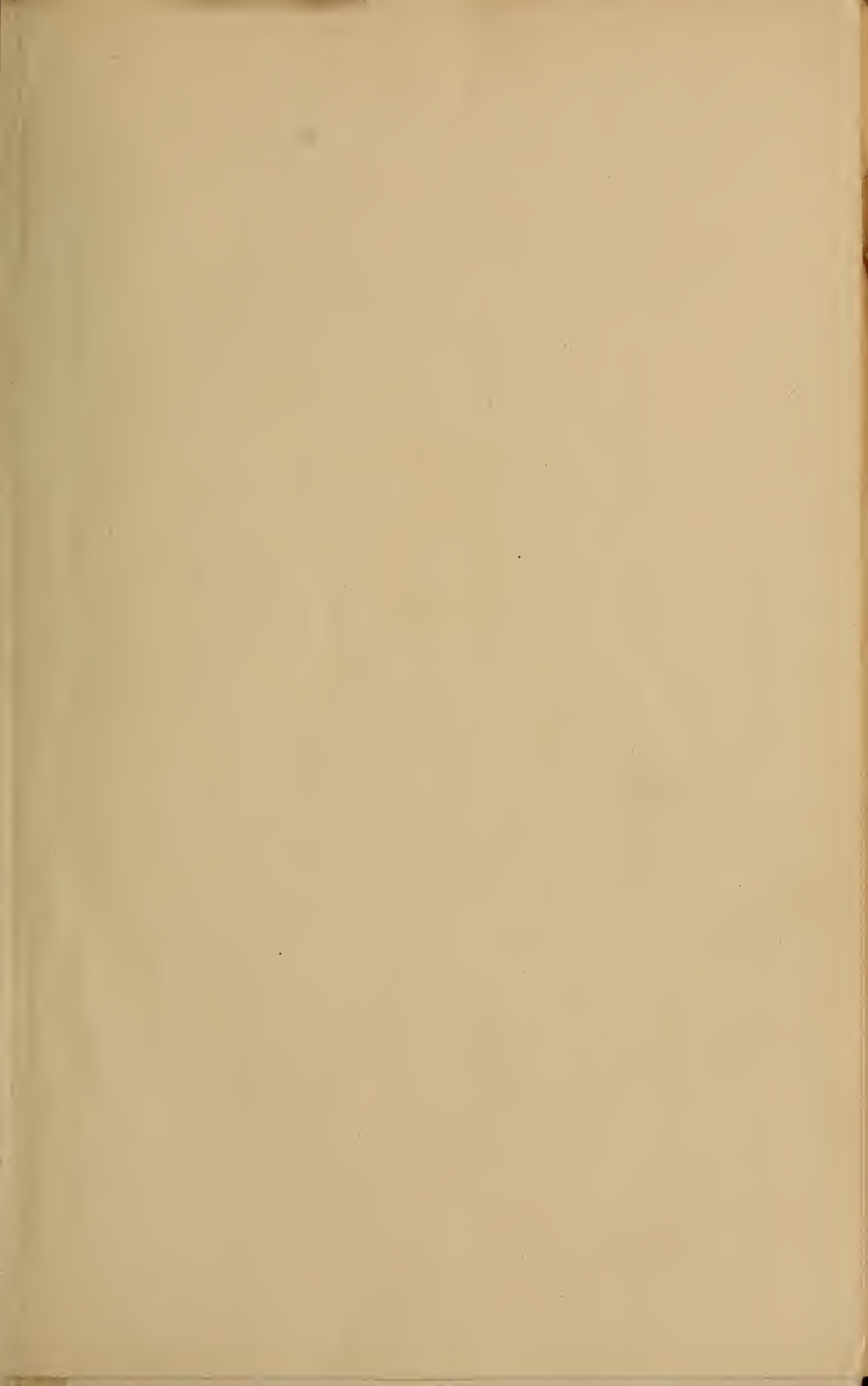


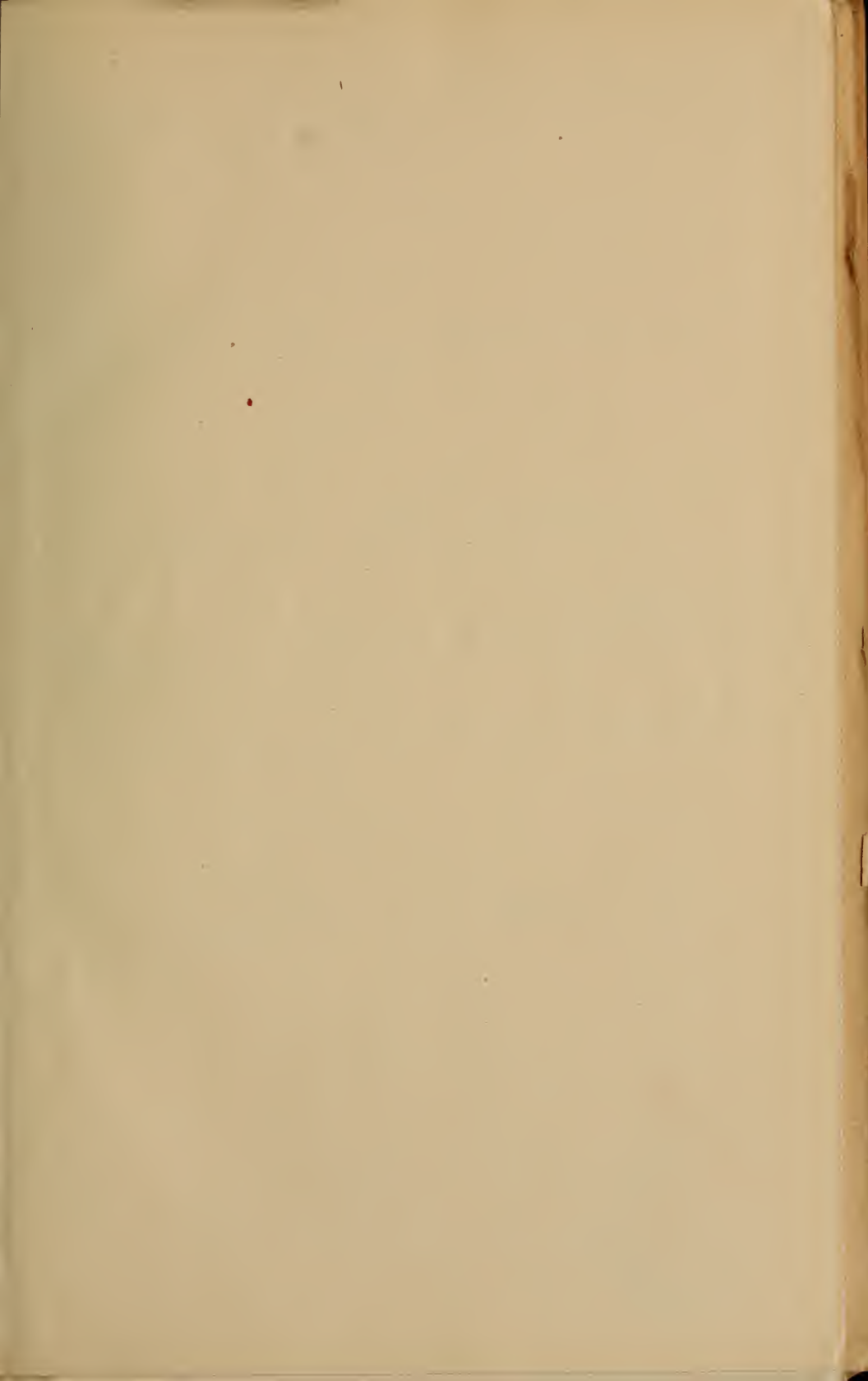


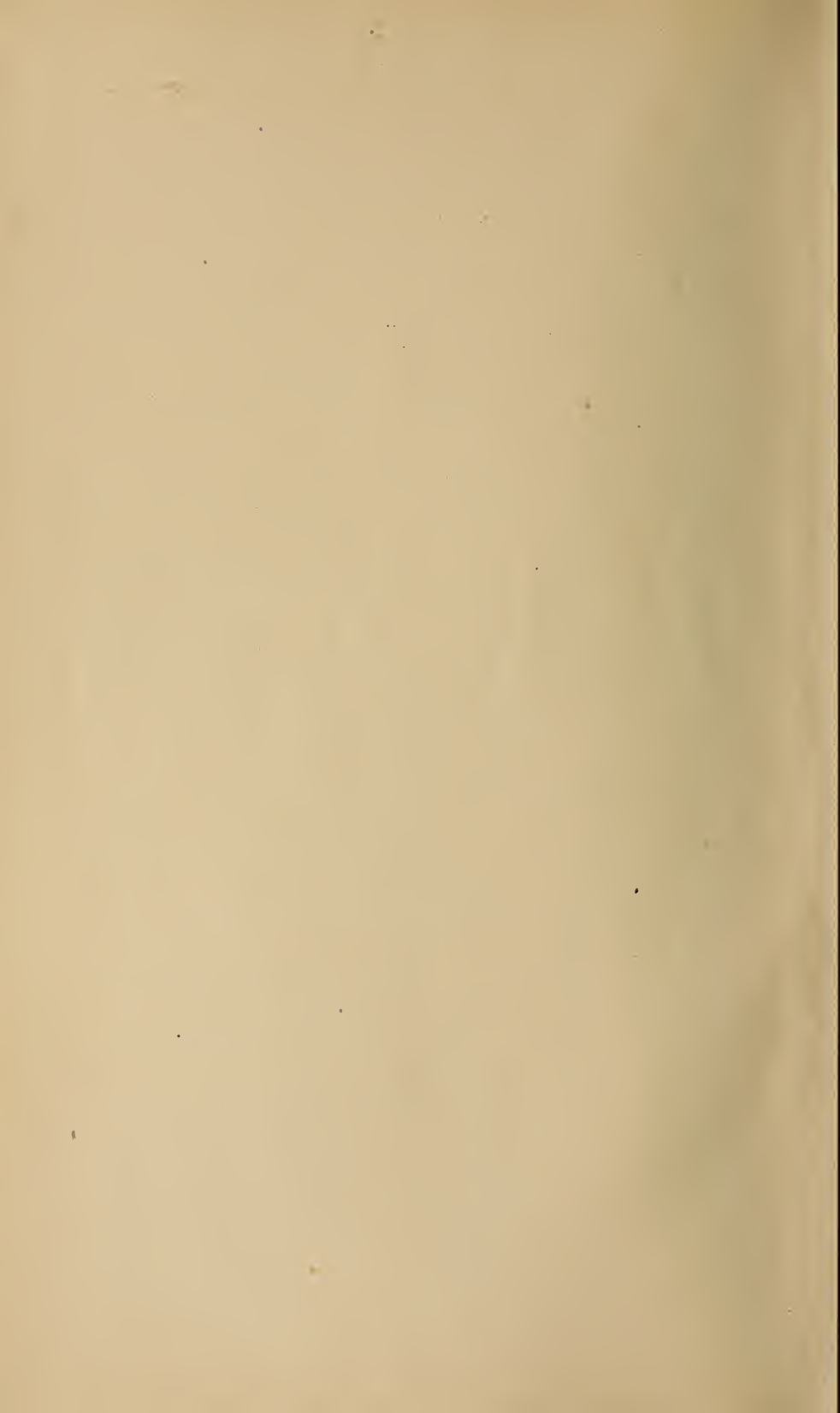
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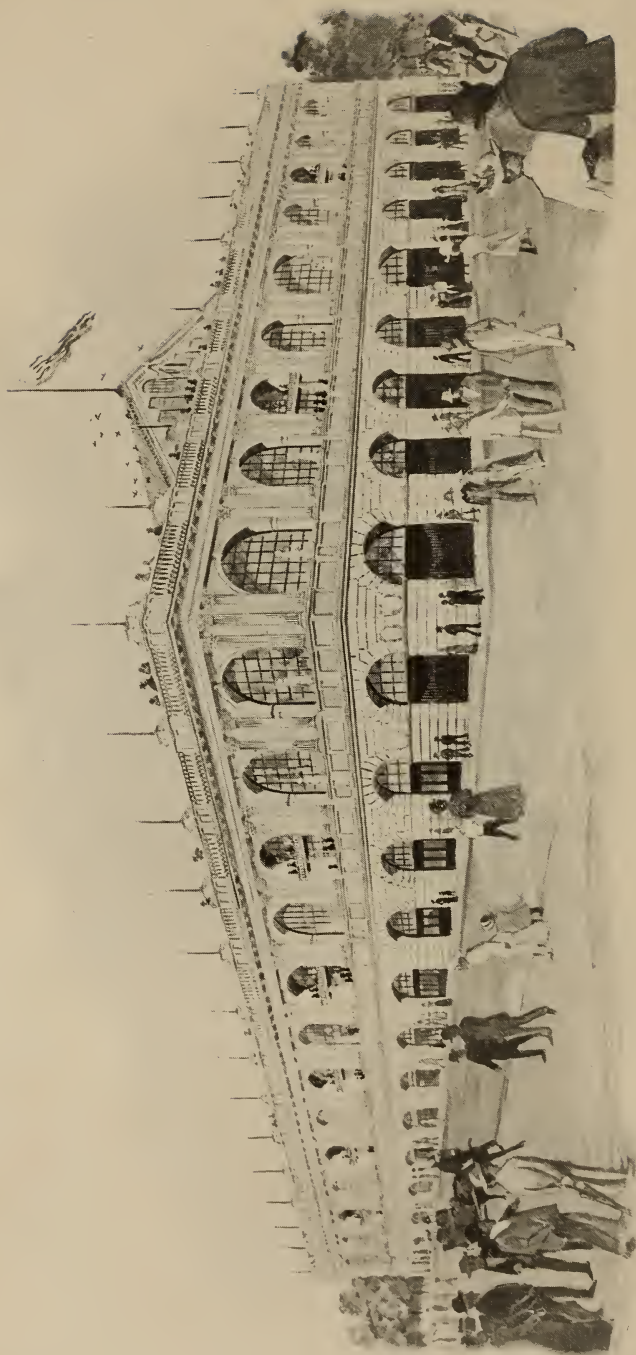






Wm Cole Briscoe

With Compliments
of
Adair Wilson
Member Democratic
National Committee
for
Colorado



CONVENTION HALL, KANSAS CITY, MO.

ALTERNATES.

ALTERNATES.

ALTERNATES.

ALTERNATES
 MISSOURI
 WISCONSIN
 INDIANAPOLIS
 CONNECTICUT
 PENNSYLVANIA
 MAINE
 OHIO
 VERMONT
 MASSACHUSETTS
 NEW JERSEY
 TEXAS
 CALIFORNIA
 ARKANSAS
 ALTERNATES

NEW YORK
 OREGON
 W. VIRGINIA
 NEVADA
 TENNESSEE
 MARYLAND
 LOUISIANA
 ALABAMA
 MICHIGAN
 COLORADO
 MISSISSIPPI
 KANSAS
 ILLINOIS
 IOWA
 NEBRASKA
 MINNESOTA
 WYOMING
 ALASKA
 VERMONT
 MASSACHUSETTS

ALTERNATES
 VERMONT
 MASSACHUSETTS
 NEW JERSEY
 TEXAS
 CALIFORNIA
 ARKANSAS
 ALTERNATES

OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHERS.

SET. AT APPTS.

RECORDING SECRETARY

SECRETARY

CHAIRMAN

*Democratic party, National Convention,
Kansas City, Mo., 1900*

2
OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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109
Part 14

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL

CONVENTION

Held in Kansas City, Mo., July 4th, 5th and 6th, 1900.

CONTAINING ALSO THE

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE, ETC.

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION
ORGANIZATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF 1900 AND THE LETTER OF
ACCEPTANCE OF WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

CHICAGO MEETING.

MORNING SESSION.

CHICAGO, ILL., July 20, 1899.

Pursuant to call of Messrs. Stone and Johnson, acting by authority of Chairman Jones, the National Democratic Committee met at the Sherman House at 10 o'clock A. M.

In the absence of the Chairman the meeting was called to order by Secretary Walsh.

On motion of Mr. Johnson, Gov. Stone, of Missouri, was elected Chairman *pro tem*.

On a call of the roll the following members and proxies responded:

Alabama—Henry D. Clayton.

Arkansas—T. C. McRae.

California—Wm. R. Burke (Proxy for J. J. Dwyer).

Colorado—T. J. O'Donnell (Proxy for Adair Wilson).

Connecticut—Alex. Troup.

Delaware—R. R. Kenney.

Florida—W. J. Stone (Proxy for Samuel Pasco).

Georgia—Clark Howell.

Idaho—Geo. Ainslie.

Illinois—Thos. Gahan.

Indiana—J. G. Shanklin.

Iowa—C. A. Walsh

- Kansas*—J. G. Johnson.
Kentucky—Urey Woodson.
Louisiana—N. C. Blanchard.
Maine—S. C. Gordon.
Maryland—Col. F. Victor Baughman (Proxy for A. P. Gorman).
Massachusetts—Geo. Fred. Williams.
Michigan—W. J. Bryan (Proxy for D. J. Campau).
Minnesota—T. D. O'Brien.
Mississippi—W. V. Sullivan.
Missouri—W. J. Stone.
Montana—E. D. Matts (Proxy for J. J. McHatton).
Nebraska—W. H. Thompson.
Nevada—W. J. Stone (Proxy for Clayton Belknap).
New Hampshire—True L. Norris.
New Jersey—H. B. Paul (Proxy for P. D. Baker).
New York—Frank Campbell.
North Carolina—Josephus Daniels.
Ohio—J. N. Norton (Proxy for John R. McLean).
Pennsylvania—J. M. Guffey.
Rhode Island—Geo. W. Green (Proxy for R. B. Comstock).
South Carolina—B. R. Tillman.
South Dakota—W. J. Bryan (Proxy for James M. Woods).
Tennessee—James M. Head.
Virginia—Peter J. Otey.
Washington—W. J. Abbott (Proxy for W. H. White).
Wyoming—F. W. Fleming (Proxy for W. H. Holliday).
District of Columbia—E. Sefton (Proxy for Lawrence Gardner).
Oklahoma—Whit M. Grant.
Indian Territory—W. J. Stone (Proxy for Thos. Marcum).
New Mexico—H. B. Fergusson.

The special committee, consisting of Messrs. Stone and Walsh, appointed at an informal meeting held in St. Louis in May, 1899, for the purpose of formulating rules for the government of the committee, presented a report.

Pending the consideration of the report of the special committee, on motion of Senator Tillman, a recess was taken until 3:30 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

CHICAGO, ILL., July 20, 1899.

The committee reassembled at 3:45 P. M., Gov. Stone presiding, and a quorum being present.

The report of the Committee on Rules was taken up, and considered at length.

Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, offered the following substitute for the report of the Committee, which was adopted:

Section 1. The Democratic National Committee shall be composed of one member from each State and Territory, unless otherwise ordered by a Democratic National Convention, and except as herein otherwise provided, shall at the first meeting following the Convention organize by the election of a Permanent Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, each of whom shall serve for the term of four years, or until the close of the next subsequent Democratic National Convention.

Sec. 2. There shall be a standing Committee to be known as the "Executive Committee," composed of eleven members, of whom the Chairman shall be one, and the other ten shall be appointed by him.

The Chairman shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Committee, and shall designate a member who shall act as Vice Chairman of said Committee. The Vice Chairman shall preside at the meetings of the said committee in the absence of the Chairman, and shall specially aid and assist the Chairman in the performance of all his duties. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The Executive Committee shall be the chief executive power of the National Committee, having authority over all other sub-committees, and shall be specially charged with the duty of carrying out the policies of the whole committee, and of seeing that its orders are executed.

Sec. 3. There shall be a standing committee to be known as the Ways and Means Committee, to be composed of seven (7) members, to be appointed by the Chairman. At the time of appointing said Ways and Means Committee the

Chairman shall designate the member who shall act as its Chairman. Three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The Ways and Means Committee shall have general charge of the financial interests of the National Committee, and, with the approval of the Chairman of the National Committee, or in his absence, with the approval of the Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee, may employ such assistants outside the committee as may be necessary to promote its purposes.

Sec. 4. There shall be such additional standing and special committees to be appointed by the Chairman, as the whole committee may by resolution from time to time provide.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Hon. William J. Stone be and is hereby elected Vice Chairman of this committee, to act during the absence of the Chairman, and until he (the Chairman) shall return, and assume the duties of his office.

Resolved, That in the future, in all cases where the Chairman of the committee is unable, by reason of his absence, or for any reason, to attend to the duties of his office, he may designate the Vice Chairman to act in his stead.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard, of Louisiana, it was ordered that a Press Committee consisting of five members, three of whom shall constitute a quorum, be created.

On motion, the Chair was authorized to name members of the Press Committee.

There being no further business, on motion of Mr. Clayton the committee adjourned *sine die*.

WASHINGTON MEETING.

MORNING SESSION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 22, 1900.

The National Democratic Committee met on this, the 22nd day of February, 1900, pursuant to call at the Raleigh Hotel, in the City of Washington, D. C., at 12 o'clock noon. The Chairman, Senator James K. Jones, of Arkansas, presiding.

THE CHAIR: The Committee will come to order; the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary (Hon. C. A. Walsh, of Iowa) called the roll and the following members of the Committee and proxies responded:

- Alabama*—Henry D. Clayton.
Arkansas—T. C. McRae.
California—W. J. Stone (Proxy for J. J. Dwyer).
Colorado—Adair Wilson.
Connecticut—Alex. Troup.
Delaware—R. R. Kenney.
Florida—R. W. Davis (Proxy for Samuel Pascoe).
Georgia—Clark Howell.
Idaho—John G. Brown (Proxy for Geo. Ainslie).
Illinois—Thos. Gahan.
Indiana—J. G. Shanklin.
Iowa—C. A. Walsh.
Kansas—J. G. Johnson.
Kentucky—Urey Woodson.
Louisiana—N. C. Blanchard.
Maine—S. C. Gordon.
Maryland—A. P. Gorman.
Massachusetts—Geo. Fred. Williams.
Michigan—D. J. Campau.
Minnesota—P. B. Winston (Proxy for T. D. O'Brien).
Mississippi—Patrick Henry (Proxy for W. V. Sullivan).
Missouri—W. J. Stone.
Montana—Davis S. Rose (Proxy for J. J. McHatton).
Nebraska—W. H. Thompson.
Nevada—W. J. Stone (Proxy for Clayton Belknap).
New Hampshire—True L. Norris.
New Jersey—P. D. Baker.
New York—Frank Campbell.
North Carolina—Josephus Daniels.
North Dakota—I. P. Baker.
Ohio—John R. McLean.
Oregon—J. H. Townsend.
Pennsylvania—J. M. Guffey.

Rhode Island—R. B. Comstock.
South Carolina—W. J. Stone (Proxy for B. R. Tillman).
South Dakota—James M. Woods.
Tennessee—James M. Head.
Texas—J. G. Dudley.
Utah—Senator J. L. Rawlins (Proxy for A. W. McCune).
Virginia—Peter J. Otey.
Vermont—R. B. Smalley.
Washington—Senator Geo. Turner (Proxy for W. H. White).
West Virginia—John T. McGraw.
Wisconsin—E. C. Wall.
Wyoming—W. H. Holliday.
Alaska—A. J. Daly.
Arizona—J. F. Wilson (Proxy for W. H. Burbage).
Oklahoma—E. G. Spilman (Proxy for Whit M. Grant).
Indian Territory—Thomas Marcum.
New Mexico—H. B. Fergusson.
District of Columbia—

By direction of the Chair the Secretary read the call for the meeting as follows :

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 19, 1899.

There will be a meeting of the Democratic National Committee at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington City on Thursday, the 22nd of February, 1900, at 12:00 o'clock M., to fix the time and place of holding the Democratic National Convention for the adoption of the party platform, and the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, at the election to take place in November next, and to transact such other business as may come before the committee. All members of the committee will without fail be present at the time and place, as very great importance may attach to the action of this meeting of the committee in several particulars.

Very truly yours,

(Signed.)

JAMES K. JONES, Chairman.

THE CHAIR: It is my duty to announce that there has been a vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Gardner, of the District of Columbia, a member of this committee. The Secretary has in his possession certain papers from the members of the

District Committee recommending the election of Mr. James L. Norris to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Gardner, and also certain papers protesting against Mr. Norris being seated as a member of this committee from the District of Columbia. What is the pleasure of the committee in connection with this matter?

On motion of Mr. Johnson the chair was authorized to appoint a committee of three to consider and report upon the filling of the vacancy from the District of Columbia.

The Chair announced the members of the Special Committee on vacancy from the District of Columbia, as follows:

Mr. Daniels, of North Carolina.

Mr. Otey, of Virginia.

Mr. McGraw, of West Virginia.

The Chair announced that the next order of business would be the selection of the time and place of holding the next National Democratic Convention to nominate candidates for the office of President and Vice President of the United States.

For the information of the members, it was announced that the cities of Kansas City, Missouri, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were represented by committees and were prepared to present invitations together with reasons why the National Convention should be held in their respective cities.

It was ordered that the roll of States be called for nominations, and that the representatives of each city be allowed 30 minutes in which to present their claims.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call, and when the State of Missouri was reached, Hon. Jas. A. Reed, of Kansas City, was introduced, and addressed the committee in behalf of Kansas City.

The roll call was proceeded with, and when the State of Wisconsin was reached Mayor Rose, of the City of Milwaukee, was introduced, and addressed the committee in behalf of that city.

At the close of Mayor Rose's address, on motion, each city was given fifteen minutes additional time.

Hon. Wm. S. Cowherd, of Missouri, and Hon. David Overmeyer, of Kansas, spoke in behalf of Kansas City, and Gov. Peck, of Wisconsin, and Hon. W. J. Lentz, of Ohio, spoke in favor of Milwaukee.

At the conclusion of Mr. Lentz's address, on motion, the Committee took a recess until 3:00 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 22, 1900.

The National Committee resumed its session at 3:15 P. M. The call of the roll showed a quorum present.

The Chair announced the first business in order would be the selection of a place for holding the next National Convention.

Gov. Stone, of Missouri, moved that Kansas City, Mo., be selected as the place for holding the Democratic National Convention of 1900.

Gov. Stone submitted the following proposition:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1900.

Hon. James K. Jones,

Chairman National Democratic Committee.

DEAR SIR: Desiring that the Democratic Convention of 1900 be held at Kansas City, in the State of Missouri, we hereby make and submit to your committee the following proposition.

1st: Kansas City will furnish adequate and acceptable headquarters at one of the principal hotels for the use of your committee, and will pay the expenses of entertaining the members of the National Committee at that hotel, making ample provision therefor.

2nd: Kansas City will furnish its Convention Hall to the committee for the use of the convention, free of charge, decorated in a way satisfactory to your committee, and will furnish music, free in the hall during the sessions of the convention.

3rd: It is hereby agreed that the Kansas City hotels will accommodate the delegates and alternates attending the convention, at rates reasonable, and not to exceed the usual regular charges charged by the hotels of the city.

It is further agreed that the undersigned will arrange, and have already arranged with the proprietors of the leading hotels of Kansas City that no allotment of rooms or accommodations will be made in said hotels for at least thirty days from this date, to the end that provision may be made at the expense of the several committeemen here for the accommodation of the delegates and alternates representing the several States. A responsible committee of Kansas City has this matter in charge, and it is the intention to locate the representatives of the several States at the best hotels in the city, if they so desire, and that privileges will certainly be reserved.

4th: We say to your committee upon honor that we have assurances directly from the General Passenger Agents of the railroads centering at Kansas City that if the convention should be located at Kansas City, the Passenger Association will at once arrange for one fare for the round trip over all the roads.

5th: All expenses of the convention, except as above stated, are to be paid by your committee. And in view of the uncertainty of the amount of such expenses, the Kansas City committee hereby proposes to contribute to the funds of your committee the sum of \$50,000.00, to be paid to the Chairman of your committee, or according to the order of your committee, before the adjournment of this meeting.

SAMUEL B. COOK,
A. M. DOCKERY,
D. J. DEAN,
F. W. FLEMING,
A. C. COATES,
J. J. SWOFFORD,
J. C. JAMES,
H. W. SALMON,

A. C. THOMAS,
G. T. STOCKHAM,
CHAS. J. SCHMELZER,
A. A. LE SUEUR,
WM. S. COWHERD,
M. S. PETERS,
H. C. MCDUGAL.

Mr. Wall, of Wisconsin, moved to amend the motion of

the gentleman from Missouri by striking out Kansas City, and inserting Milwaukee.

Mr. Wall said he had no written statement, but that all the promises made in reference to Kansas City would be met by the gentlemen composing the committee from Milwaukee; he said the committee had come with a certified check for \$40,000.00, but since arriving in the city they had arranged to add ten thousand dollars more to this amount, making a total of \$50,000.00. The additional ten thousand dollars must be for the purpose of fitting up the Convention hall.

The roll was called on the selection of a place to hold the convention.

The following States voted for Kansas City.

Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, Alaska, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and New Mexico.

The following States voted for Milwaukee:

Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, New York, Vermont and Wisconsin.

On motion of Mr. Wall, of Wisconsin, the selection of Kansas City as the place for holding the next Democratic Convention was made unanimous.

The next order of business was fixing the time when the convention should be held.

Mr. Townsend, of Oregon, moved to fix the date for the 9th day of May.

Mr. Davis, of Florida, moved to fix it for the 14th day of June.

Mr. McGraw, of West Virginia, moved to fix the date for July 4.

The Chair announced that the roll would be called on the selection of the date for holding the convention. The dates proposed were May 9, June 14 and July 4.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following States voted for May 9:

Kansas, Idaho, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, Oklahoma.

The following States voted for June 14:

Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Virginia, Indian Territory and New Mexico.

The following States voted for July 4:

Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Alaska and Arizona.

Before the vote was announced by the Secretary, the following changes were made:

Idaho to June 14.
Oregon to July 4.
Nebraska to June 14.
Washington to July 4.
North Carolina to July 4.
Kansas to June 14.
Michigan to July 4.
Wyoming to June 14.

The Secretary then announced the result of the vote as follows:

Those voting for June 14: Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Carolina, South Dakota, Virginia, Wyoming, Indian Territory and New Mexico—21.

Those voting for July 4: Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Caro-

lina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Alaska and Arizona—28.

Those voting for May 9: Oklahoma—1.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen: The vote stands in favor of July 4, 28 votes; in favor of June 14, 21 votes; in favor of May 9, 1 vote. Twenty-seven votes being a majority of the entire vote cast, the Fourth of July is selected as the date.

On motion the following was adopted as the official call for the convention:

The Democratic National Committee, having met in the City of Washington on the 22nd day of February, 1900, has appointed Wednesday, the 4th day of July, 1900, as the time, and chosen the City of Kansas City, Missouri, as the place for holding the Democratic National Convention. Each State is entitled to representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and each Territory, Alaska, Indian Territory and the District of Columbia, shall have six delegates.

All Democratic, conservative reform citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government, and who favor the Republic and oppose the Empire, are cordially invited to join us in sending delegates to the Convention.

Mr. Johnson introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, Honorable Lawrence Gardner, the member of our committee representing the District of Columbia, has departed this life since the last meeting of our committee; therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of this committee sincerely mourn the loss of their congenial and respected associate, and that his life-long labors for the great principles we have at heart are appreciated by those of us who remain, and should be long and gratefully remembered by his party and his country.

On motion of Mr. Campau the Chair was authorized to appoint a committee of seven, to have exclusive control of the management of the next convention.

The Special Committee on vacancy from the District of Columbia announced that it would not be able to report at this session.

On motion of Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, Mr. Norris was elected as a member of the National Committee from the District of Columbia to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Gardner.

On motion of Senator Jones (Gov. Stone being in the chair) the Vice Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to audit the accounts of the National Committee from time of the Chicago Convention until the meeting of the convention at Kansas City.

The Vice Chairman named Mr. McGraw, of West Virginia, Mr. Guffey; of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Campau, of Michigan, as the special auditing committee.

On motion of Mr. Howell the committee adjourned to meet at Kansas City, Mo., on the 2nd day of July, 1900, at 10:00 o'clock A. M.

KANSAS CITY MEETING.

FIRST DAY.—MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., July 2, 1900.

The National Democratic Committee met in the parlors of the Kansas City Club, Kansas City, Mo., pursuant to call of the Chairman, at 10:30 o'clock A. M., July 2, 1900, Hon. James K. Jones presiding.

The Secretary called the roll and the members and proxies present were recorded as follows:

Alabama—Henry D. Clayton.

Arkansas—M. V. Thompkins (Proxy for T. C. McRae).

California—J. J. Dwyer.

Colorado—Adair Wilson.

- Connecticut*—William Kennedy (Proxy for Alex. Troup).
Delaware—R. R. Kenney.
Florida—J. Emmet Wolfe (Proxy for Samuel Pasco).
Georgia—Clark Howell.
Idaho—George Ainslie.
Illinois—Thomas Gahan.
Indiana—John Overmeyer (Proxy for J. G. Shanklin).
Iowa—C. A. Walsh.
Kansas—J. G. Johnson.
Kentucky—Urey Woodson.
Louisiana—N. C. Blanchard.
Maine—S. C. Gordon.
Maryland—F. Victor Baughman (Proxy for A. P. Gorman).
Massachusetts—George Fred Williams.
Michigan—D. J. Campau.
Minnesota—T. D. O'Brien.
Mississippi—W. V. Sullivan.
Missouri—W. J. Stone.
Montana—John MacGinnis (Proxy for J. J. McHatton).
Nebraska—W. H. Thompson.
Nevada—Clayton Belknap.
New Hampshire—True L. Norris.
New Jersey—Harry B. Paul (Proxy for P. D. Baker).
New York—Frank Campbell.
North Carolina—Josephus Daniels.
North Dakota—T. B. Eaton (Proxy for I. P. Baker).
Ohio—S. E. Johnson (Proxy for John R. McLean).
Oregon—J. H. Townsend.
Pennsylvania—J. M. Guffey.
Rhode Island—George W. Green (Proxy for R. B. Comstock).
South Carolina—B. R. Tillman.
South Dakota—James M. Woods.
Tennessee—James M. Head.
Texas—J. G. Dudley.
Utah—A. W. McCune.
Virginia—Peter J. Otey.
Vermont—John H. Senter (Proxy for B. B. Smalley).
Washington—Lee B. Hart (Proxy for W. H. White).
West Virginia—John T. McGraw.

Wisconsin—J. M. Clancey (Proxy for E. C. Wall).

Wyoming—F. W. Fleming (Proxy for W. H. Holliday).

Alaska—C. D. Rogers.

Arizona—R. C. Dryden (Proxy for W. H. Burbage).

Oklahoma—Whit M. Grant.

Indian Territory—Thos. Marcum.

New Mexico—H. B. Fergusson.

District of Columbia—James L. Norris.

MR. WILLIAMS, of Massachusetts: Mr. Chairman: In view of the fact that there are contesting delegations from Montana, Indian Territory, Oklahoma and District of Columbia, I move that the Chair appoint sub-Committees consisting of five members, to hear the evidence in each case, and report to the Committee which delegation should, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, be placed on the temporary roll call of the Convention.

MR. CAMPBELL, of New York: I move as an amendment to Mr. Williams' motion that the delegation from Montana headed by Mr. Clark be placed on the temporary roll call of the Convention.

The motion was put on the amendment offered by Mr. Campbell, and lost.

The original motion was then adopted unanimously.

The Chair announced the special Committees to hear and report on the several contests as follows:

For Montana—Mr. Williams, of Massachusetts, Chairman; Mr. Campbell, of New York; Mr. Clayton, of Alabama; Mr. Fergusson, of New Mexico; Mr. Wilson, of Colorado.

For Indian Territory—Mr. Daniels, of North Carolina, Chairman; Mr. McGraw, of West Virginia; Mr. Gahan, of Illinois; Mr. Ainslie, of Idaho; Mr. Head, of Tennessee.

For Oklahoma Territory—Mr. Kenney, of Delaware, Chairman; Mr. Gordon, of Maine; Mr. Johnson, of Ohio; Mr. Woods, of South Dakota; Mr. O'Brien, of Minnesota.

For District of Columbia—Mr. Woodson, of Kentucky, Chairman; Mr. Norris, of New Hampshire; Mr. Paul, of New Jersey; Mr. Overmeyer, of Indiana; Mr. Clancey, of Wisconsin.

On motion of Mr. Head, of Tennessee, the Secretary was directed to place the names of delegates from States and Territories, where no contests had been filed, on the temporary roll of the Convention.

Gov. Stone, Acting Chairman of the Sub-Committee, having in charge the arrangements for the Convention, made a verbal report, saying that regardless of the fact that the Convention Hall had been destroyed by fire in April, it had been rebuilt and everything was in readiness for the Convention to assemble.

In the matter of tickets he announced that each member of the National Committee would receive ten general tickets of admission, and five platform seats personally, and four for each of the delegates from his State; that about fourteen hundred tickets had been reserved for distribution in emergency cases.

On motion of Mr. Campau, the Committee adjourned until 10:30 o'clock A. M. Thursday, July 3.

SECOND DAY.—MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 3, 1900.

The National Democratic Committee met at the Kansas City Club at 10:30 A. M., Chairman Jones presiding.

The roll was called showing a full attendance.

The Sub-Committee on the Oklahoma contest reported as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., July 3, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:

We, your Sub-Committee appointed to hear the evidence and report on the contest from the Territory of Oklahoma, beg leave to recommend, after due deliberation, that the Delegation known as the Wrightman Delegation be placed on the temporary roll call of the Convention.

KENNEY, Chairman.

On motion the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Sub-Committee on the contest from the Indian Territory reported as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., July 3, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:

We, your Sub-Committee, appointed to hear the evidence and report on the contest from the Indian Territory, beg leave to recommend, after due deliberation, that the Delegation known as the Marcum Delegation be placed on the temporary roll call of the Convention.

HEAD, Chairman.

On motion the report was unanimously adopted.

The Sub-Committee on the contest from the State of Montana reported as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., July 3, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:

We, your Committee, appointed in the matter of the contested delegation from the State of Montana, beg leave to report that the majority of the Committee have arrived at a conclusion in the matter, and recommend to this Committee that they place on the preliminary roll the Delegation headed by Mr. Clark.

WILLIAMS, Chairman.

On motion the report was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. Tarpey, Prince David Kawananao, of Hawaii, was admitted to a seat on the floor pending the creation of the position of National Committeeman from the Territory of Hawaii by the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard the Committee took an indefinite recess to await the report of the Sub-Committee on the Oklahoma contest.

RECESS.

Committee reassembled at 11:30 A. M.

The Chair announced the first business in order was the selection of a Temporary Chairman to preside over the Convention.

Nominations being in order Mr. Wilson placed in nomination the name of Gov. Chas. S. Thomas, of Colorado.

Senator Kenney presented the name of Hon. David S. Rose, of Wisconsin.

A roll call was ordered on the selection of Temporary Chairman.

The Secretary announced the result of the roll call as follows:

Thomas	24
Rose	22

THE CHAIR (Mr. Blanchard): Gov. Chas. S. Thomas having received a majority of all the votes cast has been chosen as the Temporary Presiding Officer of the Convention. What is the further pleasure of the Committee?

MR. CAMPBELL: I cast my vote for Mr. Rose, believing that it was good policy, but now that it has been decided by a majority vote of the Committee that Gov. Thomas should be the Temporary Chairman, I move that his selection be made unanimous.

The motion was adopted, and Gov. Thomas was declared the unanimous choice of the Committee as Temporary Presiding Officer of the Convention.

On motion Hon. C. A. Walsh was named as Temporary Secretary, and Col. John I. Martin as Temporary Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention.

On motion the Temporary Secretary and Temporary Sergeant-at-Arms were authorized to name their own assistants.

On motion of Senator Tillman the Committee took a recess until 4:00 o'clock P. M.

SECOND DAY.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., July 3, 1900.

The Committee reassembled at 4:30 P. M., Chairman Jones presiding.

The Sub-Committee on the District of Columbia contest reported as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., July 3, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:

We, your Sub-Committee, to whom was referred the contest in the District of Columbia, beg leave to report that we have agreed, unanimously, to recommend the seating of the Norris Delegation.

WOODSON, Chairman.

The report was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. O'Brien a vote of thanks was tendered to Senator Jones for the many courtesies which the members of the Committee have received at his hands, and for the able and impartial manner in which he has conducted the affairs of the Committee.

On motion a vote of thanks was tendered to Secretary Walsh, Treasurer Dunlap and Sergeant-at-Arms Martin.

MR. TARPEY: I desire to present to you Prince David Kawanakoa, of Hawaii. He comes here voluntarily, as a Democrat, to get in touch with the Democratic party of the United States.

PRINCE DAVID: I am a stranger to you all, but I wish to thank you gentlemen for this courtesy, and to say that I feel honored on this occasion to be here present at your meeting, and this Convention.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, the committee adjourned to meet at 11:00 o'clock A. M. Wednesday morning, July 4, for the purpose of proceeding in a body to the Convention Hall.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

FIRST DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 4, 1900.

Pursuant to the call of the Democratic National Committee, the Democratic National Convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, assembled in Convention Hall at Kansas City, Missouri, this day at 12 o'clock noon.

Hon. James K. Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, called the convention to order at 12:03 P. M., saying:

THE CHAIR: The Convention will be in order. The Sergeant-at-Arms will clear the aisles.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: The Deputy Seargeant-at-Arms will clear the aisles and have the delegates seated. I want to say further that there will be no smoking in this hall.

THE CHAIR: The Secretary will now read the call for this Convention.

The call was read by the Secretary as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 26, 1900.

The Democratic National Committee, having met in the City of Washington on the 22d day of February, 1900, has ap-

pointed Wednesday, the 4th day of July, 1900, as the time, and chosen Kansas City, Missouri, as the place for holding the Democratic National Convention.

Each State is entitled to representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and each Territory, Alaska, the Indian Territory and the District of Columbia shall have six delegates. All Democratic conservative reform citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for a pure, economical constitutional government and who favor a Republic and who oppose the Empire are cordially invited to join us in sending delegates to the convention.

(Signed.) JAMES K. JONES, Chairman.

C. A. WALSH, Secretary.

THE CHAIR: The proceedings of this Convention will begin by invoking the blessing of Divine Providence, with prayer by the Reverend S. M. Neel, of Kansas City. The delegates and spectators will please rise and stand during the prayer.

-PRAYER.

Almighty God! God of our Fathers; we acknowledge Thee to be our God. Our nation was formed in faith and hope in Thee. Thy providence has protected and guided us in all the past. Thy kindness has made us great. We still recognize Thee as Sovereign, and acknowledge no other. We are dependent upon Thee. We look to Thee; our hope is in Thee. Mercifully forgive our sins, and guide us in the way of truth. May we never as a nation forget God. Send Thy blessing upon the delegates of this Convention. May they conduct the proceedings of this Convention so as to work righteousness and so that their doings will be acceptable to Thee. Inspire them with an exalted patriotism and a proper statesmanship. Thou art moving among the nations of the earth. We have come to a crisis as to our future policy as a nation. Illuminate us by Thy wisdom, that we may have the power to decide wisely between right and wrong.

As Thou hast guided us in the past be pleased, we humbly ask, to pilot us over the breakers now. Save us from the offense of approaching Thee only to have our views ratified. May

we come in all sincerity and humility to inquire what the Lord our God would have us do. Overrule our prejudices and render clear our judgment. Save us from the reproach that any power among us is Almighty but the will of God as expressed in the voice of all thy people. Mercifully preserve us from oligarchy and communism. May the principles of the Golden Rule prevail. May truth, justice, equality and liberty be guarded with jealous care; God Almighty, make bare Thy arm. Be Thou our God. Grant that what is done here may meet Thy approval. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. We ask it in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

CHAIRMAN JONES: Gentlemen of the Convention, I now have the pleasure of presenting to you the Democratic Mayor of Kansas City, Mayor Reed.

