson.

MISSOURI.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Chauncey I. Filley .....St. Louis.
Wm. Warner.....Kansas City.
F. G. Niedringhaus.....St. Louis.
J. H. Bothwell .....Sedalia.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Louis Benecke.....Brunswick.
Jas. T. Moore.....Lebanon.
Leon Jordan.....Kansas City.
W. M. Farmer .....St. Louis.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.
Jos. Park.....La Plata. J. L. Baker .....Lancaster.
Edward W. Robinson .....Kahoka. A. L. Freeland .....Lakeland.

Second District.

Jas. L. Minnis.....Carrollton. W. B. Rodgers.....Trenton.
J. E. Swanger.....Milan. W. B. Stewart.....Moberly.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MISSOURI—Continued.

| DELEGATES.                  |                  | ALTERNATES.                |                |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| M. M. Campbell .....        | Albany.          | James A. Rathbun .....     | Braymer.       |
| Jackson Walker .....        | Bethany.         | P. M. Hatch .....          | Osborn.        |
| <b>Third District.</b>      |                  |                            |                |
| John G. Grems .....         | Maryville.       | Ralph O. Stauber .....     | St. Louis.     |
| J. L. Bittinger .....       | St. Joseph.      | H. E. Ralston .....        | Elmo.          |
| <b>Fourth District.</b>     |                  |                            |                |
| Joseph H. Harris .....      | Kansas City.     | W. H. Wagoner .....        | Independence.  |
| Ed. M. Taubman .....        | Lexington.       | Nelson Crews .....         | Kansas City.   |
| <b>Fifth District.</b>      |                  |                            |                |
| F. E. Kellogg .....         | Rich Hill.       | B. Zick .....              | Pleasant Hill. |
| S. W. Jurden .....          | Holden.          | Geo. R. Baker .....        | Montrose.      |
| <b>Sixth District.</b>      |                  |                            |                |
| B. F. Leonard .....         | Bolivar.         | F. B. Parker .....         | Springfield.   |
| J. J. Smith .....           | Sweet Springs.   | W. M. Johns .....          | Sedalia.       |
| <b>Seventh District.</b>    |                  |                            |                |
| A. R. Jackson .....         | Climax Springs.  | W. Smithpeter .....        | Buffalo.       |
| F. B. Lander .....          | California.      | W. L. Vaughn .....         | Linn.          |
| <b>Eighth District.</b>     |                  |                            |                |
| A. F. Mispagel .....        | St. Charles.     | T. L. Douglas .....        | Mexico.        |
| S. T. Sharp .....           | Montgomery City. | S. R. McKay .....          | Troy.          |
| <b>Ninth District.</b>      |                  |                            |                |
| L. J. W. Wall .....         | St. Louis.       | G. A. Wurdeman .....       | Old Orchard.   |
| Chas. F. Gallinkamp .....   | Union.           | Fritz W. Clemens .....     | St. Louis.     |
| <b>Tenth District.</b>      |                  |                            |                |
| F. B. Brownell .....        | St. Louis.       | L. M. Fishback .....       | St. Louis.     |
| Lee A. Phillips .....       | St. Louis.       | Henry Gaus, Jr .....       | St. Louis.     |
| <b>Eleventh District.</b>   |                  |                            |                |
| Nathan Frank .....          | St. Louis.       | T. A. Arnold .....         | St. Louis.     |
| Chas. D. Comfort .....      | St. Louis.       | C. G. Schoenhard, Jr ..... | St. Louis.     |
| <b>Twelfth District.</b>    |                  |                            |                |
| C. B. Parsons .....         | Riverside.       | John Schwab, Jr .....      | Ironton.       |
| C. Jesse Roote .....        | Mansfield.       | Ray Phillips .....         | Roy.           |
| <b>Thirteenth District.</b> |                  |                            |                |
| M. B. Gideon .....          | Ozark.           | M. E. Shelton .....        | Poplar Bluff.  |
| J. L. Davis .....           | Forsyth.         | R. A. Sparks .....         | Benton.        |
| <b>Fourteenth District.</b> |                  |                            |                |
| T. B. Haughawout .....      | Carthage.        | T. L. Wills .....          | Lamar.         |
| G. A. Purdy .....           | Peirce City.     | John C. Herms .....        | Neosho.        |

MONTANA.

| DELEGATES.               |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Thomas H. Carter .....   | Helena.           |
| Lee Mantle .....         | Butte.            |
| Charles S. Hartman ..... | Bozeman.          |
| Thomas C. Marshall ..... | Missoula.         |
| Alex. Metzger .....      | Puller's Springs. |
| Jared W. Stowell .....   | Miles City.       |
| <b>ALTERNATES.</b>       |                   |
| Tom B. Miller .....      | Helena.           |
| P. R. Dolman .....       | Butte.            |
| O. F. Goddard .....      | Billings.         |
| J. M. Sligh .....        | Philipsburg.      |
| J. B. Losee .....        | Anaconda.         |
| J. G. Bair .....         | Choteau.          |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEBRASKA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| John L. Webster .....   | Omaha.        |
| Thomas P. Kennard ..... | Lincoln.      |
| Peter Jansen.....       | Jansen.       |
| George H. Thummel ..... | Grand Island. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| O. G. Smith .....   | Kearney.      |
| L. P. Judd.....     | Cedar Rapids. |
| C. B. Dempster..... | Beatrice.     |
| A. C. Wright .....  | Elmwood.      |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

|                     |              |                     |           |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------|
| DELEGATES.          |              | ALTERNATES.         |           |
| L. L. Lindsey ..... | Lincoln.     | .....               | .....     |
| H. N. Dovey.....    | Plattsmouth. | S. P. Davidson..... | Tecumseh. |

Second District.

|                       |        |                   |         |
|-----------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|
| John M. Thurston..... | Omaha. | James Walsh.....  | Benson. |
| John C. Cowin.....    | Omaha. | B. F. Monroe..... | Blair.  |

Third District.

|                       |         |                    |            |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|------------|
| John T. Bressler..... | Wayne.  | H. C. Baird .....  | Coleridge. |
| John C. Martin.....   | Clarks. | C. J. Garlow ..... | Columbus.  |

Fourth District.

|                      |         |                     |           |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------|
| F. M. Wetherald..... | Hebron. | A. Graham.....      | Beatrice. |
| C. B. Anderson.....  | DeWitt. | G. J. Railback..... | Ashland.  |

Fifth District.

|                     |              |                     |            |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------|
| J. P. A. Black..... | Bloomington. | C. H. Beaumont..... | Madrid.    |
| S. W. Christy.....  | Edgar.       | J. S. Hoover.....   | Blue Hill. |

Sixth District.

|                    |          |                      |             |
|--------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------|
| B. H. Goodell..... | Kearney. | E. J. Davenport..... | Valentine.  |
| E. L. Meyer.....   | Newport. | J. O. Taylor.....    | Broken Bow. |

NEVADA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

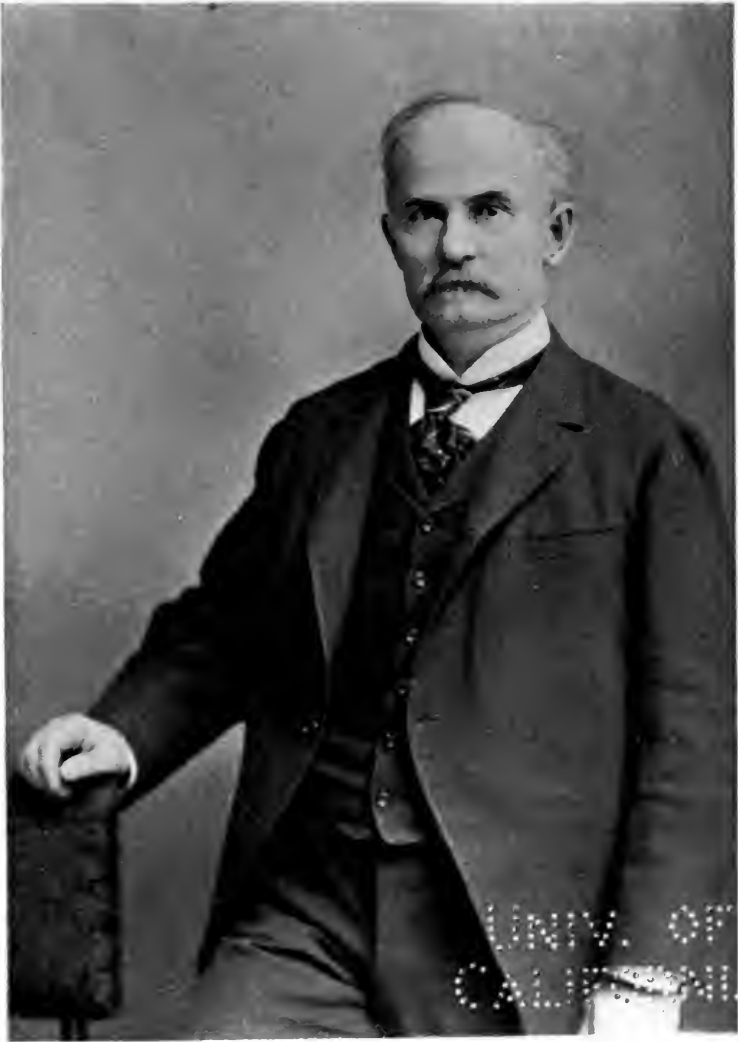
|                      |            |
|----------------------|------------|
| A. C. Cleveland..... | Cleveland. |
| Enoch Strother.....  | Virginia.  |
| J. B. Overton.....   | Virginia.  |
| C. H. Sproule .....  | Elko.      |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| S. A. D. Glasscock ..... | Osceola.    |
| W. S. Bonfield .....     | Winnemucca. |
| C. H. Colburn.....       | Virginia.   |
| John Torre .....         | Eureka.     |

|                        |       |                      |             |
|------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------------|
| DELEGATES.             |       | ALTERNATES.          |             |
| W. D. Phillips.....    | Reno. | W. W. Williams ..... | Stillwater. |
| Geo. F. Turrittin..... | Reno. | P. L. Flannigan..... | Reno.       |





REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT R. HITT, OF ILLINOIS.

70 .VINU  
ABBOGLIA

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Stephen S. Jewett .....Laconia.
B. F. S. Streeter.....Concord.
Charles T. Means.....Manchester.
James A. Wood.....Acworth.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Stephen H. Gale.....Exeter.
Dexter Richards.....Newport.
Oscar S. Hatch .....Littleton.
George A. Clark .....Manchester.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.
Charles B. Gafney .....Rochester. John W. Rowe.....Brentwood.
W. D. Sawyer.....Dover. A. C. Kennett .....Conway.

Second District.

John A. Spaulding.....Nashua. Frank P. Maynard.....Claremont.
John H. Brown.....Bristol. Thomas C. Rand.....Keene.

NEW JERSEY.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William J. Sewell .....Camden.
Garrett A. Hobart .....Paterson.
Franklin Murphy.....Newark.
John Keen .....Elizabeth.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

H. C. Loudenslager.....Woodbury.
Clarence E. Breckenridge.....Maywood.
Charles H. Reed.....Plainfield.
Barker Gummere .....Trenton.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

DELEGATES. ALTERNATES.
Robert E. Hand.....Cape May. Frank E. Patterson .....Camden.
George Hires .....Salem. Charles M. Wilkins.....Wenona.

Second District.

Frederick W. Roebbling.....Trenton. Henry J. Irick .....Vincentown.
Alfred M. Bradshaw. ....Lakewood. George Clinton.....Atlantic City.

Third District.

T. Frank Appleby .....Asbury Park. Charles H. Reed.....Plainfield.
John W. Herbert, Jr.....Helmetta. Charles Place.....Somerville.

Fourth District.

Stephen K. Large.....White House. Theo. F. Margerum .....Dickerson.
A. Blair Kelsey.....Belvidere. Geo. W. Stickle .....Rockaway.

Fifth District.

Wm. Barbour, 218 Church St., New York. B. W. Spencer.....Passaic.
Jos. H. Quackenbush.....Paterson. Wm. Makensie .....Rutherford.

Sixth District.

John Franklin Fort.....Newark. Frederick Mock .....Newark.
Charles Bradley.....Newark. Frank M. Parker.....Newark.

Seventh District.

Samuel D. Dickinson.....Jersey City. Joseph Giusta.....Hoboken.
Thomas McEwan, Jr.....Jersey City. Thomas Aldcom.....New Durham.

Eighth District.