When Mayor Reed rose to deliver the welcome address on behalf of Kansas City he was received with a storm of applause, lasting several minutes. When order had been restored, he addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: To welcome this splendid body of patriots is a sufficient honor for any one lifetime. You come from all parts of this, the greatest country on earth; you come to represent the Democracy of this world, a Democracy that was born of no one man's brain, that is the crystallized protest of all the ages against oppression and wrong. It is as old as the first denunciation of slavery, and as ancient as the earliest dream of liberty that ever glorified the horizon of the human soul. Wherever human hearts have longed for equality, wherever lips have uttered an invocation to liberty, wherever eyes have swept the skies of tyranny and looked for a star of hope, there has been a Democrat. The parent springs that form the source of the river of Democracy are lost amid the ruins of antiquity, and, though sometimes apparently absorbed by the burning suns of tyranny or seemingly swallowed by the sands of ignorance, it has continued to flow; but in its sweep through the centuries its waters have reddened with the blood of martyrs, lighted with the ghastly glare of funeral pyres, and its banks have echoed with the shouts of patriots

contending for human right. Today the stream of Democracy is a mighty torrent, promising life and liberty to all humanity.

The history of Democracy is the history of the struggle for human liberty, which began when man first oppressed his brother. We hear its voice out of the night of time, and in the shadows of the past we behold humanity's uplifted face turned toward the sun of liberty and hope, and ere the torch of learning had been lighted it wrote its record on the rock and ancient monuments in pictured stories of revolts of slaves. Through all centuries it has been the dream of poets, philosophers, sages, and statesmen, and in every age, condition and clime its fires have burned within the breast of universal man. To gain the boon of liberty, myriads have offered up their lives. That we might all be free, thousands have, with uncomplaining lips, endured the torture of collar, rack and wheel, and, amid the red embraces of the flames of martyrdom, with parched and blistered lips, proclaimed the rights of man.

At last there came the great awakening of the masses. Then began the sanguinary struggle of the centuries—the tremendous battle for human liberty. It was fought out amid the valleys of the Alps and on their frozen peaks; it raged along the bloody dykes of Holland; it swept through the passes of Switzerland; it rolled across the snows of Russia. It transformed the lovely dells of Ireland to ghastly catacombs of death. It filled the gutters of Paris with torrents of blood. It rolled and raged and thundered back and forth across the face of earth—a mighty tidal wave of passion—a cataclysm of woe—livid with flame and blood, till all the soil of Europe was red with gore and all her plains strewn thick and white with bleaching skeletons.

Yet with it all, the battle for freedom was not won. It was to gain this priceless boon our fathers left their native shores and builded here a temple in the wilderness—a temple devoted to liberty. They poured their heart's blood on its sacred altars; they swore to defend it with their fortunes and their honor, and on a hundred bloody fields from Lexington to Yorktown they maintained it with their lives. They came, not as the sons of a kind mother that had sent them forth with blessings on their hopes; but driven by unnatural and cruel hands

from home and kindred, they sought and founded on the inhospitable bosom of the new world a resting place and home, and in the pure, unpoisoned atmosphere of nature they evolved a theory of government founded upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They sought to create a republic that would be eternal, and, as its chief bulwark, they promulgated a constitution guaranteeing equality and liberty, and in their Declaration of Independence they proclaimed the divine rights of man.

To preserve these liberties untrammelled, they warned succeeding generations against entangling alliances with the powers of the old world; they declared that European aggression should stop at the western shores of the Atlantic ocean, and pledged the world that the United States, reserving to herself the right of dominance of the Western hemisphere, would forever abstain from intermeddling with the affairs of trans-oceanic powers.

Chief among the great men who wrought this mighty work, a colossus amid giants, the one man whose soul compassed the horizon of human rights, the one man whose mind fully embraced the problem of human liberty, the one man who was capable of understanding the great and fundamental principles upon which free governments rest, was Thomas Jefferson, patron saint of Democracy.

In these days, when the ship of state has abandoned its old moorings, has thrown overboard its chart and compass and is drifting upon the high seas of speculation and adventure, it is well, perhaps, to remember that it was Thomas Jefferson who sounded the note of warning to future generations, and said: "I hope the day is not far distant when a meridian of partition shall be run through the center of the oceans, on the hither side of which no European gun will ever be heard, nor an American on the other." In these days, when we are being told that Jefferson was an expansionist, it is well to remember this utterance and to recall the fact that the expansion Jefferson believed in was expansion upon American soils, where American men and women could establish homes, and where the plant of liberty could be reared by patriotic hands. It is well enough to remember that the expansion of Jefferson gave to

the Saxon race the soil upon which you now stand, soil that is capable of raising not only good American citizens, but the best type of the best citizens on earth, invincible, unconquerable Missouri Democrats.

The doctrine of Jefferson was the doctrine of all the fathers of the Republic. They told us that "eternal vigilance was the price of liberty." "That entangling alliances were to be avoided." "That the United States should content herself with supremacy in the Western hemisphere." "That standing armies were a constant menace to liberty." That the constant effort should be to uplift the masses of men, so that American citizenship would forever remain the badge and title of manhood.

For nearly a century and a quarter we have followed their example and given heed to their teachings. The Republican party has latterly, it seems, concluded to try the experiment of entangling alliances. It longs for standing armies, it pines for a world supremacy; it has concluded that money is holier than humanity, "So Israel has gone after strange gods!"

The other day the representatives of the party that has embraced these new doctrines met in convention and, having first thanked God that they were not as other men, resolved in effect that they had taxed all the people for the benefit of the corporations and proposed to keep it up; second, that they were eternally opposed to the trusts they had thus created and continued to foster. And then they selected Mark Hanna to exterminate these same trusts. Imagine Mark Hanna, with a copy of the Dingley bill in one hand, the Republican platform in the other, flanked and supported by the stockholders of a modern New Jersey eleemosynary institution, mounted upon that ancient and ferocious animal, the Republican elephant, like a modern Don Quixote, inaugurating a crusade against trusts. Consider, if you please, the consternation that sort of attack would cause among the trusts.

But why abandon old policies? Why embark upon the ocean of experiment? In what way could we improve the achievements of the past? History may be examined in vain for a parallel. Rome, in her proudest hour, does not merit a comparison. Greece, at the very summit of her greatness, was not equal in

importance with the smallest of our States. England has been a thousand years in building, yet we excel her in wealth, population, and in every branch of trade, commerce, art, education and intelligence. And we have done all this in 124 years. Let romance stand aside before the marvelous panorama of truth.

From thirteen scattered colonies to more than fifty States and Territories. From a fringe along the rocky shores of the Atlantic to a land embraced by the two oceans. From three million to eighty million citizens. From the poorest to the richest of earth's nations. From the humblest to the proudest and greatest. We have conquered forest and stream. The terra incognita of the father is the home of the son, teeming with life and energy, dotted with cities, seminaries of learning, homes of art, and, above all, thronged with a happy, prosperous, intelligent and patriotic people.

The inhabitants of every clime look with wonder at the spectacle.

The monarchs of Europe no longer dare attempt to crush American Democracy. They know that in a contest of power America may stand upon her seagirt shores and defy the united world. They know more than this, that the eyes of the oppressed of every clime are turned toward the flag of our country and that in their hearts they whisper the benediction they dare not speak aloud. They know we no longer fear them. They know that we are, and, if old policies are observed, will remain their masters. Hence, those who have despised us in the past as friends now seek to entangle us in their villainous alliances. The hour that was feared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe, and by all our immortal dead, at last has struck.

Americans, if you will but heed the teachings of the fathers, the star of your greatness will shine forever in the heavens of security. If you will but keep the faith, the rays of the last sun that ever lights this earth will fall upon the temples and spires of mighty American cities where still will dwell the children of liberty, and its dying glories will paint each spire and domè with gold, and kiss them until they glow with crimson, and the last breeze that, like an expiring breath, is wafted

o'er this bank and shoal of time will lovingly caress the silken flag of our country, starry banner of liberty; then, as in the past, floating over free men's heads; then, as in the past, standing for justice and equity, for right and virtue; then, as in the past, without bloodstains of oppression; then, as in the past, the unsullied emblem of Liberty, Purity and Honesty.

O, Liberty, Liberty! Thou art the pole star of this human race, shining out through the night of time. Thou art the beacon light that o'er the troubled waters of humanity still sheds the glory of a future hope. May thy fires burn on forever, for when thy light goes out, then will be night indeed.

Today you meet upon soil acquired by a Democratic President. You are guests of the Missouri Democracy, a Democracy that has never faltered in its allegiance, that in the hour of triumph leads the van, in the day of disaster withstands the shock, and forms the rallying point for scattered hosts. What the old guard was to the armies of Napoleon, what the thin red line was to the army of Wellington, what Jackson's wall of living stone was to the Confederacy, what Thomas's corps was to the Federal forces, the Democracy of Missouri is to the Democracy of the nation. It is an inflexible granite wedge driven into the domain of Republicanism, and in the name of that Democracy, in the name of all the people of Missouri, regardless of party, in the name of our great and representative Democratic city, I welcome you to our homes and to our hearts.

Permit me in conclusion simply to express the hope, nay, a perfect and absolute confidence, that your deliberations will be so wise, your counsels so prudent, your motives so patriotic, that they will find the cheers of today echoed by those of the American people that shall ring in victory for the Democratic party on election day.

THE CHAIR: I am directed by the National Committee to suggest the following gentlemen as the officers of your temporary organization:

For Temporary Chairman: Hon. Chas. S. Thomas, of Colorado.

For Temporary Secretary: Hon. C. A. Walsh, of Iowa.

For Sergeant-at-Arms: Hon. John I. Martin, of Missouri.

For Assistant Secretaries: E. A. McDaniel, of Utah; W.

A. Deford, of Kansas; James K. Jones, Jr., of Arkansas; James Mytton, of Missouri; Rees P. Horrocks, of Arkansas.

For Chief Reading Clerk: Charles S. Hampton, of Michigan.

For Assistant Reading Clerks: Lem J. Smith, of Colorado; J. H. Gillespie, of Iowa; E. E. Murphy, of Kansas.

For Official Stenographer: Robert F. Rose.

The Chairman then called for a vote on the recommendations of the National Committee for temporary officers, and declared them unanimously elected.

THE CHAIR: I will appoint as the committee to escort the Temporary Chairman to the platform, Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, and Mayor Rose, of Milwaukee.

The Committee retired and escorted Mr. Thomas to the platform.

THE CHAIR: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention. It is with pleasure that I present your Temporary Chairman, Governor Thomas, of Colorado.

Governor Thomas then addressed the convention as follows:

Fellow Democrats: We meet under most auspicious influences. On the Nation's birthday, in a great central city of the Republic, at the close and opening of a century, we come together to reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of Thomas Jefferson and our loyalty to their greatest living exponent. We have been selected by the farmer and the artisan, the miner and the mechanic, the producers of wealth in every State and Territory of this mighty nation, to register a decree they have already determined, to proclaim a candidate they have already chosen. We come, not with the pomp and circumstance of consolidated wealth, but as the delegates of the plain people who believe that all men are created equal, and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We are not here as the representatives of the vast interests which dominate our industrial life, but as the champions of the individual citizen who stands helpless in their presence. We speak not for those who would pivot the finances of the world upon a single metal, supplementing its inadequacy by a paper currency issued by a private monopoly at the expense of the people, but for the millions who believe in the money

of the Constitution, and in the ability of their countrymen to legislate for themselves without the previous permission of foreign parliaments, potentates or princes.

We are in very truth the party of the people. Our declaration of faith and purpose given to the world four years ago has been strengthened by the passage of years, and is enshrined today in our hearts and hopes. It marked an epoch in political history and symbolized the regeneration of the party whose birth was coeval with the birth of the Union, whose death that Union cannot long survive. It crystallized into an undying creed precepts of our founders, reaffirmed the objects of Democratic organization, and proclaimed Democracy to be no longer a name, but "a great spirit and a living heart."

The close of President Harrison's administration found the country face to face with conditions of the gravest moment. A deficiency in the public revenues, through the reckless legislation and profligate extravagance of the Fifty-first Congress, had become apparent in the preceding October. A bond issue, prepared in February, was postponed as a legacy to the incoming administration. Trade and industry, long stimulated by unequal tariff laws, were staggering toward a crisis. Monetary conditions disturbed and uncertain, threatened early disaster. The storm came in June, when the elements long pent up and long accumulating burst in fury upon the continent. It shook the foundations of our commercial fabric, overwhelmed every branch of trade and industry and spread bankruptcy and desolation everywhere. Its subsidence was the work of years. The misery and ruin it inflicted are fresh in the minds and hearts of the people. The country slowly emerged from the receding flood, the stricken nation struggled to its feet and painfully began the work of economic reconstruction, while statesmen discussed the causes of our calamity. In the agony of our suffering they clearly perceived and freely acknowledged its primal source, a vicious and indefensible monetary system. Men differed as to the method of its reformation; not as to the necessity for a change. They wrangled over the merits of the standards, but united in condemning an unsound and artificial financial system, the logical outcome of whose operation was inevitable disaster.

The line of division between political forces became there-

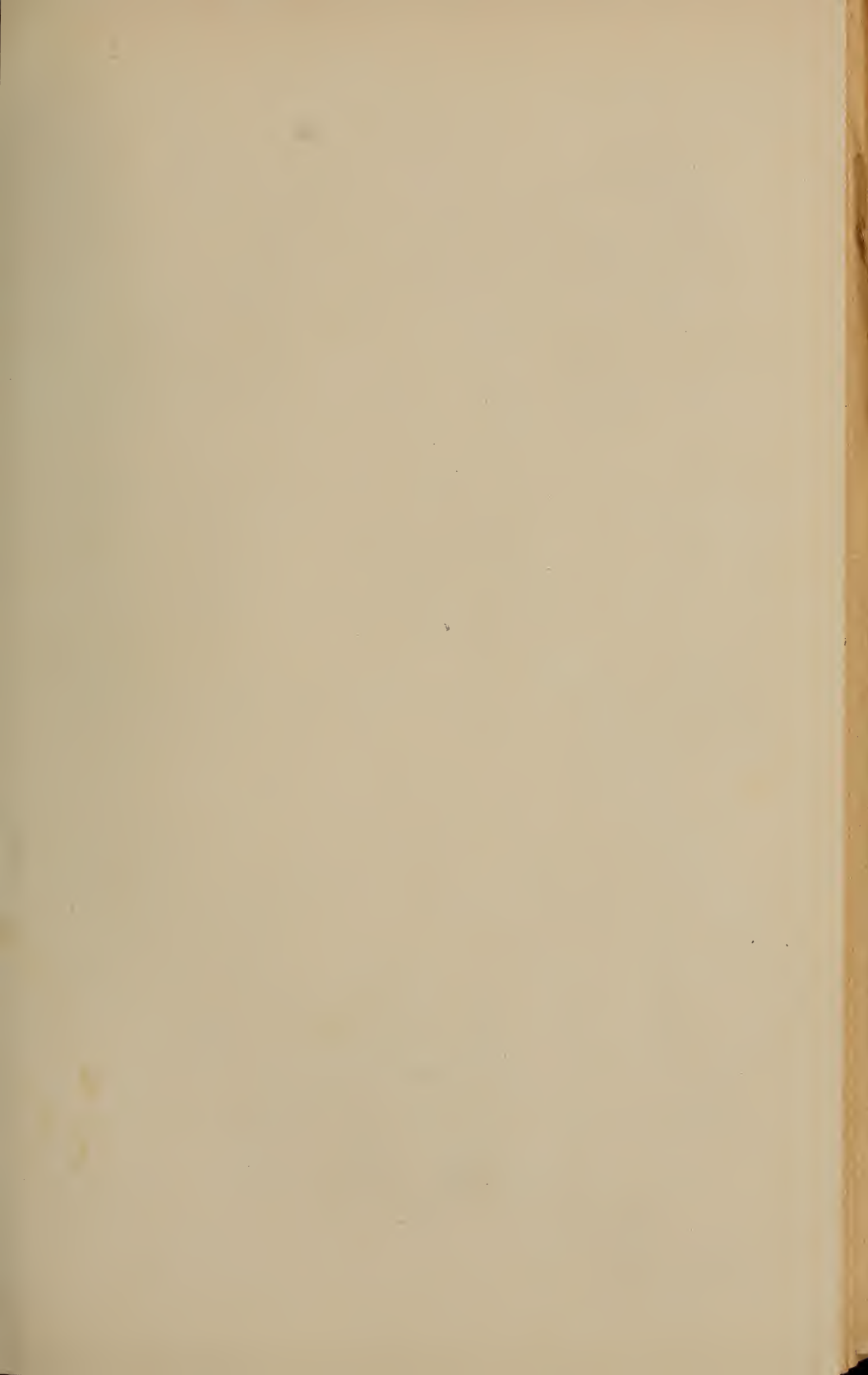
fore sharply defined in 1896 upon what was called the Money Question. That question involved, as we then asserted and as we now know, every other economic problem. It embraced within its wide limitations the issues of labor and capital, of combination and competition, of production, transportation and distribution. It was predicted that the defeat of bimetallism would be followed by the retirement of all forms of government currency, by the delegation of the power of note issue to the holders of the national obligations, the practical consolidation of all lines of transportation, and the consequent domination of every commercial pursuit by a score of colossal monopolies. These predictions have in general been verified.

The Democratic defeat had scarcely been recorded when the march of consolidation was resumed. Every pursuit that engages the attention of man has been exploited, capitalized and appropriated. The earth and the waters round about it have been expored for subjects of monopoly, and those who have thundered against unsound money have used the printing press and the engraver's art to turn out thousands of millions of fictitious values, to whose profit the toilers and consumers pay constant tribute. Every avenue of industry is closed to the competitive energies of the citizen; has been listed on the stock exchange and rises and falls with the turn of the gambler's card. Consolidations succeed consolidations, and as they lessen in number they enlarge in the volume of their real and fictitious accumulations, and their more despotic sway over all material and political interests. These evils, startling in their magnitude and inevitable in their consequences, must either culminate in one immense aggregation, all powerful and all absorbing, or be arrested and dissolved by the force of an aroused public opinion finding expression at the polls in support of the nominees of this convention.

The party in power carried the last election by and through the support of the influences we now criticize. Having purchased the right to pursue their various objects, the Government has been at all times their powerful ally. Hence the onward march of organized wealth to absolute power and the exaltation of the dollar above the rights and the welfare of the multitude. Hence the crisis in our commercial affairs, whose

issue, presented in acute form to the voters of 1900, is that of industrial despotism as against the liberty of the citizen.

Democracy wages no war against wealth. Under her beneficent rule, its creation and amassment have ever been among the most worthy objects of human effort. The desire for material comfort and well being is the very mainspring of progress. The wealth that comes as the reward of honest industry and thrift commands and must receive the encouragement and protection of the law. But the wealth that comes through partnership with the government, which usurps its prerogatives and perverts its agencies, which absorbs the resources and blasts the opportunities of the individual, crushes competition, levies tribute on the producer and consumer, corrupts and poisons all branches of official life, and reduces the citizen to dependence upon its will, excites our just apprehensions. Free institutions must languish where the communism of wealth prevails. Official integrity cannot survive its temptations. Against its continued prevalence the conscience of the nation must be quickened and aroused if its baleful influences are to be destroyed. Modern monopoly is the offspring of the Republican party. It is the genius of organized commercialism. It has neither conscience, sentiment nor patriotism. It knows neither justice nor morality. Its inspiration is greed and its purposes accumulation. Corruption is its necessary instrument. No public servant is too high, none too low, to escape its influences. Its hand is on the throat and in the pocket of every human being in the nation. It sneers at the rights of man and defies the sovereignty of States. It regulates wages, and the prices of life's necessities. It divides the territory of the Union into commercial provinces, punishes integrity and rewards the unscrupulous. It gives or refuses employment at its pleasure. It blacklists the workingman and sets him adrift to starve in the midst of plenty. It marches its battalions of employees to the polls, places its chosen ballot in their hands, and coerces their support for its favored candidates. It is enthroned in the councils of the nation and the States, sits upon the bench, and makes and expounds the law. It gives millions to its political protector to debauch the consciences of freemen and receives ten-fold return through the

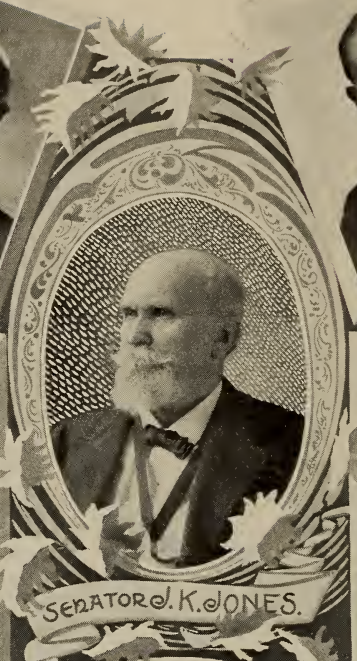




HENRY D. CLAYTON



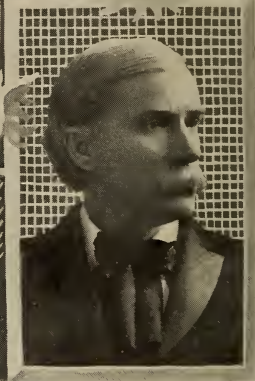
ADAIR WILSON



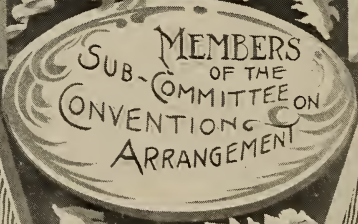
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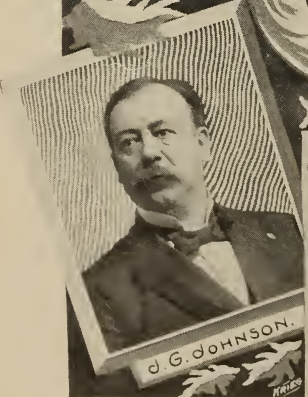
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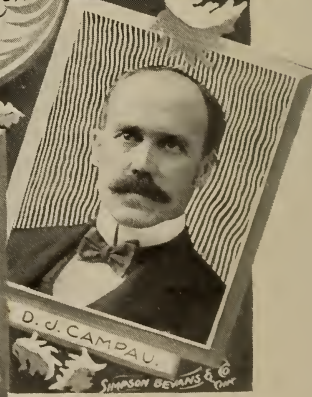
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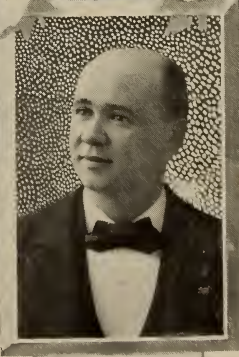
MEMBERS
OF THE
SUB-COMMITTEE ON
CONVENTION
ARRANGEMENT



J. G. JOHNSON



D. J. CAMPAU



C. A. WALSH

SIMPSON BEVANS & CO

legislation that it dictates. It is marching to despotism under the canopy of the Republic. Either the trust or the government must disappear.

At the demand of the so-called financial interests the present Congress has enacted a new currency law. By its terms the Government has presented to the national banks twenty-five millions of dollars, given them control of our circulation, provided for the payment in cash of the premium values of the greater part of its bonds, and created a perpetual national debt. It has declared for the payment of all obligations in gold, stricken from its contracts the reserved right of the Government to use its own money for the payment of debts, and delegated private interests the power to supplement all deficiencies in the circulating medium by a paper money whose volume they shall regulate, and which the people are taxed to support. The greenback and the treasury note are retired, an inert mass of \$150,000,000 in gold is to be kept in the treasury by the issue of bonds whenever necessary, the currency must shrink and swell as the judgment of selfishness shall dictate, and the pretended menace of bimetallism against "sound money and the national honor" has been evaded.

This law, commended by the money changer and the holder of idle capital, seeking investment where taxation can be avoided, is the culmination of a series of enactments beginning with the measure of 1869 to strengthen the public credit, by which the financial affairs of the Union have been placed wholly within the control of a select few and the burden of debt is constantly increased by the sacrifice of property values. It is the logical sequence of that sinister influence which has from time to time introduced changes in the public obligations whereby every covenant in the public interest has disappeared. It contains within itself a pandora's box of evils which time will surely open. Those who now applaud will live to curse it; its beneficiaries will repudiate it when the wrath of an outraged people shall be aroused by the experience of its operation. The skies are smiling now and the hills are green, but the storm-cloud already gathers over those who have bartered the dearest interests of the people to the

organized greed of a power whose avarice cannot be satiated with the universe.

Against this iniquitous scheme of finance, Democracy protests. We will have no money system founded upon the public debt and dictated by those who hold it. We stand for the gold and silver of the Constitution, for a paper currency founded upon them and issued by the Government as the embodiment of our sovereignty. We will not tax the people for the maintenance of a private money system. We would pay and not perpetuate our public debt. We will dig our metal from the hills and open our mints to their coinage. We will pay no tribute to Cæsar for that which is our own. We will scourge the money changer from the temple of our treasury and reconsecrate it to the service and the welfare of the common people.

Those who assert that the money question is dead have given but little heed to the lessons of experience. It can never die until it shall receive a righteous solution. If it be true that our monetary circulation is the life blood of our commercial system, it must follow that upon its wholesome quantity depends our continued welfare. Nostrums administered in time of stress may postpone but cannot defeat the demand for complete and thorough renovation of a vicious and destructive policy. The Democratic party will accept nothing short of this. No substitute for the bimetallic principle upon which substantial and enduring prosperity must depend. Through all vicissitudes of political fortune the needle of its compass points to that as the magnetic star of sound national policy.

The phenomenal increase in the annual output of gold has materially added to the general stock of primary money and partially relieved the stress of contraction which succeeded the closure of the Indian mints to silver in 1893. The consequent improvement in business and industrial conditions may be traced directly to this fact, although the failure of crops in various portions of the world and the waging of a great offensive war, with its accompanying expenditure of treasure, have contributed to the general result. The enlargement of the sum of our metallic money has cheapened

its value, stimulated prices and set the wheels of enterprise again in motion.

No more signal demonstration of the bimetallist contention was ever witnessed. Had the concurrent coinage and circulation of the two metals been uninterrupted, they would have kept the quantity of our money of redemption in harmony with our national growth and our development apace with the increase of wealth and population. The terrible crises of the past quarter of a century with their attendant miseries and bankruptcy would have been avoided, and prosperity would have remained with us, unbroken and enduring. The false plea of 1896, that the monetary volume was sufficient and the world's supply of gold ample for its needs, is now transparent. Its error is admitted in the boast of our opponents that they have increased our *per capita* circulation. The vast quantities yielded by the mines are readily absorbed by the ceaseless demand for its use, and its multiplied increase is earnestly hoped for. No voice is raised against its continued production. No fear is expressed that we can be embarrassed by its abundance, yet its annual output exceeds that of gold and silver in the years when the latter was repudiated because of its threatened inundation. Our opponents stand confounded by the irresistible operation of a law they have denied. Industry breathes with more content because there is more money for her purposes, and her votaries in the presence of its operation unites with Democracy in proclaiming the great truth that civilization gains and humanity advances with every addition to the world's stock of gold and silver, that each is the hand-maid of the other and both essential to the constant and harmonious progress and development of the world.

If the enormous gold yield of the past five years were indefinitely prolonged and the areas of the gold standard were not extended, the needs of bimetallism would be relatively inconsequent. But the production of gold and silver oscillates, one or the other always preponderating. The pendulum will again swing to the other extreme. Bimetallism, knowing this, knows also that the crisis returns if man shall reject the offering nature presents for our continued prosperity. Looking back-

ward over the past and forward to the coming years, we ask this great nation to provide against recurrence of disaster by adhering to the system of finance which the fathers crystallized in the Constitution and base its future policy on that secure foundation.

The prevailing sentiment of Democratic sympathy for all people struggling for the blessings of liberty compelled the administration two years ago to interfere with the despotic tyranny of Spain over Cuba, and secure to the oppressed people of that island the right of self-government. Our ultimatum delivered, we solemnly and officially declared them to be free and independent, and "disclaimed to the world any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island, except for the pacification thereof," and asserted our determination when that was accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The conditions of the ensuing war sent Admiral Dewey to the distant Philippines, where another people engaged in the same struggle with the same oppressor, appealed to the same impulses of our nature. There he broke the power of Spain, which, suing for peace, submitted to the liberation of Cuba and the cession of Puerto Rico. Our Government disdained the spirit of its manifesto of April, and became the purchaser of the Philippines in January. Since then, we have given Cuba the benefit of our civic institutions by governing her through the War Department. We have kept faith with Puerto Rico by substituting the sugar baron for the Castilian duke, and confirmed the Philippine estimate of the white man by prolonging the Spaniard's method of colonial government in those islands of the far-off seas. The national sympathy for all who seek self-government has been made the instrument by which cupidity and greed hold a feeble nation in thralldom. The right of purchase is invoked to justify the adoption of a so-called colonial policy by the great Western Republic, and her glorious institutions are declared to be for home consumption. The Constitution is bounded by the domain of the forty-five States, and the Congress it created has absolute jurisdiction over all that lies beyond them. The Bill of Rights has become a bill of platitudes, military govern-

ments centralized in the War Department are the agencies of benevolent assimilation wherever the flag floats beyond the confines of the ocean. Imperialism has become a favorite word in the national vocabulary. Destiny is the name of its fateful brother. Trade expansion is the mystic verbal tie that binds them. All are paraded as the cause or the excuse for every sin against the organic law of our fathers, while clamorous appeals to a so-called patriotism drown the solemn warnings of sages and of statesmen against the certain tendencies of the new dispensation. The salve of unavoidable necessity is applied to the national conscience, while its criticisms are stilled by the incantations of trade statistics compiled in the interests of monopolies which pursue their pathway of constant accumulation through all the vicissitudes of the eventful years, unmindful of the decay of our institutions and unperturbed by the ebb and flow of the surging tides of public opinion that soon shall overwhelm all who have used the machinery of the Republic for the extinction of a commonwealth.

We have cheerfully submitted to a burdensome taxation that Cuba might be free; that Puerto Rico might enjoy the heritage of our Constitution. We have consecrated our sons to the cause of liberty and sent them freely forth to extinguish the last vestige of despotism in our hemisphere. We protest against payment of tribute or the devotion of life to the cause of empire. We will emulate monarchy neither in conquest nor in government. We would perpetuate the Monroe Doctrine, and realize with Jefferson that its first and fundamental maxim is never to entangle ourselves in the broils of the old world. We need not despoil the helpless that we may trade with them. We realize that a standing army is the attendant of Imperialism. We would avoid the latter because, once avowed as a national policy, it must undermine our domestic institutions. We would avoid it because its adoption must lead to other wars and other conquests, to the shedding of innocent blood, to burdensome taxation, to a hopeless national debt, to the forcible annexation of other lands, to constant entanglements with the affairs of other nations, in short, to all the evils foreseen by the Father of his Country, and de-

picted in that immortal address whose earnest warnings are forgotten or disregarded by our rulers.

We would have no colonial system. Its pestilent brood has already hatched in the Havana postoffice and has grown apace for months in distant Manila. It is the fruitful mother of oppression and maladministration. It has no place in the economy of a republic. It cannot live in the atmosphere of freedom. It is the asylum of dishonesty and incompetency. It broods fraud, wrong and scandal. It makes a tyrant of the ruler, a rebel of the ruled. It deceives and beguiles the home government. It robs and plunders the subject people. It is an instrument of despotism and the antagonist of Democracy. It requires for its successful operation a permanent military establishment. Our national standard has a stripe for every State that framed the Union, a star for every commonwealth of the sisterhood. It has neither place nor emblem for subject peoples or colonial systems.

We believe in that expansion which under Democratic rule brought half the continent as a galaxy of commonwealths into the Union. We denounce that expansion which by conquest overcomes the people of another hemisphere under the pretext of giving them liberty, which governs them by force, which denies to them the rights of citizens, which subjects the American workman to the competition of hordes of Orientals coming hither from so-called American provinces to take his place at the forge, in the mine and the factory.

The stretch of thirty-three peaceful years from the close of the Rebellion to the opening of the war for Cuban independence has wrought no change in the valor and self-denial of the American soldier. Inspired by the loftiest patriotism, the highest devotion to country, he has again testified his readiness and ability to wage her battles and win her victories. On land and sea, under burning tropic suns, he is the same invincible fighter whose fathers at Yorktown, at New Orleans, at San Jacinto and at Gettysburg established, maintained and perpetuated the Republic. To all of them, soldier and sailor, the nation's gratitude extends. Its debt should be requited to their widows and their orphans, to those stricken by bullet and pestilence, to the helpless and the deserving. To care

for the men who stand, and for the loved ones of those who fall in conflict for the nation is the most sacred of our obligations, and it shall be our constant care to enforce its just and full observance.

The sentiment which animates the American volunteer and makes him first among soldiers finds its inspiration in popular government, in the identification of the citizen with the Republic. The same spirit impels American sympathy wherever Democracy battles for existence or struggles for establishment. Wherever freedom makes a stand, or liberty utters protests, they find response in the hearts and hope of our people. Love of independence is confined to no land or latitude. In sunny France, in the South American republics, on the boundless veldts of South Africa, it has given strength to arms that fight and courage to hearts that beat for home and liberty. It has been baptized in the best blood of martyred heroes everywhere, and we who have for a century bathed in the sunlight of its blessed presence pay instinctive homage to its defenders in other climes. May the day never come when a free people, struggling against the dismemberment or destruction of their country, shall look in vain for sympathy and consolation to us as their exemplars.

We would build the Nicaraguan canal as an American enterprise for the American people. We would operate it in times of peace and control it in times of war. We would fortify it notwithstanding the protests or the objections of transatlantic powers. We would share the benefits and responsibilities of its management with no associate. We would concede its advantages in times of peace to other nations under terms and conditions of our own prescription, and deny to them any other identification with its affairs.

We would form political alliances with no countries whatever. We neither need nor desire them. For a century and a quarter we have survived the envies and the enmities of Europe. We have flourished notwithstanding the civil and foreign conflicts of that eventful period. When we were weak, confronted with the embarrassments of distracting internal dissensions, with a government of ill defined authority, with undeveloped resources and a sparse population, our friendship

was solicited, our strength despised. Today we are quoted by the nations which would utilize our strength and profit by our association. We are reminded of the difference between blood and water, of the identity of our speech and origin, of the tremendous advantages that must accrue to us through an alliance with kin beyond sea. We are told that the growing needs of commerce, the expansive force of trade, identity of interests and institutions, the bond of a common destiny, demand a better understanding with the mother land. These and other considerations continually suggested and favorably received justify our protest against any bond of international union. It is as true now as ever that, "It is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

We would relieve the people of the burden of taxation. If administrative authority is to be credited, the Spanish-American conflict ended eighteen months ago. The same authority assures us with every moon that the Philippine insurrection is over. The treasury is bursting with a plethoric revenue, millions whereof are deposited with favorite banks which lend it to the people on their own terms, that the volume of circulation may not suffer diminution. Notwithstanding these conditions, there is no surcease of taxation. Measures cunningly devised to fall upon the backs of the people and screen large interests from responsibility for the public burdens, willingly assumed and cheerfully borne in the heat of conflict, press with full weight in times of peace with no signs of relief from the party in power. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, and unjust taxation by whatever name it may be called is the plunder of the citizen by his Government.

We would investigate the public expenditures and demand an accounting for the millions that have been lavished in the purchase of naval stores and war munitions, in supplies, equipment and transportation. We would inquire into the conduct of the war, stamp out favoritism in high places, and reward

the real heroes of the conflict. We would ascertain and fix the responsibility for the terrible mortality of our military camps, for the inefficiency of bureaucrats and their subordinates, and for the needless sacrifice of thousands of our soldiers to the cupidity of contractors and the inefficiency of appointees.

We would have for our chief magistrate a man sprung from the loins of the people, rockribbed in his convictions and controlled by the admonitions of his conscience. A man of lofty ideals and steadfast courage. A man to whom his country's Constitution appeals as a living sacred reality. A man who exalts the duties, the rights and the welfare of his fellow-citizens above the sinister and corroding influences of centralized commercialism. A man whose ear is untuned to the pulsations of the pocketbook, but responsive to the heart throb of the masses. A man with no Warwick behind his chair, with policies that are his own. A man with strong opinions, and a strong will to enforce them. A man conscious of his country's dignity and power; of its capacity to cope with all conditions. A man who measures the greatness of the Republic by the protection it gives to the humblest citizen. A man whose clear vision perceives the causes, and whose steady judgment determines the remedy for the public ills. A man who will lay the strong hand of authority upon the vast interests dominating the moral, industrial and political life of the nation, and maintain the integrity of our institutions against all their designs and encroachments. A man who recognizes no dignity greater than that of an American citizen, no right more sacred than that which secures to him the full enjoyment of every opportunity that a land like ours affords. A man whose opinions do not change with his apparel, whose policies are not fashioned from day to day by extraneous influences, whose "plain duty" consists not in sanctioning the repudiation of his own counsels. We want a man of no plastic mould, conforming his opinions to passing impressions of popular sentiment, as facile in their abandonment as in their advocacy. We want a man to whom right is greater than expediency, who postpones no duty to the demand of privilege, who is loved by the multitude, re-

spected by the world, and feared only by those who distrust the people.

The Republican party boasts of almost unbroken rule for nearly forty years. Its mission was to defeat the extension of slavery and destroy that institution. It appealed to the moral forces of the Republic, and founded its organization upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It was triumphant. A great war waged under its administration effaced slavery from the land, and forever determined the integrity of the Union. Since then it has undergone complete and marvelous change. It once declared its opposition to "all combinations of capital." It has become the exponent and defender of capital in all its forms, the protector of every political evil that has arisen since the war to assail or menace the welfare of the citizen. The emancipator of the negro, it has fostered those commercial conditions which are fast establishing a system of industrial slavery. Once solemnly declaring "the maintenance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution to be essential to the preservation of our republican institutions," it now maintains the right to govern subject peoples by the sword. Once declaring the people by tradition and interest to favor bimetallism and "condemning the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver," it now renounces that ancient doctrine and claims credit for its complete destruction. More recently declaring for Cuban independence, it scarcely disguises its present purpose to absorb that island. There was a time when it put its trust in the people. Since then it has put the people in its trusts. There was a time when its standards were lofty and ennobling. Its only standard now is Standard Oil. There was a time when its ideals shone like precious gems throughout the dust and heat of party strife. Its ideals now are the party machine and the party campaign fund. Its battle cry years ago was, "Freedom and the Union." If due credit is given to one of its modern leaders, its motto for 1900 is, "Gold and Glory." It is a far cry from the ringing tocsin of 1860 to the buccaneer refrain of 1900, yet it well typifies the shameful transformation. If, to its alliterative attraction we add monopoly and

militarism with trusts and taxation, and place the dollar mark above them on its waving banners, the world will gaze upon the composite picture of its last official declaration.

Against the continuance of this party in power we enter protest. With the man exalted above the dollar, the Constitution above the combination, the equality of all before the law, with solemn promises to correct the abuses of administration and to enforce those fundamentals of government which secure exact justice to all, we shall not appeal in vain to the wisdom, the intelligence and the patriotism of the American people.

(At the conclusion of Governor Thomas' speech there was an outburst of applause lasting several minutes.)

THE CHAIR: The Chair recognizes Honorable Daniel J. Campau, of Michigan.

MR. CAMPAU: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer a resolution, as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Republican party recently in Philadelphia, the cradle city of Liberty, where the Declaration of Independence was written, and the Constitution framed, did indorse an administration which has repudiated the Constitution, and did renominate a president who has betrayed the principles of the Declaration; and,

"WHEREAS, This Convention is composed of men who have the same faith as their fathers had in this immortal instrument; therefore, be it

Resolved, That as a reaffirmation of Democratic fealty to the fundamental principles of American liberty, the secretary of this Convention be and is hereby directed to read the glorious Declaration of Independence, drafted by that Democrat of Democrats, Thomas Jefferson, and adopted one hundred and twenty-four years ago today."

(At the conclusion of the reading of the resolution, a dozen or more delegates from various States seconded the motion, and when the Chairman said, "All in favor of the motion signify by saying aye," delegates and audience alike rose to their feet with a mighty roar of "Aye," and the band started to play "The Star Spangled Banner" amid wild cheering. At this point a bust of Bryan, sculptured by Richard F. George, son of the late Henry George, and presented by him to the Convention, was brought to the front of the platform, wrapped in the American flag. This was the signal

for a fresh outburst of enthusiasm, and at the demand of various sections of the hall, the bust was turned to face successively toward the North, South, East and West; each time being received with vociferous cheering.)

THE CHAIR: As directed by your vote, the Secretary will read the Declaration of Independence.

CHARLES S. HAMPTON, of Michigan, Chief Reading Clerk, read the Declaration of Independence as follows:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among those are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity

which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world :

“He has refused to assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

“He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

“He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

“He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

“He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

“He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

“For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

“For protecting them by mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

“For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

“For imposing laws on us without our consent.

“For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

“For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses.

“For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

“For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments.

“For suspending our own legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren.

“We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

“We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our inten-

tions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

(At the conclusion of the reading of the Declaration of Independence, there was another burst of applause that lasted for some minutes.)

THE CHAIR: The Secretary has an announcement to make.

THE SECRETARY: Mlle. Mattie Fulton, of New York, will sing "The Star Spangled Banner," and the audience is requested to stand.

(Mlle. Mattie Fulton rendered the national air, ending with "America"; the audience joining, accompanied by the band.)

JOSHUA W. MILES: Mr. Chairman—Because it is peculiarly and historically appropriate, I desire in the name of the Maryland delegation to move a vote of thanks to this beautiful New York woman for the splendid way in which she has rendered this song, written by a Maryland song writer.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Robert J. Lowe, of Alabama, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary announce the selections as made by the various State delegations of one member to serve on the Committee on Credentials, one member to serve on the Committee on Permanent Organization, one member to serve on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, one member to serve on the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, and that the committees as thus constituted be the standing

committees of this convention. That all resolutions relating to the platform, and all communications addressed to this convention, be referred without reading or debate, to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, and that the credentials of each delegation be delivered to the member of the Committee on Credentials from such delegation."

By direction of the Chair, the Secretary called the roll of States, and the following committees were announced:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

- Alabama—A. H. Merrill.
- Arkansas—W. H. Martin.
- California—Frank Freeman.
- Colorado—T. J. Malony.
- Connecticut—E. M. Graves.
- Delaware—E. D. Hearne.
- Florida—H. H. McCreary.
- Georgia—W. B. Burnett.
- Idaho—John G. Brown.
- Illinois—Dr. J. W. Hall.
- Indiana—Daniel W. Simms.
- Iowa—E. H. Bickford.
- Kansas—John H. Atwood.
- Kentucky—Speed Guffey.
- Louisiana—R. F. Broussard.
- Maine—G. G. Weld.
- Maryland—Joshua W. Miles.
- Massachusetts—A. C. Drinkwater.
- Michigan—Charles H. Kimmerle.
- Minnesota—William Gausewitz.
- Mississippi—R. H. Henry.
- Missouri—Thomas J. Delaney.
- Montana—H. L. Frank.
- Nebraska—A. S. Tibbets.
- Nevada—P. C. Weber.
- New Hampshire—John B. Nash.
- New Jersey—Frank McDermett.
- New York—P. H. McCarren.
- North Carolina—A. D. Watts.

North Dakota—Thomas Conyers.
Ohio—W. E. Finck, Jr.
Oregon—J. D. McKennon.
Pennsylvania—John M. Garman.
Rhode Island—John E. Conley.
South Carolina—J. W. Stokes.
South Dakota—Charles S. Eastman.
Tennessee—R. R. Carmack.
Texas—Edward Gray.
Utah—A. J. Weber.
Vermont—Rollin S. Childs.
Virginia—H. G. Buchanan.
Washington—J. W. Godwin.
West Virginia—S. W. Walker.
Wisconsin—J. E. Malone.
Wyoming—Wm. Hinton.
Alaska—Charles D. Rogers.
Arizona—George O. Olney.
Indian Territory—W. T. Hutchings.
New Mexico—O. N. Marron.
Oklahoma—J. C. Scruggs.
District of Columbia—John A. Clarke.
Hawaii—Charles T. Wilder.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama—Frank S. White.
Arkansas—J. C. Yancey.
California—J. S. Sweet.
Colorado—John McCombe.
Connecticut—Richard C. Morris.
Delaware—J. G. Gray.
Florida—B. H. Palmer.
Georgia—J. J. Spalding.
Idaho—W. B. McFarland.
Illinois—Free P. Morris.
Iowa—J. M. Parsons.
Indiana—Joseph H. Shea.
Kansas—C. W. Brandenburg.
Kentucky—M. C. McQuown.

Louisiana—J. E. Ransdell.
Maine—Samuel W. Gould.
Maryland—Joseph S. Wilson.
Massachusetts—M. M. Cunniff.
Michigan—John C. Weadock.
Minnesota—J. J. Kilty.
Mississippi—E. J. Bowers.
Missouri—John A. Knott.
Montana—F. G. Higgins.
Nebraska—W. H. Taylor.
Nevada—Clayton Belknap.
New Hampshire—W. J. Ahern.
New Jersey—Thomas M. Ferrel.
New York—John D. Lynn.
North Carolina—R. H. Speight.
North Dakota—Hugh McDonald.
Ohio—W. S. Thomas.
Oregon—J. H. Raley.
Pennsylvania—Rufus K. Polk.
Rhode Island—P. J. Boyle.
South Carolina—A. C. Latimer.
South Dakota—True W. Child.
Tennessee—G. F. Milton.
Texas—S. R. Scott.
Utah—William T. Knox.
Vermont—George Atkins.
Virginia—J. F. West.
Washington—J. M. Jamieson.
West Virginia—J. A. Howard.
Wisconsin—L. G. Bohmrich.
Wyoming—Walter L. Larsh.
Alaska—Charles D. Rogers.
Arizona—George W. P. Hunt.
Indian Territory—J. F. Sharp.
New Mexico—E. C. DeBaca.
Oklahoma—A. M. Mackey.
District of Columbia—William T. Whelan.
Hawaii—Prince David Kawanakoa.

COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Alabama—Frank S. White.
Arkansas—Phil D. Scott.
California—J. H. Henry.
Colorado—W. L. Seely.
Connecticut—Thomas F. Kelly.
Delaware—Geo. Draper.
Florida—R. D. McDonald.
Georgia—Price Gilbert.
Idaho—C. O. Stockslager.
Illinois—Maurice Maloney.
Iowa—W. T. Davis.
Indiana—W. W. Mofett.
Kansas—James M. Fike.
Kentucky—M. H. Rhorer.
Louisiana—W. H. Price.
Maine—John C. Scates.
Maryland—Charles E. Fendall.
Massachusetts—William S. McNary.
Michigan—R. J. Culver.
Minnesota—H. Himmelman.
Mississippi—J. H. Wynn.
Missouri—J. H. Carroll.
Montana—R. Fitzgerald.
Nebraska—H. E. Metzger.
Nevada—E. L. Bingham.
New Hampshire—Samuel B. Page.
New Jersey—James E. Martine.
New York—F. C. Schraub.
North Carolina—W. C. Dowd.
North Dakota—Thomas Regan.
Ohio—M. F. Merriman.
Oregon—J. H. Raley.
Pennsylvania—Howard Muchler.
Rhode Island—J. J. Fitzgerald.
South Carolina—Wilie Jones.
South Dakota—G. W. Mathews.
Tennessee—Charles G. Parker.
Texas—A. B. Davidson.

Utah—George W. Thatcher.
Vermont—O. C. Sawyer.
Virginia—E. E. Montague.
Washington—J. D. Medill.
West Virginia—J. D. Alderson.
Wisconsin—J. Montgomery Smith.
Wyoming—Horace C. Alger.
Alaska—William M. Hale.
Arizona—T. G. Norris.
Indian Territory—Ed. Lee.
New Mexico—F. J. Davidson.
Oklahoma—A. M. Mackey.
District of Columbia—J. G. Campbell.
Hawaii—Col. J. D. Holt.

COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS

Alabama—John W. Tomlinson.
Arkansas—James K. Jones.
California—James G. Maguire.
Colorado—S. R. Fitzgarrald.
Connecticut—H. S. Cummings.
Delaware—L. I. Hany.
Florida—Cromwell Gibbons.
Georgia—L. F. Garrard.
Idaho—J. W. Reid.
Illinois—Carter H. Harrison.
Indiana—S. E. Morss.
Iowa—J. S. Murphy.
Kansas—David Overmyer.
Kentucky—J. C. S. Blackburn.
Louisiana—W. F. Blackman.
Maine—F. W. Plaisted.
Maryland—L. V. Vaughman.
Massachusetts—George Fred Williams.
Michigan—Thos. E. Barkworth.
Minnesota—P. B. Winston.
Mississippi—H. D. Money.
Missouri—W. J. Stone.
Montana—S. T. Hauser.

Nebraska—R. L. Metcalfe.
 Nevada—F. G. Newlands.
 New Hampshire—J. J. Doyle.
 New Jersey—William D. Daly.
 New York—Augustus Van Wyck.
 North Carolina—A. C. Avery.
 North Dakota—G. W. Freerks.
 Ohio—Horace L. Chapman.
 Oregon—N. A. Peery.
 Pennsylvania—Charles P. Donnelly.
 Rhode Island—P. H. Quinn.
 South Carolina—B. R. Tillman.
 South Dakota—John R. Wilson.
 Tennessee—John A. Moon.
 Texas—T. H. Ball.
 Utah—Joseph L. Rawlins.
 Vermont—F. W. McGettrick.
 Virginia—John W. Daniel.
 Washington—O. G. Ellis.
 West Virginia—J. W. St. Clair.
 Wisconsin—D. L. Plummer.
 Wyoming—Charles E. Blydenburg.
 Alaska—Louis L. Williams.
 Arizona—Dr. H. A. Hughes.
 District of Columbia—James L. Norris.
 New Mexico—H. M. Dougherty.
 Oklahoma—J. S. Burns.
 Indian Territory—George Mansfield.
 Hawaii—John H. Wise.

THE CHAIR: The Sergeant-at-Arms will now announce when and where the different committees are to meet.

The Sergeant-at-Arms announced that the several committees would meet in rooms under the balcony in the rear of the Convention Hall, immediately after adjournment.

(A number of marching clubs headed by bands here marched through the Convention Hall—the delegates and spectators rising to their feet.)

On motion of Senator Jones, of Arkansas, the convention took a recess until 4 o'clock p. m.

FIRST DAY.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 4, 1900.

Chairman, Governor Charles S. Thomas, called the convention to order at 4:45 p. m.

THE CHAIR: The Secretary will read a telegram of greeting from Tammany Hall.

The Secretary read the following telegram:

“NEW YORK, July 4, 1900.

“Greeting to the Democrats of the Nation:

“Five thousand Democrats, now celebrating the one hundred and twenty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, at Tammany Hall, join you in hoping for the vindication of the principles enunciated one hundred and twenty-four years ago by the immortal Thomas Jefferson.

(Signed)

THOMAS L. FEITNER,

“Grand Sachem, Tammany Hall.”

At the conclusion of the reading of the telegram, the Chair recognized Mr. Josephus Daniels, of North Carolina, who appeared upon the platform and said:

Mr. Chairman: I understand that the Committee on Credentials will not be able to report for some time, and probably not tonight. I move you, sir, that we now adjourn until 8:30 o'clock.

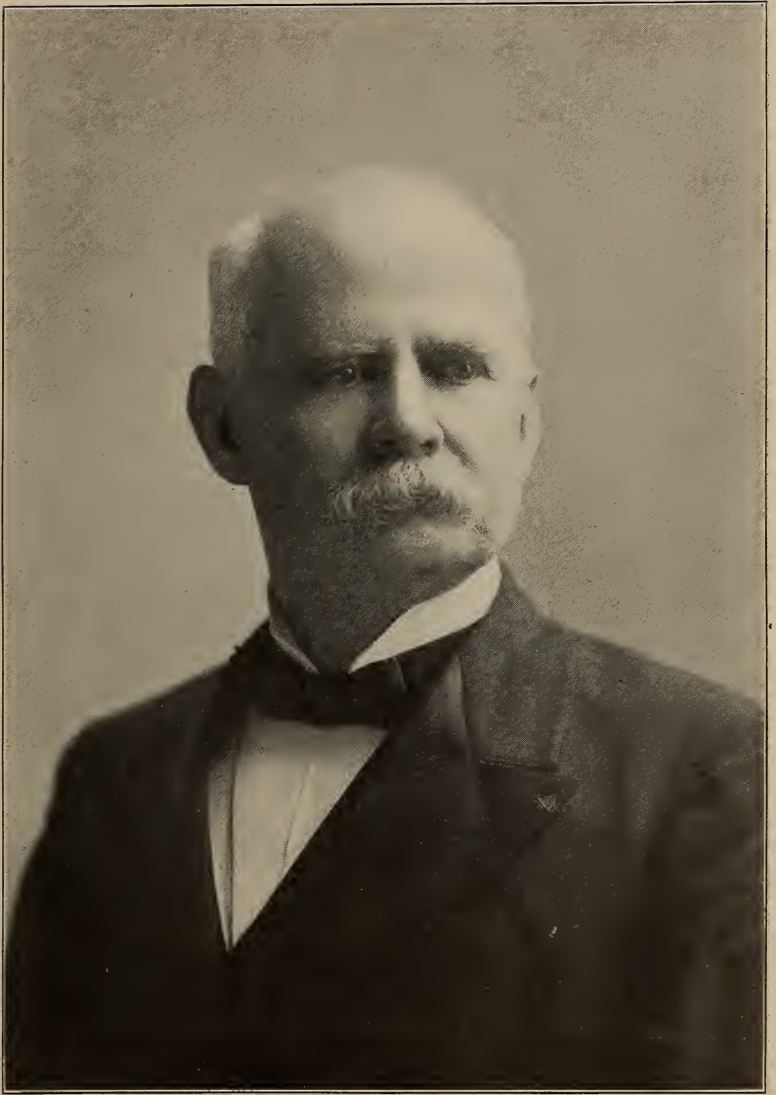
The motion was adopted and the Chair declared the convention adjourned until 8:30.

Owing to the confusion throughout the building, neither audience nor delegates understood the chairman. After a degree of quiet had been obtained, Sergeant-at-Arms Martin said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: The Chair desires the Sergeant-at-Arms to announce that unless the people in the galleries preserve better order, there will be no guests admitted to the gallery at any further session. We must have order. The Chair desires further to announce that the convention has adjourned until 8:30 o'clock tonight.



Yours truly
W. J. Bryan



Admiral E. Heasonson

FIRST DAY.

EVENING SESSION.

* KANSAS CITY, July 4, 1900.

Chairman Thomas called the Convention to order at 8:35.

The Chair recognized Mr. Gunnell, of Colorado, who moved that Governor John P. Altgeld be invited to address the convention.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR: I have the pleasure of introducing Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, who will now address you.

Governor Altgeld addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Today the patriotic intelligence of America is looking hopefully and anxiously to this convention. Men who want to transmit free institutions to posterity, fathers who ask a fair show for their sons, and young men asking an equal chance in the struggle of life, all look to this convention. They hope that here will be proclaimed principles that will not only save republican institutions but will again make it possible for a man to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. They hope that here will be proclaimed principles which will guide humanity to the golden harvest of a new time. They hope that here will be nominated men who shall be great, the embodiment of a great cause. They look to this convention because there is no higher hope from any other source. The Republican party, which was born of the humanity which came into the world with a mission, which was a mighty moral

force in the time of Lincoln, has become a mere criminal instrument in the hands of Mark Hanna. They look to this convention because we have given proof that we were standing for higher things. Four years ago we came upon the highland. We quit trimming. We quit straddling. We quit using language that has a double meaning. We quit following the wake of the Republican party. We protested against making this country a mere tribute-paying colony of England. We declared that America was able to attend to her own business. We issued a new Declaration of Independence. We promulgated a new gospel of humanity. We went forth armed with that strength that comes from candor and from sincerity, and we fought the greatest campaign ever waged on the American continent. We triumphed in the arena of patriotism. We won in the forum of intelligence and of reason, but we were borne down by corruption, by bribery, by coercion, by crime. For the second time in the history of our country, we saw a man enter the White House with a certificate of election that was written with the dirty finger of fraud. Since that election the experience of the financial world has demonstrated that our theory was right; that the law of finance that we argued for is immutable, and that no nation can violate it without paying the penalty. Since then accidents have happened, calamities have befallen great nations, which have given our country a temporary activity and a spurious prosperity. But, my friends, you cannot build the hope of a great nation on accidents, nor can you feed a great nation on the calamities of other people. Already there are signs of distress. Already you see the struggle in the skies. Now we propose to plant this great nation upon a foundation that is in harmony with the law of finance, and that will not only make our nation but will make the other people of the world prosperous and happy.

My friends, many years ago it was settled that this nation could not be part slave and part free. Today we are here to declare that this Republic cannot be part citizen and part subject. Again, we are here to declare that when our fathers, 124 odd years ago, protested against taxation without representa-

tion, when they protested against arbitrary power, they were eternally right. The American people are not, in the year 1900, going to say that our Revolutionary fathers were wrong, and that we have been wrong for 125 years.

Now, my friends, for four years the enemy, the opposition press, has manifested an extraordinary interest in our welfare. Every morning for four years the opposition press has been a unit in declaring that if we did not change our platform, if we did not modify our position, that then we could not possibly win. They have manifested an extraordinary solicitude for us. Is there a delegate in this convention, is there a man or woman in this convention, that is so innocent as to believe that the opposition press wants us to win? Does anybody think for a moment that they have been giving us this advice all the time in order that we might win? Why, my friends, they know that moral forces, political forces, are led to triumph by the sincerity, the earnestness, and the enthusiasm of their devotees. They know that a party which builds upon the dynamic force of ideas, and which trusts to the conquering power of justice, will be invincible, irresistible, and will surely triumph. They know that if we stand firmly by our colors, if we keep up our enthusiasm, there is not in America a force that can prevent the triumph of the Democracy in this coming election.

Yea, that is not all. They know more. They know that if we triumph while we stand for mighty principles, that then we will rule this Republic and will shape the destinies of this country for fifty years to come. They know also that a mere political victory signifies nothing at all. We have had two in recent years, and it is now almost the universal consensus of opinion that both of them were a misfortune to the Democracy and to the country. Why is it that the Republican party has shaped our policy and ruled this country for forty years? For twenty-five or thirty years they have been wrong on every proposition, and yet they carried the election. They ruled. Why? Because they stood for something definite. They were progressive. They were aggressive, while we were seeking to patch up contending factions and do cheap politics.

Now, I concur with those men who say, we want to win

this year. And I will tell you that if we stand by our colors we will win this year. And let me also say that if we weaken, if we begin to trim, if we begin to make nice adjustments, then we will lose the confidence of the progressive people of America, and will be defeated and despised. Fortunately our great leader has stood like a rock in the ocean beating back the storm. Why is it that for the first time in the history of this Republic, the Democracy of America from ocean to ocean has risen up in favor of one man, and there are not twenty-five delegates in this convention who could have come here if their people had not believed that they were coming here to support the man who is the choice of the Democracy of America? This great Democrat who today is in the hearts of the American people has gotten hold upon them because they have confidence in his sincerity.

Let him waver, let him hesitate one moment, and he will cease to be the idol of the people. He will fall and be despised. Do you not think that he also wants to win? Do you believe that he is pushing the presidency aside for a mere quibble? Ah, my friends, some of you have not sufficiently weighed this great question. He sees the peril and he is guarding against it. Let me ask you this: Four years ago some excellent men saw fit to leave us. It was their privilege. They now have come back. They are acting honorably, I believe. They say they will accept the voice of the American Democracy, and they will give this man who is to be its candidate anything he wants. Well, let me remind you nobody has asked you to apologize, nobody has asked you to do a thing that will be embarrassing. We have opened the door. We say come in, share the fortunes of this family, come along, help us fight this great battle, help us put an end to the hypocrisy and to the infamy that now rules this republic. Well, now, if we have not asked you to make any confession, to make any apology—if we have done nothing that is embarrassing to you, do you think it will be quite fair to us to ask us to be put in a position where the opposition press of America will insist that we have trimmed and that we have laid down—that we have failed to stand by our colors? Bear in mind, my friends, that the great army is standing firm. The great army is not asking any

change. It is asking only to be led into the fight. Now, I ask you to come with us. Join with us. Do not ask us to put this mighty army in a position that will make it look ridiculous before the American people. Why, if we take a position here which the ingenuity of the enemy can distort and can misrepresent, we will then look ridiculous—we will seem to stand for nothing. The Republicans have declared emphatically for the English gold standard. Now, if we take a position that seems to admit of doubt where will we be? Why, we will be in the position of the donkey which having been placed between two bundles of hay, and not having sufficient intelligence, not having sufficient force of character to decide which to go to, stood still and starved to death.

What will we gain? Let me ask you this: You say you want to win. So do we. What will we gain by allowing anything to happen that can be construed by the enemy into a trimming position? Why, the radical element of the Democratic party will leave us. They will have no confidence in us if we do not stand firm. We will be destroyed on that hand, and will be destroyed on the other hand, for within twenty-four hours after we take that position the opposition press will ridicule us clear off the political field. You cannot deceive anybody. Suppose you leave out sixteen to one. Will you gain anything? Will you gather any votes? Will you fool anybody that way? Why, no, my friends, no. Hiding the head in the sand while the body is exposed in air simply shows the species and the habits of a bird. It has never yet been accepted by mankind as an emblem of wisdom. Who are the people in whose behalf it is suggested that we shall take a departure that means our death? They are not the men who have bled upon the battlefields of liberty. They are not the men who have pointed the way to a nobler civilization. They are not the men who have lightened the burden of the toilers. As a rule, they are the men who helped to shorten the loaf that the laborer eats. As a rule they are the men for whom posterity will build no monuments and whose careers the pencil of time will disdain to notice.

We are at the most critical junction in the history of this republic. We have reached a time when men must lay aside

their selfish ambition and rally to the rescue of Republican institutions. Look back, you men of the great Mississippi valley. Four years ago you rescued the standards of your party from the hands that had held them before and you brought them to the West. Shall it be said of you that you had not the intelligence, that you had not the character, to hold your ground or to stand by and defend the standards that are committed to your care? You sons of New England, what mean the monuments that greet the morning, and cover your hills with glory? They tell of an age when there were great men in that land; they tell the story of men who fought for conviction and who died for principle. Shall it be written that in one short century the sons of those mighty sires frittered away their divine inheritance in the vulgar brothel of expediency?

You men of the South, thirty-five years ago your fields lay waste; your homes were in ashes. All was gone save honor and glory. Your land is covered with the graves of your brothers who died for what they believed to be right. They never truckled to the dollar, and there is not a battlefield on this continent where they trimmed. They wrote imperishable history with their blood. For thirty-five years your daughters have covered their graves with laurels. Is there a delegate from the great South that is willing to bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of that proud people by doing an act in this convention, or anywhere else, that would put him under suspicion of lacking character and courage.

Ah, my friends, not only America, but the liberty-loving people of the earth, the enlightened men of all Christendom, have their eyes on this convention, watching it to see whether it will maintain high principles or whether it will simply do politics. We are at the beginning of a new century. We are standing on the threshold of a new time. The world is moving forward, and the Almighty is looking to the Democratic party to seize this occasion to lead the world onward to a higher plane; to lead this country onward to where the sons and daughters of America will not be begging for bread.

(At the conclusion of Governor Altgeld's address there

was loud and continuous applause and also loud calls for Senator Hill of New York.)

The Chair called for order and recognized Mr. Campau of Michigan, who said: Mr. Chairman, I desire to know if the Chair is informed whether the Committee on Credentials is ready to report.

THE CHAIR: Yes, and the Committee on Rules also.

MR. CAMPAU: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business and the Committee on Credentials be requested to report at once.

The motion prevailed.

The Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business reported as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Resolved, That the rules of the last Democratic National Convention, including the rules of the House of Representatives of the LIII^d Congress, so far as applicable, be the rules of this convention. The order of business shall be: First, report of the Committee on Credentials. Second, report of Committee on Permanent Organization. Third, report of Committee on Resolutions. Fourth, presentation and selection of a candidate for President of the United States. Fifth, presentation and selection of a candidate for Vice-President.

“JOHN A. CARROLL, Chairman.”

The report was adopted by a unanimous vote.

THE CHAIR: It has been reported to the Chair that a number of seats on the floor, reserved for delegates, are occupied by outsiders. If that be so, they are requested to take their places outside of the rail. And if they do not do so the Sergeant-at-Arms and police will see that the seats reserved be given to the delegates.

The Chair recognized the chairman of the committee on credentials.

The Chairman of the committee on credentials read the majority report of the committee as follows:

"KANSAS CITY, MO., July 4, 1900.

"To the Chairman of the Democratic National Convention:

"We, the Committee on Credentials, respectfully report as follows:

"In the matter of the contest of the 20th Congressional District of New York; the State of Montana; Indian Territory; Oklahoma, and the District of Columbia, after due deliberation your committee reports that in the case of the 20th Congressional District of the State of New York the regular delegation, as named by the National Committee, to-wit.: P. E. McCabe and Mark Cohn, as delegates, with William E. Millbank and Albert E. Hoyt, as alternates, are entitled to seats in this convention as the regularly accredited delegates and alternates.

"In the matter of the contest from the State of Montana, your committee reports that the regular delegation, as named by the National Committee, to-wit.: W. A. Clark, S. T. Houser, R. Fitzgerald and J. M. Holt, as delegates-at-large, with Frank E. Corbett, B. R. Peeler, W. J. Hannah, and N. W. McConnell, as alternates-at-large, and Frank Higgins and H. L. Frank as district delegates, with Joseph Toomey and L. A. Luce, as district alternates, should be and are regularly accredited delegates and alternates in this convention.

"In the matter of contests from Oklahoma, Indian Territory and the District of Columbia, your committee begs to report that each of the contesting delegations, together with the regularly elected delegations as named by the National Committee from each of these Territories, are entitled to seats on the floor of this convention, with a half vote each.

"In those States where no contests have been filed, we have carefully examined the original credentials and find the same to be in correct form and the roster, as prepared by the National Committee, correct and accurate.

"We attach to this report the complete roster of delegates as passed upon by this committee. Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD GRAY, Chairman.

"Dated this 4th day of July, 1900.

"FRANK FREEMAN, Secretary."

The Chairman of the credentials committee moved the adoption of the report.

THE CHAIR: Before that motion is put, a minority report having reference to some part of the majority report will be read.

The Secretary then read the minority report as follows :

“KANSAS CITY, July 4, 1900.

“We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Credentials, respectfully state that the regular delegation from Oklahoma, as unanimously reported by the Democratic National Committee, after a full hearing on behalf of both parties, was seated in the temporary organization; but that a majority of the Committee on Credentials, without affording any hearing to the contestants, granted them equal representation with the delegates seated by the National Committee.

“We respectfully protest against a verdict without a hearing, and believe that the action taken by your National Committee should be sustained.

“J. C. SCRUGGS, - *226*

“WM. GAUZEWITZ, *M. 400*

“R. R. CARMACK.” - *1200*

MR. VANDIVER, of Maryland: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee on credentials if the National Committee did not recommend the seating of the delegation headed by James Norris, of the District of Columbia? They say in their report, sir, that the National Committee had recommended the seating of the delegation from Montana, headed by Senator Clark. Why do they adopt the report of the National Committee in favor of Mr. Clark and ignore the report of the National Committee in favor of James Norris?

CHAIRMAN GRAY, of the Committee on Credentials: If the Chair would permit it—

MR. VANDIVER: I am not through. I am told that the report of the National Committee upon the contesting delegation, seating delegates headed by James Norris, was not read before the committee. If I have been misinformed let the chairman of the committee on credentials say so.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will recognize the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, in order to reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Maryland.

CHAIRMAN GRAY, of the Committee on Credentials: Mr. Chairman, the recommendation of the National Committee with respect to the District of Columbia, was not read and was not called for, and it was conceded by all the parties representing Mr. Norris and his delegation, and it therefore became unnecessary to read it because it was conceded.

The answer to your other questions rests in the consciences of the members of the committee. But I can state for the edification of the gentleman that upon a roll call, a vote by States, a regular roll call, that by a vote of 38 to 8, declined to do so. That is the only information which the chairman of the credentials committee can give.

DELEGATE VANDIVER: With all due deference to the chairman of the credentials committee, I would like to ask him why the report of the National Committee in the case of Senator Clark was read and the report of its sub-committee was not read in regard to James Norris?

CHAIRMAN GRAY, of the Credentials Committee: The report of the National Committee, with respect to Senator Clark's delegation, was not read. It, like the other, was admitted.

MR. VANDIVER: Admitted without being read. Then how can the committee on credentials make a report if they did not read the evidence in the case, sir. As a Democrat here representing the State of Maryland, I move that a committee be requested to retire and bring in a report that we can understand.

THE CHAIR: The delegate from Maryland is requested to take the platform.

MR. VANDIVER: I do not want any platform.

THE CHAIR: The delegates behind you cannot understand your argument sir; turn to them.

MR. VANDIVER: I move sir—

THE CHAIR: The motion to adopt is already before the

house, or rather it was made prior to the hearing of the minority report.

MR. VANDIVER: The first report is not in regard to the case of the District of Columbia.

THE CHAIR: I simply stated the time when the motion was made.

MR. VANDIVER: The minority report only covered—

CHAIRMAN GRAY, of the Committee on Credentials: There was no report in respect to the District of Columbia.

THE CHAIR: The point of order is not well taken, for the delegate can talk on the original motion.

MR. VANDIVER: I want to say to the Chairman of this great Convention—

THE CHAIR: Let me state the question and then the Chair will recognize you to speak to it. The motion is that the report of the Credentials Committee be adopted, and the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland if he desires to speak upon the motion.

(In deference to the request of a large number of delegates Mr. Vandiver took the platform.)

MR. VANDIVER: Gentlemen of the Convention—As a representative from the State of Maryland I consider it my duty to enter a protest against the report of the Committee on Credentials, so far as the District of Columbia is concerned. I understand from the members of the committee that Senator Clark's case, of Montana, was heard, and the report of the sub-committee of the National Committee was read and adopted. I also understand that the report of the National Committee upon the case of the delegation, headed by James Norris, was not read, and was not acted upon. Senator Clark was seated—at least his delegation was seated as delegates of this Convention; and the delegation from the District of Columbia, headed by James Norris, one-half of it was seated and one-half of the contestants was seated. Now, if that is just in one case, it is just in the other. A report of the National Committee upon the case of Senator Clark was adopted

bu the report of the sub-committee of the National Committee upon the case of James Norris was rejected and the delegation divided, one-half to the contestants and one-half to the Norris faction. Now, is it right for this Convention to entertain the question, or entertain the report of the committee as submitted? I, as a Marylander, protest against it; I, as a Marylander, only claim that the delegation, headed by James Norris, shall be treated as Democrats should be treated, and I enter my protest, and I will make a motion to refer the whole matter back to the Committee on Credentials when the report has been adopted as submitted by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

THE CHAIR: The motion of the delegate from Maryland is to recommit the report back to the Committee on Credentials for further report in the case of the District of Columbia.

MR. VANDIVER: I mean so far as the District of Columbia is concerned only.

THE CHAIR: The Chair so stated it. Is the Convention ready for the motion of the delegate from Maryland? The question is to recommit the report of the Committee on Credentials back to that committee for further report so far as the contesting delegation from the District of Columbia is concerned.

The motion was put and lost.

THE CHAIR: The motion now before the convention is to adopt the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the Convention ready for the question?

The motion was adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIR: Is the Committee on Permanent Organization ready to report? The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Mr. Spaulding of Georgia.

Hon. J. J. Spaulding, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, read the report of the Committee as follows:

"To the Democratic National Convention:

"Your Committee on Permanent Organization respectfully recommends that Hon. James D. Richardson of Tennessee be made Permanent Chairman of the Convention.

"It is further recommended that the Temporary Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, Sergeants-at-Arms, Reading Clerks, Special Officers and Medical Officers, be made the Permanent Officers of this Convention; and, in addition, that Hon. Lincoln Dixon of Indiana, Hon. Jefferson Pollard of Missouri, Hon. William Cromwell of Kentucky, and Hon. W. F. A. Bernamer of Illinois, be named as Assistant Secretaries and Reading Clerks.

"Your Committee further recommends to the Convention for Honorary Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretaries and members of the Notification Committee and National Democratic Committee, the gentlemen severally named by the States and Territories.

JACK J. SPAULDING, Chairman.

"J. F. WEST, Secretary.

"July 4, 1900."

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention: You have heard the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. What will you do with it?

A DELEGATE FROM KANSAS: I move its adoption.

The question was put on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, and it was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIR: I will appoint as a committee to escort the Permanent Chairman to the platform, Governor McCreary, of Kentucky; Mr. Campau, of Michigan, and Mayor Phelan, of San Francisco.

The Committee retired and escorted Mr. Richardson to the platform. He was presented to the Temporary Chairman by Governor McCreary.

Mr. Richardson, on receiving the gavel from the Temporary Chairman, addressed the Convention as follows:

I am deeply sensible of the high honor you have bestowed upon me in calling me to preside over this great Democratic Convention.

We have been clothed with the authority to formally name the candidates who, at the next election, are to be chosen President and Vice President of the United States; and to lay down a platform of principles upon which the battle is to be fought and the victory won.

With your permission, I will address myself to some of the issues of the impending campaign.

The last great national contest for supremacy was fought mainly upon one issue—that is to say, one issue was paramount in the struggle. That issue was familiarly called “Sixteen to one.” It involved the question of the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one part of gold, with which all of us are familiar.

The momentous issue this year is again sixteen to one, but the sixteen parts to the one part of this campaign, which I will briefly discuss, are wholly different from those of 1896. I will first refer to the sixteen parts and then to the one part.

The sixteen parts are:

First: We have the issue fraught with indescribable importance to our people, native born and those who have for patriotic reasons cast their fortunes with us, namely, that of the Republic against the Empire. On this one part alone of the sixteen, if there were no other, we confidently expect to win a sweeping victory in November. The Republican party stands for the Empire. The Democratic party stands for the Republic, for the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of our country.

Second: The paternal and fostering care given by those with whom we contend, to the combinations of corporations and companies into powerful organizations familiarly known as trusts.

Under three years of Republican rule, while they controlled the Presidency, the Senate and the House of Representatives, that is, all of the law-making power of the government, trusts have been propogated and fostered by legislation until they not only dominate all markets, both the buying and selling, but defy the very power of the government itself.

The farcical efforts put forth by the Republican party in an alleged attempt to restrain them in the dying hours of the

late session of Congress only excited ridicule and contempt, and served to emphasize their inability and disinclination to grapple the monsters and regulate their conduct and actions. No matter what their excuses may be, the fact is their policies have created them, and though clothed with all power they refuse to enact legislation to control them.

Third: Called to power March 4, 1897, under a pledge to reform the currency, they seized the first opportunity to fasten upon the land the highest protective tariff law ever put upon the statute books of any country.

This law was enacted not to raise revenue, but to give protection to favored manufacturers. It failed to raise sufficient revenue for the government, but answered the purpose of enriching the favored few while it robbed the many, and at the same time brought forth trusts to plague us as numerous as the lice and locusts of Egypt. Their high protective tariff is the mother of trusts.

Fourth: This administration came into power with a solemn declaration in favor of bimetallism, and a pledge to promote it. - It has failed to keep that pledge. It has erected in its stead the single standard of gold, and has endeavored to destroy all hope of bimetallism. In doing this, it has built up a powerful National Bank Trust, and has given us a currency based upon the debts and liabilities of the government.

We stand for bimetallism and not for a monometallic standard of either the one or the other metal.

Fifth: The dominant party has recently made the fraudulent declaration that it favored the Monroe Doctrine; and yet their President and Secretary of State have done all in their power to nullify and abrogate that famous and much revered Democratic doctrine.

In the name of its Democratic author, James Monroe, I denounce their vaunted advocacy of this truly American doctrine as false and hypocritical. We stand for this doctrine in its essence and form, and demand its rigid enforcement.

Sixth: In order to obtain place and power they pledged themselves, in the interest of an expanding commerce, to construct a waterway to connect the two great oceans. They have repudiated this promise.

They have negotiated the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which, while it virtually abrogates the Monroe Doctrine, renders it impossible to build an American canal. Under the terms and provisions of this treaty, which is English and not American, the canal can never be constructed.

We stand for an American canal, owned, constructed, operated and fortified by America.

Seventh: They declared in their platform that their party was responsible for the merit system; that it was their creature, and that the Civil Service law should be protected and its operation extended.

Their protection of this law has been such as the wolf gives the lamb. They did not dare openly repeal the law or to modify it by an act of Congress, but they have insidiously, by an order of the President, extorted from him to aid them to obtain and hold political power, greatly impaired the efficiency of the law.

By the President's order many thousand lucrative offices regularly covered by the Civil Service Law were taken from under its protection and these places turned over to his partisan followers in a vain effort to satisfy their political greed.

Eighth: They declared in their platform in favor of the admission of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma as States of the Union; yet, after nearly four years of full power they are still Territories. Under the wicked rule of law as now applied by the Republican party to some of our Territories they may at an early date find erected between themselves and the balance of the Union a tariff wall which will serve to pauperize them while it enriches others.

Ninth: When Congress last assembled the President, in his first utterance addressed to the Representatives fresh from the people, solemnly urged upon them it was their plain duty to give free trade to Porto Rico. His party leaders, quick to obey his injunctions, made ready to comply with his recommendations. But in a night, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the mighty magnates of the trust swept down upon Washington and interposed their strong arm, and plain duty vanished like mist before the rising sun.

The President wheeled into line, the Republican party re-

versed its policy and set up a tariff wall between the island of Porto Rico and the remainder of the United States.

It is not at all surprising that in the recent somewhat lengthy declaration of principles enunciated by the party in Convention assembled, while they enlarged upon almost every political question, they could not find the space to point with pride to the achievements of their party in its dealings with that unhappy island.

The Democratic party stands for equal taxation, equal rights and equal opportunities to all who come under the folds of the flag.

Tenth: They wholly failed by their legislation or by the cheaper method of platform declarations to tell the country what their policy is in respect to the Philippine Islands.

For two years, by their equivocating policy, and no policy at all, they have continued in that archipelago a war, expensive in human blood as well as in money. Incompetent to deal with this question, and too cowardly to avow their real purpose of imperialism and militarism in dealing with these and kindred colonial questions, they should be retired from power; and the control should be given to a party honest, bold and patriotic enough to apply American theories and precepts to existing conditions, and thereby solve them in harmony with the undying principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of our country.

Eleventh: Another part of the issue of the campaign, this year, is the scandalous dealings of a high cabinet officer with private banks of the country. These scandals are notorious and are based upon the earnest and repeated written demands of the officers of some of these banks that they should be favored by this Administration because of money contributed by them with which to buy the Presidency in 1896.

Correspondence submitted to Congress shows that, in one case at least, an appeal from an institution in New York City to the Secretary of the Treasury for financial assistance, because, as it was claimed, the officers of that bank had contributed liberally to the election of the present Chief Executive, was not made in vain, and the asked for assistance in this case from the government was freely if not corruptly given.

Twelfth: The scandals which surround the War Department in feeding embalmed beef to the soldiers, in its purchase of old yachts and tugs, ocean liners, ocean tramps, barges, scows, etcetera, for use as army transports, constitute an important chapter.

Thirteenth: So also the scandals in connection with the postoffice matters in Cuba; and the scandal in connection with the expenditure of the funds of the Paris Exposition. Time will not permit an amplification of all these scandals.

Fourteenth: They loudly proclaim that theirs is the party of liberty, and in their vainglory boast of their very name, Republican; yet they are caught coquetting and forming secret entangling alliances of the most detestable character with the old mother monarchy. They stand supinely by and refuse even an expression of sympathy with the Boer Republics in their heroic and unequal struggle for existence as against the gross oppression and brutal efforts at enslavement of the same old tyrant who went down in defeat when he sought to prevent the establishment of our liberty loving Republic. They thus permit a brave people in love with their free Republic institutions to perish from the earth, lest by one word of sympathy and comfort they might offend the delicate sensibilities of their new-found ally—Great Britain.

Fifteenth: An important chapter is the oft-repeated promise, made to be broken, that when the war ceased the oppressive, burdensome and vexatious war taxes on many articles of prime necessity should be repealed or reduced.

Though the war closed two years ago and notwithstanding there is a large and growing surplus in the Treasury, not one dollar of reduction in these taxes has been made.

It is known that delegation after delegation of citizens, suffering from these burdens, crowded the committee rooms at Washington and literally begged for some relief. It is true that those of us who constitute the minority of Congress joined in that appeal and declared our readiness to support any and all measures that might in some degree remove those burdens of taxation. But a deaf ear was turned by the Republicans to all such efforts for relief, and none came.

It is well known also that no relief will be given by the

party in power, and it is vain for overburdened people to look to them while present policies are attempted to be enforced.

The only hope for relief lies in hurling from power the Republican party and the restoration of the party which believes in simple and economical government.

Sixteenth and lastly: The cost of Republicanism and its twin monster imperialism.

This is neither the time nor the occasion to discuss in detail the increased appropriations made necessary by the Republican policy of imperialism. Briefly, however, I will mention that the average appropriations per year for all purposes of government for the two years immediately preceding the Spanish-American war was about \$475,000,000. The average expenditures per annum for each of the three years since that war, including the fiscal year upon which we have just entered, show an increase of nearly \$300,000,000. The total increase for the three years will be nearly \$900,000,000. And in like proportion it will go on.

This shows the difference in cost of the Empire as against the Republic. These figures refer alone to the money cost of the change, and do not include the expense of the blood of the American boys, the price of which is far beyond computation. In the Republican Congress just closed not one dollar could be had for much needed public buildings throughout the country at home, but many millions were promptly voted to prosecute a war in the far away Philippine Islands. Not a dollar for necessary improvements of our rivers and harbors at home, but millions to be stolen and squandered in Cuba, and our new insular possessions. Nothing for an Isthmian Canal, and many other home enterprises and objects, but more than two hundred millions were freely given for the army and navy, for imperialism and the military, for gold and glory.

I said at the outset the issue this year was again sixteen to one. The foregoing are briefly the sixteen parts of the issue. What is the one part?

We have seen that platform pledges are made and broken. That good intentions of men are many times set at naught. That plain duty, clearly set forth and understood, is disregarded. That some men are weak and vacillating and may

change their solemn opinions in a day. It is apparent, therefore, to all that in this supreme exigency of the Republic a demand goes forth, not for a faint-hearted declaration of plat-form platitudes, but for a man. Yes, a man who stands like a mighty rock in the desert; a man who, knowing the right, will dare do the right; a man who, "rather than follow a multitude to do evil, will stand like Pompey's pillar conspicuous by himself, and single in integrity."

Such a man as the one part this Convention will tender to the nation as their candidate for President. A man who is unsurpassed as a citizen, unequalled as an orator, courageous as a soldier, conspicuous in every element that constitutes the typical and the true American, William J. Bryan, of Nebraska.

(As the last words of Chairman Richardson's speech echoed the name of Bryan through the hall, there was a burst of applause from the Tennessee delegation that grew in volume as it spread among the other delegates and was taken up by the audience. In a moment the standards of the several States began to flock to the Speaker's stand, until every State and Territory was represented. For twenty-eight minutes the demonstration lasted, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Chairman, assisted by the Sergeant-at-Arms and a number of delegates, was able at last to secure the semblance of order, so that the business of the convention could be proceeded with.)

On motion of Hon. J. G. Johnson, the convention at 10:36 P. M. adjourned until Thursday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

The following is the official list of delegates from the several States and Territories as reported by the Committee on Credentials:

LIST OF DELEGATES.

ALABAMA.

AT LARGE.

John T. Morgan.
A. H. Merrill.

Frank S. White.
Robert J. Lowe.

District.

1st—Massie Wilson.
W. A. Moseley.

District.

2nd—Tennent Lomax.
F. M. T. Tankersley.

District.

3rd—H. T. Benton.

Geo. H. Malone.

4th—W. W. Burns.

J. W. McElraith.

5th—N. D. Denson.

M. B. Ambercrombie.

6th—L. B. Musgrove.

Walter Nesmith.

District.

7th—C. L. Haley.

T. C. Banks.

8th—C. E. Albes.

R. T. Simpson.

9th—J. W. Tomlinson.

J. G. Moore.

ARKANSAS.

AT LARGE.

James K. Jones.

James H. Berry.

Jeff Davis.

James P. Clarke.

District.

1st—M. M. Stuckey.

H. E. Ruff.

2nd—W. H. Martin.

J. H. Hinemon.

3rd—C. W. Smith.

A. L. Skillern.

District.

4th—T. M. Mehaffey.

J. H. Page.

5th—P. D. Scott.

Frank Pace.

6th—J. C. Yancey.

J. M. Archer.

CALIFORNIA.

AT LARGE.

Stephen M. White.

Jas. D. Phelan.

Jas. G. McGuire.

M. F. Tarpey.

District.

1st—J. S. Sweet.

C. F. Foster.

2nd—D. W. Carmichael.

John N. Woods.

3rd—James A. Keyes.

Frank Freeman.

4th—Charles Edelman.

Curtis Hillyer.

District.

5th—M. Jasper McDonald.

J. H. Henry.

6th—R. F. Del Valle.

John McGonigle.

7th—H. A. Jastro.

Wm. McFadden.

COLORADO.

AT LARGE.

C. S. Thomas.

T. J. Maloney.

A. T. Gunnell.

Charles Henkel.

District.
1st—John McCombe.
W. S. Seely.

District.
2nd—James Doyle.
S. R. Fitzgerald.

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Edward M. Graves.
Jas. P. Pigott.

Bryan F. Mahan.
Homer S. Cummings.

District.
1st—W. L. Hunting.
Geo. Forster.
2nd—Michael T. Cuff.
Jas. J. Saunders.

District.
3rd—Wm. Kennedy.
Frederick P. Burr.
4th—Richard C. Morris.
Thos. L. Kelly.

DELAWARE.

AT LARGE.

Levin Irving Handy.
John G. Gray.

Richard R. Kenney.
Hezekiah Harrington.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Edward D. Hearne.

George H. Draper.

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

H. H. McCreary.
B. H. Palmer.

Charles Wright.
R. D. McDonald.

District.
1st—B. S. Liddon.
J. E. Wolfe.

District.
2nd—J. W. Watson.
Cromwell Gibbons.

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

Boykin Wright.
J. J. Spalding.

Louis Garrard.
W. B. Burnett.

District.
1st—Geo. T. Cann.
J. A. Brannen.
2nd—S. S. Bennett.
E. E. Bush.
3rd—J. T. Hill.
J. P. Cocke.

District.
4th—F. P. Longley.
S. P. Gilbert.
5th—Chas. Daniel.
E. L. Johnson.
6th—B. T. Holder, Jr.
F. M. Stafford.

District.

- 7th—W. C. Bunn.
 A. S. Johnson.
 8th—D. W. Meadow.
 W. A. Broughton.
 9th—Thos. Hutcherson.
 H. W. Bell.

District.

- 10th—Louis Cohen.
 H. A. Williams.
 11th—J. W. Bennett.
 Geo. W. Smith.

IDAHO.

AT LARGE.

- Wm. H. Dewey. Jas. W. Reid.
 W. B. McFarland. Edward J. Dockery.

First District.

- Chas. O. Stockslager. John G. Brown.

ILLINOIS.

AT LARGE.

- Carter H. Harrison. Ben T. Cable.
 Alfred S. Trude. James R. Williams.

District.

- 1st—Thomas Gahan.
 John P. Hopkins.
 2nd—Thomas Byrne.
 Thomas Carey.
 3rd—John J. Coughlin.
 Robert K. Sloan.
 4th—William Loeffler.
 John Powers.
 5th—Roger C. Sullivan.
 John J. Brennan.
 6th—Robert E. Burke.
 James J. Gray.
 7th—Fred E. Eldred.
 John A. Mahoney.
 8th—Andrew Welch.
 J. C. Donnelly.
 9th—Harry L. Fordham.
 William Skeane.

District.