Frank Bergen .....Elizabeth. Charles J. Fisk.....Plainfield.
William Riker, Jr.....Orange. Charles W. Fuller.....Jersey City.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEW YORK.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Thomas C. Platt .....  | New York. |
| Warner Miller.....     | Herkimer. |
| Chauncey M. Depew..... | New York. |
| Edward Lauterbach..... | New York. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                           |             |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Hamilton Fish.....        | Garrisons.  |
| Frank S. Weatherbee ..... | Port Henry. |
| C. D. Babcock .....       | Rochester.  |
| Daniel H. McMillan .....  | Buffalo.    |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.                       | ALTERNATES.                        |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| H. C. Johnson.....Astoria.       | Augustus Denton.....New Hyde Park. |
| Walter L. Suydam.....Blue Point. | Joseph H. Newins .....             |

Second District.

|                          |           |                       |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Theodore B. Willis ..... | Brooklyn. | Denis M. Hurley ..... | Brooklyn. |
| Geo. H. Roberts, Jr..... | Brooklyn. | Wm. E. Phillips ..... | Brooklyn. |

Third District.

|                           |           |                    |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Timothy L. Woodruff ..... | Brooklyn. | Jacob Brenner..... | Brooklyn. |
| W. B. Atterby .....       | New York. | Jas. Lefferts..... | Flatbush. |

Fourth District.

|                           |           |                       |             |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Granville W. Harman ..... | Brooklyn. | Fred. E. Shipman..... | Brooklyn.   |
| Jos. R. Clark .....       | Brooklyn. | Jas. P. Connell ..... | Bath Beach. |

Fifth District.

|                           |           |                      |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| Fred. W. Wurster.....     | Brooklyn. | J. P. Milliken ..... | Brooklyn. |
| Ernest J. Kaltenbach..... | Brooklyn. | Frank Vogt.....      | Brooklyn. |

Sixth District.

|                        |           |                            |           |
|------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|
| Henry C. Saffen .....  | Brooklyn. | James F. Bendernagle ..... | Brooklyn. |
| George W. Palmer ..... | Brooklyn. | Jacob Worth .....          | Brooklyn. |

Seventh District.

|                         |                |                       |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Cornelius Van Cott..... | New York.      | Frederick Hadley..... | New York.      |
| Hugh McRoberts.....     | Tompkinsville. | Frank Foggin.....     | Port Richmond. |

Eighth District.

|                         |           |                  |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| Lispenard Stewart ..... | New York. | Simon Gavin..... | New York. |
| L. L. Van Allen.....    | New York. | John Moran ..... | New York. |

Ninth District.

|                        |           |                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|
| Charles H. Murray..... | New York. | Christian Goetz.....   | New York. |
| J. J. Collins .....    | New York. | Abraham A. Joseph..... | New York. |

Tenth District.

| DELEGATES.              | ALTERNATES. |                         |           |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Frederick S. Gibbs..... | New York.   | Clarence W. Meade ..... | New York. |
| John P. Windolph .....  | New York.   | Jos. T. Hackett.....    | New York. |

Eleventh District.

|                          |           |                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Jacob M. Patterson ..... | New York. | Conrad C. Wisserman..... | New York. |
| George Hillard .....     | New York. | Chas. N. Jerolman .....  | New York. |

Twelfth District.

|                                   |           |                     |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Cornelius N. Bliss (½ vote).....  | New York. | P. T. Sherman ..... | New York. |
| S. V. R. Kruger (½ vote).....     | New York. | Edward Hardy.....   | New York. |
| Howard Carroll (½ vote).....      | New York. | C. A. Simms.....    | New York. |
| Thurlow Weed Barnes (½ vote)..... | New York. | Chas. Eidlich ..... | New York. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEW YORK—*Continued.*

| <b>Thirteenth District.</b>        |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| DELEGATES.                         | ALTERNATES.                         |
| William Brookfield.....New York.   | T. F. Egan.....New York.            |
| Anson G. McCook.....New York.      | Robert Miller.....New York.         |
| <b>Fourteenth District.</b>        |                                     |
| L. E. Quigg.....New York.          | Jastro Alexander.....New York.      |
| Abraham Gruber.....New York.       | Henry R. Hoyt.....New York.         |
| <b>Fifteenth District.</b>         |                                     |
| C. H. T. Collis.....New York.      | Elias Goodman.....New York.         |
| Robert J. Wright.....New York.     | Geo. H. Sutton.....New York.        |
| <b>Sixteenth District.</b>         |                                     |
| Wm. H. Robertson.....Katonah.      | Francis M. Carpenter.....Mt. Kisco. |
| John G. Peene.....Yonkers.         | Frank F. Miller.....Tarrytown.      |
| <b>Seventeenth District.</b>       |                                     |
| Benj. B. Odell, Jr.....Newberg.    | Arthur S. Thompkins.....Nyack.      |
| Thos. W. Bradley.....Waldon.       | Jos. M. Dickey.....Newberg.         |
| <b>Eighteenth District.</b>        |                                     |
| John H. Ketcham.....Dover Plains.  | L. W. Vail.....Poughkeepsie.        |
| S. D. Coykendall.....Rondout.      | A. T. Clearwater.....Kingston.      |
| <b>Nineteenth District.</b>        |                                     |
| Frank S. Black.....Troy.           | John A. Quackenbush.....Stillwater. |
| Louis F. Payne.....Chatham.        | Perkins F. Cady.....Hudson.         |
| <b>Twentieth District.</b>         |                                     |
| William Barnes, Jr.....Albany.     | Jas. H. Mitchell.....Cohoes.        |
| Wm. J. Walker.....Albany.          | Hiram Griggs.....Altamont.          |
| <b>Twenty-first District.</b>      |                                     |
| Edward Ellis.....Schenectady.      | Jacob Snell.....Fonda.              |
| J. LeRoy Jacobs.....Cairo.         | L. W. Baxter.....Cobleskill.        |
| <b>Twenty-second District.</b>     |                                     |
| Wm. L. Proctor.....Ogdensburg.     | Theo. H. Swift.....Potsdam.         |
| W. W. Worden.....Saratoga Springs. | Jas. P. Arginsinger.....Johnstown.  |
| <b>Twenty-third District.</b>      |                                     |
| Addison B. Colvin.....Glen Falls.  | Clayton H. Delano.....Ticonderoga.  |
| Thomas A. Sears.....Bombay.        | David F. Dobie.....Plattsburgh.     |
| <b>Twenty-fourth District.</b>     |                                     |
| John T. Mott.....Oswego.           | V. Lansing Waters.....Lowville.     |
| D. C. Middleton.....Watertown.     | Edward J. Tallman.....LaFargeville. |
| <b>Twenty-fifth District.</b>      |                                     |
| Frederick C. Weaver.....Utica.     | Thos. Wheeler.....Utica.            |
| Albert G. Story.....Little Falls.  | B. B. Van Dusen.....Ilion.          |
| <b>Twenty-sixth District.</b>      |                                     |
| Frank J.ENZ.....Ithaca.            | Wesley Gould.....Hancock.           |
| William A. Smyth.....Oswego.       | George E. Greene.....Binghamton.    |
| <b>Twenty-seventh District.</b>    |                                     |
| Frank Hiscock.....Syracuse.        | E. F. Blair.....Erieville.          |
| Francis Hendricks.....Syracuse.    | Jas. Loyster.....Cazenovia.         |
| <b>Twenty-eighth District.</b>     |                                     |
| Sereno E. Payne.....Auburn.        | J. Henry Smith.....Penn Yan.        |
| John Raines.....Canandaigua.       | Chas. O. Newton.....Homer.          |
| <b>Twenty-ninth District.</b>      |                                     |
| John F. Parkhurst.....Bath.        | Chas. M. Woodward.....Watkins.      |
| Archie E. Baxter.....Elmira.       | Chas. T. Andrews.....Seneca Falls.  |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEW YORK—Continued.

**Thirtieth District.**

DELEGATES.

Archie D. Sanders.....Stafford.  
Irving M. Thompson.....Albion.

ALTERNATES.

Eugene Cary.....Niagara Falls.  
Clarence M. Alford.....Livonia.

**Thirty-first District.**

Geo. W. Aldridge.....Rochester.  
Wm. A. Sutherland.....Rochester.

Frank P. Higbie.....Chili Station.  
Anderson Bowen.....Fairport.

**Thirty-second District.**

John R. Hazel.....Buffalo.  
John Craft.....Buffalo.

Dennis J. Ryan.....Buffalo.  
Simon Seibert.....Buffalo.

**Thirty-third District.**

George E. Matthews.....Buffalo.  
Wesley C. Dudley.....Buffalo.

Wm. L. Marey.....Buffalo.  
John G. Wallemeier.....Tonawanda.

**Thirty-fourth District.**

N. V. V. Franchot.....Olean.  
Lester V. Stearns.....Dunkirk.

E. A. Curtis.....Fredonia.  
A. Miner Wellman.....Friendship.

NORTH CAROLINA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Peter C. Pritchard.....Marshal.  
James E. Boyd.....Greensboro.  
C. M. Bernard.....Greenville.  
George H. White.....Tarboro.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

J. Elwood Cox.....Greensboro.  
C. T. Bailey.....Raleigh.  
W. S. Hogan.....  
J. E. Dellinger.....Greensboro.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District**

DELEGATES.

J. P. Butler.....Janesville.  
E. C. Duncan.....Beaufort.

ALTERNATES.

H. G. Gussom.....Edenton.  
Hugh Cale.....Elizabeth City.

**Second District.**

J. H. Hannon.....Halifax.  
H. L. Grant.....Goldsboro.

**Third District.**

A. R. Middleton.....Keenansville.  
C. D. Waddell.....Fayetteville.

**Fourth District.**

W. H. Martin.....Raleigh.  
E. A. Johnson.....Raleigh.

C. E. Spicer.....  
John N. Williamson.....

**Fifth District.**

J. H. Holt, Jr. (Resigned).  
W. T. O'Brian.....Durham.

W. H. Crews, Jr.....Oxford.

**Sixth District.**

J. W. Mullen ( $\frac{1}{2}$  vote).....Huntersville.  
J. B. Dudley ( $\frac{1}{2}$  vote).....Wilmington.  
R. B. Russell ( $\frac{1}{2}$  vote).....Maxton.  
J. M. Smith ( $\frac{1}{2}$  vote).....Rockingham.

E. M. Green.....Wilmington.  
Wm. McMullen.....Charlotte.

**Seventh District.**

James H. Ramsey.....Salisbury.  
C. G. Bailey.....Advance.

E. D. Stanford.....Yadkinville.  
J. T. Cramer.....Thomasville.

**Eighth District.**

M. L. Mott.....Wilkesboro.  
J. B. Fortune.....Shelby.

W. G. Meadows.....Moravian Falls.

**Ninth District.**

C. J. Harris.....Dillsboro.  
John G. Grant.....Hendersonville.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NORTH DAKOTA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

C. M. Johnson.....Dwight.  
S. T. Satterthwaite..... Fargo.  
O. S. Hanson..... Buxton.  
J. M. Devine..... La Moure.  
Alex. Hughes..... Bismarck.  
George Bingenheimer..... Mandan.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Austin King.....Forman.  
George W. Soliday.....New Rockford.  
E. H. Kent.....Lakota.  
M. B. Cassell.....Sherbrooke.  
H. L. Dickenson.....Dickenson.  
W. A. Caldwell.....Monango.

OHIO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Joseph B. Foraker.....Cincinnati.  
Asa S. Bushnell.....Springfield.  
Chas. H. Grosvenor.....Athens.  
Mark A. Hanna.....Cleveland.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

Dr. J. E. Lowes.....Dayton.  
Charles Fleischman.....Cincinnati.  
John N. Taylor.....East Liverpool.  
John P. Green.....Cleveland.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.         |             | ALTERNATES.            |             |
|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| George B. Cox..... | Cincinnati. | M. L. Kruckemeyer..... | Cincinnati. |
| T. W. Graydon..... | Cincinnati. | W. B. Shattuc.....     | Cincinnati. |

Second District.

|                          |             |                           |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| John A. Caldwell.....    | Cincinnati. | Colonel C. B. Wing.....   | Cincinnati. |
| Andrew Hickenlooper..... | Cincinnati. | Colonel L. Markbreit..... | Cincinnati. |

Third District.

|                    |             |                      |         |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------|
| Robert Wilson..... | Middletown. | E. B. Weston.....    | Dayton. |
| Wm. E. Crume.....  | Dayton.     | W. S. Fornshell..... | Camden. |

Fourth District.

|                      |             |                     |           |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| George B. Davis..... | Wapakoneta. | W. H. Phipps.....   | Paulding. |
| J. I. Allread.....   | Greenville. | J. W. Williams..... | Bryan.    |

Fifth District.

|                     |           |                   |           |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| John M. Sheets..... | Ottawa.   | J. P. Dysert..... | Rockford. |
| M. E. Loose.....    | Napoleon. | R. R. Mede.....   | Anna.     |

Sixth District.

|                     |             |                       |             |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| W. B. Harrison..... | Xenia.      | George P. Dunham..... | Wilmington. |
| E. J. West.....     | Wilmington. | Horace L. Smith.....  | Xenia.      |

Seventh District.

|                               |              |                        |                  |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------|
| George W. Wilson (M. C.)..... | London.      | T. B. Kyle.....        | Troy.            |
| Howard Johns.....             | Circleville. | John H. Van Demas..... | Washington C. H. |

Eighth District.

|                         |         |                      |                |
|-------------------------|---------|----------------------|----------------|
| G. H. Eichelberger..... | Urbana. | W. T. Hoopes.....    | Marysville.    |
| J. C. Howe.....         | Kenton. | J. C. Brand, Jr..... | Bellefontaine. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

OHIO—Continued.