- 10th—W. O'R. Bradley.
 C. B. Marshall.
 11th—Maurice T. Moloney.
 Charles M. Golden.
 12th—Free P. Morris.
 R. A. Rouse.
 13th—J. Whitney Hall.
 J. W. Orr.
 14th—T. N. Green.
 L. F. Meek.
 15th—Herman Moecker.
 Truman Plantz.
 16th—Owen P. Thompson.
 Robert B. Shirley.
 17th—J. C. McBride.
 James M. Graham.
 18th—B. W. Henry.
 Charles H. Burton.

District.

- 19th—James K. Rardin.
Rufus C. Harrah.
20th—Jacob R. Creighton.
Silas Z. Landes.

District.

- 21st—J. W. Rickert.
W. E. Brookings.
22nd—Reed Green.
Charles H. Rieth.

INDIANA.

AT LARGE.

James Murdock.
Geo. V. Menzies.

Sam'l E. Morss.
Hugh Dougherty.

District.

- 1st—C. Halburge.
Henry Stockfleth.
2nd—John H. Spencer.
W. W. Moffett.
3rd—Jos. H. Shea.
J. L. Bretz.
4th—W. H. O'Brien.
E. J. Nichlans.
5th—Geo. M. Crane.
Marion Bailey.
6th—Geo. M. Ray.
Spencer L. Stevens.
7th—J. E. McCullough.
D. E. Deupree.

District.

- 8th—L. G. Ellingham.
A. M. Waltz.
9th—M. A. Ryan.
Cornelius Cunningham.
10th—D. W. Simms.
Martin T. Kruger.
11th—F. M. Kistler.
R. C. Houston.
12th—Henry Colerick.
W. H. Nusbaum.
13th—M. M. Hathaway.
B. F. Deal.

IOWA.

AT LARGE.

Charles A. Walsh.
Cato Sells.

John S. Murphy.
Geo. T. Baker.

District.

- 1st—H. L. Troop.
Wm. F. Kiel.
2nd—Alf. Hurst.
J. G. Van Lent.
3rd—J. H. Howell.
A. M. Potter.
4th—W. J. Reinke.
A. J. Anders.

District.

- 5th—E. C. Holt.
Thos. Emmett.
6th—J. R. Gorrell.
Thos. Kelly.
7th—A. R. Dabney.
J. S. Cunningham.
8th—W. T. Davis.
W. H. Dewey.

District.

- 9th—E. H. Bickford,
J. M. Kelley.
10th—Chas. Bullock.
E. J. Murtagh.

District.

- 11th—J. M. Parsons.
Wm. Mulvaney.

KANSAS.

AT LARGE.

- J. G. Johnson.
J. H. Atwood.
David Overmeyer.

- C. W. Brandenburg.
H. W. Stewart.
Jas. N. Fike.

District.

- 1st—S. F. Neeley.
W. W. Letson.
2nd—W. H. Daniels.
L. D. White.
3rd—H. Parke Jones.
Revilo Newton.
4th—Robert H. Hazlett.
A. J. Eastman.

District.

- 5th—J. T. Prendergast.
N. F. Graham.
6th—John Q. Adams.
John Schlyer.
7th—E. G. Finnup.
F. L. Gordon.

KENTUCKY.

AT LARGE.

- C. W. Bransford.
Louis McQuown.

- Joseph C. S. Blackburn.
N. W. Utley.

District.

- 1st—R. J. Bugg.
Felix Gratsy.
2nd—E. R. Pennington.
R. B. Bradley.
3rd—Speed Guffy.
John W. Jones.
4th—Charles Spalding.
D. W. Whitman.
5th—John W. Vreeland.
R. Lee Suter.
6th—R. B. Brown.
Fred Miller.

District.

- 7th—T. E. Moore, Jr.
W. P. Thorne.
8th—Charles M. Lewis.
Harvey Helm.
9th—Dr. Higgins C. Smith.
R. D. Wilson.
10th—Green Meeks.
Abraham Renick.
11th—W. H. Rorer.
W. R. Cress.

LOUISIANA.

AT LARGE.

S. D. McEnery.	John Fitzpatrick.
Murphy J. Foster.	N. C. Blanchard.

District.

1st—Alex. Pujol.
Victor Mauberet.
2nd—E. Howard McCaleb.
L. H. Marrero.
3rd—Robert F. Broussard.
W. H. Price.

District.

4th—J. M. Foster.
W. F. Blackman.
5th—W. W. Heard.
Jas. E. Ransdell.
6th—M. L. Soards.
H. L. Fuqua.

MAINE.

AT LARGE.

Melvin P. Frank.	Frederick W. Plaisted.
Arthur Sewall.	David T. Sanders.

District.

1st—James A. Strout.
John C. Scates.
2nd—John Scott.
L. M. Staples.

District.

3rd—Samuel W. Gould.
Otis Littlefield.
4th—Peter Charles Keegan.
G. Gilmore Weld.

MARYLAND.

AT LARGE.

Gov. John W. Smith.	Louis Victor Baughman.
Murray Vandiver.	Joshua W. Miles.

District.

1st—W. J. Staton.
J. Benj. Brown.
2nd—Charles E. Fendall.
Benj. F. Crouse.
3rd—Edward J. Chaisty.
Harry Roundtree.

District.

4th—N. Leo Knott.
Martin Lehmayr.
5th—J. Frank Smith.
Joseph S. Wilson.
6th—Blair Lee.
John Keating.

MASSACHUSETTS.

AT LARGE.

Geo. Fred Williams.	William S. McNary.
Chris. T. Callahan.	A. C. Drinkwater.

District.

- 1st—Thos. J. Dillon.
 Nicholas J. Lawler.
 2nd—John H. Clune.
 Benj. E. Cook, Jr.
 3rd—James H. Meilen.
 John O'Gara.
 4th—Charles D. Lewis.
 Dr. H. H. Lyons.
 5th—James F. Owens.
 James E. Donoghue.
 6th—John J. Flaherty.
 Jas. F. Dean.
 7th—Stephen M. Walsh.
 John J. Hogan.

District.

- 8th—M. M. Cunniff.
 Frederick K. Gifford.
 9th—Thos. F. Keenan.
 J. J. McNamara.
 10th—Chas. I. Quirk.
 Frederick S. Gore.
 11th—John H. Lee.
 Wm. H. Baker.
 12th—John M. Hayes.
 Edward Gilmore.
 13th—Jas. E. Sullivan.
 Charles C. Paine.

MICHIGAN.

AT LARGE.

- Daniel J. Campau. Wellington R. Burt.
 Thomas E. Barkworth. Rush Culver.

District.

- 1st—Chas. W. Casgrain.
 Geo. F. Monaghan.
 2nd—Walter C. Mack.
 August J. Weir.
 3rd—William G. Howard.
 Robert J. Frost.
 4th—Thomas J. Cavanagh.
 Charles H. Kimmerlee.
 5th—George R. Perry.
 Adolphus A. Ellis.
 6th—Mark W. Stevens.
 Quincy A. Smith.

District.

- 7th—Justin R. Whiting.
 Arthur M. Clark.
 8th—John T. Winship.
 Henry J. Patterson.
 9th—Daniel W. Goodenough.
 Wm. McLaughlin.
 10th—John C. Weadock.
 James F. Moloney.
 11th—Chas. M. Brown.
 Hiram B. Hudson.
 12th—Arthur A. Juttner.
 Wm. P. Preston.

MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.

- T. D. O'Brien. P. B. Winston.
 L. A. Rosing. C. O. Baldwin.

District.

- 1st—C. T. Buck.
Wm. Gausewitz.
2nd—H. Himmelman.
S. B. Nelson.
3rd—R. T. Daly.
F. L. Glotzbach.
4th—Humphrey Barton.
J. J. Kilty.

District.

- 5th—W. H. Donahue.
Julius J. Heinrich.
6th—J. D. Sullivan.
L. M. Davis.
7th—John R. McKinnon.
W. P. Bailey.

MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.

- H. D. Money. W. D. Cameron.
A. H. Longino. R. H. Henry.

District.

- 1st—J. T. Senter.
D. W. Houston.
2nd—H. E. Blakeslee.
V. P. Still.
3rd—A. F. Gardner.
J. H. Wynn.
4th—T. C. Kimbrough.
James Somerville.

District.

- 5th—W. P. Tackett.
A. J. Russell.
6th—E. J. Bowers.
J. H. Jones.
7th—O. H. Bowen.
A. P. Hill.

MISSOURI.

AT LARGE.

- Wm. J. Stone. W. H. Phelps.
L. V. Stephens. D. A. Ball.

District.

- 1st—John A. Knott.
John H. Carroll.
2nd—Robert Haley.
Waddy Leeper.
3rd—Dr. Steckman.
Charles Risley.
4th—W. H. Robinson.
L. D. Ramsay.
5th—T. T. Crittenden, Jr.
S. N. Wilson.

District.

- 6th—Wm. Shelton.
Dr. Watrous.
7th—Dr. D. C. Gove.
T. J. Delaney.
8th—W. D. Thomas.
E. M. Carter.
9th—James Buckner.
G. D. Briggs.
10th—A. C. Steuver.
Phil Sebastian.

District.

- 11th—S. J. Burke.
 J. P. Sweeney.
 12th—W. H. Swift.
 Ed. Butler.
 13th—John E. Organ.
 W. R. Edgar.

District.

- 14th—Thos. Connelly.
 B. T. Morris.
 15th—L. L. Scott.
 W. T. Wood.

MONTEANA.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| W. A. Clark. | R. Fitzgerald. |
| S. T. Hauser. | J. M. Holt. |

FIRST DISTRICT.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| Frank Higgins. | H. L. Frank. |
|----------------|--------------|

NEBRASKA.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| A. S. Tibbetts. | W. H. Thompson. |
| R. L. Metcalfe. | W. D. Oldham. |

District.

- 1st—C. E. Cotton.
 J. H. Miles.
 2nd—J. A. Creighton.
 L. J. Piatti.
 3rd—P. H. Kohl.
 Jonas Welch.

District.

- 4th—W. H. Taylor.
 Harry Metzger.
 5th—G. W. Tibbetts.
 Patrick Walsh.
 6th—M. C. Harrington.
 T. F. Mahoney.

NEVADA.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Francis G. Newlands. | Reinhold Sadler. |
| Clayton Belknap. | John H. Dennis. |

FIRST DISTRICT.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| P. C. Weber. | C. H. Mack. |
|--------------|-------------|

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| True L. Norris. | Sam'l B. Page. |
| Henry O. Kent. | Jeremiah J. Doyle. |

District.

1st—John B. Nash.
John F. Dowd.

District.

2nd—Wm. J. Ahern.
John B. Jameson.

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

Robert Davis.
Johnston Cornish.

Thos. M. Ferrel.
Jas. E. Martine.

District.

1st—Geo. Pfeiffer, Jr.
Samuel Iredell.
2nd—Henry Postal.
Wm. H. Harrison.
3rd—David S. Crater.
Dr. S. O. B. Taylor.
4th—Howard Lake.
Joshua Salmon.

District.

5th—Wm. B. Gourley.
Addison Ely.
6th—Edward P. Meaney.
Frank M. McDermitt.
7th—Wm. D. Daly.
Edward Hoos.
8th—Jas. J. Manning.
Michael J. Doyle.

NEW YORK.

AT LARGE.

David B. Hill.
Edward Murphy, Jr.

Richard Croker.
Augustus Van Wyck.

District.

1st—Perry Belmont.
John P. Madden.
2nd—John J. Fitzgerald.
Henry F. Hagerty.
3rd—John L. Shea.
James Moffett.
4th—Frank B. Creamer.
John McCarty.
5th—Frank E. Wilson.
James D. Bell.
6th—Patrick H. McCarren.
William J. Lynch.
7th—Asa Bird Gardiner.
Isaac Fromme.
8th—Bernard F. Martin.
John Cavagnaro.

District.

9th—Geo. M. Van Hoesen.
Patrick Divver.
10th—John W. Keller.
Lewis Nixon.
11th—William Sulzer.
Timothy D. Sullivan.
12th—Thomas F. Grady.
Geo. B. McClellan.
13th—O. H. P. Belmont.
Thos. C. O'Sullivan.
14th—John Whalen.
Samuel Untermeyer.
15th—John F. Carroll.
William F. Grell.
16th—August Moebus.
John M. Digney.

District.

- 17th—M. N. Kane.
 Frank Comiskey.
 18th—James W. Hinkley.
 Jacob Rice.
 19th—Francis J. Malloy.
 James Purcell.
 20th—P. E. McCabe.
 Mark Cohn.
 21st—Dewitt C. Dow.
 Gardner Smith.
 22nd—John Hannon.
 Sidney R. Phelps.
 23rd—Chas. A. Burke.
 Jeremiah T. Finch.
 24th—Frederick C. Schraub.
 Charles N. Bulger.
 25th—John D. McMahan.
 Clinton Beckwith.

District.

- 26th—Elliott Danforth.
 John L. Taylor.
 27th—James K. McGuire.
 John Dunfee.
 28th—Michael P. Conway.
 Rice McCauley.
 29th—C. F. Kingsley.
 Clif. H. Swartout.
 30th—James J. Mahoney.
 Frank H. Wilson.
 31st—James M. Nolan.
 John D. Lynn.
 32nd—Conrad Diehl.
 C. H. W. Aul.
 33rd—Norman E. Mack.
 Frank L. Bapst.
 34th—Frank H. Mott.
 Ward Wadsworth.

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

Edward J. Hale.
 Julian S. Carr.

Walter E. Moore.
 Thomas A. Jones.

District.

- 1st—James Parker.
 F. G. James.
 2nd—R. H. Speight.
 L. Harvey.
 3rd—E. M. Greene.
 C. C. Lyon.
 4th—Josephus Daniels.
 T. M. Arrington.
 5th—A. W. Graham.
 S. M. Gattis.

District.

- 6th—W. C. Dowd.
 J. A. Brown.
 7th—J. R. Blair.
 A. D. Watts.
 8th—A. C. Avery.
 G. W. Flower.
 9th—R. P. Walker.
 S. Gallert.

NORTH DAKOTA.

AT LARGE.

M. A. Hildreth.
 Hugh McDonald.

Thos. Regan.
 T. W. Conyers.

FIRST DISTRICT.

G. W. Freerks.

H. D. Allert.

OHIO.

AT LARGE.

Jas. Kilbourne.

A. W. Patrick.

H. L. Chapman.

W. S. Thomas.

District.

1st—L. G. Bernard.

Chas. W. Baker.

2nd—John G. Roth.

Henry Retter.

3rd—Jos. H. Dowling.

Chas. F. Brooke, Jr.

4th—Jacob C. Ridenour.

J. D. Johnson.

5th—D. D. Donavan.

J. D. Watterson.

6th—John Wood.

H. L. Nichols.

7th—W. R. Burnett.

A. R. Bolin.

8th—W. W. Durbin.

D. W. Henderson.

9th—Negley D. Cochran.

Levi Wooster.

10th—C. C. Glidden.

M. E. Merriman.

11th—Wm. E. Finck, Jr.

C. E. Peoples.

District.

12th—John C. L. Pugh.

M. A. Daugherty.

13th—J. W. Moore.

L. H. Battlefield.

14th—Frank O. Levering.

Edwin Mansfield.

15th—J. W. Bigley.

R. W. Scott.

16th—John L. Beatty.

Louis Hoeffler.

17th—Waldo Taylor.

E. B. Eshleman.

18th—Chas. C. Weybrecht.

A. W. Taylor.

19th—David L. Rockwell, Jr.

E. L. King.

20th—E. W. Bond.

L. H. Cook.

21st—Tom L. Johnson.

Harry W. Wilson.

OREGON.

AT LARGE.

J. H. Raley.

M. A. Miller.

J. O. Booth.

A. S. Bennett.

District.

1st—John Welsh.

R. M. Veatch.

District.

2nd—Charles Nickell.

N. A. Peery.

PENNSYLVANIA.

AT LARGE.

J. M. Guffey.

Rufus K. Polk.

James Kerr.

John B. Keenan.

Robert E. Pattison.

Charles J. Reilly.

Wm. H. Sowden.

John M. Garman.

District.

1st—John J. Gibbons.

Patrick Donohue.

2nd—James F. McNichol.

John Brashing.

3rd—Thomas J. Ryan.

Morris Tueter.

4th—P. J. McManus.

James Gillespie.

5th—Chas. P. Donnelly.

Edward F. Ternan.

6th—William S. Hastings.

John J. Buckley.

7th—Henry I. Fox.

Charles S. Vandergrift.

8th—Howard Muchler.

J. D. Serfass.

9th—J. N. Ermentrout.

H. D. Green.

10th—H. C. Young.

Jacob Pontz.

11th—E. J. Lynott.

M. J. Cadden.

12th—Geo. Stigmyer.

C. F. Bohon.

13th—W. F. Shepherd.

Daniel F. Guinan.

14th—Wm. S. Thomas.

H. G. Walter.

District.

15th—D. C. DeWitt.

A. H. Squire.

16th—Walter E. Ritter.

J. R. Collins.

17th—Peter A. Mahan.

John G. McHenry.

18th—T. Z. Minnehart.

H. E. Spiker.

19th—Lemon Love.

Albert J. Brady.

20th—Augustus V. Dively.

A. F. John.

21st—James K. Clark.

M. E. Brown.

22nd—W. J. Brennan.

J. A. Clarke.

23rd—Geo. A. Koehler.

W. E. Johnson.

24th—Frank P. Iams.

John C. Kane.

25th—W. G. Barker.

W. H. Partington.

26th—Frank D. Schultz.

James H. Caldwell.

27th—T. N. Barnsdall.

Wm. J. Breene.

28th—Jackson L. Spangler.

John F. Brown.

RHODE ISLAND.

AT LARGE.

George W. Green.

John W. Davis.

John J. Fitzgerald.

Dennis J. McCarthy.

District.

1st—Patrick H. Quinn.
Patrick J. Boyle.

District.

2nd—John E. Conley.
Wm. R. Congdon.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

B. R. Tillman.

Wilie Jones.

M. B. McSweeney.

A. C. Latimer.

District.

1st—W. B. Wilson.

Thos. Talbird.

2nd—J. H. Tillman.

C. W. Garris.

3rd—I. H. McCalla.

W. J. Stribling.

District.

4th—J. A. Mooney.

J. C. Evans.

5th—T. Y. Williams.

J. C. Wilborn.

6th—D. H. Traxler.

W. B. Gruber.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

AT LARGE.

G. W. Mathews.

S. A. Kennon.

Stephen Donohoe.

T. W. Taubman.

District.

1st—T. W. Childs.

J. J. Conway.

District.

2nd—Charles Eastman.

John R. Wilson.

TENNESSEE.

AT LARGE.

Albert T. McNeal.

John A. Moon.

Jas. D. Richardson.

Charles T. Cates, Jr.

District.

1st—W. A. Owens.

A. C. Keebler.

2nd—G. F. Milton.

J. W. Culton.

3rd—W. W. Wallace.

P. H. Walker.

4th—L. A. Ligon.

M. B. Capps.

5th—Geo. H. Newman.

Charles G. Parker.

District.

6th—R. R. Carmack.

B. R. Thomas.

7th—S. E. Hunt.

John M. Gault.

8th—W. A. Carter.

J. M. Taylor.

9th—John E. Wells.

R. E. Maiden.

10th—L. Hill.

Embry M. Holmes.

TEXAS.

AT LARGE.

Tom Ball.
James Swayne.

Winburne Pierce.
E. D. Perkins.

District.

1st—H. B. Rice.
Fred B. Johnson.
2nd—Lee Blanchette.
C. C. Wiggins.
3rd—John M. Duncan.
R. G. Andrews.
4th—S. H. Smelser.
J. H. Densmore.
5th—I. M. Standifer.
W. S. Jamison.
6th—W. E. Spell.
Ed Gray.
7th—Geo. Tabor.
Sam R. Scott.

District.

8th—H. C. Shropshire.
Wm. Capps.
9th—Ed P. Curry.
Jno. W. Hornsby.
10th—W. L. Moody, Sr.
Jno. M. Moore.
11th—A. B. Davidson.
John N. Garner.
12th—John Sehorn.
John M. Goggin.
13th—O. T. Maxwell.
J. A. Fires.

UTAH.

AT LARGE.

Joseph L. Rawlins.
*R. C. Chambers.

*A. H. Tarbet.
A. J. Weber.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Geo. W. Thatcher.

William F. Knox.

VERMONT.

AT LARGE.

Thos. W. Moloney.
Felix W. McGettrick.

Rollin S. Childs.
George Atkins.

District.

1st—O. C. Sawyer.
A. B. Perry.

District.

2nd—John W. McGeary.
Richard Houghton.

*Represented by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen.

*Represented by A. G. Horn.

VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

John W. Daniel.
Thos. S. Martin.

J. Hoge Tyler.
Wm. A. Jones.

District.

1st—R. L. Ailsworth.
Walter Crabb.
2nd—W. W. Sale.
E. E. Montague.
3rd—C. Maning, Jr.
H. G. Buchanan.
4th—J. F. West.
J. M. Crute.
5th—Pannill Rucker.
R. F. Tompkins.

District.

6th—R. H. Logan.
Sidney Sheltman.
7th—P. H. O'Bannan.
M. M. Johnson.
8th—R. N. Harper.
Chas. M. White.
9th—B. F. Buchanan.
J. H. McGavock.
10th—Bland Massie.
Benj. Haden.

WASHINGTON.

AT LARGE.

W. H. Dunphy.
O. G. Ellis.

D. D. Fagan.
J. W. Godwin.

District.

1st—Jessie M. Jamieson.
Thos. Malony.

District.

2nd—J. D. Medill.
W. A. Mosier.

WEST VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

J. V. Blair.
T. E. Davis.

J. W. St. Clair.
C. W. Campbell.

District.

1st—John A. Howard.
G. B. West.
2nd—S. W. Walker.
S. V. Woods.

District.

3rd—J. D. Alderson.
J. E. Chilton.
4th—J. G. McCluer.
H. E. Spilman.

WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.

David S. Rose.
Geo. B. McHilton.

D. L. Plumer.
Louis G. Bomrich.

District.	District.
1st—Gilbert T. Hodges. R. E. Richardson.	6th—F. B. Hoskins. Wm. F. Nash.
2nd—J. E. Malone. Job Mills.	7th—Wm. H. Frawley. R. B. McCoy.
3rd—J. Montgomery Smith. C. F. White.	8th—J. M. Baer. W. W. Crane.
4th—Frank Falk. Clinton Burnham.	9th—John Noonan. Julius Thielman.
5th—T. E. Ryan. Chas. Weise.	10th—Wm. H. Stafford. G. C. Cooper.

WYOMING.

AT LARGE.

Horace C. Alger.	Richard Keenan.
William Hinton.	Walter Larsh.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Charles Blydenberg.	A. E. Miller.
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ALASKA.

AT LARGE.

Louis L. Williams.	R. W. Jennings.
Wm. M. Hale.	E. O. Sylvester.
Charles D. Rogers.	R. D. Crittenden.

ARIZONA.

AT LARGE.

T. G. Norris.	Dr. H. A. Hughes.
J. M. Murphy.	B. C. Packard.
Geo. A. Olney.	W. C. P. Hunt.

*OKLAHOMA.

AT LARGE.

J. H. Crider.	D. W. Peery.
J. K. Little.	J. W. Wisby.
W. M. Newell.	W. S. Whittinghill.

OKLAHOMA.

AT LARGE.

A. M. Mackey.	H. F. Emerson.
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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

T. L. Hill.	J. S. Burnes.
J. C. Scruggs.	D. H. Patton.

*INDIAN TERRITORY.

AT LARGE.

Preston S. Davis.	Yancy Lewis.
C. H. Tully.	George Barefoot.
D. W. Talbot.	A. J. Milburn.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

AT LARGE.

Wm. T. Hutchings.	J. B. Thompson.
J. F. Sharp.	Davis Hill.
Geo. A. Mansfield.	Edward Lee.

NEW MEXICO.

AT LARGE.

E. C. DeBaca.	F. J. Davidson.
Chas. F. Easley.	Macario Gallegos.
O. N. Marron.	H. M. Dougherty.

*DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

AT LARGE.

James L. Norris.	Wm. F. Hart.
John A. Clarke.	Wm. T. Whalen.
J. Fred Kelley.	Wm. J. Donovan.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

AT LARGE.

Wm. Holmead.	J. Frank O'Meara.
Charles W. Slater.	Robert E. Mattingly.
Cotter T. Bride.	Edward A. Newman.

HAWAII.

AT LARGE.

David Kawanakoa,	John D. Holt.
John H. Wise.	Charles L. Wildor.
W. H. Cornwell.	W. S. Withers.

*Contesting delegations. Both delegations admitted with half a vote each.

SECOND DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 5, 1900.

The Convention was called to order at 11:03 A. M. by Chairman James D. Richardson, who said:

"The Convention will be opened with prayer by Bishop Glennon, of Kansas City. The delegates will please rise."

PRAYER.

Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen. Oh, almighty and eternal God, our Creator and our Father, we invoke Thy guidance and protection for this assembly, that in all they do they may be actuated only by love of Thee and benefit of humanity.

Thou art the all just being. Grant that our deliberations may be marked by justice and equity, and that while we safeguard and defend our rights we may cautiously abstain from violating the rights of others. Thou art the father of the poor and the oppressed. We are Thy children and the poor must find in us friends of the oppressed wherever they be. Thou art the ruler of nations. Grant us strength to govern and humility to serve Thee that neither for season nor decadence may mark or mar our destiny. Grant us unity, stability and per-

petuity in defending the principles of truth for the sake of Christ our Lord. All of which we ask in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

THE CHAIR: I desire to say to our friends in the galleries that they are here as the guests of this Convention. They should assist us and should assist the delegates in preserving order, to the end that business may be properly conducted and understood. The Chair now appeals to the delegates themselves to assist in preserving order on the floor. He also appeals to our friends in the galleries, who are our guests, to assist in preserving order. If each person will simply be quiet himself or herself we will have perfect order in the hall. The Sergeant-at-Arms will make a statement to the Convention.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Gentlemen, Delegates of the Convention: I have learned that a number of delegates have brought into their chairs their wives and lady friends. Now, it is the desire of the Sergeant-at-Arms to have those ladies taken out of their chairs, in order that the delegates who are here for the purpose of discharging the important duties for which they were sent here shall not be crowded out of their seats.

I also learn that the alternates have taken some of their ladies into their chairs and have also taken some of the chairs of the delegates. If the delegates will point out those who are so encroaching upon their rights the Sergeant-at-Arms will have them removed, even if they have to be put out of the hall with a guardian of police.

THE CHAIR: The Chair desires to say to the Convention that the Committee on Platform is not ready to report, but the Chair is informed that Ex-Governor Hogg, of Texas, is in the Convention, and a motion has been made that he be requested to address us.

The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, I desire to present to you Ex-Governor J. S. Hogg, of the State of Texas, who will now address you.

Ex-Governor Hogg spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I beg to thank you for the compliment you have paid me, but I feel now disinclined to

make a speech at all. I am waiting, waiting with the Democrats of this Convention, for the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions. I want to see that document and to know whether the Democrats of this government are ready to fluke or fight. In common with you I want to know if we are to become a party of dodgers or a party of freemen, striking for liberty and the success of our cause. I desire to know if we are to dodge the issues of 1896 and trail after the Republicans; or, are we to meet all issues and go into the contest for victory in the interests of the masses of this country? Are we to be independent freemen or the truculent peons of the British government? I, for one, long for the time when Americans can be Americans without going abroad for political inspirations or for tutelage in their political affairs! It has been over 100 years since we became emancipated from England. It has been but a few years since we began to walk back under the yoke of England; and I want to see this Convention stand up for the liberty of Americans against English domination everywhere. We must not have entanglements with England or any other nation. We should avoid difficulties with all people. We prefer peace, but will exercise the right to attend undisturbed to our own affairs upon this American continent, and if our Committee on Platform and Resolutions come in here to evade a single issue that we presented in 1896, I ask you to vote it down. Let the Democracy remain a party of principle instead of turning to one of makeshifts. Let us go to defeat, if defeat at all, upon principle, rather than to victory upon a subterfuge at the sacrifice of principle! The platform should repeat, not reaffirm, the leading pledges of the Chicago platform. Let the new issues be met by other planks suitable in material that cannot be misunderstood. If the Democrats of this country are presented with a platform of principle such as we had in 1896, changed only to suit the conditions of today, we will march to victory under the gallant, matchless Bryan next November.

The platform should reaffirm the old principles of Democracy, that grow new day by day and get stronger as the ages roll, by declaring for the freedom of speech, for the freedom of the press, for the freedom of conscience, for the preservation

of personal rights, for the equality of all citizens before the law, and for the support and maintenance of the constitutional guarantees throughout. Then give us a specific declaration for the unlimited free coinage of silver and gold at the old-established and honest ratio of 16 to 1, to the end that the people of the South and the West, as well as those of the North and East, shall have a fully supply of metal money to meet their growing demands. We want a declaration in that platform that unequivocally calls for a graduated income tax, so that all shall help to carry the burdens of government. Denounce in unmeasured terms the recent outrage of an English gold standard fixed upon free America by Republican jugglery! We want a specific declaration, not alone against combinations and conspiracies against trade, but against trusts in all their nefarious forms. Declare against the importation of foreign labor to compete with American free labor! Reiterate the declaration for a tariff for revenue only, limited to the necessities of a government economically and honestly administered. Make the pledge that Cuba shall be free as promised, and that the Philippine Islands shall stand upon an equality with Cuba, so far as America is concerned, and that the Constitution shall follow the flag over in Porto Rico. The acquisition of territory upon the Eastern hemisphere by conquest or by any other method on the part of the United States government is a menace to American tranquility and independence and should be denounced. We are ashamed of Uncle Sam when he goes across the waters to join John Bull, the German Emperor and the Czar of Russia to despoil and divide old China in the pursuit of plunder. In thunder tones let our party declare against imperialism in every form. The modern government by injunction, which is being fastened upon us by the Federal Courts, is a violent attack upon the Bill of Rights and should be unequivocally, unceasingly condemned.

Then finally, we want another declaration, that should be emblazoned in letters of silver and gold, and forever embedded in the hearts of the American people, to the effect that the flag of our government, the stars and stripes that float over the liberties of our people everywhere, shall never be desecrated in any form!

Turning back, my friends, to the Republican party, I wish to say that it is only a makeshift, and is a commercial party instead of a party of principle. Read their platform of 1892, the one of 1896, and their trust platform of 1900 adopted at Philadelphia, and you will not find a single avowal in behalf of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. They have veered from a party of principle to a party of pelf, to a party of plunder, to a party against the Declaration of Independence, to a party that holds in contempt the constitution of our government. If you will look over their platforms you will never see a declaration of principle in them. They congratulate the country upon the amount of money they expect to get; they congratulate the country upon the extension of the commerce; they congratulate the country upon the effect of a high protective tariff; and now they are planning to congratulate the country upon the result of high taxes and scarce money.

Read the Democratic platforms. They begin with a reiteration of the principles of liberty, of justice, and of human rights! The Republican party, confessedly without principle, keep the school boys and the school girls in darkness as to their professed tenets and they will soon forget what the principles of our government are and conclude that it is a government exclusively for greed and commerce.

The Republicans have started off to imitate England and to fix upon us an English policy. In 1896 they declared that they did not think America could sustain bimetallism alone, and by inuendo suggested that they would be in favor of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. While they did not specially name that, they insinuated and made the Americans believe they were in favor of bimetallism by foreign consent at that ratio. They intimated that if they could get foreign consent they would support the two metals. After deceiving the people by their subterfuge, they come now and congratulate the country that they fooled them and forever fixed upon them the gold standard. By the platform of 1896, they declared that the United States should own, control and maintain the Nicaraguan Canal. Defiantly of this declaration, the President and his Secretary of State again yielded to England, and

revived an obsolete treaty, and undertook to place that canal under English domination. Now their last platform declares that our government should construct, own, operate and *protect* the canal. That is done in the face of this embryonic treaty which guarantees to England that we will not interfere with it more than to build it. For these and other reasons I say that it is a party of makeshifts, a party of false promises, a party of cowardice, a party that will lead these people to hell unless they are checked.

I beg your pardon for talking to you this long, but when there appears before me an octopus that stands out with these broken promises and the pledge that it is against "conspiracies against trade," I know this same octopus that has fooled us before will, if successful, come out in a platform in the next campaign congratulating the country that America is now under the domination of trusts, and it is proud of it. They will point to the work of the trusts as evidence of the prosperity of the people. They now speak of "conspiracies against trade" without denouncing trusts. They have done that to deceive the people so as to get in one more time. "Conspiracies against trade" is the language they use. We want to denounce "Trusts" in all their nefarious forms. Conspiracies against trade! It takes more than one party to constitute a conspiracy. It takes but one party necessarily to become a trust, because a trust, single or double, is a monopoly of trade, fastened upon us by the government acquiescence, government consent or government patronage. If we will incorporate in our platform suitable principles, as we did in 1896, without reaffirming or distinguishing between one plank and another, and go to the American people on the issues, we will in the year 1900 repeat the victory of 1800 by electing the second Jefferson to the Presidency of the United States.

THE CHAIR: The State of Missouri seems to be the only State in the American Union large enough to contain two cities each of which is competent and able to entertain a National Democratic Convention. I take pleasure, therefore, now in presenting to you Missouri's favorite son this year, Hon. A. M. Dockery.

Mr. Dockery said :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Fellow Citizens: I congratulate the representatives of the unconquerable Democracy of the United States that you have assembled in this Democratic Gibraltar to reaffirm the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and to nominate that glorious son of Nebraska to lead us to victory in the coming contest. A little more than 124 years ago Jefferson wrote that great, immortal declaration that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. At the time there was not a government in the world which believed or practiced that doctrine. For more than a century, by the light of the example of this young Republic, that doctrine has grown, until today every government in Europe except Russia has a written constitution. That growth is due not to the power of our standing armies, not to the strength of our great navies, but to the example of liberty set by this young Republic. It remains to be seen whether this Republic, after more than 100 years of triumph, political and commercial, is to abandon the doctrine, and it is proper, therefore, that the Democracy should meet in a State which was given to the Union by the statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson, under a legitimate policy of expansion. It is proper that you should meet here to reaffirm that glorious doctrine and declare anew the doctrine. I do not know, gentlemen, what will be in that platform. It is not for me to say. But I know, voicing as I believe the convictions of the unconquerable Democracy of this State, which has never yet moved except with the tread of victory, I know that we are opposed to a gold standard, because it doubles our debt and multiplies the wealth of those already rich. I know that now, as heretofore, we are opposed to a high tariff, because it is the mother of our trusts. I know that we are opposed to a high protective tariff, because it cuts off our trade with the world. I know that we are opposed to a high tariff, because it is driving the flag of our country from the high seas, and has made England the master and the mistress of the commerce of the earth.

I know that it has driven the starry banner of our country from the highways of ocean commerce until today the

Union Jack of England, under the policy of Mark Hanna and the Republican party, floats over ninety per cent of our commerce. I know that under a Democratic administration, with Bryan as President, the flag will be again restored to the high-ways of ocean commerce. It will be a familiar sight in all the seaport marts of the world, and will whip England in the contest for commercial supremacy. I know that the Democracy of Missouri is opposed to any entangling alliance with England, because, while desiring to maintain friendly relations with that great English-speaking people, we recognize that the contest of the immediate future is to be, under Democratic policies at least, not a contest of arms, but a contest for commercial expansion that will bring prosperity to the farms, the mines, the manufactories and the labor of the United States.

In that contest England will be our great competitor. I know also, my fellow Democrats, that the Democracy of this country and of Missouri especially, is opposed to the policy of the Republican party, has an undisguised, poorly concealed, at least, sympathy for England in her contest against the dying South African Republics.

If it is right, my fellow citizens, that they should fail, more than a hundred years ago, when we were standing against King George in his claim to tax us without representation, then it is right to denounce the Republican party for the passage of the Porto Rican tariff bill by the last Congress. Our forefathers tossed the tea over the side of the ship into Boston harbor more than a hundred years ago, because of this principle of taxation without representation, and I think, my fellow citizens, that the Democratic party of this country will toss something else into the Gulf of Mexico at the next election, and that we will drive British sympathizers from power in Washington. In this contest, my fellow citizens, let us stand together. I never saw the time, speaking for myself, when the Democratic party had too many voters. It is always like an omnibus, it has room for one more.

Therefore, my fellow citizens, let the watchword be harmony along the line of great fundamental principles. Let every man who claims the proud title of Democrat get on the platform, whatever it may be, and help to carry it.

We have a great fight ahead of us, and we must be united in our efforts for victory. The great fight ahead of us is to establish the great policies which this country requires for freedom and justice. Now, for myself, I believe in an American financial policy without waiting for the consent of Mark Hanna, or the Republican party, or anybody else. I believe in an American policy which will dig the Nicaragua Canal by the government of the United States, control it by the government of the United States, fortify it by the power of the government of the United States. Therefore, I am opposed to the Nicaragua Canal Bill passed by the Republican party in the last House, because it divides the responsibility with the Republican party—with England, I should have said; they are synonymous terms, and there is not much difference after all.

Why, my fellow citizens, and especially you from the South, let me say to you this, that I believe one of the great means to bring prosperity to the people, and especially the South half of this Republic, is to shorten the line of ocean transportation to the Orient, because in the East, almost within gunshot of where Dewey won his glorious victory on the 1st of May, 1898, live-one-third of the human race. Now, that market we can get under the policy of the Democratic party as administered by William J. Bryan. Therefore, I want to dig that canal. Then I want to drive this spirit of imperialism from power at Washington. I stand with the great body of our foreign-born citizens opposed to a large standing army. It means imperialism; it means a colonial policy. Then we have got to antagonize the Republican party on this question of trusts, because they are driving the great body of our people out of business. Trusts are monopolizing trade, so that the issues are great. Now what we want to do, let me say in conclusion, is to adopt that platform, as I understand it to be at this time. Let us dwell together in unity, after we have adopted it. Let New York stand by the side of Missouri and Colorado by the side of Nebraska; and let all the people who are opposed to Hannaism and to McKinleyism go to the polls in solid phalanx on the 6th of November; and if we do, on the 4th of March next we will celebrate the centennial of Jefferson's in-

auguration by inaugurating William Jennings Bryan to the Presidency.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention: There have been requests sent to the stand that a distinguished Democrat, who has just been successful in the race for Mayor of Milwaukee, be requested to address the Convention. I present the Hon. David S. Rose.

Mayor Rose said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: We come to you from a State that is counted upon by our friends, the enemy, as surely their own; a State that gave Mr. McKinley 103,000 in 1896; but a State that can give William J. Bryan a majority in 1900.

My own city of Milwaukee gave the Republican candidate at the election of 1896 seven thousand majority, and in the spring of 1898 it gave a Democratic candidate for Mayor a majority of eight thousand. Every large city of the State of Wisconsin today is under a Democratic administration. And I ask the gentlemen of this Convention when you are figuring upon results for next November that you keep your eye on the old Badger State of Wisconsin and we don't disappoint you. The Wisconsin Democrats are fighting Democrats. We have been carrying meat axes around under our coat tails for the last forty years. The Democrats of that State today one and all are engaged in sharpening their meat axes. Four years ago the leaders of our party, those who had been elevated to places of trust and high position, deserted us. A new Democracy sprang up, a Democracy that stood for a new hope, that stood for a new political creed, imbued with a new energy and a new ambition. That Democracy is in the saddle to fight for the old principles of Jefferson personified in the Jefferson of this day, the Honorable William Jennings Bryan.

We have been asking our Republican friends questions. We want to know what they propose to say to the people of Wisconsin, among whom are largely represented the people of that foreign country that has felt the stings of militarism. We want to know what they propose to do with us when the volunteer system will no longer supply our armies in foreign

service. We want them to say to us whether they propose to engraft upon our Constitution a system of compulsory militarism. If they do not propose to do that then we ask them how they expect to retain possession of the territory which they say now belongs to us and which they admit can only be kept under control by a standing army. We want them to answer the people and say why it is if they are so much opposed to the trust organizations that are now dominating the finances, the industries and the commerce of our country, if they are so much opposed to them, why is it that although they have had three Congresses not one syllable of remedial legislation have they given to us.

They have had the opportunity and we can only read the pledge of the Philadelphia platform in the light of their history during the last three years. That history gives the lie to their promises.

Gentlemen of the Convention, there is a great army of voters, not only in Wisconsin, but in the United States, scattered everywhere, that constitute the balance of voting power. That great army of voters is inclined in our direction. The principles of the platform that will be adopted here at this convention covering the questions that have sprung up since the last National Convention convened are perfectly familiar to them. I refer to the great army of German voters of this country. Thirty-eight per cent of the population of Wisconsin is of German birth or of German extraction. We believe that we can secure their co-operation, that we can induce them to enlist under our banner, and every inducement that can be held out to them should be held out to them by this convention. It is not sufficient for us to assemble here and adopt the platform and nominate candidates. The battle is only then begun. We must stop and inquire where it is necessary for us to strengthen our lines in order to insure victory at the polls, and I ask you, gentlemen, whether it is not a fact that in order for us to succeed at the next election you must of necessity break into that bunch of States that lie east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. I am at a loss to know how it will be possible for us to succeed without we get the support of some of those States. The delegations from those

States who come here to represent the great body of the Democracy of those States should be consulted. (Applause.) They know political conditions as those conditions exist in their respective States better than they can be told by any person who lives beyond their borders.

There is another question which was touched upon by Mr. Dockery, the gentleman who preceded me, that appeals to our people. That is the brand that is burning and that awakens us to the realization of our true condition. The question is whether the United States, standing for all that there is in the world of human liberty and human freedom—whether we shall stand like cowards and see our two little sister Republics overridden by the proud tyrant who seeks to subdue them solely for greed of gold.

If there was reason for us to interfere in behalf of Cuba, a people that had never had a government, a people that had never been recognized as a nation—if there was reason for us to interfere in their behalf, how much more potent is the reason for us to interfere in behalf of the only two sister Republics whose government approaches our own? For my part I would like to see this convention say to England, "You shall take off your hands from these little sisters until the nations have determined by arbitration or other amicable means whether you are right. If you are right, you may proceed, but if you are wrong, then in the strength that God gave us, you shall not proceed further." A declaration of that kind in our platform will arouse the enthusiastic support of thousands of Dutch voters in this country and thousands of German sympathizers. Aye, more, it will arouse the active sympathy and co-operation of every man who places human liberty before Mammon.

I am glad indeed to be permitted to meet with this convention—a great deliberative body where a Democrat has got the right to express his individual views and individual preferences, but he has got no right to question the policy of this convention after that policy has been adopted. For my part, it makes no difference, so far as my personal views are concerned, what the platform of this convention shall be. It shall have my enthusiastic, earnest support. But, when you are

making platforms consider the voters who live in the Middle West States and what is necessary to get their co-operation and support. So far as I am concerned, I do not believe in taking one backward step from the stand we took in 1896. Let us stand by the Chicago platform and everything that there is in it. Let us reaffirm that platform in letter and in spirit. But it seems to me that reaffirmation means reaffirmation, and that it is not necessary for us to travel over the thorny, broken paths that led us to defeat in 1896.

I make these suggestions to you, my fellow Democrats, with all of the earnestness and sincerity of my nature. I appeal to Democrats from Texas, from Mississippi—aye, from old Missouri—to come up there to help us in our fight to win a victory for them. We need their support.

Gentlemen of the convention, this magnificent assemblage gives the lie to the prediction that was made by the Republican party four years ago. It is usually easy to give the lie to most any prediction or promise that they made. They told us that the Democracy of this country was dead and we would never hold another convention, but God witness this magnificent resurrection!

Let us go at them, flank and center; let us start them on the run, put them on the defensive, and keep them busy defending until we have driven them into defeat in November.

At the conclusion of Mayor Rose's address the Chair introduced Hon. J. A. McCollough, of Indiana, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I come from a State whose Democracy is always in earnest for the ticket and for the platform when the one is named and the other is adopted. Indiana has had many hard fought battles under the lead of its great statesmen whose history you all know. Indiana was among the first in recent years of Northern States to cast its light on behalf of the great Democratic party and to cast its electoral vote for the nominee of Democratic conventions. Four years ago there were some who had trained as Democrats who left the party, under the influence in part of the gold convention that was held in Indianapolis. But let me say to you, my fellow Democrats, that in Indiana a man cannot at one time pretend to be a Democrat when in point of fact he is not, and remain

in the Democratic party deceitfully. Indiana this year comes to this convention to take part in its platform and in the nominations that are to be made when the one is adopted and the candidates are named. Indiana's Democracy is in earnest for the purpose of casting its electoral vote next November for that ticket. That is the sentiment that prevails there and prevails among our Democracy as a whole, whatever shade of belief they may entertain with reference to questions that to some extent have divided us before. Let me say to you, as has been said here by Mr. Rose, that Indiana's Democracy is in favor of no backward steps. Let me say to you that the gain that must come this year to carry Indiana for the Democratic ticket must come from our great cities, and largely from among the German voters. Let me say to you that Indianians are alive to the overshadowing issue of imperialism. Give them the platform that the Democratic Convention will give upon the subject of trusts. Give them the platform that any Democratic convention will give upon the subject of subjects, and upon the subject of tariff.

Give them a platform that in no way recedes from any step that has been taken to free the country from oppressive financial legislation, but do not unnecessarily undertake to rehash those things that are unnecessary. On behalf of the Democracy everywhere we have announced our principles along financial lines as well as along other lines, and I believe that the Democratic party stands now and will stand in the future in favor of those principles at all times when there is a possibility of putting them in force. I say give us a platform along those lines, my fellow citizens, and you will find, as I believe, and as every fellow Democrat, I think, believes, that in November Indiana will take her stand along with other Democratic States in casting her electoral vote for William J. Bryan for President of the United States and for the Vice Presidential candidate to be named today and for the number of Congressmen that will stand up for Democratic principles from first to last. I thank you, my fellow citizens, for your kind attention

(At the conclusion of Mr. McCollough's address there were calls for Senator Vest and a number of calls for Senator Hill.)

THE CHAIR: The Chair recognizes the gentleman from

Massachusetts, Hon. George Fred Williams, for the purpose of making a motion. The Convention will be in order.

MR. WILLIAMS, of Massachusetts: Mr. Chairman, in accordance with the vote of the outgoing National Committee, I offer the following motion:

That a committee of nine be appointed by the Chair for the purpose of conferring with the Silver Republican and Populist parties now in gathering in Kansas City.

The motion was put by the Chair and declared adopted.

THE CHAIR: I wish to introduce Hon. J. R. Williams, of Illinois, who will now address you.

Mr. Williams, of Illinois, said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: When this platform has been adopted every Democrat who is a Democrat will be hunting not for a place where he cannot stand, but he will be looking for a place where he can stand. This platform will contain a plank wide enough and long enough for every Democrat in the United States to stand on. I tell you, the Democracy of this country from one end of the Union to the other can unite on the Declaration of Independence.

We can unite on the constitution of our country. We can unite against imperialism and McKinleyism. We can unite for the Republic and William J. Bryan of America. Let me say to you that whatever the platform may say, the supreme issue in the great contest before us is the life of the Republic itself. Let me warn the delegates of this convention not to quibble, not to contest over little things. It matters not, that will be the issue, and the only way to magnify any other question is by a fight over it in this convention. If any other issue is brought to the front, the men who stir up strife in this convention and seek to magnify some other question must accept the responsibility for it. This is all. Let us remember that there never was a time in the history of our party when the conditions of the country appealed to us so earnestly for united and judicious action as now. If Democrats indulge in fighting each other, it will not be long until there will be but little left to fight for. Let us unite on our platform. You need not be afraid. Both the platform and the candidates will be Democrats—a platform that will declare the flag and constitu-

tion shall dwell together, and when we submit to the liberty loving people a platform and candidates in favor of a Republic as against an Empire they will surely haul down McKinley; they will snatch from his imperial brow his glittering crown, bought with the blood of his countrymen, and enthrone in his place of power that fearless champion of human rights, that brave defender of human freedom, and crown him with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the Republic.

THE CHAIR: I now take pleasure in introducing Governor J. A. W. Beckham, of Kentucky.

(Governor Beckham was greeted with loud and prolonged applause by the delegates and audience.)

Governor Beckham said:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: I shall not undertake to make you any speech upon this occasion, but I desire to thank you gratefully for this expression of your esteem, not only to me but to the outraged and slandered Democracy of my State of Kentucky. I want to say to you that if any blot or stain has been placed upon that State it has been placed there by those who have not voted and who will not vote the Democratic ticket. But I want to promise you, my friends, that after the experience we have had in Kentucky in the last year we Democrats, having learned somehow to fight down there, I promise to this convention and to the Democracy of the United States that in the November election Kentucky will be found safely and solidly in the Democratic column. We have had some exodus of criminals from our State, and if the good work keeps up the Democratic majority in Kentucky this fall will be 100,000. We have seen down there, my friends, so much of Republican misrule, we have had such a dose of it, that the Democrats of that State do not care much what kind of a platform you give them, they are going to stand on it and give their vote to Bryan in November.

Gentlemen, I do not want to take up your time any longer. You have heard a great many distinguished speakers today, and you will hear more of them. I want to thank you again for this kindly reception.

The Chair introduced Hon. Joshua W. Miles, of Maryland, who addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and my Fellow Countrymen: Perhaps it would be in order, as there is scarcely a member of this vast audience outside my own delegation who knows the humble delegate who is now to address you, that I should make some introduction of myself, in order that my words may carry with them a force that they otherwise would not have. I am, my fellow citizens, one of those Democrats who, not agreeing to every dogma in the platform of 1896, yet in an humble effort to sustain the decrees of my party convention, followed the flag of William Jennings Bryan. To me, fellow Democrats, it is one thing to be a Democrat from adherence to dogma, and it is another and an entirely different thing to be a Democrat from instinctive sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the great masses of the plain people of this Republic.

Believing that William Jennings Bryan represents this type of Democracy, putting aside this dogma and that dogma of 1896, turning my back upon relatives and friends and Democrats with whom I have associated from infancy, I held aloft the decrees of a Democratic National Convention. I am here today with every fiber of my nature beating with the principles which found lodgment in my breast in 1896. When this convention speaks your humble speaker will find his way back to a rural Democracy in Maryland to plead for the election of the great tribune of the people, who after all, however I may differ with him as to immaterial things, I recognize to be the greatest living leader of Democracy in this American Republic.

But, fellow citizens, I must, if I would be honest with you, make an appeal. We have come to this convention representing the conservative State of Maryland, a State that until 1896 registered its vote for every Democratic candidate for President for over a quarter of a century prior to that time. There are many men in Maryland who would like to come back and follow the flag of Democracy in this campaign, and while I need no invitation, while the gentlemen who are with me to stand by the decree of this convention need no invitation, while these men helped to defeat your humble speaker in 1896, I put aside my own prejudices, forget the wounds which they have inflicted upon me, and for the sake of the party I appeal

to you to act today so that we may on every side vote for the leader whom you and I have already chosen.

HON. J. G. JOHNSON, of Kansas: Mr. Chairman—

MR. MILES: I recognize from the voice that has just been lifted that the few minutes acceded me have expired. I am very sorry, my friends, that I cannot stand here long enough to make more potential this plea. I want to say, my friends, you may say there is no difference between that which is asked for and that which is conceded, but recollect that that which is asked for is endorsed by such friends of William J. Bryan, as John W. Daniel, of Virginia, Carter H. Harrison, of Illinois. If these men be not friends of Bryan, in the name of God where are his friends in this Republic?

Now, my friends, I will not prolong this speech. I did want an opportunity to appeal to you because I have a right to do it, since we have learned of the action of the Committee on Resolutions, to appeal to you in the names of such doubtful States as New York, New Jersey and Indiana, and such rock-ribbed Gibraltars of Democracy as Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, North Carolina and Texas, with her two hundred thousand.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the attention which you have accorded me. I want again an opportunity to thank the beautiful representative of the female New York Democracy for that splendid rendition of that magnificent national melody which was written by a patriot son of Maryland. I thank you all. Let us get together.

THE CHAIR: The Chair desires to make a statement.

The Chair is informed that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions will be ready to report at half-past three.

The Chair recognized Hon. J. G. Johnson, of Kansas, who moved that the convention take a recess until half-past three o'clock.

The motion was unanimously adopted and the convention at 12:43 p. m. took a recess until 3:30 p. m.

SECOND DAY.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 5, 1900.

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Richardson at 4:11 p. m., who said:

I wish to announce to the convention that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is now ready to report, but the committee will not report until order is restored on the floor, so that the committee can submit its report.

The convention being in order the Chair recognized Hon. James K. Jones, Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, who said:

"Mr. Chairman, I am directed by the Committee on Platform and Resolutions to report a platform to this convention for its adoption, and I will request Senator Tillman of South Carolina to read it." (Applause.)

SENATOR TILLMAN: Mr. Chairman, your committee beg to report the following platform of principles:

PLATFORM.

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States assembled in National Convention on the Anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the

Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution can exercise lawful authority beyond it, or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the Commanding General of our Army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It dooms to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of

the present administration. It has embroiled the Republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Philippines: First, a stable form of government; second, independence; and third, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of "criminal aggression" against the Philippines, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but we believe that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruc-

tion of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

The declaration in the Republican platform, adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine," is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern Hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this Continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history, and co-eval with the Philippine conquest, has there been a wholesale departure from our time honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of raw material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the

terms and conditions thereof; and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity of betterment.

They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in its State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication, shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all of the branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books prove the insincerity of the high sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them, should

be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust breeding measure, skillfully devised to give to the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

We reaffirm and endorse the principles of the National Democratic Platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, and which shall restore and maintain a bi-metallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and, if the bank currency is to increase with population and business, the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is, therefore, a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of national bank notes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce

the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents; and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican National Platform for an Isthmian Canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those territories immediate statehood and home rule during their condition as territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for the purpose of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world

politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

Believing in the principles of self-government and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African Republics. Speaking, as we believe, for the entire American nation, except its Republican officeholders, and for all the free men everywhere we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of fostering American ship building, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government, which have made the United States great, prosperous and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

(During the reading of the platform, when Senator Tillman read the sentence: "But the burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the Republic, and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of this campaign," there was a tremendous outburst of applause in every quarter of the

great auditorium. American flags blossomed from the hand of every delegate and appeared in the galleries, waved by enthusiastic spectators. The standards of the different State delegations were carried to the platform; and just over the Chairman's stand an immense American flag was let down, which completely hid the speaker's table. Across the flag were printed in large letters: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." "The Constitution and the Flag, one and inseparable, now and forever." "Flag of the Republic forever and the Empire never." "A Republic can have no Colonies." The demonstration lasted for eighteen minutes, and it was with great difficulty that the Chair was able to secure order so that Senator Tillman could proceed with the reading of the platform.)

Order being restored the Chair recognized Hon. James K. Jones, of Arkansas, who said:

Mr. Chairman, by direction of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, I move that the platform just reported be adopted by the Convention by acclamation.

The Chair put the motion and declared it adopted unanimously.

A delegate moved that Hon. Webster Davis be invited to address the convention.

The motion was put and adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIR: I now have the pleasure of introducing Hon. Webster Davis.

Mr. Davis addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I appreciate very highly the honor conferred upon me by inviting me to say a few words at this time, and I shall not detain you but a moment. I have been honored highly by another political party than this in the past. I have served that party well, and have rendered services as good as the honor I received, and the account is balanced now. Life, human life, is but a narrow span between two great unknown eternities, and life is too short for a man to sacrifice his principles or his love of country for money or for office in this Republic.

I have never yet read or heard a platform that was so intensely American as the platform read here in this conven-

tion. Old conditions have passed away; old questions have passed and gone, and new questions are now before the American people. I care not a snap of my finger for party or private criticism. I care nothing for office, because I gave up one voluntarily better than any you can give me, and the man or newspaper that makes the statement that I was forced to leave the administration against my will absolutely, unqualifiedly and maliciously lies.

I love liberty, I love equality of rights, and I love justice, and when the party that I belong to has been too cowardly to take a stand for liberty, to stand for a Republican form of government as against a British aristocracy and monarchy, I leave it and leave it for good. In every part of Europe and Africa the charge is made by the British press and the British officials that there is a secret alliance between this country and Great Britain, to the effect that in case of any foreign nation attempting to intervene in behalf of the poor Boers, that this Republic will stand by Great Britain with its army and navy. I have yet to hear of the administration denying that report. I defended the administration in every address I made in behalf of the Boers since my unfortunate visit to that country—for me, I say unfortunate financially and politically—but I say now I will never defend it again because it has not taken the chance at its national convention to tell the American people that we are for liberty and republican forms of government. Liberty! we all love the splendid word—the sweetest word that ever blossomed upon the tongues of men, and as one great Republican Senator said in the United States Senate: “It has come to pass that we must whisper the word Liberty in Washington.” Is it a fact that liberty is to become obsolete in the American lexicon? Is it a fact that this great Republic must chain itself to the chariot wheels of the British Empire in its mad race for land and gold?

I sympathise with people struggling for liberty everywhere. I sympathised with them as they struggled for liberty in Armenia. I sympathised with them as they struggled for liberty in Greece. And when the war broke out with Spain we said then that it was a war not for conquest, not for glory, but for carrying liberty to people who were crying for help at our feet. And the boys marched up from the northland,

whose fathers once marched in tattered blue, with the song their fathers loved, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and the boys came from the southland, they whose fathers once marched in ragged gray, to the music of "Way Down South in Dixie." And they followed the men who once led the Northern and Southern armies, down to Cuba and into other lands, and into the islands of the sea. They marched under one flag in behalf of one country, to the music of one splendid melody, as they felt in their hearts the music that inspired the men in the days gone by:

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men Free.

Up until that point the war was right, but when we passed beyond that point the administration went too far. But it was another indication of following in the footsteps of Great Britain; when our flag rose over the flag of the rotten Spanish monarchy the American Republic could not resist the temptation then of following in the footsteps of Great Britain, and it thirsted for land and gold, and that is where the mistake was made. We should have stopped at the end of the Spanish victory, when we brought liberty to the people who were being ground to death under the heel of Spanish tyranny.

We do love liberty. The masses of the American people stand for the blessed idea of Liberty, Justice, and Equality of Rights, and I dare say today if it were possible to get the news over the British cable to the Boer farmers in the two South African Republics that these representatives of six or seven million American voters send a word of sympathy to them many a Boer would shout for joy in the hills of the Transvaal. A grander struggle for liberty was never made in the world's history than the struggle being made by the republicans and democrats in South Africa. Let us sympathise with them, and I am glad that you have taken this action today, and at the polls in November follow it up. Let American principles ever live. Let them go on through the years to come as an inspiration to generations yet unborn. Liberty, love of country, one flag, one country, one splendid destiny where manhood reigns alone, and every citizen is King. I stand upon this platform and support William Jennings Bryan.

(The applause which greeted Mr. Davis at the conclusion of his address was prolonged and enthusiastic.)

Hon. J. G. Johnson, of Kansas, moved that the States be called for the nomination of President, and that seconding speeches be limited to ten minutes.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIR: Before a call of States is proceeded with the secretary will announce the Special Committee on Conference. The secretary read the names of the committeemen as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CONFERENCE.

Hon. George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts.

Hon. J. G. Berry, of Arkansas.

Hon. W. H. Thompson, of Nebraska.

Hon. Chas. Thomas, of Colorado.

Hon. J. S. Rose, of Wisconsin.

Hon. Thomas H. Martin, of Virginia.

Hon. J. G. Maguire, of California.

Hon. B. R. Tillman, of South Carolina.

Hon. Carter H. Harrison, of Illinois.

The Chair announced that the Committee on Conference would meet at 7 o'clock p. m.

THE CHAIR: The secretary will now proceed with the call of the States for the nomination of President of the United States, beginning with the State of Alabama.

The State of Alabama having been called, Hon. Tennent Lomax, chairman of the delegation, said: The State of Alabama yields to the State of Nebraska, and the State of Nebraska will send its representative to the platform.

Hon. William D. Oldham, of Nebraska, ascended the platform, and addressing the Chairman and members of the convention, said:

Mr. Chairman: When the Republican party met in National Convention in Philadelphia a short time ago, representatives of the carpet-bagging canaille of the State of Alabama yielded to Ohio the privilege of presenting their preference for a President of the United States; and the State of Nebraska now bows her acknowledgment of a similar courtesy extended to her by representatives of the enlightened chivalry and manhood of that historic State.

More than one hundred years ago the Continental Congress

of America adopted a declaration that had been drafted by the founder of the Democratic party, and the joyous notes of Old Liberty Bell which greeted that act announced to a waiting world that a nation had been born. With hearts unchilled by the selfish sentiment of cold commercialism, you have patriotically responded to each principle contained in Democracy's first platform as it was read to you at the opening of this convention. And in view of the radical departure that the party in power has made from the principles set forth in that historic document, it is meet that we true believers in the Republic of old should, in choosing a field and forming our lines for the bloodless battle of ballots now impending, say in the language of a loved patriot of long ago: "Read this declaration at the head of the army, and every sword shall be drawn from its scabbard and a solemn vow taken to maintain it or to perish on the bed of honor."

Much of history for this Republic shall be either made or marred by the action of this convention. You, as representatives of the only party that is coexistent with the nation itself; the only party that ever had within its own ranks sufficient constructive statesmanship to create a nation in which each citizen became a sovereign, have, true to the traditions that you bear, in your platform set out in simple language and with a decided American accent, a plan for the people's redemption from each sacrifice and schism taught by the Republican party. That plan contains nothing but the approved precepts of the elders and doctors of your faith. Now, if on such a platform you place a candidate whose devoted and unblemished life shall stand as a pledge to the plain people that he will in good faith carry out each of the solemn covenants contained therein, then the hour of our ultimate triumph is at hand.

There is no higher honor reserved for a citizen of these United States than to become the national standard bearer of the Democratic party. It at once enrolls his name on the scroll of the immortals "who were not born to die." It encircles him with a halo of the glory from all the illustrious achievements that that unconquered and unconquerable organization has emblazoned on each page of our nation's history. It entrusts to his keeping the fame of that long line of statesmen and patriots who have knelt for a blessing at Democracy's shrine.

Oh, bright are the names of those heroes and sages
That shine like stars through the dimness of ages.
Whose deeds are inscribed on the pages of story,
Forever to live in the sunlight of glory.

This high distinction must not be unworthily bestowed. It must follow as a reward for noble actions bravely done; for unrequited, tireless toil; for sacrifices made, and strength displayed; for trusts discharged and pledges kept. We must choose a leader whose public and private life most nearly exemplifies our party's highest ideal; who stands unqualifiedly pledged to every issue we declare, and who will carry the standard we place in his hands even as the Black Douglass carried the sacred casket that enclosed the heart of Bruce.

Your candidate must not declare for free trade with Porto Rico, and then, at the persuasive suggestion of the sugar and tobacco trust, sign a bill prescribing a tariff for that unhappy island. He must not denounce a policy as one of "criminal aggression," and then at the command of a power behind the throne pursue the very policy he has so denounced.

Your candidate must not, while professing opposition to combines and conspiracies against trade, send his emissaries to the trust barons' castles to beg, like Lazarus at Dives' gates, for subscriptions to his campaign. He must not lend the moral support of his administration to a monarchy in its effort to destroy a Republic; but he must ever sympathise with a people struggling for the right of self-government.

Instead of the Republican policy of monometallism, he must offer the free and unlimited coinage of the money metals of the Constitution—the gold that polished the winged sandals of Hermes, and the silver that glitters in the bow of Diana.

Instead of a panic-breeding credit currency, controlled by a bank trust, he must offer government paper controlled by the people. He must be able to distinguish between Democratic expansion and Republican imperialism, the first a natural growth by the addition of contiguous American territory, into every foot of which is carried the Constitution, the flag and the decalogue; where over the shoulders of every inhabitant of the added territory is thrown a purple robe of sovereign citizenship. This is an expansion that has added eighteen stars to the field of blue, in the "Banner of the Free," to symbolize the

States that have been carved from public domain and added to this country by the wisdom and statesmanship of the Democratic party. It is an expansion that is bounded on the north by the Constitution of the United States, on the east by the Monroe doctrine, on the south by the Declaration of Independence, and on the west by the Ten Commandments.

How different this from the bandit policy of Republican imperialism, with its standing army and bayonet rule of conquered provinces; its government against their will of sullen subjects by force and fraud, its denial to them of the protection of the Constitution or the command which says, "Thou shalt not steal." This is a policy that would send our Uncle Sam off his American range with a cowboy hat, a rope, and a branding iron, to rustle and brand over all the loose islands of the Orient while hypocritically chanting the long-meter doxology.

Democratic skies are brighter today than they were when we met in convention four years ago. Then a financial cataclysm had swept over this country, and although its every inducing cause was plainly traceable to the errors and follies of the Republican party, yet we were in power when it came, and were wrongfully charged with the responsibility for the shattered fortunes which strewed its wake.

Torn asunder by dissensions within and disaster without our party faced a dark and foreboding future that seemed to augur its dissolution. The problem then was the selection of a candidate bold enough to cover the rear of a retreat and save the party from destruction, if not from defeat; while discord, with her flaming torch came down, to confuse our counsels there; from out of the Sunset Realm a leader came and bade defiance to the oncoming hosts. With the strength of youth, a wisdom of age, with knightly mien and matchless words, he towered above his Peers, and all who saw him then, with one accord, did hail him Chief and gave the Party's standard to his hand. Slowly despair gave way to hope. Confidence came back, where timorous fear had been. The broken, shattered, columns formed again, and behind him singing came six million, five hundred thousand, valiant men to that unequal fight. And the story of how bravely he fought, how fearlessly he fell, and how dearly the enemy's victory was bought, has all gone out into history.

Back from his "First Battle" he came, the hopeful and unconquered hero of the rights of men. Conscious of the rectitude of his motives, and cheered by the belief that "no issue is ever settled until it is settled right," he cheerfully accepted the result of his first campaign and girded his lions for the coming contest between the DOLLAR and the MAN.

For four years he has waged an unceasing warfare against his country's enemies. For four years he has held up our party standard, and his voice has cheered the hosts of Democracy in every State and Territory.

When trusts began to increase under Republican protection he first pointed out the danger and prescribed a remedy. When the alarms of a war for humanity roused the patriotic spirit of our land, he tendered his sword to his country's cause on the day that war was declared.

When later he saw the administration departing from the ancient landmarks of our institutions in its enchanted dream of Empire and Militarism, he was the first to raise a warning voice, and, resigning his command on the day that the treaty of peace was signed, he threw himself into the contest for the rescue of the Republic. Realizing that Imperialism, like the fabled Antaeus, was a son of Earth, and that if struggled with upon the selfish, worldly plane of Greed and Gain and Gold, it was of giant strength, and if thrown down would rise again refreshed from contact with its mother element; He, like the mighty Hercules, raised it high above the sordid sphere from which its strength was drawn, and on a plane of lofty patriotism he strangled it.

With the issues thus clearly drawn, no doubt remains as to the name of our candidate. On that issue we are today a reunited Democracy. All the allies, differing from us in name rather than faith, have declared for our gallant leader again. Every State and Territory has instructed its delegates to this convention to vote for him here; so it but remains for Nebraska to pronounce a name, that name has been thundered forth from the foot of Bunker Hill, and echoed back from Sierra's sunset slope, that has reverberated among the snow-capped, pine-clad hills of the north, and rises from the slumbering, flower-scented savannas of the south; and that

name is the name of William Jennings Bryan, her best beloved son.

(At the conclusion of Mr. Oldham's speech there was another wild demonstration, and an immense oil portrait of Mr. Bryan, about six feet by ten feet, was carried to the platform, and the standards of the several States again gathered around it. Mrs. Cohen, the lady delegate from Utah, carried a beautiful silken banner, on which was inscribed: "Greeting to William J. Bryan, from the Women of Utah." It was some minutes before the Chair was able to secure order.)

The call of States was resumed. Arkansas yielded to Texas, and the Chair recognized Hon. A. B. Perkins of that State, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I thank the State of Arkansas for the honor that they have paid us by yielding their position to the State of Texas in seconding the nomination. Gentlemen of the convention, the Democracy of Texas comes to this convention desiring one thing only, and that is the election of William J. Bryan in November. To us this seems the paramount thing to be desired. Today the issues on which the campaign of 1900 must be fought are made up. The platform adopted at Philadelphia and at Kansas City cannot alter them. To make those issues and act upon them, and these that are coming, demand true greatness in your candidate. For that the only foundation is true, open, honest, courageous manhood. Without there may be superiority but no greatness. We love the man we advocate. He came and dwelt and mingled with our people. They watched him and studied him in the various relations of life. They found that he was endowed with manhood in a high degree. If they had not he would not have received the vote of Texas. They are old-fashioned and make this the first but not the only test. In intellectual culture, in the knowledge of the theory of our government and the details of its administration, in love for their country and patriotic devotion to its people they found that he was the peer of the greatest statesman of the best days of the Republic. They do not indulge in hero worship. But a hero's claims to greatness depend upon his past achievements. Besides, Texans do not follow any but those who from their deeds before the people are worthy

of being followed. The manliest man who goes forth to fight the battles of the people, whom they honor and whom they trust, and such a one is William Jennings Bryan.

The hour demands such a man for the very theory upon which the Republic is founded is now called in question. The right of self-government is actually challenged. For him I pledge the unwavering Democracy of the State of Texas, which does now, and will in November, vote to sustain the Constitution and the flag which is the emblem of liberty.

The Chair recognized ex-Senator White, of California, who spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: I arise to second the nomination of the next President of the United States, William Jennings Bryan. I come as one not unaccustomed to political conventions. I presided over two of the national conventions of my party and I tell you I have never seen displayed more magnificent, splendid and heartfelt enthusiasm than that which controls this audience today. This is not an hour to seek applause. This is not a time when any man should seek to gain for himself the fleeting honor attending a political speech. We are in the presence of great national danger. We are dominated by those surrounded with power and with the habilaments of authority and those barriers which have heretofore protected the people have been swept away. Men honest in poverty have become dishonest in wealth, and nations which have lost their rights and their conscience in the presence of great success, have wandered from the paths of rectitude. To say just after the pæans of the Fourth of July have sounded let us soberly, truly and honestly reflect, regardless of political affiliations. We are now at the parting of the ways. The question of the day is republic or empire. It would do our people good to reflect upon the lessons of the day and read the inscription placed upon the sarcophagi which encloses the remains of George and Martha Washington. Take off your hats, my countrymen, as you pass by that shrine, and brush aside the habilaments of empire which you are promised by those in power.

Fellow-citizens, delegates, there is no man who more thoroughly typifies the thoughts that I have uttered than William Jennings Bryan. He is not unjust. He is just. He

is not in favor of destruction. He is in favor of preservation. I know the sentiment of my countrymen, I believe, and I know or think I know they are prepared today to stand with him and to woo back to its glorious resting place that goddess, that true liberty, which we almost, at least, metaphorically, worship; to which we, in truth, tender that tribute which man owns to liberty under that one just God whom we all worship. I stand here as an advocate of a man who is just, fearless and true; who is not a destroyer of capital, of enterprise, but an enemy of aggression and sordid power; who believes in fostering all legitimate industry; who believes in the open school house and the happy home; who believes where the American flag floats there exists not only freedom, but guaranteed freedom, that freedom which shall not perish from the earth. I ask you without division to nominate that man for President of the United States, and appeal confidently to my countrymen to vindicate your glorious choice.

When Colorado was called, Hon. A. T. Gunnell said:

Mr. Chairman, the devotion of the young State of Colorado is so well known that she deferentially defers to the great State of Illinois.

The Chair recognized Judge O. P. Thompson, of Illinois, who addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the delegation from the State of Illinois, I second the nomination of Mr. Bryan for the Presidency. It is indeed to me a great privilege to have an opportunity to second his nomination, not alone for the reason that Illinois was his birth-place, nor yet for the reason that I come from the city of Jacksonville, where he was educated and where he spent the first year of his business life and the first year of his married life, but because, further, we who knew him then know him now to be the same plain, candid, frank, fearless man that he was before he became so distinguished a citizen. The Democracy of Illinois love him for his purity of character. We admire him for his splendid ability. We respect him for his unwavering honesty, and we have confidence in him because of his courage and consistency. With a courage sustained by an honest belief in the cause of the common people, he has borne the banner of Democracy since his defeat in 1896 as proudly

as ever chieftain bore the trophies of a well-earned victory. Therefore, the State of his birth seconds the nomination made by the gentleman from the State of his adoption.

When Connecticut was called, Mr. William Kennedy, of that State, said :

Mr. Chairman, Connecticut yields to that sterling Democrat of the State of New York, David Bennett Hill.

Mr. Hill ascended the platform and was presented to the convention by the Chairman.

Mr. Hill said :

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention: In behalf of the Democratic masses of the State of New York, for whom I assume to speak on this occasion, I second the nomination which has been made from the State of Nebraska. William J. Bryan does not belong to Nebraska alone; he belongs to the North and the South, to the East and the West; he belongs to the whole country. It is a nomination which has already been made in the hearts and affections of the American people. From the closing of the polls four years ago until this very hour there never was a possibility of any other nomination being made.

He is a gentleman who needs no introduction to this audience or to the American people. Nebraska is proud of him, but New York is proud of him also. For four years he has upheld the banner of Democracy in almost every State in this Union. His voice has been heard not only in behalf of our Democratic principles, but in behalf of the cause of the common people; in behalf of the working men; in behalf of humanity. He will not only have the support of his party—a united party—but he will have the support of citizens of all parties.

He is strong, strong with the masses; strong with the farmer; strong with the artisan—stronger even than his own cause. His integrity has never been questioned during all the time that he has been under the gaze of the American people. His statesmanship has been exhibited in the halls of Congress. No others who have served during such a brief period in Congress have made such an impression upon the minds, and hearts and conscience of the American people. This convention meeting here today in this most beautiful city, surrounded by this

hospitable community, will indeed know itself in the nomination of this candidate. The cause he represents is peculiarly the cause of the people. His election will mean honesty and integrity in public office. It will mean the amelioration of the people. It will mean the destruction of criminal trusts and monopolies. It will mean economy and retrenchment in government affairs; it will mean the supremacy of the Constitution everywhere throughout this land wherever the flag floats. It will mean a return to the approval of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It will prove a blessing not only to those who vote for him, but to those who may vote against him. I, as you well know, was one of those who in good faith doubted the wisdom of some portions of the platform. Among other things I doubted the propriety of going into details as to portions of our financial policy, but the wisdom of this convention has determined otherwise, and I acquiesce loyally in the decision.

I am here to say further that the platform which has been read, although not meeting my approval in some respects, is, as a whole, worthy of the vote of every man who claims to be a Democrat in this country. Those who do not entirely approve some portions can well speak of others. If there are some issues which they do not desire to present as enthusiastically as some others, they can at least find many things in this platform that are worthy of their hearty approval.

It is believed that in some portions of this country the "paramount issue" is going to carry, and carry strongly. A word more.

This is the time for unity and not for division. I plead this afternoon for party harmony and party success. I plead because of the dangers which confront us. As sure as election day comes, if we should happen to be defeated, which I do not believe we will—if it should, however, occur, what will follow? Defeat means the restoration of a federal election law. It means a reduction of the apportionment of members of Congress throughout the Southern States of our Union. It means a consequent reduction in the vote of the electoral college from the Southern States. So, I am here to say that this is a most important election; important for our party; important for our country; important for the best interests of all our people. I

have no time now to analyze this platform. We are now specially speaking of men and not of measures. This nomination will, I hope and trust, meet the approval based upon this platform, of the people of all sections of the country. What we need is an old-fashioned rousing Democratic victory throughout this land. That victory will mean a restoration of the safe and stable currency of our fathers. That will mean home rule for States. That will mean popular government restored. That will mean the supremacy of equal laws through the country, and in this great result, which we hope to achieve I am rejoiced to say in conclusion that New York expects to join her sister Democratic States with her thirty-six electoral votes.

When the State of Delaware was called, Hon. John J. Gray, of that State, said:

Delaware desires to recognize the initial courtesy of Alabama in yielding to the gentleman from Nebraska, and we are glad to be able to stand in like compliment to Alabama.

The Chair recognized Mr. Tennent Lomax, of Alabama, who said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I feel deeply grateful to the State of Delaware for giving Alabama an opportunity of registering her enthusiastic support of that ideal man who will be the nominee of this convention for President of the United States. I represent a Democracy that has never known defeat. I represent a Democracy that stands where Jackson stood, for the initial liberties of the people. And representing that Democracy, I urge upon you the nomination of this candidate for President because he stands for the money of the Constitution. I urge the nomination upon you further because it typifies the principles of Jackson, and clings to all of those principles with the tenacity of a Jackson. I demand his nomination because, standing as he does, the embodied spirit of Jefferson—the incarnation of Jefferson—whose name represents and is symbolical of the Declaration of Independence, and who will bring our government back to the original principles of the Constitution, and who shall once more bring our government back to a government of the people, by the people and for the people. I name the most glorious Democrat in the splendid history of this Republic, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

When Florida was called, the chairman of the Florida delegation announced that the State yielded to North Carolina.

Hon. Walter B. Moore, of North Carolina, was recognized by the Chair and spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: A century of Democracy is drawing to its close. It began with Jefferson and ends with Bryan, each chosen by his party as the ablest champion of popular rights. Mr. Bryan, in his campaign, was defeated after a campaign of abuse, slander and villification, which was more glorious in defeat than his adversaries in victory, has remained for these succeeding four years the foremost Democrat in America, and the recognized tribune of the people, and the logical and unanimous choice of his party for renomination.

In an age when kings ruled by right divine and the plain people were regarded as little better than beasts of burden, Thomas Jefferson declared that all men were created free and equal, and that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the government. He was the necessary choice of Democracy and remained so until the principles which he advocated were embodied in government. In 1796 Jefferson was denounced as a theorist, a socialist, an anarchist and an atheist. In 1800 he was triumphantly elected to the Presidential chair. In an age when human liberty is bound by capital in chains stronger and more galling than slavery, when the divine right of money spreads its protective aegis over trusts, plunder and robbery, William J. Bryan declared, "You shall not press down this crown of thorns upon the brow of labor, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." He was the necessary choice of his party in 1896 for the Presidency, and he will remain so until the principles which he advocates will be embodied in government. Four years ago he was defeated by the money changers who had polluted the temple of liberty, and those political descendants of the un-American imperialists who a century ago defeated Jefferson. History will repeat itself. Democracy, rising stronger from defeat, will in 1900, as in 1800, give its banner to its leader and bid Bryan, following in the footsteps of Jefferson, to complete the great work he has already so nobly begun. Time has silenced and truth has disproved the slanders and calumny which wrought his defeat

four years ago. Thousands of his former opponents will now support him with enthusiasm. He has been in the calcium light of public scrutiny for four long years, but no enemy has found a weak place in his armor, and his friends have marveled at the wisdom of his words and the prudence of his deeds. With the genius and sagacity and spirit of Jefferson he has ever contended for individual liberty and public rights against special privileges and imperialism. With the strength and courage of Jackson he has waged a merciless war against the twin monsters of oppression—trusts and the robber tariff. Sir, I am proud to remember that four years ago, forty-eight hours before the meeting of the Democratic Convention in Chicago, North Carolina selected as its candidate for the Presidential nomination William J. Bryan, of Nebraska. We gave him our fealty and followed him with the tenacity of genuine tar-heels. Four times did the Democracy of North Carolina vote for Jefferson for President, and we will stick to Bryan until he is elected. We were first at the marriage feast before, and you may be assured we shall be present at the next marriage feast arrayed in the garments of triumphant Democracy. We made no mistake in our choice. Bryan is the best living embodiment of Democracy. With Jefferson and Jackson he completes a triumvirate of Democratic leaders. Like them, he is called to leadership after defeat, because like each of them, he is the best living representative of his party, and therefore the best hope of that party's victory. He is not influenced by the importunities of those who might advance his personal fortunes, but by the needs and just demands of those whom he can never know and who can never know him, who can never lend him personal assistance. In this equipment for the highest public service he measures up to the test of the great statesman, he is the idol of the plain people, and he is the champion of their rights, and they will elect him President of the United States.

The chairman of the Georgia delegation announced that that State would yield to the Hon. John W. Daniel, of Virginia.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Democratic Convention: I have but few words to say and shall detain you but a few moments from the most pleasing duty, the crowning event of this wonderful convention. On behalf of the unanimous delegation from Virginia, and by command of the sov-

foreign people of that state, I second the nomination of one who would rather be right than to be President; One who is now right by the instinctive virtues of his own ennobling discerning nature, and who will soon be President by the manly virtues of the American people.

Let me remind you, my countrymen, that the present condition of our country is a vindication and illustration of the fundamental financial doctrine which we taught four years ago, which then was the voice of a divided Democracy, but which is now the voice of their union. The doctrine that the prices of all property was regulated by the volume of money, and we have witnessed by the naked eye the prices of produce increasing in this country as new coinage flowed into our own mint and as new paper was printed. So that as to fundamental theory upon which we stand we behold the increase of industry in this land as its vindication.

The Republican party of this country met not long since in the old historic city of Philadelphia, rich with the memorials and relics of the grandest intellectual and moral struggle for which heroes ever drew swords. They were there with these memorials before them. They were in the sight and under the shadow of old Independence Hall, but no voice fell from the lips of the Republican party which there sat that would remind the country of where they were, or that they had any memory of the great struggle that made us free. It was but natural, for they could not have repeated a single sentence from the Constitution of the United States with respect to their present conduct; no, they could not have read the Declaration of Independence without everybody supposing that a satirist had gotten amongst them to ridicule their proceedings and to disturb the meeting.

This day, my countrymen, marks a new epoch, not only in the history of the Democratic party, but a new epoch in the history of America. Yea, it turns over a new page in the history of the world and proclaims the Democracy as the greatest of all world powers for the proclamation and steady defense of the bed-rock principles of American liberty and independence. I am happy to meet you here where the fruits of constitutional Democratic, intellectual, political and material expansion are

all around you. Here upon the soil of this mighty territory stretching from the Father of Waters to the Golden Gate, which Jefferson took away from the empire of Napoleon to dedicate to freedom and to protest in the name of that grand history that we shall take no part of this earth's territory from freedom and put it under an empire called the United States of Europe, Asia, Africa and anywhere else that we can fasten upon. I was glad to read in that open manuscript which marks the fruits of human toil the places that our prosperity has come from. It has come from your busy workshops, from your fertile soil, and above all from the brain and the brawn of men who have tasted the sweets of human freedom and who today send their message of lofty cheer to every human soul all over God's green earth, and hold up to his lips the cup which they have enjoyed and which they would love to dispense to all humanity.

But why should I detain you? The people have already nominated, and we do now nominate a man who is a faithful, noble, clear expositor of the American Constitution, a man who is honest in all that he has done and in all that he will do. We nominate a man who has no sense of fear, for the derision of others who may point at him the finger of scorn, but who knows that he is thrice armed who hath his quarrel just, and that his strength is as the strength of ten because his heart is pure. We nominate one whose name is cherished in your hearts, and will be spoken in your votes; who is today the foremost citizen on the soil of Democratic expansion, and who will become on November next not only the foremost citizen in moral and intellectual grandeur, but the foremost citizen and chief magistrate of a country in which all the people love and confide in him, and in which every man knows that he will receive from him justice without price.

The Chair recognized Hon. G. V. Menzies, of Indiana, who addressed the convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the State of Indiana I promise you that my remarks shall at least have the virtue of brevity, on the paramount issue of the campaign as declared by this convention, and that our great leader, William J. Bryan, the Democracy of Indiana in November, confident of

victory, exultant with hope, will sweep that State from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River. When the trembling wires on the 6th of November, 1900, flash the election news over this country, it will be that Indiana has given its fifteen electoral votes to William J. Bryan. On behalf of the Democracy of the gallant Hoosier State, I second the nomination of William J. Bryan.

Mr. Overmeyer, of Kansas, on being recognized by the Chair, said: On behalf of Kansas, I say to you that Kansas will speak through her most eloquent son. I have great honor in presenting to you John H. Atwood, of Kansas. Mr. Atwood said:

Who says we shall fail? Who thinks we shall fail? Who doubts the cause of the people or the success of Democracy when on one platform, in one day, appears as their champion, Webster Davis and David Bennett Hill? When the pæans of praise of the words that they have spoken is swelled by the voice of Democracy from rim to rim of the whole continent, from Atlantic States, and the strong voice of Tammany, too.

Why are they here? Why do they speak? They speak for the exaltation and the uplifting of that man who votes in Nebraska but whose home is all America. He is brave and he is pure, and so the trusts fear him, for in dealing with men in official life they meet only with the weak or with the wicked, with the cowards or the capricious. In the man we love, in the man whom we honor, you will recognize the man who has at once courage and a conscience. The trusts fear him, for like every beast of prey, they know their natural enemies. The rattle snake and the prairie dog lie down undisturbed and neither of them fear the scurrying of the coyote, but when the foot of man is heard then the rattle snake will sound his signal of alarm and is in battle array, and so it is with the trusts of this country. They are undisturbed and undismayed by the flutter of an owl like McKinley or by the harmless chattering of a prairie dog like their Vice Presidential nominee. They are undisturbed even by the howl of the wolf like Hanna. But whenever they hear the footfall of a man like him who is our leader then millions are amassed to accomplish his defeat. Ah, my friends, arrayed at his back are the millions of the American people who are so magnificently represented here today. Brave

do I call him, aye, brave enough to acknowledge truth when found on the lips of any man and brave enough to rebuke wrong whether flaunting itself in high places or groveling in low. As the chief of this nation and its greatest citizen he will not seek to slay the man who is struggling for his liberty, whether that man be the brown man of the Philippines or the white man of the Transvaal. Ah, my friends, the gods never saw in all of the time that has passed a crime so black and bloody as is being wrought out today on the veldts and plains of South Africa. Great words have come thundering to us down the colonnades of time. The old guard of Napoleon said when asked to surrender, "The old guard dies, but it never surrenders." Lawrence, on his sinking ship and in his dying hour, said, "Don't give up the ship." There is now, my friends, another legend and another saying. They are the words of dignity and strength, which were uttered by that rugged old burgher, Oom Paul, when he said, "The Transvaal shall be a republic or it shall be a grave."

And when our leader is clothed with the power of eighty millions of people when he grasps the scepter of power and reigns as the people's tribune at Washington, another legend will be added to the heroic words of history, and those words shall be, "Tyrants, stop! British Empire, stay your hand! America will not sit quietly by and see the death of the only Republics that are like our own!" And that is all that will be required. The ipse dixit, the word of America will be enough. And not only will the victory of Democracy next fall mean the rehabilitation of all the principles that we love. It will mean the salvation of the cause of liberty throughout the world. Is it any wonder that we ask you to do what you are going to do, vote for Bryan?

Kentucky yielded to Louisiana, and Hon. H. C. Fouquet spoke for that State, saying:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the loyal Democracy of Louisiana, I come to very briefly lay their tribute at the feet of the great commoner. For four years there has stood forth one who has championed the cause of the people as it has never been championed before. Standing in the broad open light of day, speaking a language that all can understand, a target for all the criticism, all the abuse

that corporate wealth could hurl against him, he has come forth from out the contest of 1896 a victor in defeat. And why, my countrymen? The answer comes straight and quick to the lips of mankind. Because truth crushed to earth will rise again, because the chords of the human heart will ever render back music at the touch of truth. Justice will be defeated? Who says that lies in the face of the gods. She is immutable, immaculate and immortal, and though all the guilty globe should blaze and burn, she would soar above the funeral pyre with not a downy feather ruffled by its fierceness. Gentlemen, inspired by such a sentiment, intrenched in the heart of humanity, fortified by the respect, the love and the affection of the masses of the people; armed with the sword of truth, defended by the priceless shield of incorruptibility, this great, strong man has fought the fight, is fighting the fight; has kept the faith, is keeping the faith; and we come today to say to those who bow down and worship at the shrine of the almighty dollar as the *summum bonum* of human aspiration, to those who would set aside and trample upon the best traditions and the highest ideals of our government, to those who would strike down individual liberty and its consequent opportunities, to those who would carve an empire out of the Republic, to corruption in high places under whatever guise, that there has stood and there stands today a lion across the path in the person of the unchallenged leader of the Democracy, William J. Bryan.