**Ninth District.**

| DELEGATES.                    | ALTERNATES.                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Geo. H. Ketchum.....Toledo.   | Robinson Locke.....Toledo.      |
| J. M. Longnecker.....Wauseon. | Luther Black.....Bowling Green. |

**Tenth District.**

|                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. C. Thompson.....Portsmouth. | H. S. Willard.....Wellston. |
| J. K. Richards.....Ironton.    | S. H. Eagle.....Gallipolis. |

**Eleventh District.**

|                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| D. Massie.....Chillicothe.        | Samuel W. Pascoe.....New Lexington. |
| Jeremiah Carpenter.....Carpenter. | Charles A. Cable.....Nelsonville.   |

**Twelfth District.**

|                               |       |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Chas. L. Kurtz.....Columbus.  | ..... |
| Henry C. Taylor.....Columbus. | ..... |

**Thirteenth District.**

|                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Linn W. Hull.....Sandusky.      | P. Cuneo.....Upper Sandusky. |
| George D. Copeland.....Fremont. | T. D. Campbell.....Fostoria. |

**Fourteenth District.**

|                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Arthur L. Garford.....Elyria. | W. C. Cooper.....Mt. Vernon.   |
| Jacob Cohn.....Ashland.       | W. S. Cappellar.....Mansfield. |

**Fifteenth District.**

|                              |                                    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| James R. Barr.....Cambridge. | E. M. Stanbery.....McConnelsville. |
| David Miller.....Caldwell.   | W. B. Gaitree.....Marietta.        |

**Sixteenth District.**

|                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| J. J. Gill.....Steubenville. | Thomas B. Rouse.....Woodsville.  |
| David Cunningham.....Cadiz.  | Wm. A. Hunt.....St. Clairsville. |

**Seventeenth District.**

|                              |                                    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| G. A. Hay.....Coshocton.     | A. B. Critchfield.....Millersburg. |
| W. H. Stout.....Uriehsville. | J. H. Kauke.....Millersburg.       |

**Eighteenth District.**

|                                 |                                 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Caleb B. Wick.....Youngstown.   | Myron A. Norris.....Youngstown. |
| W. A. Smith.....East Liverpool. | James J. Grant.....Canton.      |

**Nineteenth District.**

|                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Frank Hutchins.....Warren. | J. N. Thomas.....Niles. |
| Charles Dick.....Akron.    | S. P. Walcott.....Kent. |

**Twentieth District.**

|                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Andrew Squire.....Cleveland.   | C. F. Leech.....Cleveland.   |
| Robert McDowell.....Cleveland. | C. W. Osborne.....Cleveland. |

**Twenty-first District.**

|                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Myron T. Herrick.....Cleveland.     | Louis J. Rowbottom.....Cleveland. |
| Sylvester T. Everett.....Cleveland. | J. E. Benson.....Cleveland.       |

OREGON.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                      |               |
|----------------------|---------------|
| R. A. Booth.....     | Grant's Pass. |
| Charles Hilton.....  | The Dalles.   |
| John W. Meldrum..... | Oregon City.  |
| C. H. Dodd.....      | Portland.     |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                      |           |
|----------------------|-----------|
| George A. Steel..... | Portland. |
| Max Pracht.....      | Ashland.  |
| J. M. VanDuyn.....   | Dallas.   |
| M. C. Harrison.....  | Portland. |



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

OREGON—Continued.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.            |              | ALTERNATES. |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| J. F. Calbreath ..... | McMinnville. | .....       |
| R. S. Moore.....      | Linkville.   | .....       |

Second District.

|                          |              |                        |            |
|--------------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wallace McCamant .....   | Portland.    | J. Bourne, Jr.....     | Portland.  |
| Charles W. Parrish ..... | Canyon City. | Fred. W. Hendley ..... | Pendleton. |

PENNSYLVANIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Daniel H. Hastings.....  | Harrisburg.   |
| James Elverson.....      | Philadelphia. |
| Francis J. Torrance..... | Pittsburg.    |
| James S. Beacom .....    | Greensburg.   |
| T. L. Flood.....         | Meadville.    |
| Joseph Bosler.....       | Ogontz.       |
| W. W. Griest .....       | Lancaster.    |
| F. H. Barker.....        | Ebensburg.    |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| Chas. A. Minor .....  | Wilkes-Barre. |
| Bois Penrose.....     | Philadelphia. |
| Arthur Kennedy.....   | Allegheny.    |
| S. J. McCarrell.....  | Harrisburg.   |
| Frank E. Hollar.....  | Carlisle.     |
| Chas. Miller.....     | Franklin.     |
| James B. Raymond..... | Altoona.      |
| Chas. M. Plank.....   | Reading.      |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.             | ALTERNATES.             |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Edwin S. Stuart.....   | Philadelphia.           |
| Israel W. Durham ..... | Philadelphia.           |
|                        | Penrose A. McClain..... |
|                        | H. H. Bingham.....      |

Second District.

|                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| David H. Lane.....            | Philadelphia.       |
| Jacob Wildemore .....         | Philadelphia.       |
| (Hamilton Disston, deceased.) |                     |
|                               | Frank M. Riter..... |
|                               | Wm. B. Abern.....   |

Third District.

|                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Joseph S. Klemmer(½ vote) | Philadelphia.       |
| Jas. B. Anderson (½ vote) | Philadelphia.       |
| Henry Clay .....          | Philadelphia.       |
| Ellwood Becker.....       | Philadelphia.       |
|                           | David S. Scott..... |
|                           | W. L. Smith.....    |
|                           | Harry Hunter.....   |
|                           | John Hunter.....    |

Fourth District.

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Alex. Grow, Jr.....   | Philadelphia.          |
| Edward W. Patton..... | Philadelphia.          |
|                       | A. Lincoln Acker ..... |
|                       | A. S. L. Shields.....  |

Fifth District.

|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| David Martin.....   | Philadelphia.        |
| H. B. Hackett ..... | Philadelphia.        |
|                     | Thos. J. Powers..... |
|                     | Harlan Page.....     |

Sixth District.

|                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Smedley Darlington..... | West Chester.            |
| Thos. J. Clayton .....  | Thurflow.                |
|                         | Thos. C. Speakman.....   |
|                         | Wesley S. McDowell ..... |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

**Seventh District.**

DELEGATES.

Jas. B. Holland.....Norristown:  
Hugh B. Eastman .....Doyleville.

ALTERNATES.

I. R. Halderman.....Harleysville.  
Henry G. Moyer.....Perkasie.

**Eighth District.**

Frank Reeder.....Easton.  
J. M. Driesbach .....Mauch Chunk.

Thos. C. Walton.....Stroudsburg.  
Chester A. Pellet.....Milford.

**Ninth District.**

Edward M. Young .....Allentown.  
A. M. High .....Reading.

Llewellyn Williams.....Slatington.  
H. S. Bard.....Reading.

**Tenth District.**

H. Burd Cassell.....Marietta.  
J. Gust Zook .....Lancaster.

J. Pranois Dunlop.....Manheim.  
Day Wood .....Goshen.

**Eleventh District.**

Wm. Connell.....Scranton.  
John T. Williams.....Scranton.

Conrad Schroder.....Scranton.  
Jas. J. Williams .....Archbald.

**Twelfth District.**

John Leisenring.....Upper Lehigh.  
M. R. Morgans.....Wilkes-Barre.

Chas. L. Wilde.....Hazelton.  
Lewis Landmesser.....Wilkes-Barre.

**Thirteenth District.**

John F. Finney.....Pottsville.  
Jos. D. McConnell .....Ashland.

S. B. Edwards.....Pottsville.  
John I. Matthias.....Mahanoy City.

**Fourteenth District.**

Lucien E. Weimer.....Lebanon.  
W. Mifflin Smith.....Markleville.

Alfred R. Houck.....Lebanon.  
S. S. Willard.....New Bloomfield.

**Fifteenth District.**

C. F. Wright.....Susquehanna.  
E. B. Hardenburgh.....Honesdale.

Frank G. Sairs.....Athens.  
Morris Sheppard.....Towanda.

**Sixteenth District.**

Henry J. Landrus.....Wellsboro.  
John S. Meyers.....Lock Haven.

G. S. Horton.....Williamsport.  
Milton J. Potter.....Coudersport.

**Seventeenth District.**

Wm. B. Faust.....Mt. Carmel.  
U. Y. James.....Danville.

Fred. P. Vincent.....Dushore.  
William Buck.....Centralia.

**Eighteenth District.**

John A. Seiders .....Chambersburg.  
Jere B. Rox .....Huntington.

Howard O. Lantz .....Lewistown.  
A. M. Aurand .....Beaver Falls.

**Nineteenth District.**

Chas. H. Mullin.....Mt. Holly Springs.  
Samuel L. Johns.....McSherrystown.

Harry A. Bechtold .....New Freedom.  
George D. Thorn .....Gettysburg.

**Twentieth District.**

George R. Scull .....Somerset.  
George T. Bell .....Hollidaysburg.

James McMillen.....Johnstown.

**Twenty-first District.**

John P. Elkin.....Indiana.  
Capt. H. S. Denny .....Ligonier.

S. E. Wilson.....Punxsutawney.  
Joseph Beale .....Lechburg.

**Twenty-second District.**

C. L. Magee.....Pittsburg.  
William Flynn.....Pittsburg.

J. O. Brown .....Pittsburg.  
A. J. Edwards .....Pittsburg.

**Twenty-third District.**

W. A. Stone .....Allegheny.  
Robert McAfee .....Allegheny.

Robert McCready.....Sewickley.  
James M. Essler.....Tarentum.



HENRY CLAY EVANS, OF TENNESSEE.

TO VIVI  
ASSOCIATI

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

**Twenty-fourth District.**

| DELEGATES.                  |             | ALTERNATES.          |             |
|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Chas. H. Seaton.....        | Uniontown.  | Frank M. Fuller..... | Uniontown.  |
| E. F. Acheson (H. of R.)... | Washington. | John R. Byrne.....   | Scottsdale. |

**Twenty-fifth District.**

|                    |         |                       |            |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|
| M. S. Quay.....    | Beaver. | Samuel H. Miller..... | Mercer.    |
| Simon Perkins..... | Sharon. | Wm. D. Wallace.....   | Newcastle. |

**Twenty-sixth District.**

|                     |             |                             |             |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Wm. H. Andrews..... | Titusville. | E. A. Hempstead.....        | Meadville.  |
| Lewis Streuber..... | Erie.       | W. W. Morgaridge (Corry)... | Harrisburg. |

**Twenty-seventh District.**

|                    |           |                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| A. C. Hawkins..... | Bradford. | T. R. Simpson..... | Oil City. |
| S. C. Lewis.....   | Franklin. | W. H. Howard.....  | Emporium. |

**Twenty-eighth District.**

|                      |          |                     |              |
|----------------------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| Harry R. Wilson..... | Clarion. | A. H. Woodward..... | Clearfield.  |
| J. H. McEwan.....    | Ridgway. | S. S. Crissman..... | Philipsburg. |

RHODE ISLAND.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Edward L. Freeman..... | Central Falls.  |
| Frank F. Olney.....    | Providence.     |
| Sam'l W. K. Allen..... | East Greenwich. |
| Albert L. Chester..... | Westerly.       |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Andrew J. Currie.....  | Valley Falls. |
| Lucian Sharpe.....     | Providence.   |
| Walter H. Stearns..... | Pawtucket.    |
| Charles H. Child.....  | Providence.   |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

| DELEGATES.           |             | ALTERNATES.             |             |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| John P. Sanborn..... | Newport.    | Reginald Norman.....    | Newport.    |
| George L. Smith..... | Barrington. | Charles H. Howland..... | Providence. |

**Second District.**

|                         |             |                     |                |
|-------------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Walter A. Read.....     | Chepachet.  | James Linton.....   | Pawtucket.     |
| E. Charles Francis..... | Woonsocket. | John R. Dennis..... | Central Falls. |

SOUTH CAROLINA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Eugene A. Webster.....       | Orangeburg. |
| Robert Smalls (colored)..... | Beaufort.   |
| T. B. Johnson.....           | Sumter.     |
| W. D. Crum (colored).....    | Charleston. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                                 |              |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| E. J. Dickerson (colored).....  | Aiken.       |
| John R. Tolbert.....            | Greenwood.   |
| Thomas E. Miller (colored)..... | Grahamville. |
| P. S. Suber (colored).....      | Laurens.     |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

SOUTH CAROLINA—*Continued.*

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

| DELEGATES.                  |             | ALTERNATES.                    |              |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| George I. Cunningham .....  | Charleston. | T. J. Reynolds (colored) ..... | Beaufort.    |
| R. C. Brown (colored) ..... | Charleston. | D. W. Robinson (colored) ..... | Jacksonboro. |

**Second District.**

|                             |           |                                 |             |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| B. P. Chatfield .....       | Aiken.    | Paris Simpkins (colored) .....  | Edgefield.  |
| W. S. Dixon (colored) ..... | Barnwell. | John A. Daniels (colored) ..... | Fruit Hill. |

**Third District.**

|                      |            |                              |             |
|----------------------|------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| Robert Moorman ..... | Newberry.  | A. C. Merrick .....          | Walhalla.   |
| R. R. Tolbert .....  | Greenwood. | W. W. Fisher (colored) ..... | Mt. Carmel. |

**Fourth District.**

|                              |             |                                 |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| C. M. Wilder (colored) ..... | Columbia.   | W. D. Chappelle (colored) ..... | Columbia.   |
| Thomas H. Ollis .....        | Greenville. | J. C. Hill (colored) .....      | Greenville. |

**Fifth District.**

|                              |            |                                  |            |
|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| C. J. Pride .....            | Rock Hill. | F. R. Massey (colored) .....     | Lancaster. |
| W. E. Boykin (colored) ..... | Camden.    | E. D. Littlejohn (colored) ..... | Gaffney.   |

**Sixth District.**

|                              |             |                               |                |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| J. E. Wilson (colored) ..... | Florence.   | E. J. Sawyer (colored) .....  | Bennettsville. |
| E. H. Dees (colored) .....   | Darlington. | W. R. Jackson (colored) ..... | Florence.      |

**Seventh District.**

|                               |             |                               |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| J. H. Fordham (colored) ..... | Orangeburg. | R. H. Jenkins (colored) ..... | Lincolnton. |
| Z. E. Walker (colored) .....  | Sumter.     | J. H. Weston (colored) .....  | Congaree.   |

SOUTH DAKOTA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                       |              |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| L. B. French .....    | Yankton.     |
| R. F. Pettigrew ..... | Sioux Falls. |
| C. G. Sherwood .....  | Clark.       |
| D. A. Mizener .....   | Mitchell.    |
| David Williams .....  | Webster.     |
| H. C. Meachan .....   | Gettysburg.  |
| W. V. Lucas .....     | Hot Springs. |
| W. E. Smead .....     | Lead City.   |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| J. E. Tomlinson .....  | Centerville.  |
| A. C. Biernatzki ..... | Salem.        |
| L. L. Lostutter .....  | Iroquois.     |
| C. L. Olson .....      | Howard.       |
| C. E. Bostwick .....   | Redfield.     |
| J. H. Baldwin .....    | St. Lawrence. |
| M. A. Willis .....     | Custer.       |
| C. C. Polk .....       | Sturgis.      |

TENNESSEE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| H. Clay Evans .....  | Chattanooga. |
| E. Caldwell .....    | Shelbyville. |
| James Jeffreys ..... | Camden.      |
| E. J. Sanford .....  | Knoxville.   |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

TENNESSEE—Continued.

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| Hiram Tyree .....   | Chattanooga.  |
| John P. Smith ..... | Johnson City. |
| J. T. Settle.....   | Memphis.      |
| Allen S. Tate.....  | Rutledge.     |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.           |              | ALTERNATES.        |             |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|
| W. P. Brownlow ..... | Jonesboro.   | W. H. Penland..... | Newport.    |
| H. C. Jarvis.....    | Rogersville. | R. E. Toomey.....  | Greenville. |

Second District.

|                      |             |                     |            |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| Jesse L. Rogers..... | Knoxville.  | T. N. Brown.....    | Maryville. |
| J. F. Baker .....    | Huntsville. | W. O. Douglass..... | Jellicoe.  |

Third District.

|                      |              |                     |              |
|----------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Foster V. Brown..... | Chattanooga. | A. H. Faulkner..... | McMinnville. |
| T. M. Burkett.....   | Athens.      | Gus Gate.....       | Cleveland.   |

Fourth District.

|                      |             |                     |            |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| J. M. Proctor.....   | Crossville. | J. R. Story.....    | Jamestown. |
| W. H. Pickering..... | Carthage.   | John A. Denton..... | Dayton.    |

Fifth District.

|                    |               |                   |           |
|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|
| J. W. Overall..... | Liberty.      | H. Henley.....    | Tulahoma. |
| R. L. Couch.....   | Belle Buckle. | Warren Smith..... | Woodbury. |

Sixth District.

|                        |               |                   |            |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|
| J. B. Bosley.....      | Nashville.    | J. W. Dillon..... | Nashville. |
| H. L. W. Cheatham..... | Barren Plain. | R. F. Boyd.....   | Nashville. |

Seventh District.

|                    |             |                      |             |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| R. A. Haggard..... | Waynesboro. | J. B. Lilly, Jr..... | Franklin.   |
| H. F. Fariss.....  | Columbia.   | J. P. Kidd.....      | Henryville. |

Eighth District.

|                    |           |                   |             |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|
| Wm. Spellings..... | McKenzie. | D. W. Nobles..... | Paris.      |
| G. T. Shannon..... | Saltillo. | J. Wesson.....    | Adamsville. |

Ninth District.

|                      |              |                      |         |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| D. A. Nunn.....      | Brownsville. | R. F. Hawn.....      | Milan.  |
| Henry E. Austin..... | Alamo.       | B. P. Bondurant..... | Sharon. |

Tenth District.

|                     |          |                   |             |
|---------------------|----------|-------------------|-------------|
| W. M. Randolph..... | Memphis. | W. S. Latta.....  | Somerville. |
| Zachary Taylor..... | Memphis. | J. S. Randle..... | Covington.  |

TEXAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| John Grant.....     | Sherman.    |
| Frank Hamilton..... | Austin.     |
| R. L. Smith.....    | Oakland.    |
| W. E. Davis.....    | Fort Worth. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.

| DELEGATES.                  |           | ALTERNATES.             |            |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|------------|
| David Taylor (colored)..... | Navasota. | Samuel Andrews.....     | Houston.   |
| M. W. Lawson (colored)..... | Willis.   | William F. Knowles..... | Fairfield. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

TEXAS—Continued.

**Second District.**

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

|                    |            |                    |             |
|--------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| H. B. Kane.....    | Palestine. | Thomas Miller..... | Lufkin.     |
| T. T. Pollard..... | Beaumont.  | C. A. Porter.....  | Colmesneil. |

**Third District.**

|                       |            |                   |           |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Webster Flanagan..... | Henderson. | W. A. Lucy.....   | Longview. |
| J. W. Butler.....     | Tyler.     | James Latham..... | Athens.   |

**Fourth District.**

|                     |          |                    |              |
|---------------------|----------|--------------------|--------------|
| C. M. Ferguson..... | Paris.   | Luke Bills.....    | Clarksville. |
| H. G. Goree.....    | Atlanta. | S. J. Spencer..... | Texarkana.   |

**Fifth District.**

|                      |          |                        |           |
|----------------------|----------|------------------------|-----------|
| Cecil A. Lyon.....   | Sherman. | H. E. Smith.....       | McKinney. |
| William Johnson..... | Bonham.  | George W. Johnson..... | Sherman.  |

**Sixth District.**

|                                 |          |                    |            |
|---------------------------------|----------|--------------------|------------|
| J. M. McCormick.....            | Dallas.  | David Lowry.....   | Ennis.     |
| Robert Armstrong (colored)..... | Kaufman. | H. M. Johnson..... | Hillsboro. |

**Seventh District.**

|                              |          |                      |           |
|------------------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|
| W. F. Crawford.....          | Cameron. | A. M. Armstrong..... | Crawford. |
| B. F. Wallace (colored)..... | Temple.  | W. H. Hawley.....    | Belton.   |

**Eighth District.**

|                     |            |                         |              |
|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Marion Mullins..... | Brownwood. | George C. McAndrew..... | Granbury.    |
| W. J. Wasson.....   | Dublin.    | Horace Baker.....       | Weatherford. |

**Ninth District.**

|                   |          |                     |           |
|-------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Hugh Hancock..... | Austin.  | L. L. Campbell..... | Bastrop.  |
| Paul Fricke.....  | Brenham. | W. E. Dunger.....   | Caldwell. |

**Tenth District.**

|                   |            |                      |            |
|-------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| R. B. Hawley..... | Galveston. | James Bankey.....    | Gonzales.  |
| M. M. Rogers..... | La Grange. | Thomas Wheatley..... | Matagorda. |

**Eleventh District.**

|                    |              |       |       |
|--------------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| David Abner.....   | Seguin.      | ..... | ..... |
| R. B. Rentfro..... | Brownsville. | ..... | ..... |

**Twelfth District.**

|                    |                |       |       |
|--------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| C. W. Ogden.....   | San Antonio.   | ..... | ..... |
| Joseph Tweedy..... | Knickerbocker. | ..... | ..... |

**Thirteenth District.**

|                      |                |       |       |
|----------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Patrick Dooling..... | Quanah.        | ..... | ..... |
| O. T. Bacon.....     | Wichita Falls. | ..... | ..... |

UTAH.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                           |                 |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Frank J. Cannon.....      | Ogden City.     |
| Isaac Trumbo.....         | Salt Lake City. |
| Arthur Brown.....         | Salt Lake City. |
| Thomas Kearns.....        | Park City.      |
| Clarence E. Allen.....    | Salt Lake City. |
| William S. McCornick..... | Salt Lake City. |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Lindsey Rogers.....  | Ogden City.     |
| C. C. Goodwin.....   | Salt Lake City. |
| John C. Graham.....  | Provo City.     |
| J. M. Bolitho.....   | Richfield.      |
| Web Greene.....      | Mt. Pleasant.   |
| Joseph A. Smith..... | Logan City.     |



# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

## VERMONT.

### DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Redfield Proctor.....Proctor.  
Henry D. Holton.....Brattleboro.  
E. C. Smith.....St. Albans.  
Charles A. Prouty.....Newport.

### ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

P. K. Gleed.....Morrisville.  
James M. Pollard.....Chester.  
M. H. Allen.....Ferrisburg.  
L. W. Hubbard.....Lyndon.

### DISTRICT DELEGATES.

#### First District.

| DELEGATES.           |             | ALTERNATES.        |             |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| James B. Scully..... | Burlington. | L. C. Leavens..... | Richford.   |
| O. M. Barber.....    | Arlington.  | H. S. Bingham..... | Bennington. |

#### Second District.

|                      |             |                      |           |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|
| J. W. Brock.....     | Montpelier. | George H. Blake..... | Barton.   |
| Victor I. Spear..... | Braintree.  | E. O. Leonard.....   | Bradford. |

## VIRGINIA.

### DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Wm. Lamb.....Norfolk.  
James A. Walker.....Wytheville.  
S. M. Yost.....Staunton.  
A. W. Harris.....Petersburg.

### ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

W. M. Flanagan.....Powhatan C. H.  
J. S. Sammons.....Charlottesville.  
M. M. Lewis.....Norfolk.  
Washington Gardiner.....Bedford City.

### DISTRICT DELEGATES.

#### First District.

| DELEGATES.               |                  | ALTERNATES.        |                 |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Geo. T. Scarborough..... | Accomack C. H.   | J. M. Griffin..... | Fredericksburg. |
| T. C. Walker.....        | Gloucester C. H. | W. A. Laws.....    | Montross.       |

#### Second District.

|                                |                  |                       |             |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| George E. Bowden (½ vote)..... | Norfolk.         | Jno. Y. Brady.....    | Portsmouth. |
| R. M. Smith (½ vote).....      | Hampton.         | Wm. Thoroughgood..... | Norfolk.    |
| A. H. Martin (½ vote).....     | Berkley.         | Jordon Thompson.....  | Suffolk.    |
| Harry Libbey (½ vote).....     | Fortress Monroe. | Robert Norton.....    | Yorktown.   |

#### Third District.

|                     |             |                     |           |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Edmund Waddell..... | Richmond.   | Edgar Allen.....    | Richmond. |
| C. W. Harris.....   | Manchester. | R. F. Robinson..... | Bothwell. |

#### Fourth District.

|                    |             |                  |                |
|--------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| Stith Balling..... | Petersburg. | W. H. Green..... | Lawrenceville. |
| J. D. Brady.....   | Petersburg. | Charles Gee..... | Disputanta.    |

#### Fifth District.

|                      |             |                   |              |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| C. J. Barksdale..... | Danville.   | W. B. Brown.....  | Rocky Mount. |
| G. M. Tucker.....    | Hillsville. | W. B. Pedigo..... | Stuart.      |

#### Sixth District.

|                       |            |                       |               |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| J. M. McLaughlin..... | Lynchburg. | Adolphus Humbles..... | Lynchburg.    |
| S. E. Sproul.....     | Roanoke.   | F. K. Morris.....     | Bedford City. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

VIRGINIA—*Continued.*

**Seventh District.**

| DELEGATES.       |                         | ALTERNATES.          |             |
|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| John Acker.....  | Harrisonburg.           | Alex. McCormick..... | Briggs.     |
| J. H. Rives..... | University of Virginia. | R. E. Griffith.....  | Winchester. |