There was no response from the State of Maine.

Hon. Blair Lee was recognized by the Chair and spoke for the State of Maryland as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Republican papers, unable to appreciate how a convention, a political convention, can possibly represent the people, has seen today that we have a boss. They are right, fellow citizens. The Democratic party is controlled by the wishes of the people of America, and the people of America have directed the nomination of William Jennings Bryan. The days of canting praises have passed, the day of truthful platforms has arrived. The names of Jefferson and of Jackson are no longer catchwords to ornament meaningless platforms, but the people know as an actuality what were the liberal principles that Jefferson enunciated

and they realize the gigantic monopoly of money that Jackson overthrew. They recognize that Nicholas Biddle of that time was the Hanna of that time, and they recognize that Bryan is the Jackson of today. Democracy is of the heart as well as of the head. It was a favorite saying of Old Hickory that no man could be a true Democrat who did not have a good heart; and who can forget that the universities of England always opposed the progress of constitutional government? Mr. Bryan is a Democrat not because he says so, not because of his giant intellect, but because the instincts of his heart will not permit him to remain impassive when the interests of humanity are at stake.

The issue of today is "robbery"; shall it be crushed out? The man of the hour is one whose courage can not be daunted, whose honor can not be bought. Pirates who ravage a coast from without would menace a country less than those who take the property of the people by unlawful combinations from within. The Republican party tempts us to found a slave empire in the Pacific because it has become the party of silent pillage at home. The conditions under which our institutions were founded show to the Christian mind the hand of the Most Highest riding into a form of government—the law. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. The Constitution of America stands on the divine right of humanity.

Now, for Maryland. The American historian, Fiske, tells us that of all the thirteen colonies only one colony had men who time and again, charging with the bayonet, broke and routed the lines of the trained English infantry. The regular Democracy of Maryland, animated with the courage of their sires, are ready to charge the line of the modern tory who would tie the destiny of America to the imperial power of England. We unite in seconding the nomination of the man whose name and nature inspires patriotism in us, and will do so in the breasts of our countrymen, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

Mr. Goggin, of Massachusetts, seconded the nomination of Mr. Bryan in behalf of that State, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: At this late hour I come here but to say a few words in behalf of the old State of Massachusetts. At least, we have proved here today,

meeting in convention, that we still have the right to exercise the right of free speech. We have in this convention no triumvirate composed of Hanna, Platt and Quay to dictate what may be the action of the delegates in this convention. Coming, as I do, from Massachusetts, the State which has in it Bunker Hill, Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church, I am here, ladies and gentlemen, to say but one word, and that is to second in behalf of Massachusetts the nomination of William J. Bryan.

Mr. Barkworth of Michigan spoke for that State, saying :

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention : I should not detain you a moment if I did not feel that I had a message which I ought to bring to you, and I assure you that I shall make my speech very brief. I was a member of the Committee on Platform, and I had hoped that my distinguished friend, Senator Daniel, of Virginia, would have brought you a message from that committee. We spent the day, nearly yesterday, all the night and the greater portion of today in a fraternal and intelligently discriminative study of the platform, which we have laid before you, and there have been from within the committee room rumors and they have been treated by our opponents in a manner to endeavor to create the impression that there were differences and that the sting of defeat was resting not lightly upon some of us. But I want to say to you that our opponents would make a mistake if they rely upon them. There was not a member of that committee who came away from that committee room without inspiration which they will take with them into the campaign, and which will be productive of results ere the ides of November shall come. A body of men which made me feel proud that I was a Democrat and thankful to my delegation for the privilege of being permitted to act with them, constituted that committee, and I want to say to you that whilst we had differences they were differences of the head, and the union of the heart was just as intense as could possibly exist between men. And I want, in conclusion, gentlemen of the convention, to say to you that it is because our distinguished candidate represents the heart of American humanity that he is strong. He is the crystallized essence of the love of men applied through the life of man, and I say to you now that as the attraction of gravitation draws earthly particles to each other, so the attraction of humanity

has drawn around him a body of men whose mass will continue by accretions to grow larger. We have seen in the example of the distinguished citizen of Missouri, Mr. Webster Davis, an instance of that accretion today, and it will go on, sir, until the great mass of the American people, believing in accordance with the doctrine of the good word, with the heart and not with the head, will work out the salvation of the American people from all the political, social and industrial ills that beset us. The apostle of that creed is William Jennings Bryan, whose nomination I second.

When the State of Mississippi was called the chairman of that delegation said:

Mr. Chairman, if there is anything that delights a Mississippi Democrat more than another, it is to vote. I desire, therefore, to hasten that opportunity and not to speak.

A delegate from New Hampshire announced that his State seconded the nomination of Bryan.

New Jersey also seconded the nomination.

When New York was called, Hon. Edward Murphy arose in his place and announced that the great State of New York joined in seconding the nomination of Bryan.

The States of New Jersey, North Carolina and North Dakota all announced that they seconded the nomination of Bryan.

When Ohio was called the Chair recognized Hon. William A. Baker, of that State, who spoke at the request of Nebraska. He said:

Mr. Chairman: The Democracy of Ohio in this hour of supreme moment and victory, seconds the nomination of William J. Bryan for President of the United States.

For this disciple as well as apostle of the people, that high and historic place, honored since the day dawn of the republic by statesmen, by orators, by warriors, by right of ever attribute of greatness, becomes him and befits him.

The hopes, the aspirations, the fears, the deadly earnestness of the quickened and quickening conscience of the American people, demand—nay, command a leader whose name shall stand a synonym for justice and for truth. He stands for conscience and he stands for liberty. He believes as he believes his Bible, that all mankind are and of right ought to be free. He believes in the right to liberty of the alien races lying help-

less and prostrate at our feet, even now stripped and plundered as not by the rapacity of the Spaniard. He believes in the dignity of labor, to uplift it and to crown it, and to make it forever free from oppressive and unwarranted burdens.

He believes in the equality of money, gold and silver, and the uses for it, free from the private clutch and advantage of those who make it merchandise. He believes in the freedom of business and business enterprise unvexed by the all-devouring greed of trusts.

For these—for previous liberty, trumpet-tongued, the voice of Bryan, with the ring in it of Liberty Bell that rang out clear and full and forever the independence of our forefathers more than a century ago, the voice and soul of Bryan shall live in the answering echoes that will cry aloud from State to State as they record triumphant responses in the verdict of the people.

It is high time, and the time is now, when the people in their majesty may go to battle with no other platform save the Declaration of Independence and the Ten Commandments. That all men are born free and equal, and that to nations as well as to men it was said, "Thou shalt not covet" and "Thou shalt not steal."

Planted upon this rock of ages the Democratic party in all these gathered States and Territories will go forth to blessed battle under his gallant and glorious and knightly leadership, as we lift him aloft in our hearts and scribe his name on our banners, with the thundering invocation that is our war cry of victory:

He has sounded forth the trumpet
That shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men
Before His judgment seat,
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him,
Be jubilant, my feet,
For His name is marching on.

Governor Patterson was recognized by the Chair and spoke in behalf of Pennsylvania as follows:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention: Pennsylvania's excuse for detaining you at this hour is because of her enthusiasm in the work of this convention. The voice of

the people has already made this nomination. This convention has simply confirmed the sentiments of the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Pennsylvania already and at all times is upon the firing line in every contest of the Democracy.

I stand here representing 450,000 Democrats. The sentiments of Democracy were first inculcated in the colonial government of Pennsylvania when its founder declared that land's capacity of self-government. I am here now seconding the nomination of one who believes and whose every fiber vibrates with the doctrine of individual liberty and man's capacity for self-government. Never before in all the political history of this country was there a more important contest. The people are to determine whether they shall be restored to their own or not, whether this government shall be made a government of the few against the many, and in seconding the nomination of the honored name of William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. We have the utmost that a government of the people, by the people and for the people will again be restored.

Rhode Island and South Carolina both seconded the nomination of Mr. Bryan. When Tennessee was called Governor Benton McMillan of that State, said:

Mr. Chairman: On behalf of a State that has furnished three great Presidents to the United States, I am instructed by the delegation to second the nomination of that man who is the real tribune of the people, who has never cringed before power, who has never pandered to prejudice, who is as brave as Andrew Jackson, who is as eloquent as Cicero, and who is as patriotic as George Washington, William J. Bryan.

Hon. T. W. Maloney, of Vermont, spoke for Vermont, saying:

Mr. Chairman: The old Green Mountain State of Vermont was the first in the East to give a majority of the vote of her delegation to William Jennings Bryan at Chicago, and the representatives of her Democracy in this convention are proud again to second his nomination.

Washington and West Virginia seconded the nomination in turn.

Hon. Louis Bomerich responded when the State of Wisconsin was called. Mr. Bomerich said:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: As a

representative of the Democracy of the State of Wisconsin and coming from that sturdy class of Americans who proudly trace their ancestry into the historic valleys of music, literature and love for human right and liberty, Wisconsin seconds the nomination of the Thomas Jefferson of today, William Jennings Bryan.

We are told, my friends, that the State of Wisconsin is almost four-fifths of German origin in its population. It is for this reason that we are especially grateful to you for the noble principles enunciated in your platform. We are aware of the history of our race, in its struggle throughout the centuries for human rights and liberty. We are also aware of the assault by the Republican party upon those holy rights of many. We are cognizant of the fact that the Star Spangled Banner was hauled down from the rock of American humanity, liberty and justice, and placed upon the sand-hills of English conquest, plunder and subjugation; and when you tell us that the great mass of German-Americans will, when we face the issues, stop to consider a money question, then I will say to you, you do not know that race. And in conclusion, I speak to you the words of the greatest of the German-Americans, the great Carl Schurz, who has sounded the keynote when he said, "There is no price which can be paid which is too dear for the defeat of imperialism."

The State of Wyoming and the Territories of Alaska and Arizona each seconded the nomination of Mr. Bryan.

When the district of Columbia was called, Hon. Charles W. Slater responded. He said:

Mr. Chairman: The Democracy of the District of Columbia came here to this convention to take part in its proceedings. While we have not a vote in the election of the President, we shall cast our vote here for the one man who can save this country for the masses, for humanity and for justice, and we therefore cast our vote for the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

Oklahoma and Indian Territory both seconded the nomination of Mr. Bryan.

When the Territory of Hawaii was called, Hon. John H. Wise took the platform and said:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: The

delegates from Hawaii have traveled over four thousand miles to attend this convention. Last night a delegate from Hawaii cast a vote for the sixteen to one issue. What else do you expect then from Hawaii? We come here, therefore, to nominate that greatest of Americans, towering head and shoulders over all this continent; the man who was brave enough to stand up according to his principles. That man, gentlemen, is the man we nominate; and, gentlemen, if we were only a State we would do more for that peerless American, William Jennings Bryan.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohan, the lady delegate from Utah, was escorted to the platform by Senator Rawlins of that State.

She was introduced by Chairman Richardson, who said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: You have before you one of the delegates from the State of Utah. When that State was called, true to her sex, she was too modest to present herself. I now take pleasure in presenting this delegate, Mrs. Cohen, from Utah.

Mrs. Cohen was greeted with a great round of applause. She said:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the State of Utah, I desire to second the nomination of that grand and noble exemplar of all that is good and holy in domestic and political life, Hon. William Jennings Bryan. And the Democrats of Utah pledge 25,000 majority for Mr. Bryan in November.

THE CHAIR: The Secretary will now call the roll of States, and as each State is called, the chairman of the delegation will please arise in his place and announce the vote.

The Secretary then called the roll of States with the following result:

FIRST AND ONLY BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

States.	Total Vote.	Bryan.
Alabama.	22	22
Arkansas.	16	16
California.	18	18
Colorado.	8	8
Connecticut.	12	12
Delaware.	6	6

Florida.	8	8
Georgia.	26	26
Idaho.	6	6
Illinois.	48	48
Indiana.	30	30
Iowa.	26	26
Kansas.	20	20
Kentucky.	26	26
Louisiana.	16	16
Maine.	12	12
Maryland.	16	16
Massachusetts.	30	30
Michigan.	28	28
Minnesota.	18	18
Mississippi	18	18
Missouri.	34	34
Montana.	6	6
Nebraska.	16	16
Nevada.	6	6
New Hampshire.	8	8
New Jersey.	20	20
New York.	72	72
North Carolina.	22	22
North Dakota.	6	6
Ohio.	46	46
Oregon.	8	8
Pennsylvania.	64	64
Rhode Island.	8	8
South Carolina.	18	18
South Dakota.	8	8
Tennessee.	24	24
Texas.	30	30
Utah.	6	6
Vermont.	8	8
Virginia.	24	24
Washington.	8	8
West Virginia.	12	12
Wisconsin.	24	24
Wyoming.	6	6
Alaska.	6	6

Arizona.	6	6
District of Columbia.	6	6
New Mexico.	6	6
Oklahoma.	6	6
Indian Territory.	6	6
Hawaii	6	6
	936	936
Totals.	936	936

THE CHAIR: There have been cast 936 votes ; necessary for a choice, 624. William Jennings Bryan has received 936 votes, and I declare him the unanimous choice of this convention as its nominee for President of the United States. (When the Chairman announced the result of the ballot the delegates and audience again broke out with applause, which lasted several minutes.)

At 8:55 p. m., on motion of Hon. J. G. Johnson, of Kansas, the convention adjourned until 10:30 a. m., July 6th.

THIRD DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, July 6th, 1900.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Richardson at 10:47 a. m., who said:

The Convention will now open with prayer by the Rev. Henry H. Meyer, of the Jewish Temple, Kansas City. Will the delegates please rise?

PRAYER.

Oh, our heavenly father, father, too, of all mankind, Thou who art nigh unto all who call upon Thee in truth, we invoke Thy name today with the thrill and the thrall upon us of stirring scenes and strong emotions, that we may produce before Thee the conviction of our hearts that unless Thou art with us we labor in vain.

Thou art sovereign over us in life and in eternity. We thank Thee for the many worthy men Thou hast raised up in leadership over us. Oh, bless them. Bless all who work for the establishment of wise government and just laws. Make us to rejoice in the spread of truth and justice. Make us to perceive more and more our duties towards those who stretch forth their helpless hands in piteous appeal for succor, as we are all the common children of a common father. May every good enterprise that confronts us be carried forward to the glory of Thy cause. May we be free from bigotry and all bitterness of feeling towards those who hold opinions that clash with ours. May loyalty to liberty be counted unto us and to all men of

righteousness so long as we desire to defend the right and to defy the wrong. Let not prejudice or intolerance enfold us, but let our powers be directed against wickedness and wrong, and not against bondmen in ignorance and error, but against falsehood and sin, wherever it exists. Thou, oh Lord, hast lifted up our ensign unto all nations from afar, that it may be seen from all the ends of the earth, and, behold, it cometh with speed and safety. May the spirit of love and kindness rule everywhere, and may there be none weary of doing Thy will. We ask this for the sake of Thy name, Amen!

The Chair—Gentlemen of the Convention: On yesterday afternoon the Convention ordered that we proceed to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. Nominations for Vice-President are now in order. The secretary will call the roll of states.

The secretary proceeded with the roll call.

When Arkansas was reached, Hon. Jefferson Davis of that state announced that Arkansas desired to yield to the state of Illinois for the purpose of allowing her to place in nomination the name of Adlai E. Stevenson.

The chair recognized Hon. James R. Williams of Illinois, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Illinois is grateful to Arkansas for this evidence of her kind regard. The united Democracy of Illinois desires to present to this convention for the next Vice-President of the United States a Democrat. One who drew his first breath from the pure Democratic atmosphere of Old Kentucky. One baptized in the great and growing Democracy of Illinois. One who has stood squarely on every Democratic platform since he became a voter. One who has twice represented in Congress a district overwhelmingly Republican. One who is not a rough rider but a swift rider. Not a warrior, but a statesman. A man who stands for civil government against military rule. A man who believes that a President of the United States who would lower the Constitution to raise the flag, respects an empire's glory far more than he loves the Republic. A man who believes American despotism is no better than any other despotism. A man who places human,

blood above human greed. A man who would not trade away the precious life of an American boy for a nugget of gold in the Philippine Islands. A man who would not give the 3,000 or 3,500 brave American soldiers which McKinley has already sacrificed in that hotbed of disease and destruction for all the islands in all the seas. A man who during four years of faithful administration as First Assistant Postmaster-General of the United States demonstrated to the country that he knows a Republican when he sees him in an office that belongs to a Democrat. Nominate our man, and you will not have to explain any speeches made against Democracy, for he has never made any kind but Democratic. A man in the full strength of his manhood, able to canvass every State in the Union.

Gentlemen of the Convention, Illinois makes no exaggeration when she tells you that in that great state the conditions are far better, the prospects are much brighter for Democracy than in 1892, when our candidate for Vice-President carried it by 30,000 majority. We have a State ticket stronger than we ever had before. We have but one Democracy in Illinois. We voice the sincere sentiment of the Democracy of Illinois from one end of that state to the other, when we ask you to nominate a man whose name we will present, a man who has been tried, gone through the contest, and no weak spots found in his armor; a man whose high character and ability recommend him to the people in every state of this Republic; a man who possesses all the noble attributes of a noble man, great enough and good enough to be President of the United States, with a platform that reads like a Bible, and with these two able, faithful Democrats standing together, shoulder to shoulder, we can sweep criminal aggression and McKinley hypocrisy off of the face of the earth.

Gentlemen of the Convention, we now present to you as the choice of the united Democracy of our state that distinguished statesman, that splendid, vigorous, reliable Democrat, ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

The roll call was proceeded with. When Colorado was reached the chairman of that delegation asked that they be passed for the time being.

The chairman of the Connecticut delegation announced

that Connecticut would yield to the State of Minnesota. Hon. Leonard A. Rosing was recognized by the chair and spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : I desire first to acknowledge the gracious courtesy of Connecticut in yielding to Minnesota at this time. I want to extend my personal thanks to the gentlemen of that delegation.

I am proud to be privileged to respond here to the proud name of Minnesota. The Democracy of the North Star State as a candidate for Vice-President to submit to the sober judgment of this convention. A man worthy of the high honor to be placed upon the same ticket with the splendid champion of equal rights, whom you have nominated for Vice-President. We Democrats of Minnesota feel that we have earned the right to participate actively and effectively in the national councils of the Democratic party. For more than forty years the Democracy of Minnesota has wandered in the wilderness, previous to the campaign of 1898, but as a result of the great contest of 1896 and because of the splendid accessions to our ranks in that memorable campaign we entered the fight of 1898 more aggressively and more powerfully than ever before and by the aid of that gallant band of men who, by their courage, their truth and their abiding convictions of right, determined to sever their connections with the party they had fought with in the past, and by their splendid numbers coming to our ranks, the victory of Minnesota of 1898 was made possible, and for the first time in forty years our party placed a Democratic governor in the chair. The man who perhaps was called upon to sacrifice more than any one else and more than any other was called upon to lay upon the sacrificial altar a brilliant ambition, a man who had the magnificent courage to sever his political and personal ties of friendship in order that he might be true to his ideas of Americanism, is the man who Minnesota presents to you today for your consideration.

Not because he is from Minnesota, but because he is of the people ; not because he is a product of the Northwest, but because he is an American ; not because he stands for any one issue, but because he stands for all the issues that mean the preservation of American institutions. We ask your support for him because he is a Democrat that supports the

Democratic ticket and Democratic candidates. We ask your support for him because although he may not be a Democrat by ancestry he is a Democrat by conviction. We ask your support for him because he is a Democrat of Jeffersonian principles, a Democrat of the stern school of Andrew Jackson, a Democrat of the broad philosophy and humanity of Abraham Lincoln, a Democrat in defense of the flag of the Union and in believing that where the flag may be carried the people over whom it floats are entitled to the protection of the Constitution. We ask your support for our candidate, not because he is rich in this world's goods, not because his nomination would mean contributions, but because a beneficent God has endowed him with an eloquent tongue, a brilliant mind, a splendid courage, a true, big heart, and all the qualities of American manhood. We ask your support for Minnesota's able statesman, orator and patriot, and I now have the honor to place in formal nomination by instruction of the unanimous votes of the Democrats of Minnesota, in convention assembled, a leader of the people, Charles A. Towne.

The chair recognized Gov. Thomas of Colorado, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen and fellow delegates: The work of this convention from the hour of its commencement to the present time will commend itself to the favorable judgment of a majority of the American people. If your further deliberations shall be characterized by the wisdom you have already displayed there can be no question as to the verdict of popular sentiment in November. You are at present about to select a candidate for Vice-President. Your nominee in all respects should measure up to the full stature.

My friends it is not in this convention, inspired and influenced by the enthusiasm of the nominant, that the great battle of 1900 is to be fought and won, but in this nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from British Columbia to the Gulf of Mexico, after this gathering shall have perished, by appeal to reason and sentiment, to patriotism and to courage, that our great issue is to be won, if won at all. I am here to-day to lift my voice in behalf of a man who stands to the full measure of our candidate for President, whose voice, whether he shall be chosen or rejected, will be heard in every State of the Union;

whose influence is as extensive as that of our splendid leader; whose eloquence gilds truth with power and beauty, and who has signified his devotion to the great cause of modern Democracy, by his enthusiastic support of its principles and its candidates since adoption of the platform of 1896. Yesterday the great Senator from New York (Hill) called our attention to the necessity of unity and harmony as the essentials of this campaign. My friends, if ever there was a time when unity and harmony were absolutely necessary, the day and the hour has arrived. It is indispensable to our triumph, and every man and every woman whose heart beats in unison with the platform read here yesterday should be brought into line for the support of that platform and its candidates. This can be effected by the nomination of a ticket that appeals to the hearts and the consciences of every lover of this country.

If devotion to Democratic principles be significant, if constant effort to secure this supremacy at all times, and under all circumstances, constitutes Democracy, then is Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, a Democrat.

I recall the fact that four years ago it was his great speech in behalf of bi-metallic money, on the floor of the House of Representatives, that became a household document, and a household word for twenty millions of American people. That it supplied strength, and courage and conviction to every earnest but doubting follower in that great contest. I recall that wherever in that campaign the battle was thickest and the fight was fiercest there stood this gallant son of Minnesota firmly maintaining the right, speaking and working and toiling in behalf of William J. Bryan, and the cause for which he fought.

It is said that Mr. Towne is not a Democrat. My friends, I do not care, so far as I am individually concerned, what the man who supports our ticket calls himself; be he Jew or Gentile, black or white, native or foreign-born, Republican or Democrat, if he believes in and stands for the great underlying principles of Democracy, he is of us, and cannot be against us. If loyalty to our cause, and unceasing effort for its triumph constitutes the test of Democracy, then is Charles A. Towne a true and tested Knight of militant Democracy. He is the good right arm of our Presidential nominee. What Ney was to Napoleon;

what Melancton was to Luther; what Ireton was to Cromwell; what Sherman was to Grant, that is Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota to William J. Bryan, of Nebraska. One word more, and I am done. It is said that in this nomination geographical conditions should be considered. This great statesman belongs to no locality. His horizon is too large for the limitations for any commonwealth. He belongs to the Nation. He is ready to cast his gauntlet at the feet of the so-called hero of San Juan, and defy him to political combat through the length and breadth of this country. It is as far from Lincoln to Duluth as it is from Canton to New York. As a candidate he has every physical and intellectual equipment its demands require, and geographical conditions are immaterial. Place him by the side of William J. Bryan upon our ticket, and their like will not be seen for another generation.

I am through, gentlemen. I present, and second the nomination of Charles A. Towne.

When the State of Delaware was called, the Chairman of that delegation arose in his place and announced that Delaware yielded to Senator Grady, of New York. Senator Grady was recognized by the chair. He said:

Mr. Chairman: On behalf of the united Democracy of New York, I present to this convention as a candidate for Vice-President, the name of David B. Hill. (Here there was a general outburst of applause which prevented Senator Grady from continuing. It was twelve minutes before the chair could obtain order so that the speaker could proceed.)

The representatives of the Democratic party of New York recognize their responsibility to the Democracy of the Nation, and believe they appreciate the expectation of the Democracy of the Union in the presentation of this honored name. There is no State in the Union with so much to gain through Democratic success, and so much to lose by Republican triumph as the State of New York. We are there electing this year not only the entire State ticket from Governor to State Engineer not only as in every other State of the Union, every member of Congress, but we elect every member of our State Senate, and every member of the Assembly.

Desirous of strengthening our hands at home, we desire more to strengthen the National ticket. And we stand here,

seventy-two, as one, to pledge you the electoral vote of the State of New York if David B. Hill shall be the nominee of this convention for Vice-President.

This is no idle statement. We believe that David B. Hill, by the side of William J. Bryan, and standing upon the platform framed by this convention, is by thousands upon thousands of votes the strongest man that can be named to the Democracy of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. He is not, nor has he been in any sense, a candidate for this nomination. He has suggested every and any means which he thought might bring about harmonious action upon the part of the delegation from the State of New York, and secure the electoral vote of that State for our nominees. He may be prepared to decline the nomination which the delegates have offered to him and now present to this convention. We say to you, decline or not decline, from the first to the last ballot in this convention New York's seventy-two united enthusiastic, true blue Democratic votes will be cast for David B. Hill.

At the conclusion of Senator Grady's speech, the chair recognized Senator Hill, who advanced to the front of the platform and, turning to the chair, said:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention. While I greatly appreciate the unexpected action of the delegation from New York, it is proper for me to say that it is without my approval. I appreciate also the manifestations of friendliness on the part of the delegates from other States, but I felt that it is my duty to rise here now and say to you that for personal reasons, and good and valid reasons, I cannot accept this nomination.

I have not been a candidate. I do not desire to be a candidate and I must not be nominated by this convention. There are gentlemen here whose names have been or will be presented to this convention, any one of which names are stronger and more satisfactory than my own.

There is no difficulty whatever in making a satisfactory choice, and I ought not in justice to them to permit my name to be used a single moment further, and this convention should proceed to nominate a candidate from those who are concededly aspirants for the nomination. In justice to me, in justice to them, in justice to the party, and in justice to the ordinary

procedure of this convention, it is unfair to me to place me in this position without my consent.

The roll call was proceeded with. Florida yielded to Georgia. Hon. C. Hutchinson of that State was recognized and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Conventio: I represent the delegation of the empire State of the South; the State that under any and all circumstances will roll up a large Democratic majority regardless of what the platform is or who the candidates are. Fellow Democrats, this being true, we have only one purpose in view in this convention and that is to aid you if possible on naming a ticket with which we can win in the coming campaign. In this matter we have no way of judging the future but by the past, and judging by the past I desire to second the nomination of a man who has been elected to the Vice-Presidency of these United States and who, in my judgment, if nominated by this convention to-day will meet with similar results in November. He is a man, true and loyal to his party both before and after his election. When he filled the office of Assistant Postmaster General of these United States he never failed to recognize with promptness and precision the distinction between a Democrat and a Republican. He is a man that belongs to no wing or faction of his party and if nominated he will be the candidate of the entire people. He is a conservative man, and always speaks and defends the platforms enunciated by his party. He is an old-time simon-pure Jeffersonian Democrat, loved by all, and commands the respect and admiration of the American people. If he is placed upon our ticket by this convention, with the matchless Bryan as our leader, they will carry us to victory in November. The gentleman to whom I refer, and whose nomination we desire to second, is the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, of the State of Illinois.

The roll call was proceeded with, and when Illinois was reached, Mr. Williams, chairman of the Illinois delegation, announced that his State would yield to Connecticut.

Mr. Cummings of that State was recognized. He said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I rise to second the nomination of the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. Williams of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

The Chair: I recognize Mr. Williams of Illinois. Please state your point of order.

Mr. Williams of Illinois: It was well understood among the members of the Illinois delegation when they yielded their place to Connecticut, that the gentleman to whom they yielded was in favor of Mr. Stevenson of Illinois, and that he would speak to second his nomination. We did not yield our place for any other purpose, and we claim now the right to withdraw the privilege of the platform from the gentleman of Connecticut.

Mr. Cummings: In further suggestion from the gentleman of Illinois, I wish to say that I appear here under a misapprehension. I understood that Illinois had yielded to Connecticut for the purpose of seconding the nomination of the gentleman from Minnesota. I now understand that Minnesota yields her place to Connecticut and therefore I will wait until the State of Minnesota is called and then I will take the platform.

The Secretary again called the State of Illinois, and Mr. Williams announced, on behalf of that delegation, that the State of Illinois yielded its place to the State of Connecticut.

Hon. Mr. Kennedy of Connecticut was recognized by the Chair and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates of this Convention: Representing as I do that section of this country that during three memorable campaigns cast its electoral vote for the Democratic ticket, and which in that campaign of 1892 cast its electoral vote for Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President, I arise here to second his nomination to-day. If you place as an associate to the able statesman that you nominated for President last evening the name of Stevenson of Illinois, we will give you the electoral vote in 1900, as we did in 1892. He is a man of a National reputation and it would be idle for me to occupy your time any longer in speaking to you concerning a Democrat whom you all know. I simply wish to impress upon your minds the desirability of having a candidate from east of the Mississippi River. I wish to impress upon your minds whatever has happened in the past, whatever dissention there may have been, that with Bryan and Stevenson we will sweep the country.

The State of Idaho yielded to Washington. The Chair recognized Mr. Dunphy of that State who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: The Democrats of the State of Washington do me the high honor on this occasion to voice their greetings to the personnel of this convention, and authorize me to say that in the coming contest our electoral vote will be placed for the second time to credit of the matchless nominee of this convention and his running mate, whoever he may be.

Born into the sisterhood of States in 1889, the sponsors of the enrollment were of the Republican faith, and having full and complete control of the machinery of government in the struggle of 1892, they cast us down before them like growing grain in a heavy storm. Flushed with the pride of victory and a big majority, they ignored constitutional mandates and interpreted the laws unto their own aggrandisement. We challenged their integrity and competency in governmental affairs, and under the leadership of a favored and honored son, who never flirted with tariff barons or trust magnates, who always acknowledged the Constitution as the supreme law of the commonwealth, we gained possession of the agencies of government and elected to the National Congress our gallant chieftain.

His voice is ever heard defending the rights of the plain, the common people, and his ability and sincerity of purpose, is commended by those who fear his power, and differ with his sentiment. He is an able and erudite jurist, and an orator of National distinction. In the cities, in the mines, in the agricultural and forest fields of our State, he is a tower of strength, and we are here in the best interests of our party to say that his nomination for second place upon our ticket will cause the voters of Montana, Nevada, California, Oregon and Washington the treasure lands of the Republic, to ratify your action. Honor him with your confidence, and the people will bless your judgment on election day, nominate the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis of the State of Washington as your Vice-Presidential candidate, and on the eve of November 6th the wires from the silver and golden West will be freighted with tidings announcing a triumphant result. The State of Washington pre-

sents to your consideration the name of her honored son, James Hamilton Lewis.

When Indiana was called, Hon. Geo. V. Menzies announced that that State would yield to Virginia to second the nomination of Stevenson of Illinois.

Hon. William A. Jones was recognized and spoke as follows:

Voicing the sentiment of the twenty-four delegates from that State which gave to this grand Republic its first and greatest President one hundred years ago, Virginia seconds the nomination made by the State of Illinois.

Gentlemen of the convention, the Democratic party is stronger to-day than it was in 1896, it is mightier to-day than ever before in all its glorious history, and if you will give to the Democratic party as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency the favorite son of Illinois, you will add to the column of 1896 sufficient votes to insure the election of William Jennings Bryan.

You will give to that magnificent column, you will add to it the twenty-four votes of Illinois, the fifteen votes of Indiana, the twelve votes from the State of Kentucky, and that will insure the triumph of Mr. Bryan and the principles enunciated in that magnificent document which you set forth yesterday.

Iowa and Kansas were passed. Hon. James T. McCreary of Kentucky was recognized and addressed the Convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats: I am directed by the delegates from Kentucky to second the nomination of that gallant and gifted, that true, that patriotic and fearless Democrat, Adlai E. Stevenson.

We love him because he has always been faithful and true, because wherever he has worked he has made a good record, We love him because he has always been brave and true to the common people of this country, and we love him, my fellow Democrats, because he is one of the greatest and noblest and the best of the Democrats ever born in the State of Kentucky.

Our State has in the last six months passed through a ter-

rible ordeal, such an ordeal as we had hoped no commonwealth would ever be required to pass through.

But old Kentucky has come out properly, and she stands to-day in favor of law and justice; she stands to-day with peace and good government triumphant. We are anxious for the time to come when we can meet the Republicans in political battle in the State of Kentucky. We want the November election to come so that we may try the issues, so the people of that State may be able to say whether they are in favor of Democratic rule or Republican rule, whether they are in favor of law and order; the support of the Constitution, and peace as advocated by Democrats, or whether they are in favor of disloyalty to the Constitution, Republican methods and measures and government by injunction, government by bayonets and government by assassination. We have no fears of the result. We believe that the good people of Kentucky want Democratic rule so established that it will last for years and years to come, and under the leadership of that distinguished scholar and matchless orator, friend of the people—William J. Bryan—and under the leadership of that noble gentleman, that true friend who has always worked faithfully in every office he has ever held—Adlai Stevenson—we believe we will carry the Democratic banner of Kentucky to victory with twenty thousand majority.

When the State of Louisiana was called, Hon. A. Howard McCaleb, chairman of the delegation, arose in his place and said: I am directed by all of the Louisiana delegation to second the nomination of that gallant son of New York, David Bennett Hill.

Maine was passed.

Hon. A. Leo Knott was recognized and spoke as follows in behalf of the Maryland delegation:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have the honor in obedience to the unanimous vote of the delegation of Maryland to present to the consideration of this convention the name of one of her sons whom she is delighted to honor, and ask the suffrages of this convention as the nominee for the office of Vice-President for our present illustrious Governor, John Walter Smith. In the prime of life he has already achieved a distinction which any one might well envy,

by his merits, by his distinguished character, by his high honor, his steadfast reputation and by his unflinching, unfaltering, undeviating devotion to the principles of the Democratic party. Filling various public stations in our State, he has so filled them, he has discharged the duties with such fidelity to the trust reposed in him that his fellow citizens have called him to ascend from one station to another until on last November they elevated him to the office of Chief Magistrate of our State, reversing a Republican majority of four years before of thirty-two thousand into a Democratic majority of eight thousand. In 1892 when so many of those in the Democratic party who had been honored with places of trust and of power and of emolument and became worse than heathens, he, in his steadfastness remained true and supported by his eloquence and by his efforts the nominee and the platform adopted at Chicago in that year.

I therefore ask you, Mr. President and fellow citizens to give him your votes and your voices for the office which he will fill with the highest credit to himself and the great honor of the Democratic party.

Hon. George Fred Williams spoke in behalf of Massachusetts, saying:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: We are performing a sacred duty here to-day, and as God's benediction was almost heard spoken aloud in our deliberations on yesterday, so I believe that His blessing will be upon our deliberations now. I speak from the State of Massachusetts, but I wish to point a moral for this convention from the State of New York, to guide us in our deliberations. There is no State in the whole Union that is entitled to more consideration at the hands of the Democracy of this Union than the State of New York. They have their internal differences there, but they have just come to us with one faction of the party presenting the representative of the other faction, both of them grasping hands in the great union that is necessary for the success of our cause, and had the gentleman from New York (Mr. Hill) not insisted upon declining, and been named by this convention, Democrats who are worthy of the name would have gone home to work most enthusiastically for the man.

Mr. Chairman, we owe a great debt to New York, for

when we were in a crisis yesterday morning with the rising of the sun, New York sent out word from its delegation that there must be no minority report to this convention. Mr. Chairman, I do not speak here in behalf of the Massachusetts delegation upon a poll, Massachusetts has come here for the best man, and I stand here for the best man, but I am permitted here to speak from Massachusetts to second the nomination which seems to me to be desirable in the interests of the party. Gentlemen, there has been presented here the name of a man who is the intellectual and moral peer of the candidate in the first place, and that gentleman is the Hon. Charles A. Towne. Mr. Chairman, I know that there are many men among the delegates before me who are under a misapprehension with respect to Mr. Towne. I know to my own knowledge that after the campaign of 1896 in which he did such valiant service, he desired to abandon the silver Republican organization and to join the Democratic party without reservation; and I know also, gentlemen, that it was upon the request, with urgency, of the leaders of the Democratic party, that he was dissuaded from taking that course; and had it not been for that Mr. Towne would have been standing here with as much right to the name of Democrat as I have to that name, or as has any man in this audience.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, there are several States in this Union in which the balance of power is held by a party or parties that do not denominate themselves Democratic, but they are with us for our nominee, and with us for our platform; they are our friends, they are present in this city to extend the right hand of fellowship to us. Fellow Democrats, it is time that the Populist party and the silver Republican party ceased to exist, and we have the opportunity here to-day of doing the work that will create one solid phalanx to march to the victory for Bryan.

Mr. Chairman, we all know that Mr. Towne has not his superior as a public debater in the United States. The Republican party has put up for the second place a grand-stand performer and we need a man for our second place who can attend to the case of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt. There is no man more equal to the task than the Hon. Charles A. Towne.

Michigan was passed.

Minnesota yielded to the State of Connecticut. Hon. Homer S. Cummings was recognized by the Chair and said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I rise to second the nomination of the gentleman from Minnesota. I do this because I believe that he will strengthen the ticket. We want an orator, we want a patriot, we want a statesman, we want a man that stands on every plank of the platform and on every inch of every plank. We want a man who stands, while he stands for free silver in the United States, does not stand for free lead in the Philippine Islands. I believe that this nomination will strengthen the ticket. Put Mr. Towne upon the ticket, and he will perform for the Democratic party in 1900 the services that William J. Bryan performed in 1896.

When Mississippi was called, Governor Longino announced that Senator Money of that State would speak in behalf of Mississippi.

Senator Money said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: This is a Democratic convention. I voluntarily make that important announcement because I fear our opinion upon that subject may have been disturbed by some nominations and speeches made this morning. This is the eighth Democratic National convention that I have participated in. It is the grandest, the most enthusiastic, that ever has been held upon this continent. Your enthusiasm generating at two thousand vibrations a second goes from this magnificent assembly out into the country everywhere and is flashed at thirty-two thousand vibrations a second over the world, across your broad plains, your mountain caps, in the sunless depths of tumbling seas, and on this and the other hemisphere, on islands and on continents, your enthusiasm is thrilling every American Democrat in all the universe in every drop that visits his Democratic heart. We are here to-day to nominate, out of eight millions of Democratic voters, only two candidates, and those two candidates shall both be Democrats. Not Democrats upon affidavit; not Democrats upon the testimony of gentlemen brought upon the stand, but genuine Democrats in every effusion of their political lives. Democrats whom it is not necessary to a Democratic convention that they are Democrats. They shall be Democrats who are not to-day and have not been the chairman of any other party in the world.

The eloquent gentleman from Georgia said that if Adlai Stevenson of Illinois were nominated, that he belonged to both wings of the Democratic party. He does belong to both wings of the Democratic party and he does not belong to any wing of any other party.

If we cannot furnish Democrats, let us dissolve the association and go home. I stand here authorized by the State of Mississippi to second the nomination. In the election of 1896 the State of Mississippi, with 1,000 voting precincts, gave every single one of them to William Jennings Bryan. If you will nominate two good Democrats we will do twice as well as that in this year of 1900.

I am here to second the nomination of a man who needs no introduction as a Democrat, who has lived and fought as Democrat, who stands to-day the type of a successful Democrat, and who will not fail to get every Democratic Vote put in the ballot box, and every one that comes within reach of the ballot box of 1900.

Gentlemen, the Democratic party is affluent in material for Presidents and Vice-Presidents. We are not yet reduced to playing our white chips, or to borrowing the chips of any other party. We are playing our own game here today. We do not put our money upon the horse that has got simply some good points, but upon the one that we know will win, that we know will bring us to victory.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee, now, on behalf of the solid Democracy of the State of Mississippi, that is bound to vote the Democratic ticket, come what may, I beg to second the nomination of that gallant Democrat, Adlai E. Stevenson, of the State of Illinois.

When Missouri was called, Hon. W. J. Stone of that State was recognized by the Chair and he addressed the Convention as follows:

I have not been directed or requested by the Missouri delegation to second the nomination of any candidate. I come before you on my own account in response to your call, which I feel I ought to acknowledge, and because there is something I think ought to be said at this time, which, through inadvertence, might not be said if I remained silent. Let it be understood, however, that in what I am about to say I speak without

having consulted my State delegation, and therefore do not know to what extent I may voice the opinions of its members, but speak solely on my own responsibility. I do not think that the speech just delivered by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, should go unchallenged. For that Senator I entertain only sentiments of kindly regard and high respect, and while it does not lie within my province to criticise his utterances in a manner offensive to him, it is proper for me to say that he has given expression to some thoughts to which I cannot give my sanction or approval. I cannot believe that the Senator means to wound those splendid gentlemen and patriots who followed the leadership of Teller and Towne in 1896, and yet his utterances must sound harshly in their ears. I recall the occurrences of that year. Of the conventions held in 1896 the two most important were those held by the Republicans at St. Louis and the Democrats at Chicago. The scenes enacted in those conventions recur to my mind as pictures before my eyes. I can see the picture, the pathetic, almost tragic, and yet heroic picture—of Teller and the others as they stood up in the St. Louis convention pleading for the people against plutocracy, then protesting, and at last defiant. I can see them as they walked out of that convention, leaving behind them the associations of a lifetime, and maybe, also, many high hopes of future honors and opportunities. It was a heroic, splendid and patriotic act. They made great sacrifices for principle and for conscience. They left the Republican convention under the most trying circumstances, espoused the cause for which the Democratic party stood, and supported Bryan as zealously as any who rallied to his side in that memorable contest. I recall also the events of the Chicago convention, and you can also recall them. It is sufficient merely to advert to them. I will not provoke acrimony by discussing them. But this I wish to say—that when those heroes and patriotic men who walked out of the Republican convention to take sides with Bryan, are invited, as they have been, to occupy seats in this convention, they are entitled to as much consideration and respect in this presence as are those who turned their backs upon the Chicago Convention and its candidates and gave a helping hand to Hanna and McKinley. No man welcomes with warmer or more grateful heart the return to party duty and loyalty of

those Democrats who for reasons of their own did not support our ticket in 1896, than I. I am happy to see them at home again: I want them back, and want them to come without any kind of sacrifice being offered or required. We want no performance in sackcloth and ashes, but I am more than willing to take a sponge to clean the board, that we may be henceforth, as we have been in the past, one family in all respects. Nevertheless I insist that those who make great sacrifices to aid our party in the hour of its greatest trial are entitled to the most respectful consideration here.

A few words more and I am done. Notwithstanding what I have said I do not believe that Mr. Towne should be nominated by this convention. For him I entertain only sentiments of high respect and real affection, but from the political point of view I would esteem his nomination a mistake. Putting the party and public interests above the man, I feel obliged to advise against his selection. For the same reason I concur in what the distinguished ex-Senator from New York has said in opposition to his own nomination. His judgment, based on reasons clear and cogent, is against the wisdom of his nomination, and so is mine. I honor him for his candor and manliness, but I concur in his opinion. For many reasons which I could find, but which I do not deem it necessary to elaborate. I believe that of all the names before the convention for the high honor of this nomination, it would be the part of political wisdom and good judgment to place the name of General Stevenson of Illinois, a typical American and a great Democrat, upon our ticket with William Jennings Bryan.

Montana and Nebraska were both passed.

Hon. F. G. Newlangs, of Nevada, spoke in behalf of that State, saying:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: We have presented to the country a platform of exalted eloquence and force, appealing to the reason, the judgment, the conscience and the high patriotic purpose of the American people. We have nominated upon the platform a candidate of inflexible integrity of high purposes, of exalted abilities, the ideal of a great reform movement which really means to return to the conservatism of our fathers and to avoid the new theories in government and economics which threaten our institutions

and the prosperity of the people. Our purpose now is to nominate his associate, and the pressing need of the hour is a candidate who can go before the people with logic, reason, fire and eloquence and appeal to the patriotic impulses of the people.