**Eighth District.**

|                       |            |                     |                   |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| W. G. B. Shumate..... | Galveston. | W. H. A. Young..... | King George C. H. |
| H. J. Wale.....       | Louisa.    | R. L. Mitchell..... | Alexandria.       |

**Ninth District.**

|                     |                |                      |             |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------|
| J. S. Browning..... | Pocahontas.    | W. P. Kent.....      | Wytheville. |
| D. F. Bailey.....   | Bristol, Tenn. | R. W. Dickinson..... | Lebanon.    |

**Tenth District.**

|                     |           |                    |              |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------|
| J. C. Scheffer..... | Staunton. | Willis Carter..... | Staunton.    |
| R. T. Hubbard.....  | Bolling.  | A. Stuart.....     | James River. |

WASHINGTON.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| A. F. Burleigh.....    | Seattle.      |
| H. A. Fairchild.....   | Whatcom.      |
| George H. Emerson..... | Aberdeen.     |
| L. W. Carner.....      | Castle Rock.  |
| J. M. Gilbert.....     | North Yakima. |
| Albert Goldman.....    | Walla Walla.  |
| Harry L. Wilson.....   | Spokane.      |
| P. C. Sullivan.....    | Tacoma.       |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| W. K. Kennedy.....  | Ritzville.  |
| Henry Christ.....   | Vancouver.  |
| Thomas M. May.....  | Dayton.     |
| M. P. Maloy.....    | Waterville. |
| W. F. P. Speck..... | Pasco.      |
| E. L. Brown.....    | Sidney.     |
| F. M. Winship.....  | Davenport.  |
| H. McLain.....      | Colfax.     |

WEST VIRGINIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| O. W. O. Hardman..... | Middlebourne. |
| F. M. Reynolds.....   | Keyser.       |
| J. E. Dana.....       | Charleston.   |
| A. B. White.....      | Parkersburg.  |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| I. H. Duval.....         | Wellsburg.      |
| F. M. Thomas.....        | Grafton.        |
| John L. Hurst.....       | Buckhannon.     |
| George Poffenbarger..... | Point Pleasant. |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

| DELEGATES.            |             | ALTERNATES.      |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| Henry Schmulbach..... | Wheeling.   | W. P. Crump..... | Weston.     |
| D. W. Boughner.....   | Clarksburg. | J. W. Stuck..... | West Union. |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WEST VIRGINIA—*Continued.*

**Second District.**

| DELEGATES.            |              | ALTERNATES.             |            |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------|
| N. W. Litch .....     | Martinsburg. | E. A. Billingslea ..... | Fairmont.  |
| Thomas B. Gould ..... | Parsons.     | W. H. Wenz.....         | Phillippi. |

**Third District.**

|                        |           |                      |             |
|------------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|
| Thomas E. Houston..... | Elk Horn. | Peter Sillman .....  | Charleston. |
| J. B. Crawford.....    | Sewell.   | Wallace Bathrd ..... | Union.      |

**Fourth District.**

|                       |             |                    |               |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Thomas G. Sikes ..... | Huntington. | Edward McCreary .. | Parkersburg.  |
| C. F. Rathbone .....  | Elizabeth.  | E. J. Thomas ..... | Cottageville. |

WISCONSIN.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                         |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| Philetus Sawyer .....   | Oshkosh.       |
| W. D. Hoard .....       | Fort Atkinson. |
| Eugene S. Elliott ..... | Milwaukee.     |
| James H. Stout .....    | Menomonie.     |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| H. D. Smith.....    | Appleton.   |
| W. F. Heine .....   | Shullsburg. |
| James R. Lyons..... | Glendale.   |
| W. E. Plummer.....  | Durand.     |

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

**First District.**

| DELEGATES.          |             | ALTERNATES.          |          |
|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------|
| Cham Ingersoll..... | Beloit.     | N. B. Treat.....     | Monroe.  |
| E. M. Johnson ..... | Whitewater. | Sam'l I. Stein ..... | Belmont. |

**Second District.**

|                           |          |                    |            |
|---------------------------|----------|--------------------|------------|
| Robert M. LaFollette..... | Madison. | S. M. Eaton.....   | Watertown. |
| Chris. E. Mohr.....       | Portage. | C. J. Rollis ..... | Stoughton. |

**Third District.**

|                        |            |                     |                  |
|------------------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Richard Meyer, Jr..... | Lancaster. | August Siefert..... | Reedsburg.       |
| J. W. Rewey.....       | Rewey.     | L. H. Bancroft..... | Richland Center. |

**Fourth District.**

|                      |            |                     |            |
|----------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| William Gender.....  | Milwaukee. | E. J. Lindsey ..... | Milwaukee. |
| Julius E. Roehr..... | Milwaukee. | William Graf .....  | Milwaukee. |

**Fifth District.**

|                       |            |                     |                  |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Theodore Zillmer..... | Milwaukee. | D. E. McGinley..... | Cedarsburg.      |
| H. M. Youmans .....   | Waukesha.  | George Spratt.....  | Sheboygan Falls. |

**Sixth District.**

|                      |            |                    |              |
|----------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| L. N. Stevens .....  | Montello.  | *George Fitch..... | .....        |
| G. G. Sedgwick ..... | Manitowoc. | J. H. McNeel ..... | Fond du Lac. |

**Seventh District.**

|                     |                    |                        |                |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| David F. Jones..... | Sparta.            | W. H. Huntington ..... | Durand.        |
| H. B. Cole .....    | Black River Falls. | Albert Kirchner.....   | Fountain City. |

**Eighth District.**

|                        |          |                     |                |
|------------------------|----------|---------------------|----------------|
| Maynard T. Parker..... | Ahnapee. | R. D. Rood.....     | Stevens Point. |
| A. G. Nelson .....     | Waupaca. | Chas. H. Baake..... | Appleton.      |

**Ninth District.**

|                   |              |                       |           |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| H. W. Wright..... | Merrill.     | Duncan McLennon ..... | Rib Lake. |
| M. C. Ring.....   | Neillsville. | John Ogden.....       | Antigo.   |

**Tenth District.**

|                         |                |                      |            |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------|
| Ole K. Anderson.....    | West Superior. | Simon Thoreson.....  | Gransburg. |
| Charles S. Taylor ..... | Barron.        | Olaf A. Sagstad..... | Baldwin.   |

\* George Fitch died March 30th.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WYOMING.

DELEGATES.

|                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Willis VanDevanter ..... | Cheyenne.     |
| Benjamin F. Fowler ..... | Cheyenne.     |
| John C. Davis .....      | Rawlins.      |
| B. B. Brooks .....       | Casper.       |
| Clarence C. Hamlin ..... | Rock Springs. |
| Otto Gramm .....         | Laramie.      |

ALTERNATES.

|                        |            |
|------------------------|------------|
| H. G. Nickerson .....  | Lander.    |
| W. H. Thom.....        | Buffalo.   |
| M. C. Barrow .....     | Douglas.   |
| W. H. Kilpatrick ..... | Newcastle. |
| J. H. Ryckman .....    | Evanston.  |
| W. F. Brittain .....   | Sheridan.  |

TERRITORIES, ETC.

ALASKA.

DELEGATES.

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| C. S. Johnson ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....    | Juneau. |
| Thomas S. Nowell ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote)..... | Juneau. |
| C. W. Young ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....      | Juneau. |
| Thomas Blackett ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....  | Juneau. |

ALTERNATES.

|                        |          |
|------------------------|----------|
| Theodore Needham.....  | Wrangel. |
| W. R. Kelly.....       | Sitka.   |
| Harrison Bostwick..... | Juneau.  |
| A. C. Van Doren.....   | Juneau.  |

ARIZONA.

DELEGATES.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Henry J. Cleveland ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote)..... | Arizona.   |
| James M. Ford ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) .....     | Phoenix.   |
| Charles W. Wright ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) ..... | Tucson.    |
| Charles H. Akers ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) .....  | Prescott.  |
| John W. Dovington ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) ..... | Yuma.      |
| Myron H. McCord ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....    | Phoenix.   |
| William Christy ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) .....   | Phoenix.   |
| J. T. Stoddard ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) .....    | Prescott.  |
| Burt Dunlap ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....        | Dunlap.    |
| Ralph H. Cameron ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....   | Flagstaff. |
| J. L. Mahoney. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote).....     | Winslow.   |
| J. A. Zabriskie ( $\frac{1}{2}$ vote) .....   | Tucson.    |





GEN. EDWIN A. MCALPINE, OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT REPUBLICAN  
NATIONAL LEAGUE.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ARIZONA—Continued.

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ALTERNATES.

|                             |            |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| W. S. Head.....             | Prescott.  |
| R. C. Lowell.....           | Phoenix.   |
| George Christ, Jr.....      | Nogales.   |
| F. D. Myers.....            | Prescott.  |
| J. W. Bolton (colored)..... | Phoenix.   |
| William Shilliam.....       | Benson.    |
| J. H. Carpenter.....        | Yuma.      |
| Henry J. Cleveland.....     | Arizona.   |
| J. L. Hubbell.....          | Holbrook.  |
| A. L. Grow.....             | Tombstone. |
| F. L. Smith.....            | Kingman.   |
| W. A. Freeze.....           | Phoenix.   |

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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DELEGATES.

|                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Andrew Gleeson.....  | Washington. |
| Perry H. Carson..... | Ivy City.   |

ALTERNATES.

|                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| W. F. Thomas..... | Washington. |
| J. W. Bell.....   | Washington. |

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INDIAN TERRITORY.

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DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| P. L. Soaper..... | Vinita.          |
| R. B. Ross.....   | Tahlequah.       |
| Joseph Foltz..... | South McAlester. |
| I. P. Grady.....  | Hartshorne.      |
| W. T. Morgan..... | Wagoner.         |
| John Coyle.....   | Rush Springs.    |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| W. H. Darrow.....     | Wyandotte.       |
| E. W. Fannan.....     | South McAlester. |
| J. H. Wilkins.....    | Atoka.           |
| Cyrus B. Kean.....    | Wynnewood.       |
| W. F. Seaver.....     | Muscogee.        |
| William Johnston..... | Bartlettsville.  |

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NEW MEXICO.

DELEGATES.

|                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| A. L. Morrison.....      | Santa Fe.        |
| John S. Clarke.....      | Las Vegas.       |
| Thomas D. Burns.....     | Tierra Amorilla. |
| Pedro Perea.....         | Bernalillo.      |
| Solomon Luna.....        | Las Lunas.       |
| W. H. H. Llewellyan..... | Las Cruces.      |

ALTERNATES.

|                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Phillip Mothersill..... | Engle.      |
| Charles H. Sparks.....  | Roswell.    |
| Frank Springer.....     | Las Vegas.  |
| John S. Van Doren.....  | Blue Water. |
| W. S. Williams.....     | Socorro.    |
| Celso Baca.....         | Eden.       |

OKLAHOMA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

|                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| John I. Dille.....   | El Reno.       |
| Henry E. Asp.....    | Guthrie.       |
| J. C. Roberts.....   | Kingfisher.    |
| John A. Buckles..... | Enid.          |
| O. A. Mitscher.....  | Oklahoma City. |
| Charles Day.....     | Blackwell.     |

ALTERNATES AT LARGE.

|                     |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| J. D. McGuire.....  | Norman.  |
| T. B. Ferguson..... | Watonga. |
| Dick T. Morgan..... | Perry.   |
| Dyke Ballenger..... | Beaver.  |
| T. A. Butler.....   | Segert.  |
| T. J. Austin.....   | Guthrie. |



APPENDIX.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

| NAME.                       | BIRTHPLACE.    | RESIDENCI.    | PARTY.                | Inaugu-<br>rated. | Age at<br>Inaugu-<br>ration | LENGTH OF SERVICE.     | Died. | Age at<br>Death. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------|------------------|
| George Washington           | Virginia       | Virginia      | Federalist            | 1789              | 57                          | 8 years                | 1799  | 67               |
| John Adams                  | Massachusetts  | Massachusetts | Federalist            | 1797              | 62                          | 4 years                | 1826  | 90               |
| Thomas Jefferson            | Virginia       | Virginia      | Republican            | 1801              | 58                          | 8 years                | 1826  | 83               |
| James Madison               | Virginia       | Virginia      | Republican            | 1809              | 58                          | 8 years                | 1836  | 85               |
| James Monroe                | Virginia       | Virginia      | Republican            | 1817              | 59                          | 8 years                | 1831  | 73               |
| John Quincy Adams           | Massachusetts  | Massachusetts | Republican            | 1825              | 58                          | 4 years                | 1848  | 80               |
| Andrew Jackson              | North Carolina | Tennessee     | Democrat <sup>1</sup> | 1829              | 62                          | 8 years                | 1845  | 78               |
| Martin Van Buren            | New York       | New York      | Democrat              | 1837              | 55                          | 4 years                | 1862  | 79               |
| William H. Harrison         | Virginia       | Ohio          | Whig                  | 1841              | 68                          | 1 month                | 1841  | 68               |
| John Tyler <sup>2</sup>     | Virginia       | Virginia      | Whig                  | 1841              | 51                          | 3 years and 11 months  | 1862  | 72               |
| James K. Polk               | North Carolina | Tennessee     | Democrat              | 1845              | 50                          | 4 years                | 1849  | 53               |
| Zachary Taylor              | Virginia       | Louisiana     | Whig                  | 1849              | 65                          | 1 year and 4 months    | 1850  | 65               |
| Millard Fillmore            | New York       | New York      | Whig                  | 1850              | 50                          | 2 years and 8 months   | 1874  | 74               |
| Franklin Pierce             | New Hampshire  | New Hampshire | Democrat              | 1853              | 49                          | 4 years                | 1869  | 64               |
| James Buchanan              | Pennsylvania   | Pennsylvania  | Democrat              | 1857              | 66                          | 4 years                | 1868  | 77               |
| Abraham Lincoln             | Kentucky       | Illinois      | Republican            | 1861              | 52                          | 4 years and 1½ months  | 1865  | 56               |
| Andrew Johnson <sup>3</sup> | North Carolina | Tennessee     | Republican            | 1865              | 57                          | 3 years and 10½ months | 1875  | 66               |
| Ulysses S. Grant            | Ohio           | Illinois      | Republican            | 1869              | 47                          | 8 years                | 1885  | 63               |
| Rutherford B. Hayes         | Ohio           | Ohio          | Republican            | 1877              | 54                          | 4 years                | 1893  | 70               |
| James A. Garfield           | Ohio           | Ohio          | Republican            | 1881              | 49                          | 6¾ months              | 1881  | 49               |
| Chester A. Arthur           | Vermont        | New York      | Republican            | 1881              | 51                          | 3 years and 5½ months  | 1886  | 56               |
| Grover Cleveland            | New Jersey     | New York      | Democrat              | 1885              | 48                          | 4 years                | ..    | ..               |
| Benjamin Harrison           | Ohio           | Indiana       | Republican            | 1889              | 55                          | 4 years                | ..    | ..               |
| Grover Cleveland            | New Jersey     | New York      | Democrat              | 1893              | 56                          | 4 years                | ..    | ..               |

(1) The original Republican party began to be generally called the Democratic party about the time that Jackson entered the Presidency.

(2) John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson and Chester A. Arthur were elected Vice-President, and went to the Presidency on the death of the elected President.

(3) Andrew Johnson was a War Democrat, but is here classed as a Republican because the head of the ticket on which he was elected was a Republican, and because a large majority of the votes which the ticket received were cast by the Republican party.

APPENDIX.

PRESIDENTS PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE.

| Con-<br>gress. | YEAR.     | NAME.                          | RESIDENCE.         | PARTY.                  | Born. | Died. |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|-------|
| 1-2            | 1789-92   | John Langdon . . . . .         | New Hampshire      | Republican <sup>2</sup> | 1739  | 1819  |
| 2 <sup>1</sup> | 1792      | Richard Henry Lee . . . . .    | Virginia . . . . . | Republican .            | 1732  | 1794  |
| 2-3            | 1792-94   | John Langdon . . . . .         | New Hampshire      | Republican .            | 1739  | 1819  |
| 3              | 1794-95   | Ralph Izard . . . . .          | South Carolina     | Federalist .            | 1742  | 1804  |
| 3-4            | 1795-96   | Henry Tazewell . . . . .       | Virginia . . . . . | Republican .            | 1753  | 1799  |
| 4              | 1796-97   | Samuel Livermore . . . . .     | New Hampshire      | Federalist .            | 1732  | 1803  |
| 4-5            | 1797      | William Bingham . . . . .      | Pennsylvania .     | Federalist .            | 1751  | 1804  |
| 5              | 1797      | William Bradford . . . . .     | Rhode Island .     | Federalist .            | 1729  | 1808  |
| 5              | 1797-98   | Jacob Read . . . . .           | South Carolina     | Federalist .            | 1752  | 1816  |
| 5              | 1798      | Theo. Sedgwick . . . . .       | Massachusetts .    | Federalist .            | 1746  | 1813  |
| 5              | 1798-99   | John Lawrence . . . . .        | New York . . . .   | Federalist .            | 1750  | 1810  |
| 5              | 1799      | James Ross . . . . .           | Pennsylvania .     | Federalist .            | 1762  | 1847  |
| 6              | 1799-1800 | Samuel Livermore . . . . .     | New Hampshire      | Federalist .            | 1732  | 1803  |
| 6              | 1800      | Uriah Tracy . . . . .          | Connecticut . .    | Federalist .            | 1755  | 1807  |
| 6              | 1800-01   | John E. Howard . . . . .       | Maryland . . . .   | Federalist .            | 1752  | 1827  |
| 6              | 1801      | James Hillhouse . . . . .      | Connecticut . .    | Federalist .            | 1754  | 1832  |
| 7              | 1801-02   | Abraham Baldwin . . . . .      | Georgia . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1754  | 1807  |
| 7              | 1802-03   | Stephen R. Bradley . . . . .   | Vermont . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1754  | 1830  |
| 8              | 1803-04   | John Brown . . . . .           | Kentucky . . . .   | Republican .            | 1757  | 1837  |
| 8              | 1804-05   | Jesse Franklin . . . . .       | North Carolina     | Republican .            | 1758  | 1823  |
| 8              | 1805      | Joseph Anderson . . . . .      | Tennessee . . . .  | Republican .            | 1757  | 1837  |
| 9-10           | 1805-08   | Samuel Smith . . . . .         | Maryland . . . .   | Republican .            | 1752  | 1839  |
| 10             | 1808-09   | Stephen R. Bradley . . . . .   | Vermont . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1754  | 1830  |
| 10-11          | 1809      | John Milledge . . . . .        | Georgia . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1757  | 1818  |
| 11             | 1809-10   | Andrew Gregg . . . . .         | Pennsylvania .     | Republican .            | 1755  | 1835  |
| 11             | 1810-11   | John Gaillard . . . . .        | South Carolina     | Republican .            | 1765  | 1826  |
| 11-12          | 1811-12   | John Pope . . . . .            | Kentucky . . . .   | Republican .            | 1770  | 1845  |
| 12-13          | 1812-13   | William H. Crawford . . . . .  | Georgia . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1772  | 1834  |
| 13             | 1813-14   | Joseph B. Varnum . . . . .     | Massachusetts .    | Republican .            | 1750  | 1821  |
| 13-15          | 1814-18   | John Gaillard . . . . .        | South Carolina     | Republican .            | 1765  | 1826  |
| 15-16          | 1818-19   | James Barbour . . . . .        | Virginia . . . . . | Republican .            | 1775  | 1842  |
| 16-19          | 1820-26   | John Gaillard . . . . .        | South Carolina     | Republican .            | 1765  | 1826  |
| 19-20          | 1826-28   | Nathaniel Macon . . . . .      | North Carolina     | Republican .            | 1757  | 1837  |
| 20-22          | 1828-32   | Samuel Smith . . . . .         | Maryland . . . .   | Democrat .              | 1752  | 1839  |
| 22             | 1832      | L. W. Tazewell . . . . .       | Virginia . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1774  | 1860  |
| 22-23          | 1832-34   | Hugh L. White . . . . .        | Tennessee . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1773  | 1840  |
| 23             | 1834-35   | George Poindexter . . . . .    | Mississippi . . .  | Democrat .              | 1779  | 1853  |
| 24             | 1835-36   | John Tyler . . . . .           | Virginia . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1790  | 1862  |
| 24-26          | 1836-41   | William R. King . . . . .      | Alabama . . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1786  | 1853  |
| 26-27          | 1841-42   | S. L. Southard . . . . .       | New Jersey . . . . | Whig . . . .            | 1787  | 1842  |
| 27-29          | 1842-46   | W. P. Mangum . . . . .         | North Carolina     | Whig . . . .            | 1792  | 1861  |
| 29-30          | 1846-49   | D. R. Atchison . . . . .       | Missouri . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1807  | 1886  |
| 31-32          | 1850-52   | William R. King . . . . .      | Alabama . . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1786  | 1853  |
| 32-33          | 1852-54   | D. R. Atchison . . . . .       | Missouri . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1807  | 1886  |
| 33-34          | 1854-57   | Jesse D. Bright . . . . .      | Indiana . . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1812  | 1875  |
| 34             | 1857      | James M. Mason . . . . .       | Virginia . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1798  | 1871  |
| 35-36          | 1857-61   | Benjamin Fitzpatrick . . . . . | Alabama . . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1802  | 1869  |
| 36-38          | 1861-64   | Solomon Foot . . . . .         | Vermont . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1802  | 1866  |
| 38             | 1864-65   | Daniel Clark . . . . .         | New Hampshire      | Republican .            | 1809  | 1891  |
| 39             | 1865-67   | Lafayette S. Foster . . . . .  | Connecticut . . .  | Republican .            | 1806  | 1880  |
| 40             | 1867-69   | Benjamin F. Wade . . . . .     | Ohio . . . . .     | Republican .            | 1800  | 1878  |
| 41-42          | 1869-73   | Henry B. Anthony . . . . .     | Rhode Island . .   | Republican .            | 1815  | 1884  |
| 43             | 1873-75   | M. H. Carpenter . . . . .      | Wisconsin . . . .  | Republican .            | 1824  | 1881  |
| 44-45          | 1875-79   | Thomas W. Ferry . . . . .      | Michigan . . . . . | Republican .            | 1827  | .. .  |
| 46             | 1879-81   | A. G. Thurman . . . . .        | Ohio . . . . .     | Democrat .              | 1813  | 1896  |
| 47             | 1881      | Thomas F. Bayard . . . . .     | Delaware . . . . . | Democrat .              | 1828  | .. .  |
| 47             | 1881-83   | David Davis . . . . .          | Illinois . . . . . | Independent             | 1815  | 1886  |
| 48             | 1883-85   | Geo. F. Edmunds . . . . .      | Vermont . . . . .  | Republican .            | 1828  | .. .  |
| 49             | 1885-87   | John Sherman . . . . .         | Ohio . . . . .     | Republican .            | 1823  | .. .  |
| 49-51          | 1887-91   | John J. Ingalls . . . . .      | Kansas . . . . .   | Republican .            | 1833  | .. .  |
| 52             | 1891-93   | C. F. Manderson . . . . .      | Nebraska . . . . . | Republican .            | 1837  | .. .  |
| 53-54          | 1893-96   | Isham G. Harris . . . . .      | Tennessee . . . .  | Democrat .              | 1818  | .. .  |
| 54             | 1896      | Wm. P. Frye . . . . .          | Maine . . . . .    | Republican .            | 1831  | .. .  |

(1.) The repetition of the Congress number is made necessary by the fact that some of the Presidents pro tempore served in only part of a Congress.

(2.) The original Republican party was the progenitor of the Democratic party and dropped its old name and began to take its new title soon after Jackson's first election in 1828.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