Four years ago there walked out of the Republican convention a man of transcendent ability, to whom his party was willing to give any advance in preferment. He, as a matter of earnest conviction, threw aside all and gave himself up to the struggle of principle and reform. As he walked out of that Republican convention he proposed to walk into the Democratic party, but was prevented by the leaders of the Democratic party, high in position and standing, who believed that his place of usefulness was in the leadership of that band of sincere and earnest Republicans who believed in the Republicanism of Lincoln rather than in the Republicanism of Hanna and McKinley, and who believed in an alliance between Lincoln Republicanism and Bryan Democracy. After that defeat he remained a true leader of the propaganda, asserting it everywhere, maintaining his devotion to the principles and the declarations of the Chicago platform, striving everywhere under the name of Silver Republican for Democratic success, and judged by the earnestness of his conviction, judged by the devotion to the principles and the declarations of the Chicago platform, judged by his earnest efforts in behalf of Democratic success,—no man to-day has better credentials to Democracy than Towne, of Minnesota. We have before us a hot campaign. I shall close, gentlemen, in a few sentences if you will bear with me. I know you are impatient to vote. In this campaign, recollect the campaign will be conducted by the Republicans with unparalleled expenditures of money, with discipline and organization. To that campaign we have to oppose logic, reason, persuasion and appeals to the patriotic impulses of the people. What can better voice the sentiments of the Democratic masses in words that will burn into the hearts of his hearers than Mr. Towne of Minnesota. I feel that if we march into the campaign with Bryan and Towne and this platform we will go into a victory, which means the triumph of the principles advocated by Jefferson, by Lincoln and by Bryan.

Mr. Henry C. Kent seconded the nomination in behalf of New Hampshire.

Mr. Kent said:

Last winter, when the snow lay deep upon the ground, that Tribune of the people, William J. Bryan, made a tour through New England—a royal progress, touching slumbering zeal into living flame, revivifying old beliefs and the old faith and bringing into new life the Democracy of that region now in the forefront of the Democratic battle.

I esteem it a high honor to be delegated by my State to present as its choice for the Vice-Presidency a man for association with this leader chosen of the Democracy; in the pending contest for the assertion of popular rights.

Sixteen years ago, it was a great privilege to present in behalf of New England the name of the candidate who was nominated and elected President of the United States. I trust the same good fortune may attend the nomination, in this magnificent convention west of the Missouri, where are assembled the representatives of a great party and a united people.

“No South shall be remembered now, no North, no East, no West.

Our Country shall be in all, the land we love the best.

Our march shall be an army’s march and freedom lead the way,

Till all the world shall take the step and follow into day.”

We should present with Mr. Bryan a man deservedly strong with the Democratic masses, who will unify Democratic strength, encourage Democratic confidence and aid in securing victory.

Such a man there is, tried in prosperity and adversity, known to the Democracy of the country, one whom with reason we love and esteem, who will awaken, encourage and unite Democrats of all sections; tried but never found wanting; beloved by the people of the party, because standing with his party unflinchingly, never failing in his devotion to it and the principles it represents.

The State of New Hampshire unanimously presents for the consideration of this convention for nominee for Vice-President, Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

Mr. Daly said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: The fact that I came from the old Democratic State

of New Jersey should recommend me to your attention. New Jersey at one time stood as the only Democratic State in the East and the eye of all Democrats was directed towards it to see how New Jersey went. New Jersey wants to get back into the Democratic column. I was instructed when I left my home to sacrifice everything in order that the Democratic party might win in the coming election.

We have no candidate; we have no prejudice and no feeling. We welcome the Silver Republican and Populist to our ranks; but in doing that we sacrifice no principles.

It has been said time and again that when New York and New Jersey again entered the Democratic column that victory would perch upon our banners. We are in a position to say that we will again come into that column. We think we have today a candidate for Vice-President of the United States who will help us on to victory. We have a candidate who has given the best years of his life to furthering the principles of Democracy. He comes from the State of New York. Let me say here we honor his judgment, we respect his will, but the Democratic party demands that he shall sacrifice his personality in order that Bryan and Hill may occupy the Presidential chair and the chair of the Vice-President. On behalf of historic New Jersey, ever faithful to Democracy, I second the nomination of David Bennet Hill of New York.

When New York was called, Hon. P. H. McCarren announced that New York would yield to the State of Delaware.

Hon. L. Irving Handy of Delaware was recognized and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Convention: I stand here by the courtesy of the State of New York, because I represent the Democratic party. In that are locked up all of my hopes and all of my aspirations, both for my country and for myself, and because I love the Democratic party, and because I believe that we are in this good year of 1900 facing a crisis for that party; I am here to second the nomination of David B. Hill for the Vice-Presidency. I know perfectly well that is the first thought in the heart and mind of every delegate as I name the name. That thought is, why Hill is not a candidate. He stood upon the platform and said he did not want the nomination. He has not asked for this nomination. He prefers in this

fight a place in the private rank, but, my friends, the State of New York asks this nomination for him. My friends, the State of New York has put Mr. Hill in nomination and asserts that it will vote for him from the beginning of the balloting to the end of the contest. Now, my friends, how about Mr. Hill's own position. He does not want this nomination, but a better soldier never walked beneath the Democratic flag, and when we nominate him, he will take it. In seconding the nomination of Mr. Hill I am not seconding the nomination of a man who would refuse to obey his party's orders. If you want him you can take him and he will serve. Of that I am satisfied.

There is just one more thought that I want to give to you and that is this: Yesterday David B. Hill stood on this platform and he stated to us that the Democratic platform which we had adopted was a platform worthy for any Democrat to accept and stand on.

In 1896 we fought the campaign of 1896 on the platform of 1896. In 1900 without going back to the platform of four years ago we are going to fight the campaign of 1900 on the platform of 1900 and win a victory and on that platform David B. Hill stands as squarely as you and I do.

My friends, this is the great battle council, the war council of the Democratic party. We are going out to fight. We are here to choose our captain and to take our line of battle. We have the greatest and the most stainless statesman of modern times for our Presidential candidate, William J. Bryan of Nebraska.

We give you the name of a man for Vice-President, a Democrat with courage as true as the Damascus blade. Do not let us fight in the West alone or in the North alone or in the South alone, but let us fight East and West, North and South, and I tell you that the ticket will be crowned with victory if you put on it Bryan and Hill of New York.

The Chair recognized Senator White of California.

Senator White said: Mr. Chairman, let me suggest that if there are any people here who do not desire to listen, let them go away; for the delegates here are commissioned to voice the sentiments of their people, and it is their duty to vote their sentiment though it may lead to the expulsion of those who will not obey the orders of the Chair.

Hon. S. M. Gattis responded in behalf of North Carolina. Mr. Gattis said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of this Democratic Convention: The delegates from the great State of North Carolina have commissioned me to place in nomination before this greatest Democratic convention that has ever been held in the United States, a son from the tar heel State, a man whose Democracy requires no sponser here. He is a man who on all occasions, in season and out of season, has supported the Democratic platform and the candidates nominated thereon. In business he is a manufacturer but he is unalterably opposed to trusts, a business man in season and out of season has dared to stand for the cause of silver. A philanthropist, whose benefactions both public and private have made his name wherever known the synonym for Christian charity and philanthropy. We present to you the name of Gen. Julian S. Carr of North Carolina.

The Chair recognized Hon. M. A. Dougherty of Ohio, who addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention: On the one great and commanding issue of the hour, Ohio is as safely Democratic as is Texas or Georgia. The people of Ohio are against the colonial system of a Julius Caesar, against the conquest and subjugation of a Napoleon Bonaparte, against the expansion of William McKinley, and expansion accomplished with fire and sword and all the horrors of an unjust and unholy war, written in the blood and butchery and slaughter of God's created beings. They are against that administration which pursues in Asia the identical policy that the tyrant of the world pursues in Africa. They are as much against a royal George the Third in the White House as they are against a Republican assassin hidden away in the executive chamber of Old Kentucky. They are against that political party which, meeting in National convention at Philadelphia, had no veneration for Independence Hall, no cheers for old Liberty Bell, but the moral sentiment of which was best manifested upon the appearance of a fugitive from justice indicted for murder, who shared the applause of the delegates with the President of the United States and an alleged rough rider from New York. They are for the dear old Republic, and unalterably and forever against

the hated empire. But they believe as has been suggested here by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, that this is a Democratic convention, Democratic in sentiment, Democratic in principle, Democratic in pattern, Democratic in its nomination for President, and it must be Democratic in its nomination for Vice-President. The Democracy of Ohio yield to no man in respect and admiration for the high intellectual attainments and patriotic purpose of those distinguished Silver Republicans, but I do wish to suggest that before they are presented here to receive the rewards of the Democracy, they ought at least to have performed their first ablutions in the Jordan of Democracy. I would indeed question, I would challenge that leadership which would advise and encourage any honorable and any respectable gentleman to stay out of the Democratic party. It occurs to us that good intentions have been too long delayed. The Democracy of Ohio desire to complete the splendid work of this magnificent convention by presenting to the consideration of the delegates one of their most respected sons, one of their most brilliant lawyers, one of their most distinguished orators, and Ohio's greatest living Democrat. A Democrat who has learned Democracy from the teachings of a father, from the study of the Constitution of his country, from loving devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I will name him after awhile, and then it will be your duty to vote for him. A Democrat who enjoys the confidence and respect of the people of Ohio as no other citizen within our border; who never but once was presented to the people for their suffrage, and who ran forty thousand ahead of his ticket. I present to you, my friends, a Democrat who believes in the Constitution of his country as the only political force, the only political agency; who is strong enough and great enough to destroy the trusts, to stay the advancing tide of imperialist expansion. One who believes that against the poisoned shaft of imperial power, now clasped in the raised hand of the Republican party, that the only safeguard, the only protection, is the old historic Constitutional Democratic party, anchored to the Constitution with fidelity to the country and to the true interests of the people.

The Ohio Democracy presents to this convention for Vice-

President the name of the Hon. Abraham W. Patrick, as our choice.

When Oregon was called, Hon. A. M. Bennett, on behalf of that State, seconded the nomination of Hon. James Hamilton Lewis for Vice-President.

Hon. Wm. H. Sowden responded when the State of Pennsylvania was called. Mr. Sowden said:

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that cast over 430,000 votes for our matchless leader, William Jennings Bryan, in 1896, I appear to second the nomination of one who as Congressman and as Postmaster General, and as Vice-President, was ever faithful to his official duties, and has always been loyal to the Democratic party.

He is pre-eminently an old-fashioned Democrat, one of the plain people, always loyal to their interests. As a Congressman he uniformly voted for such legislation as advanced the material prosperity of his country and the great mass of his people. As an executive officer he was always accessible and obliging, and as the presiding officer of the United States Senate he commanded the respect and confidence of every member of that high and honorable body. He is honest, upright and capable, and withal a Democrat. He was born a Democrat. He was raised a Democrat. He stood upon every Democratic platform. He is a man in strong vigor in his manhood, and is fully capable of making a thorough canvass of the country in the event of his nomination. This convention can make no mistake in naming him as its candidate for the second highest office in our Republic. He carried Illinois as a candidate before for this same office in 1892, and he will carry it again if you place him on the ticket.

Gentlemen of the convention, you have adopted a superb platform upon which every honest Democrat can stand, and against its Americanism no patriotic citizen can take any exception. Upon it you have nominated one of the grandest American statesmen of to-day, William Jennings Bryan. If you supplement your good work by the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson, you may rest assured that it will be ratified at the polls next November.

The State of Rhode Island was passed.

The Chairman of the South Carolina delegation announced that his State seconded the nomination of Stevenson.

South Dakota was passed.

The Chairman of the Tennessee delegation announced that Tennessee seconded the nomination of David Bennett Hill.

When the State of Texas was called, the Chair recognized Hon. Jonathan Lane of that State, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: I haven't much to say and it won't take me long to say it. In obedience to my own wishes and the command of the delegates from Texas, that State that always helps to do the cooking but never eats the pie, I come to say to the National Democracy that at the November election we propose to see Missouri's sixty thousand and go her one hundred and forty thousand better, and we dare any State to call that. We come from a people who have never learned to value the blood of our citizens in foreign gold. We come from a people who value individual and National liberty beyond foreign commerce and trade. We come from the people who believe that the betterment of this Nation can best be gained for the people where every man fights as if it was his own battle. And now in behalf of those people I desire to say to this convention that the thirty thousand votes of Texas will be cast for Illinois' candidate.

Hon. William F. Knox of Utah, in behalf of that delegation, seconded the nomination of Stevenson.

The Chairman of the Vermont delegation announced that Vermont seconded the nomination of Stevenson.

Hon. W. A. Jones of Virginia seconded the nomination of Stevenson. Mr. Jones said:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: Speaking the united sentiment of the representatives of the commonwealth of Virginia, that State which gave to the American Republic, in the person of the immortal Jefferson, its first and greatest Democratic President, I second the nomination made on behalf of the great State of Illinois. The Democratic party is infinitely stronger to-day than it was in 1896. It is mightier to-day than at any other period in all its long and splendid history, and if we but exercise ordinary wisdom in the selection of the running mate of the matchless Bryan, it will be invincible. If the voters of Illinois, Indiana and Kentucky are added

to the Democratic column of 1896, it will mean Democratic success, and in my opinion the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President will render certain the 52 electoral votes of those States, and insure the election of William Jennings Bryan, and the triumph of the deathless principles embodied in that glorious platform promulgated on yesterday.

Hon. J. W. St. Clair of West Virginia spoke in behalf of that State, saying:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: This is peculiarly a time in the deliberations of this body which requires the exercise of calm judgment. You have had presented to you for your consideration for the nomination which you are about to make, the names of a number of distinguished Democrats, all of whom would grace and honor your National ticket.

I have no word of criticism to offer against each or any of them, but gentlemen, you have a party which inaugurated in this country constitutional government. You have a party which has declared in your platform for constitutional government. Give us an old-time hickory Democrat who was born in 1840, standing for constitutional government, the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson of the State of Illinois.

I love and admire much as any man the immaculate leader, the Honorable David B. Hill of the State of New York. I have the greatest admiration for that distinguished gentleman, the Honorable Charles A. Towne. But let me call your attention to this: Don't put both candidates on this ticket west of the Mississippi River. If you do you will make a mistake for your party. They are all good men and good Democrats, but I appeal to you as a matter of party politics, without making the slightest sacrifice you should stand for a ticket that will command the largest votes in November. My fellow Democrats, I am not one of those who is taken off his feet by a declaration made in convention as to what will be done at the polls. Look at that proposition calmly, and look to a ticket that will give you the best assurance of election in the pivotal States. My own State is one of them, and there is no man on this continent who has more of the popular heart of her people than has Adlai Stevenson. I appeal to you again, don't put both candidates west of the Mississippi River. We have given

you people in the West in the shape of platform all you asked as Democrats. Give to us, the old line of the party, candidates to stand in Democratic districts, to maintain a platform **we have** given the country at your request.

Hon. George C. Cooper responded in behalf of Wisconsin as follows:

Gentlemen of this Convention: The Republican party at this time is engaged in prayer; it has been for nine months, and in my opinion it will be for nine months more. And it is the most wonderful prayer that was ever sent up by a political party, ever sent up by an individual in the history of civilization. The prayer which is sent up by the Republican party to-day is that liberty may be crucified in South Africa before the sixth day of next November. We have in this convention nominated for the most exalted position on this earth the first citizen of the Republic. I state this as a neighbor and as a friend, not altogether for the great State of Wisconsin. The man whom I will second for the position of Vice-President of the United States, if this convention sees fit to place him side by side with the great Bryan, in my opinion will **carry on to** a grand victory the most wonderful campaign in the history of the United States. My friends, let this convention deliberate, let this convention look this matter squarely in the face; it would be a peculiar candidate who could not carry a majority of a Democratic convention. Mr. friends, let this convention so act that when the delegates here assembled shall return to their homes in the far East and in the far West, where rolls the Oregon, or to the commercial lakes of the North, or to the vine-clad hills of the sunny South, let each one of them be able to say, and with him every Democrat and lover of liberty throughout this broad land, in the language of an illustrious Democrat now gathered to his fathers, let him be able to say, my choice for Vice-President is the nominee of the Democratic party.

There are great issues confronting the American people in this campaign—greater issues than there have ever been before for one hundred years; great moral questions confront the American people. Upon those great questions the Republican party, without a single exception, is wrong; the Democratic

party, thank God, upon each one of these great moral questions, is irrevocably right.

My friends, twenty-five years ago was there a man, woman or child in the United States who believed that a great political party would bring to the American people the claim which the Republican party brings today, for the support and suffrage of American manhood? The Republican press, my friends, say that we have killed in the Philippine Islands ten thousand Filipinos. That means ten thousand widows in tears.

That means, my friends, forty thousand children left fatherless. That means, my friends, many mothers who have been left childless. That means, my friends, weeping here in the United States.

Now, my friends, we have placed candidates before the American people that fit the platform. They bring us these things, and say, Behold our handiwork. My friends, we have placed before the American people candidates who believe in the doctrine of the Master, and who are opposed to the policy of Mahomet, who founded his empire at the edge of the sword. I present a gentleman as a candidate for the office of Vice-President who is opposed to a protective tariff; I present a candidate who is in favor of a tariff for revenue only. I propose a candidate who believes in the Declaration of Independence. I propose one of the most eloquent men on earth for this office, the Honorable Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota.

Hon. David S. Rose, of Wisconsin, was recognized by the Chair. Mr. Rose said:

The gentleman who has just spoken for Wisconsin, represents his own vote and one more. Twenty-two of the delegates from Wisconsin second the nomination of Adlai Stevenson, a Democrat.

Hon. J. L. Norris spoke in behalf of the District of Columbia saying:

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: As the chairman of the six delegates known as the Norris delegation, sent to this convention by the regular Democratic organization, the United Democracy of the District of Columbia, I rise to second the nomination of that grand and excellent man for

whom I voted in 1892 in the Chicago Convention, Adlai E. Stevenson.

New Mexico seconded the nomination of Stevenson.

When Hawaii was called, Hon. John H. Wise said :

Mr. Chairman : The Territory of Hawaii again takes pleasure in standing before you today. Like the State of Massachusetts, we believe we owe a duty to the State of New York ; but, unlike that State, we second the nomination of the delegate from New York.

The Chair : The Chair desires to state that the Secretary omitted to call the State of Florida, and the Chair therefore recognizes and introduces to the Convention, Mr. Gibbons, of that State.

Mr. Gibbons said :

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats. By some mistake Florida was omitted in the call, but we do not propose to be passed by in the great events of this time. It has indeed been said that we are the tail end of the United States, but we want to let you know that we are still with you and we are not only at the other end, but we are at the most immediate end of the interests of the great Democratic party and the people of this country.

My friends and fellow citizens, the representatives of Democracy in the Florida delegation come from the heart of that great commonwealth, the land of sunshine and flowers and the home of the alligator. Florida comes to you with greetings to her sister States and as a rising constellation in the galaxy of this great nation she is proud to have the honor of seconding the nomination of one of the gentlemen presented to the convention today, and it is a pleasure and a privilege to endorse the pure Democrat, the sagacious statesman and profound expounder of the Constitution, Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois. With him we shall go to victory and land in the Presidential chair the man of our choice, and in the office of Vice-President, the great statesman from Illinois.

The Chair recognized Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis, of Washington.

Mr. Lewis spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention : I rise only for the purpose of making an announcement. I desire to

say to my home State of Washington, to her generous neighbors, the State of Oregon and the State of Idaho, whose messenger informs the Honorable Chair that he was belated when his State was called, to the South, the home of my nativity, and to the other States represented here in this convention who have so cordially volunteered a tribute from the part of the country from which I come, by paying it to me, I desire to withdraw from that consideration at this time, feeling that there should be no votes lost upon a complimentary ballot, as I feel the importance of this most crucial moment. I desire to thank you for that kind compliment.

The Chair directed the Secretary to call the roll of States on the first ballot for Vice-President.

The roll was called and the Chairman of each delegation announced the vote as follows:

	Stevenson.	Towne.	Hill.
Alabama	3	..	19
Arkansas	11	5	..
California	15	3	..
Colorado	8	..	..
Connecticut	9	3	..
Delaware	4	..	2
Florida	4	..	11
Georgia	26	..	..
Idaho .....	..	3	3
Illinois	48	..	..
Iowa	26	..	..
Indiana	28	2	..
Kansas	20	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	..
Louisiana .....	..	..	16
Maine	10	2	..
Smith.			
Maryland	16	..	..
Massachusetts	6	11	13
Michigan	23	5	..
Minnesota .....	..	18	..
Mississippi	18	..	..

	Danforth:	Hogg.	Stevenson.	Towne.	Hill.
Missouri	1	1	23	3	6
Montana			2	..	..
	Carr.				
Montana	1		2	..	3
Nebraska			6	10	..
Nevada				2	4
New Hampshire			8	..	..
New Jersey . . . . .				..	20
New York . . . . .				..	72
	Carr.				
North Carolina	22		..	..	..
North Dakota . . . . .				..	6
	Patrick.				
Ohio	46		..	..	..
Oregon			5	1	2
Pennsylvania			64	..	..
Rhode Island			8	..	..
South Carolina			18	..	..
South Dakota			2	6	..
Tennessee . . . . .				..	24
Texas			30	..	..
Utah			6	..	..
Vermont			8	..	..
Virginia			24	..	..
Washington				8	..
West Virginia			12	..	..
Wisconsin			21	3	..
Wyoming			6	..	..
Alaska			6	..	..
Arizona			5	1	..
Indian Territory			6	..	..
New Mexico			5	1	..
Oklahoma			3½	2½	..
District of Columbia			6	..	..
Hawaii . . . . .				..	6

Immediately after the conclusion of the call, the Conven-

tion fell into great confusion, and the chairmen of the various delegations began to announce changes for Stevenson.

Chairman Hale, of North Carolina, withdrew the name of General Carr for Stevenson.

Alabama changed and cast 22 votes for Stevenson.

Several motions were made to make the nomination of Stevenson unanimous, but in the confusion the Chair declined to recognize any one.

Hon. John L. Shea, of New York, announced that the 72 votes of New York would be changed from Hill to Stevenson.

California changed and cast 18 votes for Stevenson.

North Dakota changed from Hill to Stevenson.

Missouri changed her vote and cast 34 for Stevenson.

Michigan changed and cast here entire vote for Stevenson.

Nebraska changed and cast 16 votes for Stevenson.

Delaware changed to Stevenson.

Hawaii changed to Stevenson.

Florida changed to Stevenson.

Oklahoma changed to Stevenson.

Ohio changed to Stevenson.

The Chair recognized Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, who said:

I move to make the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson unanimous, as candidate of the Democratic party for Vice-President.

The Chair informed Senator Tillman that some of the States had not changed their vote, and directed the Secretary to continue the reading of the roll, beginning with the State of Arkansas.

Delaware, Idaho, Connecticut and Indiana changed their vote to Stevenson.

When Minnesota was called, the chairman of that delegation said:

"The delegation from Minnesota, acting in accordance as they believe, with the wishes of the Democrats of that State, and with the wishes of Mr. Towne himself, change their vote at this time, under the circumstances, to Mr. Stevenson."

Oregon, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Arizona, all changed their vote to Stevenson.

This completed the changes and the Chair then formally announced the result of the vote, saying:

The Chair desires to say that there have been cast 936 votes on this roll call. The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, has received 936 votes, and is declared the nominee for Vice-President.

The following is the ballot as corrected:

CORRECTED BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

	Total Vote.	Stevenson.
Alabama	22	22
Arkansas	16	16
California	18	18
Colorado	8	8
Connecticut	12	12
Delaware	6	6
Florida	8	8
Georgia	26	26
Idaho	6	6
Illinois	48	48
Indiana	30	30
Iowa	26	26
Kansas	20	20
Kentucky	26	26
Louisiana	16	16
Maine	12	12
Maryland	16	16
Massachusetts	30	30
Michigan	28	28
Minnesota	18	18
Mississippi	18	18
Missouri	34	34
Montana	6	6
Nebraska	16	16
Nevada	6	6
New Hampshire	8	8
New Jersey	20	20
New York	72	72
North Carolina	22	22

	Total Vote.	Stevenson.
North Dakota	6	6
Ohio	46	46
Oregon	8	8
Pennsylvania	64	64
Rhode Island	8	8
South Carolina	18	18
South Dakota	8	8
Tennessee	24	24
Texas	30	30
Utah	6	6
Vermont	8	8
Virginia	24	24
Washington	8	8
West Virginia	12	12
Wisconsin	24	24
Wyoming	6	6
Alaska	6	6
Arizona	6	6
District of Columbia	6	6
New Mexico	6	6
Oklahoma	6	6
Indian Territory	6	6
Hawaii	6	6
	—	—
Total	936	936

THE CHAIR: The Chair desires to say that there is some important business that must be necessarily transacted before we adjourn. He therefore begs the delegates to give attention.

The Chair is requested to make the announcement to the Convention that the convention known as the Silver Republican Convention, which is now in session in this city, has unanimously nominated for President the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

The Secretary here announced that the new National Committee would meet at the Kansas City Club immediately upon adjournment of the Convention.

HON. J. G. JOHNSON, of Kansas: There has been a con-

vention of the Negro Democratic League of the United States, holding sessions in this city for the last two or three days. That Convention has sent a request that its distinguished chairman, Hon. J. Milton Turner, of Missouri, be permitted to address this Convention. I move, therefore, that he be requested to address the Convention for a few minutes.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Turner, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: The action taken by this resolution just adopted will take from the column of the Republican party, in the great States of Indiana, New Jersey, Illinois and New York, at least 300,000 negro votes. The hesitancy of the negro has been occasioned largely by his apprehension that the Democratic party was a ghost in disguise; but now, in the language of that distinguished Nebraskan, who is our leader, he concludes that he will no longer wear the crown of thorns, pressed down by a cross of gold.

Gentlemen, I have no disposition to detain you, for there is no necessity for my saying anything, further than the fact that I am satisfied that as the distinguished statesman, Webster Davis, has been admitted to your ranks, and Milton Turner has also been admitted to the ranks of the Democracy, that we will augment by our arguments and speeches the number of ballots cast at the election in November, and I have no doubt that success will ultimately crown the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

MR. GRAY: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer a motion.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Texas desires to make a motion. The Convention will be in order.

MR. GRAY: Your Committee on Credentials filed a report which was adopted by this Convention seating both delegations from the District of Columbia, from the Indian Territory and from Oklahoma, giving to both rival delegations an equal voice in this Convention. It has now been demonstrated that it is impossible for those rival delegations to be got together by the National Committeemen from those districts.

Inasmuch as we desire the unity of the Democracy in that section, and inasmuch as it is Democratic to have the Democrats of different sections settle their own difficulties, I now move you, Mr. Chairman, that the issue of a selection of the Committeemen from these respective districts be by this Convention referred back to the Democracy of those respective districts.

MR. OVERMEYER, of Kansas: Mr. Chairman: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Kansas will please state his point of order.

MR. OVERMEYER: My point is, that no part of the report of the Committee on Credentials can be reconsidered without a re-consideration of the whole report.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will rule the point of order is not well taken.

The motion of Mr. Gray was then adopted.

The Chair recognized Hon. J. C. Johnson, of Kansas, who said:

Mr. Chairman: At the close of such a Convention as this there are certain resolutions giving authority to the National Committee, and for other purposes which are invariably introduced and passed. I have prepared these resolutions and will ask the Secretary to read them one at a time, and will then move their adoption.

The Secretary read the resolutions as follows:

Resolved, That this Convention congratulate the people of Kansas City on the splendid public spirit which they have shown in rising from their great calamity in the loss of the finest auditorium in the country, and in erecting upon its ashes for the use of this Convention this magnificent structure. It stands today a wondrous tribute, not only to perfect American building art, but to the grit, energy, perseverance and public spirit of Kansas City.

Resolved, That the National Committee are hereby empowered and directed to fix the time and place for holding the next National Convention, and that the representation therein be the same as fixed by this Convention; and in its discretion to

select as its Chairman and members of the Executive Committee persons who are not members of the said National Committee.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to have prepared and published a full and complete report of the official proceedings of this Convention under the direction of the National Committee, and that the National Committee authorizes a sufficient number of copies to be distributed to the officers and delegates to this Convention and to such other persons as may be entitled to receive them.

Resolved, That the delegates of this Convention hereby tender their sincere thanks to the people of Kansas City and the local Committee and to all persons who assisted in the arrangement of the Convention, the use of this magnificent building.

Resolved, That the National Committee be and it is hereby empowered to fill any and all vacancies which may exist on said Committee at the adjournment of this Convention, and to fill any vacancy which may occur during the campaign of 1900.

The foregoing resolutions were unanimously passed.

Mr. Johnson then presented the following resolutions and moved their adoption:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to Hon. Charles S. Thomas, the Temporary Chairman; the Hon. James D. Richardson, the Permanent Chairman; the Secretary and the Assistant Secretaries and other officers of the Convention, for their efficient services.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due and are hereby tendered to the Hon. James K. Jones, Chairman of the National Committee, and his associates on the outgoing Committee, for the able and impartial manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Resolved, That the Permanent Chairman of this Convention, Hon. James D. Richardson, be appointed Chairman of the Committee to notify Hon. William J. Bryan of his nomination for President; and that the Temporary Chairman, Hon. Chas. S. Thomas, be appointed Chairman of the Committee to notify Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson of his nomination for Vice President.

The question on the adoption of the foregoing resolutions was put by Mr. Johnson and they were unanimously adopted.

HON. JAMES K. JONES: Mr. Chairman: A few minutes ago this Convention adopted a resolution, directing the National Committee to fill all vacancies existing in that Committee when this Convention adjourned. It was adopted. Prior to that time a motion had been adopted directing the reference of the dispute in the Indian Territory back to the Territory. I move that the vote by which that was adopted be reconsidered and laid on the table, so that we can treat all alike.

The motion offered by Senator Jones was unanimously adopted.

The Chair then recognized Senator Jones, of Arkansas, who said:

Mr. Chairman: I move that this Convention do now adjourn *sine die*.

The motion prevailed unanimously, and at 3:17:35 P. M. the Chair declared the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

OFFICIAL CERTIFICATES.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., July 6, 1900.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct verbatim copy of the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention held at Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, 5 and 6, 1900, except as to clerical errors.

Convention adjourned at 3:17:35 P. M.

C. A. WALSH,
Secretary Democratic National Convention.

KANSAS CITY, July 6, 1900.

Received of C. A. Walsh, Secretary of the Democratic National Convention, the foregoing report at 3:17:43 p. m., July 6, 1900.

JAMES D. RICHARDSON,
Chairman Democratic National Convention.

APPENDIX.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 1900.

KANSAS CITY, MO., July 6, 1900.

Pursuant to announcement of the Chairman of the Democratic National Convention, the members of the Democratic National Committee of 1900 met in the parlors of the Kansas City Club at 5 o'clock p. m. this day.

On motion of Hon. J. G. Johnson, of Kansas, Hon. W. J. Stone, of Missouri, was elected Temporary Chairman.

Mr. Edwin Sefton, of Washington, was elected Temporary Secretary.

A call of the roll showed a quorum present.

The Chair announced that the first business in order would be the election of a permanent Chairman.

The Chair recognized Mr. Taggart, of Indiana, who said:

Mr. Chairman: Without going into details, I rise for the purpose of putting in nomination for the position of Chairman of this Committee for the ensuing four years Hon. James K. Jones, of Arkansas. It is my opinion that Mr. Jones made a better fight in 1896 than almost any other Democrat in the United States could have made, and I feel now that he should be our leader again in the great campaign to come.

Senator Jones being the only nominee, on motion, the rules were suspended, and he was unanimously elected by acclamation.

The Chair named Messrs. Woodson, Sewell and Taggart as a committee to advise the Chairman-elect of his election as Chairman and escort him before the Committee.

The Committee retired and soon returned escorting Senator Jones.

Mr. Taggart, of the Committee, said:

Mr. Chairman, and members of the National Committee: It is a pleasure for me to introduce to you your new Chairman, or, rather, your old Chairman, who has been re-elected by acclamation. In behalf of the members of the Committee, I desire to say to our Chairman-elect that it is our purpose, individually and collectively, to uphold his hands in the fight that is coming, and I believe that when the 6th of November rolls around we will be glad to greet him with a smile and congratulate him upon the greatest victory the Democratic party has ever achieved.

Chairman Jones, upon receiving the gavel from the Temporary Chairman, expressed his thanks for the honor conferred upon him by his re-election as Chairman, referring briefly to the contest of 1896 and the able assistance rendered him and the party by Messrs. Johnson, Stone, Guffey and other members of the Committee who took an active part in that campaign. He expressed the opinion that the Democracy would enter the campaign of 1900 a thousand per cent stronger than it did in 1896, and assured the Committee that he would put forth every effort in his power to compass the election of the nominees of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard the rules were suspended, and Hon. William J. Stone, of Missouri, was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Wilson: As a member of the old Committee I think I can speak the sentiments of that Committee in testifying to the efficiency of our Secretary, I move, therefore, that the Hon. C. A. Walsh, of Iowa, be re-elected Secretary.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and Mr. Walsh was declared elected Secretary for the ensuing four years.

On motion of Mr. Guffey, Colonel John I. Martin, of Missouri, was unanimously elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the National Committee.

On motion of Mr. Tillman the Chair was authorized to ap-

point a Committee of five to confer with the representatives of the Silver Republican and Populist organizations.

On motion of Mr. Johnson the rules adopted by the National Committee, at Chicago, in July, 1899, were adopted as the rules of this Committee.

The Chair announced the appointment of Messrs. Tillman, Johnson, Williams, Osborn and Wilson as a Special Committee to confer with the Silver Republican and Populist organizations.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Special Committee, of which the Chair should be ex-officio Chairman, to whom should be referred the matter of the vacancies from the Indian Territory, the Territory of Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, with full charge of the whole matter. Their report to be submitted at the next meeting of the National Committee.

At this point a Committee of citizens, headed by Mr. Lentz, of Ohio, appeared before the Committee and extended an invitation on behalf of the people of Columbus, Ohio, to establish the headquarters of the Committee in that city.

On motion of Mr. McGraw the selection of headquarters was referred to the Executive Committee, when appointed, with full power to act.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard the Chairman was authorized to appoint the usual Committees and given all the powers exercised by the Chairman under the authority of the Committee of 1896.

Mr. Clayton offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That we congratulate, and tender our thanks to Hon. William R. Hearst on the establishment by him of the Chicago American, to advocate Democratic principles and policies.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the thanks of this Committee be tendered to the people of Kansas City and the Kansas City Club, and the different Citizens' Committees, and to all those who took any part whatever in the hospitable and courteous treatment extended to

the Democratic Representatives attending the Convention, and to the Democratic Committee, and that the thanks of this Committee be also extended to the sub-committee of the National Committee having charge of the arrangements for the Convention, for the successful management of the affairs delegated to them.

On motion the Committee took a recess until 8:30 p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, MO., JULY 6, 1900.

The National Committee met pursuant to recess at 8:30 p. m., Chairman Jones in the chair.

A call of the roll showed a quorum present.

The Chair called attention to the fact that the matter of Treasurership of the National Committee had been overlooked in the election of officers.

On motion the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Treasurer of the Committee.

Chairman Jones announced the appointment of Hon. M. F. Dunlap, Jacksonville, Ill., as Treasurer.

On motion the Chair was authorized to increase the number of the Conference Committee to confer with the Silver Republicans and Populists to nine members.

The Chair announced the appointment of Messrs, Tarpey, O'Brien, Ryan (of Wisconsin) and Senter as the additional members of the Conference Committee.

On motion the Committee adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m. July 7.

MORNING SESSION.

KANSAS CITY, MO., JULY 7, 1900.

The National Committee met pursuant to adjournment at 10 o'clock a. m., Chairman Jones presiding.

A call of the roll showed a quorum present.

On motion of Mr. Tillman the Chair was authorized to appoint a Joint Campaign or Conference Committee for the ensuing campaign to be composed of Democrats, Silver Republicans and Populists.

On motion of Mr. Clayton the Chairman was directed to issue an address in behalf of the Committee to the people of the United States at as early a date as practicable.

No further business appearing, on motion of Mr. Daniels, the Committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 1900.

The following is the official roll of the Democratic National Committee of 1900 elected by the National Convention at Kansas City July 4, 1900:

- Alabama—Henry D. Clayton, Eufaula.
- Arkansas—James P. Clark, Little Rock.
- California—M. F. Tarpey, Alameda.
- Colorado—Adair Wilson, Denver.
- Connecticut—Homer S. Cummings, Stamford.
- Delaware—R. R. Kenney, Dover.
- Florida—Geo. P. Raney, Tallahassee.
- Georgia—Clark Howell, Atlanta.
- Idaho—E. M. Wolfe, Mountain Home.
- Illinois—Thomas Gahan, Chicago.
- Indiana—Thomas Taggart, Indianapolis.
- Iowa—C. A. Walsh, Ottumwa.
- Kansas—J. G. Johnson, Peabody.
- Kentucky—Wrey Woodsen, Owensboro.
- Louisiana—N. C. Blanchard, Shreveport.
- Maine—Arthur Sewall, Bath.
- Maryland—Arthur P. Gorman, Laurel.
- Massachusetts—George Fred Williams, Boston.
- Michigan—Daniel J. Campau, Detroit.
- Minnesota—T. D. O'Brien, St. Paul.
- Mississippi—A. J. Russell, Meridian, B. 523.
- Missouri—William J. Stone, St. Louis.
- Montana—John S. M. Neill, Helena.
- Nebraska—James C. Dahlman, Omaha.
- Nevada—J. R. Ryan, Virginia City.
- New Hampshire—True L. Norris, Portsmouth.
- New Jersey—W. B. Gourley, Paterson.
- New York—Norman E. Mack, Buffalo.
- North Carolina—Josephus Daniels, Raleigh.

- North Dakota—J. B. Eaton, Fargo.
 Ohio—John R. McLean, Cincinnati.
 Oregon—M. A. Miller, Lebanon.
 Pennsylvania—J. M. Guffey, Pittsburg.
 Rhode Island—Geo. W. Green, Woonsocket.
 South Carolina—B. R. Tillman, Trenton.
 South Dakota—Maris Taylor, Huron.
 Tennessee—James M. Head, Nashville.
 Texas—R. M. Johnston, Houston.
 Utah—David C. Dunbar, Salt Lake.
 Vermont—John H. Senter, Montpelier.
 Virginia—Peter J. Otey, Lynchburg.
 Washington—W. H. Dunphy, Walla Walla.
 West Virginia—John T. McGraw, Grafton.
 Wisconsin—T. E. Ryan, Waukesha.
 Wyoming—John E. Osborne, Rawlins.
 Alaska—Louis L. Williams, Juneau.
 Arizona—J. A. Breathitt, Tuscon.
 *Oklahoma.
 *Indian Territory.
 New Mexico—H. B. Fergusson, Albuquerque.
 *District of Columbia.
 Hawaii—Wm. H. Cornwell, Honolulu.

*Owing to contests which existed in Oklahoma, Indian Territory and District of Columbia, the National Convention did not choose Committeemen for these Territories and the district of Columbia. The matter was referred to the National Committee with power to act. See proceedings of National Convention at Kansas City, July 6, 1900.

NOTIFICATION SPEECH OF HON. JAMES D. RICHARD-
SON AT MILITARY PARK, INDIANAPOLIS,
IND., AUG. 8, 1900.

It is a matter of congratulation to us all that we stand on this auspicious occasion, and are conducting these interesting ceremonies on the soil of a great commonwealth, made historic in a large part by reason of having produced, and developed among many others such stalwart Democrats and patriots as Hendricks, McDonald, Voorhees, Gray and Holmon. No more appropriate spot in America could have been chosen for the duty we are discharging.

Mr. Bryan: On the one hundred and twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of this Republic there assembled in Kansas City the most intensely American convention that ever came together in its history. This great body was made up of men from every State and Territory in the Union. They came from their several districts filled with unfeigned enthusiasm for the inspiring cause which brought them together. Their seven millions of constituents had empowered them to frame a platform of principles, and select a candidate for President, and Vice President of the United States in what they conceived to be the supremest political crisis that ever came to our country. These delegates all realized that the Republic is in peril. They felt that the duty was theirs to take such action as would rescue the State from the gulf of Imperialism, in which it had been plunged, and thus preserve for themselves and posterity unimpaired the priceless blessings of free government and civil liberty. You see before you today a committee of delegates from that convention and for whom

I speak, upon which is represented each State and Territory, whose duty it is to convey to you in a formal manner a notification that the august body I have mentioned acting for its members, their constituents, and for all who love and cherish liberty everywhere, with no dissenting voice chose you as the candidate for President, and adopted a platform of principles upon which the campaign we are now inaugurating shall be conducted.

The declaration of party principles enunciated, I now have the honor to present to you. Here the duties of our committee might with propriety end, but I beg indulgence for a few moments.

The delegates assembled at Kansas City did not take hasty action. Their conduct was characterized by the greatest firmness and determination. In the alarming conditions which the country has been placed by the recent weak, vacillating and un-American administration at Washington, they realized, as do our fellow citizens generally that a change of men and policies is imperiously demanded. They proceeded deliberately, and chose you to lead in the battle for the restoration of the true political faith.

Four years ago you led the party in the most brilliant contest it has ever experienced. You then failed to win the goal, the Presidency, but, you did more; you won the respect and admiration of your political foes, and the ardent love and devotion of your followers. That contest was made by you against stupendous odds, in the face of a hostile press, and with unhappy divisions in your ranks. I congratulate you and the country that all these unfortunate conditions do not confront you today. It is true you were then bitterly, sometimes, wantonly assailed, and when partisan rancor ran high occasionally coarse things were said of you and your party. But you and they survived them all and were perhaps stronger for them. We trust this campaign will be pitched on a higher plane, and that it will be conducted in a manner worthy of the great dignity which attaches to the two most exalted offices at stake.

It is true that you and your party friends have already been characterized as dishonest and lawless at home, and as

cowards abroad. I feel sure, however, it will stop at this, or at least if such hyperbolic flowers of speech are used at all it will be in rare instances, and only then by some one whose coarse manners before the public are equaled only by the roughness of his riding habit.

During the eventful and exciting campaign of 1896 you were constantly before the public. The eyes of the Nation were fixed upon you and your utterances as they were never before upon a public man. Then, and at all times since you have been under a light as glaring as the sun at high noon, yet no flaw of dishonor or cowardice is pointed out in your record by any foe. Review and criticism have wholly failed to injure or weaken you in public esteem. And now you are, with absolute unanimity by every State, Territory and District in the Union made the candidate of a reunited, aggressive and harmonious party. You are by all real Americans regarded as the best exponent of the faith of our fathers which was articulated in the Declaration of Independence, and sealed by the blood of patriots. We solemnly affirm that, by the faithful, it is yet venerated as the grandest charter of human rights and human liberty ever devised by man. The lust of greed and power preaches contempt for its superb doctrine, but we hold it as the only guiding star by which our ship of state can be safely sailed. We know that it has served our purpose well and gloriously until of late, when another star, the star of Imperialism, has been selected as the guide for our course.

The platform which I have handed you is a new Declaration of Independence. You will see it takes no step backward upon any issue of party creed heretofore promulgated. It solemnly affirms that the question of Imperialism, is the paramount issue of this campaign. This declaration did not make it so, but only gave recognition to an admitted fact. The Republicans have made it the issue which in this campaign overtops all others. They may well endeavor to run away from it, as they are doing, but they cannot escape it. "By their fruits ye shall know them," was the best philosophy nineteen hundred years ago, and it is the best now.

Imperialism consists in levying upon the people and collecting from them unequal taxes. It consists in levying taxes

on one territory of the United States, and not levying the same on other portions thereof. The Constitution says that all taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States. The power to tax is the power to destroy. When those in power proceed as they have done by recent acts of Congress, to construct a tariff wall around one territory and thus exclude its product from other Territories and States of the Union, seek to evade it as they may, they exercise Imperial power. No king or emperor can do more. They cannot do the acts and deeds which only can be done in a kingdom or an empire and say they are not Imperialists, and that there is no issue of Imperialism. The platform declares that Imperialism means conquest abroad, and oppression at home; it means the strong arm of the military and its concomitant, a great standing army, which has ever been fatal to all free institutions. It was this that drove from Europe to our shores millions of our fellow citizens, and which is a constant menace to the liberties of the people. Large standing armies have no place in a Republic. An Imperial government can only be maintained by brute force, and without militarism Imperialism cannot exist. The union or mating of the two brings forth Caesarism, whether under that or some other name. Imperialism means death to Democracy and Republicanism. It means more swords and fewer plowshares and fewer pruning hooks.