| Congress.       | YEAR.     | NAME.                           | RESIDENCE.               | PARTY.                  | Born. | Died. |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------|-------|
| 1               | 1789-91   | Frederick A. Muhlenberg . . . . | Pennsylvania . . . .     | Republican <sup>2</sup> | 1750  | 1801  |
| 2               | 1791-93   | Jonathan Trumbull . . . . .     | Connecticut . . . . .    | Federalist . . . . .    | 1740  | 1809  |
| 3               | 1793-95   | Frederick A. Muhlenberg . . . . | Pennsylvania . . . .     | Republican . . . . .    | 1750  | 1801  |
| 4-5             | 1795-99   | Jonathan Dayton . . . . .       | New Jersey . . . . .     | Federalist . . . . .    | 1760  | 1824  |
| 6               | 1799-1801 | Theodore Sedgwick . . . . .     | Massachusetts . . . . .  | Federalist . . . . .    | 1746  | 1813  |
| 7-9             | 1801-07   | Nathaniel Macon . . . . .       | North Carolina . . . . . | Republican . . . . .    | 1757  | 1837  |
| 10-11           | 1807-11   | Joseph B. Varnum . . . . .      | Massachusetts . . . . .  | Republican . . . . .    | 1750  | 1821  |
| 12-13           | 1811-14   | Henry Clay . . . . .            | Kentucky . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1777  | 1852  |
| 13 <sup>1</sup> | 1814-15   | Langdon Cheeves . . . . .       | South Carolina . . . . . | Republican . . . . .    | 1776  | 1857  |
| 14-16           | 1815-20   | Henry Clay . . . . .            | Kentucky . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1777  | 1852  |
| 16              | 1820-21   | John W. Taylor . . . . .        | New York . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1784  | 1854  |
| 17              | 1821-23   | Philip P. Barbour . . . . .     | Virginia . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1783  | 1841  |
| 18              | 1823-25   | Henry Clay . . . . .            | Kentucky . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1777  | 1852  |
| 19              | 1825-27   | John W. Taylor . . . . .        | New York . . . . .       | Republican . . . . .    | 1784  | 1854  |
| 20-23           | 1827-34   | Andrew Stevenson . . . . .      | Virginia . . . . .       | Democrat . . . . .      | 1784  | 1857  |
| 23              | 1834-35   | John Bell . . . . .             | Tennessee . . . . .      | Whig . . . . .          | 1797  | 1869  |
| 24-25           | 1835-39   | James K. Polk . . . . .         | Tennessee . . . . .      | Democrat . . . . .      | 1795  | 1849  |
| 26              | 1839-41   | Robert M. T. Hunter . . . . .   | Virginia . . . . .       | Whig . . . . .          | 1809  | 1887  |
| 27              | 1841-43   | John White . . . . .            | Kentucky . . . . .       | Whig . . . . .          | 1805  | 1845  |
| 28              | 1843-45   | John W. Jones . . . . .         | Virginia . . . . .       | Democrat . . . . .      | 1805  | 1848  |
| 29              | 1845-47   | John W. Davis . . . . .         | Indiana . . . . .        | Democrat . . . . .      | 1799  | 1850  |
| 30              | 1847-49   | Robert C. Winthrop . . . . .    | Massachusetts . . . . .  | Whig . . . . .          | 1809  | 1894  |
| 31              | 1849-51   | Howell Cobb . . . . .           | Georgia . . . . .        | Democrat . . . . .      | 1815  | 1868  |
| 32-33           | 1851-55   | Linn Boyd . . . . .             | Kentucky . . . . .       | Democrat . . . . .      | 1800  | 1859  |
| 34              | 1856-57   | Nathaniel P. Banks . . . . .    | Massachusetts . . . . .  | Republican . . . . .    | 1816  | 1894  |
| 35              | 1857-59   | James L. Orr . . . . .          | South Carolina . . . . . | Democrat . . . . .      | 1822  | 1873  |
| 36              | 1860-61   | William Pennington . . . . .    | New Jersey . . . . .     | Republican . . . . .    | 1796  | 1862  |
| 37              | 1861-63   | Galusha A. Grow . . . . .       | Pennsylvania . . . . .   | Republican . . . . .    | 1823  | . . . |
| 38-40           | 1863-69   | Schuyler Colfax . . . . .       | Indiana . . . . .        | Republican . . . . .    | 1823  | 1885  |
| 41-43           | 1869-75   | James G. Blaine . . . . .       | Maine . . . . .          | Republican . . . . .    | 1830  | 1893  |
| 44              | 1875-76   | Michael C. Kerr . . . . .       | Indiana . . . . .        | Democrat . . . . .      | 1827  | 1876  |
| 44-46           | 1876-81   | Samuel J. Randall . . . . .     | Pennsylvania . . . . .   | Democrat . . . . .      | 1828  | 1890  |
| 47              | 1881-83   | J. Warren Keifer . . . . .      | Ohio . . . . .           | Republican . . . . .    | 1836  | . . . |
| 48-50           | 1883-89   | John G. Carlisle . . . . .      | Kentucky . . . . .       | Democrat . . . . .      | 1835  | . . . |
| 51              | 1889-91   | Thomas B. Reed . . . . .        | Maine . . . . .          | Republican . . . . .    | 1839  | . . . |
| 52-53           | 1891-95   | Charles F. Crisp . . . . .      | Georgia . . . . .        | Democrat . . . . .      | 1845  | . . . |
| 54              | 1895      | Thomas B. Reed . . . . .        | Maine . . . . .          | Republican . . . . .    | 1839  | . . . |

(1.) The repetition of the Congress number is made necessary by the fact that some of the Speakers served through only part of a Congress.

(2.) The original Republican Party was the progenitor of the Democratic Party, and dropped its old name and began to take its new title soon after Jackson's first election, 1828.

APPENDIX.

VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

| YEAR       | PARTY. <sup>1</sup> | PRESIDENT.                              |                               |                    | VICE-PRESIDENT.         |  |  | Elect'rl<br>Vote. |    |
|------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--|--|-------------------|----|
|            |                     | CANDIDATE.                              | Popular<br>Vote. <sup>2</sup> | Electoral<br>Vote. | CANDIDATE. <sup>3</sup> |  |  |                   |    |
| 1789       |                     | George Washington, Virginia             |                               | 69                 |                         |  |  | 34                |    |
|            |                     | John Adams, Massachusetts               |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 9                 |    |
|            |                     | R. H. Harrison, Maryland                |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 6                 |    |
|            |                     | John Rutledge, South Carolina           |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 6                 |    |
|            |                     | John Hancock, Massachusetts             |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 4                 |    |
|            |                     | George Clinton, New York                |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 3                 |    |
|            |                     | Samuel Huntington, Connecticut          |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 2                 |    |
|            |                     | John Milton, Georgia                    |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 2                 |    |
|            |                     | James Armstrong, Georgia                |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
|            |                     | Benjamin Lincoln, Massachusetts         |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
|            |                     | Edward Telfair, Georgia                 |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
|            | 1792                | Federalist                              | George Washington, Virginia   |                    | 132                     |  |  |                   | 77 |
|            |                     | Federalist                              | John Adams, Massachusetts     |                    |                         |  |  |                   | 50 |
|            |                     | Republican <sup>4</sup>                 | George Clinton, New York      |                    |                         |  |  |                   | 4  |
| Republican |                     | Thomas Jefferson, Virginia              |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 4                 |    |
|            |                     | Aaron Burr, New York                    |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
|            |                     | John Adams, Massachusetts               |                               |                    | 71                      |  |  | 68                |    |
| 1796       | Republican          | Thomas Jefferson, Virginia              |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 59                |    |
|            | Federalist          | Thomas Pinckney, South Carolina         |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 30                |    |
|            | Republican          | Aaron Burr, New York                    |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 15                |    |
|            |                     | Samuel Adams, Massachusetts             |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 11                |    |
|            |                     | Oliver Ellsworth, Connecticut           |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 7                 |    |
|            |                     | George Clinton, New York                |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 5                 |    |
|            |                     | John Jay, New York                      |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 3                 |    |
|            |                     | James Iredell, North Carolina           |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 2                 |    |
|            |                     | George Washington, Virginia             |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 2                 |    |
|            |                     | John Henry, Maryland                    |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 2                 |    |
|            |                     | Samuel Johnson, North Carolina          |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
| 1800       |                     | Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina     |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 73                |    |
|            | Republican          | Thomas Jefferson, Virginia <sup>5</sup> |                               | 73                 |                         |  |  | 65                |    |
|            | Republican          | Aaron Burr, New York                    |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 64                |    |
|            | Federalist          | John Adams, Massachusetts               |                               |                    |                         |  |  | 1                 |    |
|            | Federalist          | Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina     |                               |                    |                         |  |  |                   |    |
|            | Federalist          | John Jay, New York                      |                               |                    |                         |  |  |                   |    |

APPENDIX.

|      |  |  |  |   |                                 |
|------|--|--|--|---|---------------------------------|
| 1804 | Republican<br>Federalist                                       | Thomas Jefferson, Virginia<br>Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina  | 162<br>14                              | George Clinton, New York<br>Rufus King, New York  | 162<br>14                       |
| 1808 | Republican<br>Federalist                                       | James Madison, Virginia<br>Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina<br>George Clinton, New York   | 122<br>47<br>6                         | George Clinton, New York<br>Rufus King, New York<br>John Langdon, New Hampshire<br>James Madison, Virginia<br>James Monroe, Virginia  | 113<br>47<br>9<br>3<br>3        |
| 1812 | Republican<br>Federalist                                       | James Madison, Virginia<br>De Witt Clinton, New York   | 128<br>89                              | Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts<br>Jared Ingersoll, Pennsylvania  | 131<br>86                       |
| 1816 | Republican<br>Federalist                                       | James Monroe, Virginia<br>Rufus King, New York   | 183<br>34                              | D. D. Tompkins, New York<br>John E. Howard, Maryland<br>James Ross, Pennsylvania<br>John Marshall, Virginia<br>Robert G. Harper, Maryland   | 183<br>22<br>5<br>4<br>3        |
| 1820 | Republican<br>Republican                                       | James Monroe, Virginia<br>John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts   | 231<br>1                               | D. D. Tompkins, New York<br>Richard Stockton, New Jersey<br>Daniel Rodney, Delaware<br>Robert G. Harper, Maryland<br>Richard Rush, Pennsylvania                                   | 218<br>8<br>4<br>1<br>1         |
| 1824 | Republican<br>Republican<br>Republican<br>Republican           | Andrew Jackson, Tennessee<br>John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts <sup>6</sup><br>William H. Crawford, Georgia<br>Henry Clay, Kentucky                       | 155,872<br>105,321<br>44,282<br>46,587 | John C. Calhoun, South Carolina<br>Nathan Sanford, New York<br>Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina<br>Andrew Jackson, Tennessee<br>Martin Van Buren, New York<br>Henry Clay, Kentucky | 182<br>30<br>24<br>13<br>9<br>2 |
| 1828 | Democratic<br>National Republican                              | Andrew Jackson, Tennessee<br>John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts  | 647,231<br>509,097                     | John C. Calhoun, South Carolina<br>Richard Rush, Pennsylvania<br>William Smith, South Carolina  | 171<br>83<br>7                  |
| 1832 | Democratic<br>National Republican<br>Independent<br>Anti-Mason | Andrew Jackson, Tennessee<br>Henry Clay, Kentucky<br>John Floyd, Virginia<br>William Wirt, Maryland  | 687,502<br>530,189<br>11<br>33,108     | Martin Van Buren, New York<br>John Sergeant, Pennsylvania<br>Henry Lee, Massachusetts<br>Amos Ellmaker, Pennsylvania<br>William Wilkins, Pennsylvania                             | 189<br>49<br>11<br>7<br>30      |
| 1836 | Democratic<br>Whig<br>Whig<br>Whig<br>Whig                     | Martin Van Buren, New York<br>William H. Harrison, Ohio<br>Hugh L. White, Tennessee<br>Daniel Webster, Massachusetts<br>Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina | 761,549<br>73<br>26<br>14<br>11        | Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky <sup>7</sup><br>Francis Grainger, New York<br>John Tyler, Virginia<br>William Smith, Alabama   | 147<br>77<br>47<br>23           |
| 1840 | Whig<br>Democratic<br>Liberty                                  | William H. Harrison, Ohio<br>Martin Van Buren, New York<br>James G. Birney, New York   | 1,275,017<br>1,128,702<br>7,059        | John Tyler, Virginia<br>Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky<br>Francis J. Pickens, Pennsylvania<br>J. W. Tazewell, Virginia<br>James K. Polk, Tennessee                                  | 234<br>48<br>11<br>1            |

APPENDIX.

VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT—Continued.

| YEAR | PARTY. <sup>1</sup>            | PRESIDENT.                                      |                            | VICE-PRESIDENT. |  |                |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|
|      |                                | CANDIDATE.                                      | Popular Vote. <sup>2</sup> | Electoral Vote. | CANDIDATE. <sup>3</sup>                        | Elect'rl Vote. |
| 1844 | Democratic . . . . .           | James K. Polk, Tennessee . . . . .              | 1,337,243                  | 170             | George M. Dallas, Pennsylvania . . . . .       | 170            |
|      | Whig . . . . .                 | Henry Clay, Kentucky . . . . .                  | 1,299,068                  | 105             | Theodore Frelinghuysen, New Jersey . . . . .   | 105            |
|      | Liberty . . . . .              | James G. Birney, New York . . . . .             | 62,300                     | ..              | Thomas Morris, Ohio . . . . .                  | ..             |
| 1848 | Whig . . . . .                 | Zachary Taylor, Louisiana . . . . .             | 1,360,101                  | 163             | Millard Fillmore, New York . . . . .           | 163            |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | Lewis Cass, Michigan . . . . .                  | 1,220,544                  | 127             | William O. Butler, Kentucky . . . . .          | 127            |
|      | Free Soil . . . . .            | Martin Van Buren, New York . . . . .            | 291,263                    | ..              | Charles Francis Adams, Massachusetts . . . . . | ..             |
| 1852 | Democratic . . . . .           | Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire . . . . .        | 1,601,474                  | 254             | William R. King, Alabama . . . . .             | 254            |
|      | Whig . . . . .                 | Winfield Scott, New Jersey . . . . .            | 1,386,578                  | 42              | William A. Graham, North Carolina . . . . .    | 42             |
|      | Free Democracy . . . . .       | John P. Hale, New Hampshire . . . . .           | 156,149                    | ..              | George W. Julian, Indiana . . . . .            | ..             |
| 1856 | Democratic . . . . .           | James Buchanan, Pennsylvania . . . . .          | 1,838,169                  | 174             | John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky . . . . .       | 174            |
|      | Republican . . . . .           | John C. Fremont, California . . . . .           | 1,341,264                  | 114             | William L. Dayton, New Jersey . . . . .        | 114            |
|      | American . . . . .             | Millard Fillmore, New York . . . . .            | 874,534                    | 8               | Andrew J. Donelson, Tennessee . . . . .        | 8              |
| 1860 | Republican . . . . .           | Abraham Lincoln, Illinois . . . . .             | 1,866,352                  | 180             | Hannibal Hamlin, Maine . . . . .               | 180            |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois . . . . .          | 1,375,157                  | 12              | H. V. Johnson, Georgia . . . . .               | 12             |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky . . . . .        | 845,763                    | 72              | Joseph Lane, Oregon . . . . .                  | 72             |
| 1864 | Constitutional Union . . . . . | John Bell, Tennessee . . . . .                  | 589,581                    | 39              | Edward Everett, Massachusetts . . . . .        | 39             |
|      | Republican . . . . .           | Abraham Lincoln, Illinois . . . . .             | 2,216,067                  | 212             | Andrew Johnson, Tennessee . . . . .            | 212            |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | George B. McClellan, New Jersey . . . . .       | 1,808,725                  | 21              | George H. Pendleton, Ohio . . . . .            | 21             |
| 1868 | Republican . . . . .           | Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois . . . . .            | 3,015,071                  | 214             | Schuyler Colfax, Indiana . . . . .             | 214            |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | Horatio Seymour, New York . . . . .             | 2,709,613                  | 80              | Francis P. Blair, Missouri . . . . .           | 80             |
|      | ..                             | Electoral votes not cast . . . . .              | ..                         | 23              | ..   | 23             |
| 1872 | Republican . . . . .           | Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois . . . . .            | 3,597,070                  | 286             | Henry Wilson, Massachusetts . . . . .          | 286            |
|      | Lib. Rep. and Dem . . . . .    | Horace Greeley, New York <sup>9</sup> . . . . . | 2,834,079                  | ..              | B. Gratz Brown, Missouri . . . . .             | 47             |
|      | Democratic . . . . .           | Charles O'Connor, New York . . . . .            | 29,408                     | ..              | George W. Julian, Indiana . . . . .            | 5              |
| 1876 | Temperance . . . . .           | James Black, Pennsylvania . . . . .             | 5,608                      | ..              | A. H. Colquitt, Georgia . . . . .              | 5              |
|      | ..                             | Thomas A. Hendricks, Indiana . . . . .          | ..                         | 42              | John M. Palmer, Illinois . . . . .             | 3              |
|      | ..                             | B. Gratz Brown, Missouri . . . . .              | ..                         | 18              | Thomas E. Bramlette, Kentucky . . . . .        | 3              |
| 1880 | ..                             | Charles J. Jenkins, Georgia . . . . .           | ..                         | 2               | William S. Groesbeck, Ohio . . . . .           | 1              |
|      | ..                             | David Davis, Illinois . . . . .                 | ..                         | 1               | Willis B. Machen, Kentucky . . . . .           | 1              |
|      | ..                             | Not counted . . . . .                           | ..                         | 17              | Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts . . . . .    | 1              |



JAMES S. CLARKSON, OF IOWA.

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APPENDIX.

|      |                           |   |           |     |   |     |
|------|---------------------------|---|-----------|-----|---|-----|
| 1876 | Republican . . . . .      | Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio . . . . .         | 4,033,950 | 185 | William A. Wheeler, New York . . . . .  | 185 |
|      | Democratic . . . . .      | Samuel J. Tilden, New York . . . . .        | 4,284,285 | 184 | Thomas A. Hendricks, Indiana . . . . .  | 184 |
|      | Greenback . . . . .       | Peter Cooper, New York . . . . .            | 81,740    |     | Samuel F. Cary, Ohio . . . . .          |     |
|      | Prohibition . . . . .     | Green Clay Smith, Kentucky . . . . .        | 9,522     |     | Gideon T. Stewart, Ohio . . . . .       |     |
|      | American . . . . .        | James B. Walker, Illinois . . . . .         | 2,636     |     | D. Kirkpatrick, New York . . . . .      |     |
| 1880 | Republican . . . . .      | James A. Garfield, Ohio . . . . .           | 4,449,053 | 214 | Chester A. Arthur, New York . . . . .   | 214 |
|      | Democratic . . . . .      | Winfield S. Hancock, Pennsylvania . . . . . | 4,442,035 | 155 | William H. English, Indiana . . . . .   | 155 |
|      | Greenback . . . . .       | James B. Weaver, Iowa . . . . .             | 307,306   |     | Samuel F. Cary, Ohio . . . . .          |     |
|      | Prohibition . . . . .     | Neal Dow, Maine . . . . .                   | 10,305    |     | H. A. Thompson, Ohio . . . . .          |     |
|      | American . . . . .        | John W. Phelps, Vermont . . . . .           | 707       |     | Samuel C. Pomeroy, Kansas . . . . .     |     |
| 1884 | Democratic . . . . .      | Grover Cleveland, New York . . . . .        | 4,911,017 | 219 | Thomas A. Hendricks, Indiana . . . . .  | 219 |
|      | Republican . . . . .      | James G. Blaine, Maine . . . . .            | 4,848,334 | 182 | John A. Logan, Illinois . . . . .       | 182 |
|      | Prohibition . . . . .     | John P. St. John, Kansas . . . . .          | 151,809   |     | William Daniel, Maryland . . . . .      |     |
|      | Greenback . . . . .       | Benjamin F. Butler, Massachusetts . . . . . | 133,825   |     | A. M. West, Mississippi . . . . .       |     |
| 1888 | Republican . . . . .      | Benjamin Harrison, Indiana . . . . .        | 5,440,551 | 233 | Levi P. Morton, New York . . . . .      | 233 |
|      | Democratic . . . . .      | Grover Cleveland, New York . . . . .        | 5,538,434 | 168 | Allen G. Thurman, Ohio . . . . .        | 168 |
|      | Prohibition . . . . .     | Clinton B. Fisk, New Jersey . . . . .       | 250,290   |     | John A. Brooks, Missouri . . . . .      |     |
|      | Union Labor . . . . .     | Alson J. Streeter, Illinois . . . . .       | 147,045   |     | C. F. Cunningham, Arkansas . . . . .    |     |
|      | United Labor . . . . .    | R. H. Cowdrey, Illinois . . . . .           | 2,418     |     | W. H. T. Wakefield, Kansas . . . . .    |     |
|      | American . . . . .        | James I. Curtis, New York . . . . .         | 1,591     |     | James B. Greer, Tennessee . . . . .     |     |
| 1892 | Democratic . . . . .      | Grover Cleveland, New York . . . . .        | 5,554,226 | 277 | Adlai E. Stevenson, Illinois . . . . .  | 277 |
|      | Republican . . . . .      | Benjamin Harrison, Indiana . . . . .        | 5,175,202 | 145 | Whitelaw Reid, New York . . . . .       | 145 |
|      | Populist . . . . .        | James B. Weaver, Iowa . . . . .             | 1,042,631 | 22  | James G. Field, Virginia . . . . .      | 22  |
|      | Prohibition . . . . .     | John Bidwell, California . . . . .          | 262,799   |     | James B. Cranfill, Texas . . . . .      |     |
|      | Socialist Labor . . . . . | Simon Wing, Massachusetts . . . . .         | 21,164    |     | Charles H. Matchett, New York . . . . . |     |

(1) Party division had not been created at the time of the first election for President, and in some of the subsequent elections in the early days, party lines were not observed with respect to a few of the minor candidates.

(2) The popular vote does not appear in the table until 1824, because in most of the States before that time the people did not vote directly for Presidential Electors, these being chosen by the Legislatures. In only six of the twenty-four States did the Legislature exercise this function in 1824—Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. All except Delaware and South Carolina adopted the popular vote plan of choosing Electors by 1828. Delaware did this immediately afterwards, but South Carolina clung to the Legislative appointment system until 1868.

(3) In all the elections along to and including that of 1890, the Presidential Electors voted for two persons. The one receiving the highest vote, if a majority, became President, and the one getting the next highest became Vice-President. The tie vote in 1800 between Jefferson and Burr led to the adoption of the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, by which the Electors are required to vote for President and Vice-President separately. That system went into effect in 1804 and has been in operation ever since.

(4) Republican was the name adopted by Jefferson's party which was founded in 1792. It was sometimes called Democratic-Republican, but the latter part of the name was dropped around 1828, when Jackson was elected the first time. Just about the same time the Adams and Clay element, the broad construction faction, began to call itself the National Republican party. This element in 1834 became the nucleus of the Whig party founded in that year.

(5) The tie vote in 1800 between Jefferson and Burr sent the contest to the House of Representatives, which body elected Jefferson President.

(6) None of the candidates in 1833 receiving a majority in the electoral college. The House of Representatives made a choice between the three highest, electing Adams. Jefferson (in his first election) and Adams were the only Presidents chosen by the House.

(7) Johnson was elected Vice-President by the Senate. He was the only Vice-President chosen in this way.

(8) The votes not counted in 1864 were those of the eleven seceded States. Those omitted in 1868 belonged to the States not reconstructed, and those left out in 1872 were excluded because of disputed counts.

(9) Horace Greeley having died between the time the people and the Presidential Electors voted, the Electors scattered their votes among various persons.



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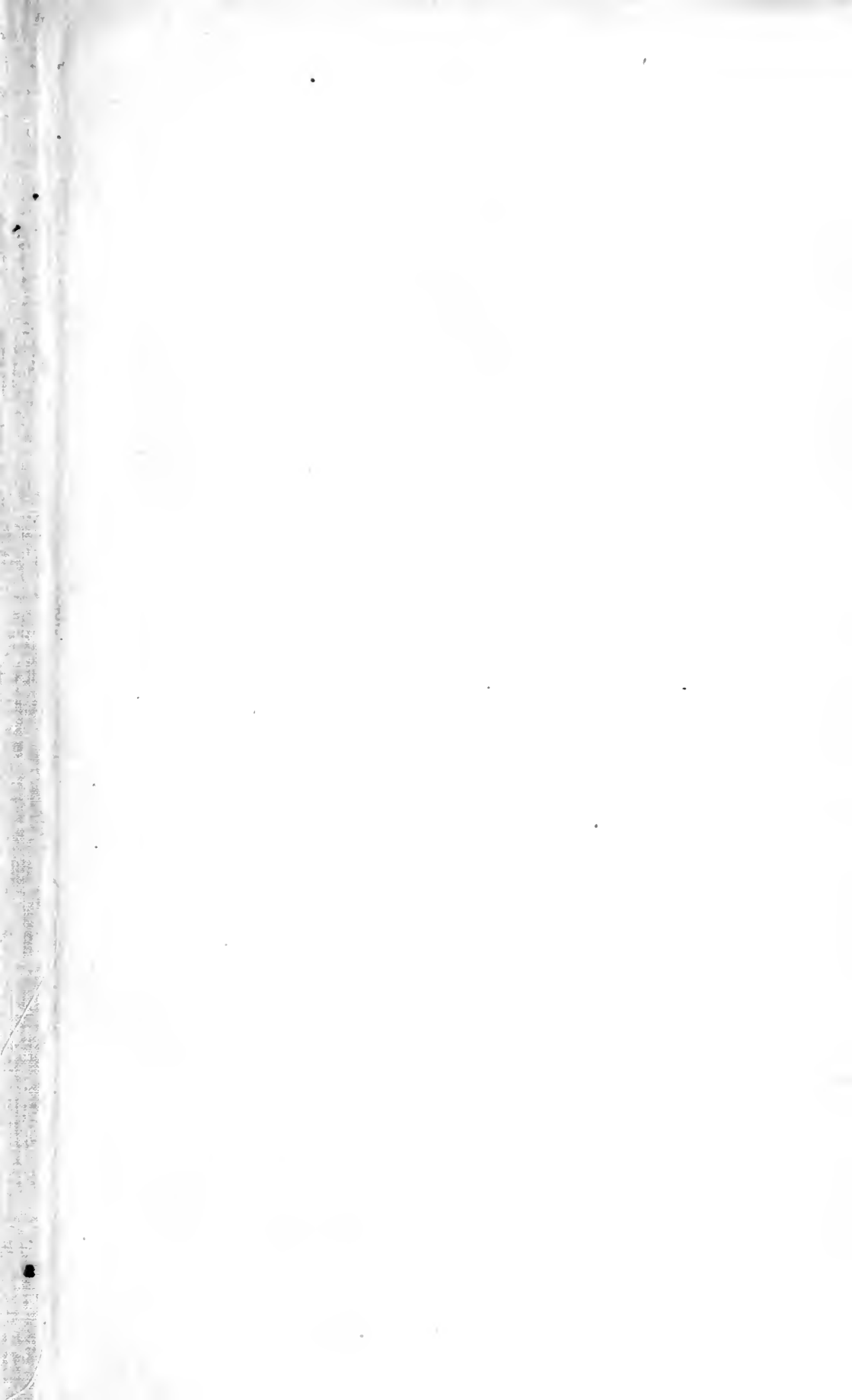
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