In the great battle upon us, we will make the fight thickest and hottest upon this monster Imperialism, which always feeds upon the life blood of liberty. The cause you represent, sir, is humanity. The highest duty of humanity is to help others to be free. The just punishment of a people that enslave and rule over another, is the loss of their own liberty, for a Democracy cannot be an Empire and remain both.

The platform also declares unceasing warfare in Nation, State and city against trusts and private monopolies in every form. This declaration means that the laws now on the statute books against this growing evil must be enforced by honest and competent officials and that there shall be enacted other laws efficient enough to completely govern and control all trusts and monopolies. The baneful effects of these organizations cannot be estimated or described. They have grown up

under the fostering care of the party now in power, which has completely controlled all the law-making authority for nearly four years. By its inaction this party confesses its inability or disinclination, either of which is criminal, to deal with the trusts. If the people, therefore, would put a curb on the trusts they must vote the government out of the hands of the trusts. We recently saw a Republican Congress surrender the combination of the Treasury vaults to the armor plate trust one day, and on a different day, for the benefit of another trust withdraw the Constitution from our newly acquired territory. The trusts now count the United States as one of their assets. They claim to own Congress. Self-control is a great attribute. These trusts, therefore, are in favor of the regulation of trusts by a Congress controlled by the trusts. In other words, the trusts will trust the Congressional trust to control the trusts. The serious objection to trusts is that by their methods they are rapidly acquiring all the business of the country. They have driven out of business by their methods tens of thousands of heretofore prosperous establishments trading in a comparatively small way. The prosperity which they have created is Republican prosperity, and not the prosperity of the masses of the people, or as the vast body known as the middle classes. They multiply the fortunes of a few until they are many time millionaires. One of our trust magnates boasts that he intends to die a billionaire. Still the sweatshops increase, and the wage of those in the rural districts barely sustains life.

The friends of the trusts, and those who are their immediate beneficiaries do not hesitate to assert that the day of the individual has passed. This being admitted then the day of the monopoly, the syndicate, the combine, and the mother of these, the trusts, is come. The man full of true American vim and vigor, brains, skill and energy is to count as nothing in the eternal fight for bread, and the unfeeling, soulless and heartless corporation is to rule. Financial independence among the prosperous middle classes and merchants of modern means will depart, and they are to be driven into financial obscurity and ruin. This is an alarmingly unhealthy condition, unjust to the great majority of the people, and altogether un-American.

If this fashion continues, ere long only a few masters will

grasp the whole domain. The well-to-do and contented citizens will be dispossessed, and in the place of happy homes, unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp will repose. The rich man's wealth will increase, while the poor will decay, and all will realize how **wide the limit stands between a splendid and a happy land.**

Under the new policy of the ruling party our country will go on dominated by trusts, and the widespread and almost universal prosperity hitherto pervading the middle classes, and which was peculiarly characteristic of America will become an unhappy reminiscence. The simple government of our fathers will be supplemented by the trust-ridden Empire and all will give way to the new order of things, founded on gold, grandeur, greed and glory.

Our platform quoted, with hearty approval, the following words of Thomas Jefferson: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." These words were not idle or meaningless when first uttered, nor are they now. The Republican party has not kept and is not keeping peace with other nations. It has entered into an entangling alliance, which threatens to involve us, and which will, in the end, inevitably lead us to bloody wars. They have, as a part of their policy, made an alliance with Great Britain, which, at present, for prudential reasons only, they seek to conceal, but the fact is apparent. It may not have the solemnity of a formal alliance, but it is a secret understanding and agreement. If this were not true, why was it that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was negotiated; a treaty which abandons, and virtually abrogates the Monroe doctrine. Other evidences of the fact are manifest in the startling declaration made by one high in party councils in Congress that our next war is to be with Germany, England's most powerful rival; in the distribution by the administration through two or more of the bureaus of the government of English literature highly favorable to England in her contest with the Boer Republics, and still further facts that might be mentioned.

England is anxiously seeking a closer friendship with us. If we accept her overtures and depart from our traditional policy of treating all nations impartially, we may gain her

good will, but it will be at the expense of incurring the ill-will of all other nations with whom we should live in peace and friendship. While for the reason I have mentioned or from timidity the administration denies that such an alliance exists with England. The voice of the latter nation is bolder, and her object is openly avowed. In a public speech startling in its character, her Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chamberlain) not long since said: "The time has arrived when Great Britain may be confronted by a combination of powers, and our first duty, therefore, is to draw all parts of the Empire into close unity, and our next to maintain the bonds of permanent unity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. There is a powerful and generous nation speaking our language, bred of our race, and having interests identical with ours. I would go so far as to say that as terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance." If the administration is not openly it is covertly, but none the less certainly leading up to such an alliance as is described. What have our patriotic citizens, born in lands other than England, to say in such an exigency? We are opposed to all discrimination against other fatherlands in favor of Great Britain. There is no reason why England, or any other nation, should be singled out to become a special object of favoritism on our part.

The immortal Washington in his farewell address says: "Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathy against particular nations and passionate attachments in others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated."

I cannot without trespassing upon the propriety of this occasion further discuss, or even make mention of the other issues of the campaign. The vast multitude before us is impatient and eager to catch the first utterance of your lips and hang on your eloquent words.

I need not tell you that we will follow wherever you lead, knowing that there never was, and cannot be a sublimer duty than that of defending and encouraging freedom at home and championing it abroad.

Our platform is America. It was constructed by Americans for Americans, native and foreign born. It is Democratic and all who love liberty and despise tyranny can stand upon it and support our nominees.

We know that we can, with entire confidence, make appeal to the people for our country's rescue, in this hour of her peril. We appeal to all who loathe Imperialism, and venerate our Constitution. We appeal to all who despise militarism and love liberty. We appeal to all who oppose high war taxes in time of peace, and other increase of taxes, and who favor a just system of revenue collection, and all who, in every way oppose unequal taxation. We appeal to all who favor our hitherto free institutions and equal opportunity for all under the law. We appeal to all who are willing to resist the ever-increasing oppression and robbery of the trusts and monopolies. We appeal to all who favor a bimetallic standard of gold and silver as against a monometallic standard of either of the metals. We appeal to all who are opposed to the criminal aggression of forcible annexation, and who do not favor having our flag float with its protecting aegis over Sulu slaves and Oriental harems. We appeal, in short,, to all patriots and lovers of liberty, regardless of past party affiliations, to enlist in our cause, and help triumphantly to bear our banner.

In this unparalleled contest we pledge you the earnest, zealous, unbought, unfaltering and enthusiastic support of seven million voters of the Republic as you go forth to battle, and as the Constitution of our beloved land should follow its flag, so this undismayed and unconquerable band of patriots will follow you as you bear their flag to victory in November.

MR. BRYAN'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE AT MILITARY
PARK, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
AUG. 8, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Notification Committee: I shall, at an early day, and in a more formal manner, accept the nomination which you tender, and I shall at that time discuss the various questions covered by the Democratic platform. It may not be out of place, however, to submit a few observations at this time upon the general character of the contest before us and upon the question which is declared to be of paramount importance in this campaign.

When I say that the contest of 1900 is a contest between Democracy on the one hand and plutocracy on the other I do not mean to say that all our opponents have deliberately chosen to give to organized wealth a predominating influence in the affairs of the Government, but I do assert that on the important issues of the day the Republican party is dominated by those influences which constantly tend to substitute the worship of mammon for the protection of the rights of man.

In 1859 Lincoln said that the Republican party believed in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict it believed in the man before the dollar. This is the proper relation which should exist between the two. Man, the handiwork of God, comes first; money, the handiwork of man, is of inferior importance. Man is the master, money the servant, but upon all important questions today Republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the servant.

The maxim of Jefferson, "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and the doctrine of Lincoln that this should

be a government "of the people, by the people and for the people", are being disregarded and the instrumentalities of government are being used to advance the interests of those who are in a position to secure favors from the government.

The Democratic party is not making war upon the honest acquisition of wealth; it has no desire to discourage industry, economy and thrift. On the contrary, it gives to every citizen the greatest possible stimulus to honest toil when it promises him protection in the enjoyment of the proceeds of his labor. Property rights are most secure when human rights are most respected. Democracy strives for civilization in which every member of society will share according to his merits.

No one has a right to expect from society more than a fair compensation for the services which he renders to society. If he secured more it is at the expense of some one else. It is no injustice to him to prevent his doing injustice to another. To him who would, either through class legislation or in the absence of necessary legislation, trespass upon the rights of another the Democratic party says, "Thou shalt not."

Against us are arrayed a comparatively small but politically and financially powerful number who really profit by Republican policies; but with them are associated a large number who, because of their attachment to their party name, are giving their support to doctrines antagonistic to the former teachings of their own party.

Republicans who used to advocate bimetallism now try to convince themselves that the gold standard is good; Republicans who were formerly attached to the greenback are now seeking an excuse for giving national banks control of the Nation's paper money; Republicans who used to boast that the Republican party was paying off the national debt are now looking for reasons to support a perpetual and increasing debt; Republicans who formerly abhorred a trust now beguile themselves with the delusion that there are good trusts and bad trusts, while, in their minds, the line between the two is becoming more and more obscure; Republicans who, in times past, congratulated the country upon the small expense of our standing army, are now making light of the objections which are urged against a large increase in the permanent mili-

tary establishment; Republicans who gloried in our independence when the nation was less powerful now look with favor upon a foreign alliance; Republicans who three years ago condemned "forcible annexation" as immoral and even criminal are now sure that it is both immoral and criminal to oppose forcible annexation. That partisanship has already blinded many to present dangers is certain; how large a portion of the Republican party can be drawn over to the new policies remains to be seen.

For a time Republican leaders were inclined to deny to opponents the right to criticise the Philippine policy of the administration, but upon investigation they found that both Lincoln and Clay asserted and exercised the right to criticise a President during the progress of the Mexican war.

Instead of meeting the issue boldly and submitting a clear and positive plan for dealing with the Philippine question, the Republican convention adopted a platform the larger part of which was devoted to boasting and self-congratulation.

In attempting to press economic questions upon the country to the exclusion of those which involve the very structure of our government, the Republican leaders give new evidence of their abandonment of the earlier ideals of the party and of their complete subserviency to pecuniary considerations.

But they shall not be permitted to evade the stupendous and far-reaching issue which they have deliberately brought into the arena of politics. When the President, supported by a practically unanimous vote of the House and Senate, entered upon a war with Spain for the purpose of aiding the struggling patriots of Cuba, the country, without regard to party, applauded.

Although the Democrats realized that the administration would necessarily gain a political advantage from the conduct of a war which in the very nature of the case must soon end in a complete victory, they view with the Republicans in the support which they gave to the President. When the war was over and the Republican leaders began to suggest the propriety of a colonial policy opposition at once manifested itself.

When the President finally laid before the Senate a treaty which recognized the independence of Cuba, but provided for

the cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States, the menace of imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty and risk the ills that might follow rather than take the chance of correcting the errors of the treaty by the independent action of this country.

I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures and then give the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty.

In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters, I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation.

Lincoln embodied an argument in the question when he asked, "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified a clean-cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled.

If the treaty had been rejected the opponents of imperialism would have been held responsible for any international complications which might have arisen before the ratification of another treaty. But whatever difference of opinion may have existed as to the best method of opposing a colonial policy, there never was any difference as to the great importance of the question and there is no difference now as to the course to be pursued.

The title of Spain being extinguished we were at liberty to deal with the Filipinos according to American principles. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month before hostilities broke out at Manila, promised independence to the Filipinos on the same terms that it was promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adoption prior to the breaking out of hostilities would have prevented bloodshed, and

that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended hostilities.

If the treaty had been rejected considerable time would have necessarily elapsed before a new treaty could have been agreed upon and ratified, and during that time the question would have been agitating the public mind. If the Bacon resolution had been adopted by the Senate and carried out by the President, either at the time of the ratification of the treaty or at any time afterwards, it would have taken the question of imperialism out of politics and left the American people free to deal with their domestic problems. But the resolution was defeated by the vote of the Republican Vice-President, and from that time to this a Republican Congress has refused to take any action whatever in the matter.

When hostilities broke out at Manila Republican speakers and Republican editors at once sought to lay the blame upon those who had delayed the ratification of the treaty, and, during the progress of the war, the same Republicans have accused the opponents of imperialism of giving encouragement to the Filipinos. This is a cowardly evasion of responsibility.

If it is right for the United States to hold the Philippine Islands permanently and imitate European empires in the government of colonies, the Republican party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability.

The Filipinos do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement, not only to the Filipinos, but to all who are denied a voice in their own government. If the Republicans are prepared to censure all who have used language calculated to make the Filipinos hate foreign domination, let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he uttered that passionate appeal, "Give me liberty or give me death," he expressed a sentiment which still echoes in the hearts of men.

Let them censure Jefferson; of all the statesmen of history none have used words so offensive to those who would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them censure Washington, who declared that the colonists must choose be-

tween liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the sins of Henry and Jefferson and Washington, let them censure Lincoln, whose Gettysburg speech will be quoted in defense of popular government when the present advocates of force and conquest are forgotten.

Some one has said that a truth once spoken can never be recalled. It goes on and on, and no one can set a limit to its ever-widening influence. But if it were possible to obliterate every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos, but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here.

Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism. Heretofore this nation has been prompt to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. While our sphere of activity has been limited to the western hemisphere, our sympathies have not been bounded by the seas. We have felt it due to ourselves and to the world, as well as to those who were struggling for the right to govern themselves, to proclaim the interest which our people have, from the date of their own independence, felt in every contest between human rights and arbitrary power.

Three-quarters of a century ago, when our nation was small, the struggles of Greece aroused our people, and Webster and Clay gave eloquent expression to the universal desire for Grecian independence. In 1896 all parties manifested a lively interest in the success of the Cubans, but now when a war is in

progress in South Africa, which must result in the extension of the monarchical idea, or in the triumph of a republic, the advocates of imperialism in this country dare not say a word in behalf of the Boers.

Sympathy for the Boers does not arise from any unfriendliness towards England; the American people are not unfriendly toward the people of any nation. This sympathy is due to the fact that, as stated in our platform, we believe in the principles of self-government and reject, as did our forefathers, the claims of monarchy. If this nation surrenders its belief in the universal application of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, it will lose the prestige and influence which it has enjoyed among the nations as an exponent of popular government.

Our opponents, conscious of the weakness of their cause, seek to confuse imperialism with expansion, and have even dared to claim Jefferson as a supporter of their policy. Jefferson spoke so freely and used language with such precision that no one can be ignorant of his views. On one occasion he declared: "If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest." And again he said: "Conquest is not in our principles; it is inconsistent with our government."

The forcible annexation of territory to be governed by arbitrary power differs as much from the acquisition of territory to be built up into states as a monarchy differs from a democracy. The Democratic party does not oppose expansion when expansion enlarges the area of the Republic and incorporates land which can be settled by American citizens, or adds to our population people who are willing to become citizens and are capable of discharging their duties as such.

The acquisition of the Louisiana territory, Florida, Texas and other tracts which have been secured from time to time enlarged the Republic and the Constitution followed the flag into the new territory. It is now proposed to seize upon distant territory already more densely populated than our own country and to force upon the people a government for which there is no warrant in our Constitution or our laws.

Even the argument that this earth belongs to those who desire to cultivate it and who have the physical power to acquire it cannot be invoked to justify the appropriation of the Philippine islands by the United States. If the islands were uninhabited American citizens would not be willing to go there and till the soil. The white race will not live so near the equator. Other nations have tried to colonize in the same latitude. The Netherlands have controlled Java for three hundred years and yet today there are less than sixty thousand people of European birth scattered among the twenty-five million natives.

After a century and a half of English domination in India, less than one-twentieth of one per cent of the people of India are of English birth, and it requires an army of seventy thousand British soldiers to take care of the tax collectors. Spain had asserted title to the Philippine Islands for three centuries, and yet when our fleet entered Manila bay there were less than ten thousand Spaniards residing in the Philippines.

A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few taskmasters and a few officeholders and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

If we have an imperial policy we must have a great standing army as its natural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a certain, if not rapid, growth of our military establishment.

That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of December 5, 1898, the President asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the President asked for four times that many, and a Republican house of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the United States.

If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what may be expected if

the people encourage the Republican party by indorsing its policy at the polls?

A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people, and, if accompanied by compulsory service, a constant source of irritation, but it is even a menace to a republican form of government.

The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers.

A small standing army and a well-equipped and well-disciplined state militia are sufficient at ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past place its dependence upon the volunteers who come from all occupations at their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required—men who fight when the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers.

The Republican platform assumes that the Philippine Islands will be retained under American sovereignty, and we have a right to demand of the Republican leaders a discussion of the future status of the Filipino. Is he to be a citizen or a subject? Are we to bring into the body politic eight or ten million Asiatics, so different from us in race and history that amalgamation is impossible? Are they to share with us in making the laws and shaping the destiny of this nation? No Republican of prominence has been bold enough to advocate such a proposition.

The McEnergy resolution, adopted by the Senate immediately after the ratification of the treaty, expressly negatives this idea. The Democratic platform describes the situation when it says that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization. Who will dispute it? And what is the alternative? If the Filipino is not to be a citizen, shall we make him a subject. On that question the Democratic platform speaks with equal emphasis. It declares that the Filipino cannot be a subject without endangering our form of gov-

ernment. A Republic can have no subjects. A subject is possible only in a government resting upon force; he is unknown in a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Republican platform says that "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them (the Filipinos) by law." This is a strange doctrine for a government which owes its very existence to the men who offered their lives as a protest against government without consent and taxation without representation.

In what respect does the position of the Republican party differ from the position taken by the English government in 1776? Did not the English government promise a good government to the colonists? What king ever promised a bad government to his people? Did not the English government promise that the colonists should have the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and English duties? Did not the Spanish government promise to give the Cubans the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and Spanish duties? The whole difference between a Monarchy and a Republic may be summed up in one sentence. In a Monarchy the King gives to the people what he believes to be a good government; in a Republic the people secure for themselves what they believe to be a good government.

The Republican party has accepted the European idea and planted itself upon the ground taken by George III., and by every ruler who distrusts the capacity of the people for self-government or denies them a voice in their own affairs.

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given the Filipinos by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of Congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the President has been the only law in the Philippine Islands wherever the American authority extends.

Why does the Republican party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the

radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican party. The storm of protest which greeted the Porto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject.

If the Porto Ricans, who welcomed annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our Constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people, living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, in this country where the people have a right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the islands?

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States, and the twilight of semi-citizenship endured by the people of Porto Rico, while the thick darkness of perpetual vassalage covers the Philippines? The Porto Rico tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the Constitution is confined to the forty-five States.

The Democratic party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresistible power. That the leaders of a great party should claim for any President or Congress the right to treat millions of people as mere "possessions" and deal with them unrestrained by the Constitution or the bill of rights shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

The territorial form of government is temporary and preparatory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees and is subject to the same general laws as the citizen of a state. Take away this security and his rights will be violated and his interests sacrificed at the demand of those who

have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is applied.

What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value but that when that earth is molded by the divine hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil? If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase.

We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title we are not innocent purchasers.

There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke.

Let us consider briefly the reasons which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine Islands. But duty is not an argument; it is a conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is, in any emergency, we must apply well settled and generally accepted principles. It is our duty to avoid stealing, no matter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. It is our duty to avoid killing a human being, no matter where the human being lives or to what race or class he belongs.

Every one recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and the moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinions of others. Jefferson, than whom there is no higher political authority, said:

"I know of but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively."

Franklin, whose learning, wisdom and virtue are a part of the priceless legacy bequeathed to us from the revolutionary days, expressed the same idea in even stronger language when he said :

“Justice is strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and the nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang.”

Many may dare to do in crowds what they would not dare to do as individuals, but the moral character of an act is not determined by the number of those who join it. Force can defend a right, but force has never yet created a right. If it was true, as declared in the resolutions of intervention, that the Cubans “are and of right ought to be free and independent” (language taken from the Declaration of Independence), it is equally true that the Filipinos “are and of right ought to be free and independent.”

The right of the Cubans to freedom was not based upon their proximity to the United States, nor upon the language which they spoke, nor yet upon the race or races to which they belonged. Congress by a practically unanimous vote declared that the principles enunciated at Philadelphia in 1776 were still alive and applicable to the Cubans. Who will draw a line between the natural rights of the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will say that the former has a right to liberty and that the latter has no rights which we are bound to respect? And, if the Filipinos “are and of right ought to be free and independent,” what right have we to force our government upon them without their consent? Before our duty can be ascertained their rights must be determined, and when their rights are once determined it is as much our duty to respect those rights as it was the duty of Spain to respect the rights of the people of Cuba or the duty of England to respect the rights of the American colonists. Rights never conflict; duties never clash. Can it be our duty to usurp political rights which belong to others? Can it be our duty to kill those who, following the example of our forefathers, love liberty well enough to fight for it?

Some poet has described the terror which overcame a soldier who in the midst of the battle discovered that he had slain his

brother. It is written "All ye are brethren." Let us hope for the coming of the day when human life—which when once destroyed cannot be restored—will be so sacred that it will never be taken except when necessary to punish a crime already committed, or to prevent a crime about to be committed!

It is said that we have assumed before the world obligations which make it necessary for us to permanently maintain a government in the Philippine Islands. I reply first, that the highest obligation of this nation is to be true to itself. No obligation to any particular nations, or to all the nations combined, can require the abandonment of our theory of government, and the substitution of doctrines against which our whole national life has been a protest. And, second, that our obligation to the Filipinos, who inhabit the islands, is greater than any obligation which we can owe to foreigners who have a temporary residence in the Philippines or desire to trade there.

It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that, therefore, we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the Navy Department, declared the Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the right of the people of South America to self-government, said:

"It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partisans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded to particular nations; and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence himself to suppose that he has created being incapable of governing themselves, and to be tramped on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man."

Clay was right. There are degrees of proficiency in the art of self-government, but it is a reflection upon the Creator to say that he denied to any people the capacity for self-government. Once admit that some people are capable of self-government and that others are not that the capable people have

a right to seize upon and govern the incapable, and you make force—brute force—the only foundation of government and invite the reign of a despot. I am not willing to believe that an all-wise and an all-loving God created the Filipinos and then left them thousands of years helpless until the islands attracted the attention of European nations.

Republicans ask, "Shall we haul down the flag that floats over our dead in the Philippines?" The same question might have been asked when the American flag floated over Chapultepec and waved over the dead who fell there; but the tourist who visits the City of Mexico finds there a national cemetery owned by the United States and cared for by an American citizen.

Our flag still floats over our dead, but when the treaty with Mexico was signed American authority withdrew to the Rio Grande, and I venture the opinion that during the last fifty years the people of Mexico have made more progress under the stimulus of independence and self-government than they would have made under a carpet-bag government held in place by bayonets. The United States and Mexico, friendly republics, are each stronger and happier than they would have been had the former been cursed and the latter crushed by an imperialistic policy disguised as "benevolent assimilation."

"Can we not govern colonies?" we are asked. The question is not what we can do, but what we ought to do. This nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it must accept responsibility for what it does. If the Constitution stands in the way, the people can amend the Constitution. I repeat, the Nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it cannot avoid the natural and legitimate results of its own conduct.

The young man upon reaching his majority can do what he pleases. He can disregard the teachings of his parents; he can trample upon all that he has been taught to consider sacred; he can disobey the laws of the State, the laws of society and the laws of God. He can stamp failure upon his life and make his very existence a cure to his fellow-men, and he can bring his father and mother in sorrow to the grave; but he cannot annul the sentence, "The wages of sin is death."

And so with the nation. It is of age and it can do what it pleases; it can spurn the traditions of the past; it can repudiate

the principles upon which the nation rests; it can employ force instead of reason; it can substitute might for right; it can conquer weaker people; it can exploit their lands, appropriate their property and kill their people; but it cannot repeal the moral law or escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights.

“Would we tread in the paths of tyranny
 Nor reckon the tyrant’s cost?
 Who taketh another’s liberty
 His freedom is also lost.
 Would we win as the strong have ever won,
 Make ready to pay the debt,
 For the God who reigned over Babylon
 Is the God who is reigning yet.”

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them, lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First—That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second—That our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third—That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth—That there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is addressed to the nation’s pride and

the second to the nation's pocketbook. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partisan.

It is sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power, but it has done more to affect the policies of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty others have fought for it. Because our Constitution was adopted other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

The permanent chairman of the last Republican National Convention presented the pecuniary argument in all its baldness when he said:

"We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets."

This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for pecuniary advantage, and that it is profitable to purchase trade by force and violence. Franklin denied both of these propositions. When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the

Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied :

“To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other’s blood ; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise.”

I place the philosophy of Franklin against the sordid doctrine of those who would put a price upon the head of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means ; but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous.. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their people. We have not absorbed the republics of Central and South America, but we trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is borne by all the people while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors ; it would be profitable to the ship owners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back ; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries

would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes and under systems which place the tax upon consumption pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it.

In addition to the evils which he and the former share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own government.

It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The pecuniary argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much enthusiasm as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

The religious argument varies in positiveness from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Filipinos into our hands for their good and our glory to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to "thrash the natives (Filipinos) until they understand who we are," and that "every bullet sent, every cannon shot and every flag waved means righteousness."

We can not approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the hand it will ultimately reach the heart. It is

equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil.

If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword? He who would declare the divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation.

Imperialism finds no warrant in the Bible. The command "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature" has no Gatling gun attachment. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refused to receive him, some of the disciples suggested that fire should be called down from heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them and said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Suppose he had said: "We will thrash them until they understand who we are," how different would have been the history of Christianity! Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doctrine of imperialism with the golden rule and the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not the exploitation of them, was His method of reaching the human heart. A missionary recently told me that the Stars and Stripes once saved his life because his assailant recognized our flag as a flag that had no blood upon it.

Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breastplate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the spirit; let it be known that they are citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba.

The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever; American blood was shed at San Juan Hill and El Caney, and yet the President has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; the American flag waves over Havana today, but the President has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban republic is ready to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly indorse. If elected, I will convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

A European protectorate often results in the plundering of the ward by the guardian. An American protectorate gives to the nation protected the advantage of our strength, without making it the victim of our greed. For three-quarters of a century the Monroe doctrine has been a shield to neighboring republics and yet it has imposed no pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former mas-

ters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from without.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates our moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstances.

Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people. How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition!

The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was intrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility! The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment of that mission.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me; but, sirs, whether it be my lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named me, or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realiz-

ing the high ideals of those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

NOTIFICATION SPEECH OF GOV. CHARLES S. THOMAS
AT MILITARY PARK, INDIANAPOLIS,
IND., AUG. 8, 1900.

For a second time you have been chosen by the National Democracy as its Vice-Presidential candidate. This signal honor is not unprecedented, but it is none the less exceptional. Elected to that high office eight years ago, you discharged its duties faithfully and well, retiring with the respect, the love and the confidence of all the people. Thus endeared to your party, its recent action was both merited and appropriate.

Long before the Kansas City convention was called, its Presidential candidate had been selected. Its platform had been foreshadowed by that of Chicago, and by the events of the succeeding years. To complete the ticket wisely and well was a serious and exigent duty. Arrayed against money, monopoly and militarism, the associate of our great leader should be devoted to the same ideals, equipped for the same duties, inspired by the same convictions and prepared to sustain the same burden if Providence should so decree. Conscious of this great responsibility, but ready to meet it squarely, our convention on the first ballot, gave you its nomination. The Democracy long ago endorsed its action. The people will gloriously vindicate it in November.

From the moment that your name was presented by the great State of Illinois, no doubt existed as to the result. To the underlying principles of Democracy, you had ever been steadfastly loyal. You had traversed a long and honorable career, reaching from humble beginnings to the most exalted position save one in the gift of the people. You have been

equal to every responsibility to which your countrymen have called you. You justly possess in unusual degree the affections of men. Upon the great issues of the hour you stand four square with Bryan and the people, and in your nomination is given the full assurance of our desire to make our pledges and our purposes effectual.

The campaign of 1900 is no holiday affair. Like that of Jefferson, it involves the great questions whether the people or the classes shall rule, whether the principles of his immortal declaration are transient or fundamental. It holds before the public the gold and silver of the Constitution, the freedom and welfare of the citizen at home, the duty of the nation toward feeble communities struggling for liberty and independence in distant lands. Democracy is everywhere the aggressor. It demands the restoration of the bimetallic coinage of the Constitution. It denounces the surrender to private corporations of the sovereign power of note issue. It protests against a currency system based and grounded upon the national debt. It would interpose the mandate of the law between monopoly and the people. It realizes that the trust and the Constitution cannot both endure, and has highly resolved that the Constitution shall live. It has sworn that the present and the future of a people which renewed its struggle for liberty at our instance, shall not be measured by the sordid standards of avarice and greed. It would lift the reproach that commercialism has placed upon the honor of the Nation. It declares that justice is still the standing policy of our country. It would rescue liberty from the atmosphere of the counting room. It would remove the dollar mark from the face of duty. It would rise to the height of other and better days, and make the declaration of independence the common heritage of the Cuban and the Filipino. Each lighted his torch at the altar of the American Union. We cannot preserve the one if we shall extinguish the other. Each welcomed us as a common deliverer from a common tyrant. We cannot be true to one if we shall prove false to the other. We bid both to be of good cheer. The bow of promise that gilds the Cuban sky is behind the thunder cloud of the Orient. Its splendor shines

through the solemn pledges of our July convention; its majesty will be revealed in the elections of November.

The attitude of the Republican party of 1900 is and must continue to be a strange anomaly. It safely piloted the nation through the awful perils of slavery, yet it would conjure again into life that terrible evil whose sepulchre is sealed with the blood and the treasure of the Republic. It justly claims the statesmanship of Seward and Sumner, while its platform gives the lie to their loftiest precepts. It cherishes the memory of Blaine, but Democracy alone represents and asserts his vigorous Americanism. It cheers McKinley, but repudiates the wisdom of his past utterances upon the nature and essentials of free government. It worships at the shrine of Abraham Lincoln, but dares not ask his benediction upon its unholy scheme of plunder and conquest.

In pleasing contrast Democracy invokes in support of its great cause the memory and the teachings of all our statesmen, jurists and philosophers. It marshals them all under the banner of freedom. They still live though they speak not. Their presence consecrates the air around us, though we see them not. With their example to inspire us, with Bryan and Stevenson to lead us, with the Declaration and the Constitution to sustain us, we shall overcome all the hosts of the mighty.

Sir, in your nomination there is given to the world the outward and visible sign of a reunited Democracy. The revolt and discontent that marked and marred the campaign of 1896 have subsided forever. We are no longer divided. We have clasped hands in the presence of a great national peril. No discordant note disturbs the harmony of the hour. Democratic voices in universal chorus are everywhere chanting a symphony whose dominating note is liberty. To its vibrant melodies the hearts and consciences of men are responding, and in the gray dawn of the new century their ballots will register for the Republic a new birth of freedom.

MR. STEVENSON'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE AT MILITARY PARK, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
AUG. 8, 1300.

I am profoundly grateful for the honor conferred upon me by my selection by the National Democratic Convention as its candidate for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. For the complimentary manner in which such action has been officially made known to me I express to you, Mr. Chairman, and to your honored associates of the committee, my sincere thanks.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility assumed by such candidacy, I accept the nomination so generously tendered me. Should the action of the convention meet the approval of the people in November, it will be my earnest endeavor to discharge with fidelity the duties of the great office.

It is wisely provided in the constitution that at stated times political supremacy, upon which we are now entering, is one of deep moment to the American people. Its supreme importance to all conditions of our countrymen cannot be measured by words. The ills resulting from unjust legislation and from unwise administration of the government must find their remedy in the all-potent ballot. To it we now make our solemn appeal.

The chief purpose of the great convention whose representatives are before me was redress for existing wrongs and security against perils yet greater which menace popular government. Your convention, in language clear and unmistakable, has presented the vital issues upon which the pending con-

test is to be determined. To its platform I give my earnest assent.

Clearly and unequivocally the Democratic convention has expressed its sympathy with the burghers of the South African republics in their heroic attempt to maintain free government. In this the convention not only voiced the sentiments of American Democrats, but of liberty-loving men everywhere. It is not strange that those who have kept the political faith of the author of the Declaration of Independence should express their abhorrence at the effort of a great European power to subjugate a people whose only crime is a death struggle to maintain their liberties.

The earnest utterances of the convention, that our sympathies are with the Boers in their unequal struggle, meets a hearty response from all who venerate the principles of our fathers. Is it not true that in all the past, a belief in the inalienable rights of all peoples has been with us a living faith? That our sympathy has ever been with the oppressed; with those who were struggling for a larger measure of freedom—for self-government? For this reason, our government was among the first to extend recognition to the Republics of France and of Mexico; prompt to extend our sympathy, as well as official recognition, to the little South American states on their escape from the depotism of Spain, and upon their efforts to establish for themselves representative government fashioned after our own. History has but repeated itself and the struggle to maintain free government a century and a quarter after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence has been transferred from the new world to the old. Is it to be wondered then that the political disciples of Jefferson should express their sympathy for the oppressed Republics of South Africa? Only those who believe that our own country has outgrown the doctrines of the fathers are in sympathy with England's attempt to establish monarchy upon the ruins of republics.

The lavish appropriations, by the present Republican Congress, should challenge the attention of all thoughtful men. Subsidy bills and all unnecessary taxes are condemned by our platform. The accumulation of surplus revenues is too often the pretext for wasteful appropriations of the public money.

The millions of surplus now accumulating in the treasury should remain in the pockets of the people. To this end the Democratic party demands a reduction of war taxes to the actual needs of the government, and a return to the policy of strict economy in all governmental expenditures.

In apt words the Dingley tariff law is condemned. It is tersely characterized as legislation skillfully devised in the interest of a class, and to impose upon the many burdens which they should not bear. Adhering to the time-honored doctrine of the Democratic party, we oppose all tariff legislation, the necessary consequence of which is at the expense of the consumer, to secure unjust advantages to the favored few. Experience has demonstrated that unjust tariff laws have deprived the government of needed revenues, secured to favored beneficiaries colossal fortunes, and largely increased to the people the cost of the necessaries of life. The baleful but logical result of the tariff law condemned by our platform is seen in the sudden growth of giant monopolies, combinations in restraint of lawful trade and "trusts" more threatening than foreign foe to the existence of popular government. Believing that "wherever there is a wrong there must be a remedy," the Democratic party will favor such legislation as will curb the spirit of monopoly and place an effective barrier against the unlawful combinations of capital which now prove an insuperable obstacle to legitimate enterprise and investment. The deadly power of the trust is felt in all channels of trade. This is but the beginning. Is it too much to say that unless restrained by wholesome laws, wisely and efficiently administered, the danger becomes appalling? Fostered by the Dingley tariff law, the trusts, during the present Republican administration, have enormously increased in number and in power. A determined effort for their suppression must now be made. Delay would still further endanger every lawful business interest of the country. The imperative necessity for a remedy being conceded, the question arises: Into whose hands shall be committed the work of formulating laws looking to the suppression of trusts? To whom shall be intrusted the execution of such laws? Shall it be to the victims or to the beneficiaries of the overshadowing evil? If to the latter,

then a further lease of power to the present administration is all that is needed.

Can any sane man believe that the trust evil is one that will cure itself, or that its destruction will be compassed by those to whom it has brought princely fortunes? If so, let him point to a single honest attempt of Republican officials to enforce the laws now upon our statute books against the most stupendous commercial evil known to any period of our history. The Democratic party stands pledged to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in every form. It demands the enforcement of existing laws against trusts and the enactment of laws yet more stringent. It wisely demands publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. As one means to the important end of curtailing the power of trusts, we favor such amendments of our tariff laws as will place the products of trusts upon the free list, and thereby prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. During almost four years of Republican control of all departments of the government, the trust evil has grown to its present overshadowing proportions. What finger has been lifted for its suppression? With its friends again entrenched in power, what hope is held out for the future?

At this hour I can but allude in brief words to other needed reforms to which the attention of the country is called by the Democratic platform. Prominent among these, is such enlargement of the scope of interstate commerce law as will protect the public from unjust transportation rates, and individuals from unfair discrimination. As is well known, this law has failed to effect the wise purpose for which it was enacted. In fact, it is now little more than a dead letter upon the statute books. Under well-considered amendments the commission should be vested with ample power to prevent injustice to individuals and to the public.

Our platform favors the creation of a department of labor, whose chief officer shall take rank with other constitutional advisers of the president. This is in the interest of justice and will prove an important step looking to the proper recognition and encouragement of the producers of wealth.

In explicit terms it favors liberal pensions to our soldiers and sailors and to those dependent upon them.

With equal justice it reiterates the demands of a former Democratic platform for bimetallism; the restoration of silver to its proper function in our monetary system.

For the protection of the home laborer it demands the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act.

And in the interest of an enlarged commerce it favors the immediate construction of the Nicaraguan Canal. This, however, with the provision that it shall remain forever under the exclusive ownership and control of the United States. The pending Hay-Pauncefote treaty is condemned as a surrender of American rights, not to be tolerated by the American people. In the construction and control of this great work there can be no concession of right to any European power. Commercial interest and national safety in time of war, alike demand its permanent ownership by our government.

A question is yet to be discussed, to which all of these are of secondary importance. It is solemnly declared by our platform to be the paramount issue. Questions of domestic policy, however important, may be, but questions of the hour—that of imperialism—is for time. In the presence of this stupendous issue, others seem but as the dust in the balance. In no sense paltering with words, it is the supreme question of Republic or Empire. The words of the eminent Republican Senator, Mr. Hoar, challenge attention: "I believe that perseverance in this policy will be the abandonment of the principles upon which our government is founded; that it will change our government into an Empire; that our methods of legislation, of diplomacy, of administration must hereafter be those which belong to Empires, and not those which belong to Republics."

Upon every phase of our foreign policy, the language of the Democratic platform is too clear to admit of misconstruction. It favors trade expansion by all peaceful and lawful means.

We believe that liberty, as well as the Constitution, follows the flag. Democrats in common with many Republicans, oppose the Porto Rican law as a violation of the Constitution,

and a flagrant breach of good faith toward a dependent people. It is imposing government without the consent of the governed. It is in conflict with that provision of the constitution which declares that "Duties, imports and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." Believing that this constitutional provision applies to every part of the United States, we condemn the tariff taxation imposed by a Republican Congress upon the helpless and distressed people of Porto Rico. Such legislation—inspired solely by greed—is indeed the harbinger of evil to the Republic. The attempt to collect unjust taxes with one hand, and with the other to return them in part to a plundered people, is utterly without constitutional warrant or justification. We give our earnest assent to the declaration: "Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products access to our markets." No party exigency or pressure could justify a departure by the President from the plain pathway of duty he had here so clearly indicated. The law imposing tariff duties upon the people of Porto Rico is in palpable violation of the Constitution, and a flagrant breach of the pledged faith of the nation.

The Democratic platform condemns the policy pursued by the present administration toward the Philippine Islands. This policy—inspired by the greedy spirit of commercialism—has embroiled our government in an unnecessary war, sacrificed valuable lives, and placed the American Republic in deadly antagonism to our former allies in their efforts to secure their liberties. For the first time in our history we are boldly confronted with the question of "imperialism—the spirit of empire."

This is, indeed, the supreme question to which all others are of secondary importance. Before we break irrevocably with the past and abandon the doctrines of the fathers, it is well that we deliberate upon the consequences of a permanent departure from the settled governmental policy of more than a century. The success of the imperialistic policy foreshadows the empire. Shall the closing hours of the century witness the American people abandoning the sure pathway in which past generations have found prosperity and happiness and embark-

ing upon that of aggression and conquest, against which we are warned by the wrecks that lie along the entire pathway of history? Standing out against the new policy of conquest, with all that it involves of European complication, are the warnings of the founders of the Republic. Out of fashion, as it may appear, I quote the last words of Washington to the oncoming generations of his countrymen: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." It was the author of the Declaration of Independence who said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe." Is it not well to ponder these warnings before permanently embarking upon an untried pathway beset with foreign jealousies, complications and antagonism?

The Democratic party has ever been the advocate of wise territorial expansion. It was in control of the government during forty years of the first half of the present century. During that period new states were admitted into the Federal Union, and our western border extended beyond the Mississippi. Our Louisiana country—acquired under the first Democratic administration—have been carved fourteen magnificent states. Under a later Democratic administration—and as the result of the treaty which terminated our war with Mexico—we acquired California and neighboring states and territories, thus bringing under our flag, to remain forever, the vast expanse stretching to the Pacific.

The policy of aggressive expansion—of subjugation of distant islands—pursued by the present administration, finds no precedent in the peaceable cession of the Louisiana country by Napoleon, that of Florida by Spain, nor that yet later, of the vast western area by Mexico. The territory acquired under Democratic administrations was, with favorable climatic conditions, the fit above for men of our own race. At the time of annexation it passed under the rule of the Anglo-Saxon, who carried with him our language and our laws. It was territory contiguous to our own, and acquired with the declared intention—when conditions and population would justify—of carving it into states. The result: Millions of American homes,

our national wealth increased beyond the dream of avarice, and the United States chief among the nations of the earth. Can it be that the new policy of forcible annexation of distant islands finds precedent in the historic events I have mentioned? The answer is found in the bare statement of facts. The territory acquired under Democratic administrations is contiguous—the Philippine Islands 8,000 miles distant. The acquisition of territory upon our own continent added little to the national expense—to maintain permanent sovereignty over the distant islands necessitates immense expenditures upon our army and navy. More than that, it contemplates methods of administration that pertain, not to the Republic, but to the Empire. Can it be doubted that the attempt to stifle the spirit of liberty abroad will imperil popular government at home?

What is proposed by the party in power for the government of these islands? If it be intended to establish there our political institutions, what then becomes of the Monroe doctrine? This vital international policy, announced by the President of the United States seventy-seven years ago, was: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This was supplemented by a disclaimer, in substance, upon our part, of any intention to force our institutions upon the nations of Europe or their dependencies.

The Monroe doctrine is wholesome and enduring. It is the faith of Americans of every creed and party—is of the very warp and woof of our political being. It was promulgated at the critical moment when the "holy alliance" was attempting to stifle the Republican spirit and re-establish the despotism of Spain upon her revolted colonies in South America and Mexico. The essence of the doctrine as then understood by the world was, while we forbid the establishment of despotic governments upon the American continent, we recognize the corresponding obligation to refrain from any attempt to force our political system upon any part of the old world. This has been our settled rule of faith and practice for more than three-

quarters of a century. Its promulgation defeated the purpose of the "holy alliance" and destroyed forever the power of Spain upon this continent.

Under it Louis Napoleon, a third of a century ago, was compelled to withdraw the French army from Mexico and leave the ill-starred Maximilian to his fate. Under it the empire established by foreign bayonets disappeared and the Republic was restored. Are we now to say we still recognize the binding force of this doctrine upon other nations, but not upon our own?

If ultimate statehood for these remote islands—and others yet to be conquered—be disclaimed, how, then, are they to be held and governed? The only alternative is by force—by the power of army and navy, and this not for a day, or for a year, but for all time. What, then, becomes of the bedrock principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" If they are to be held permanently as conquered provinces, it will be not only outside of the constitution, but in direct antagonism to the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence. It is no less true now than in the days of our Revolution that "government by arbitrary power is still despotism." The attempt, then, either to give these people American citizenship or to hold them as subjects, is to us alike fraught with peril. Should there not be an immediate declaration by our government of its purpose toward them? They should be given unmistakable assurance of independence. Protection by our government should not be withheld against outside interference. The same protection should be theirs heretofore extended to the little states of Central and South America. Under existing conditions there should be no hesitation upon our part in giving them protection against the cupidity or aggressive spirit of other nations. All this, not to the end of subjugation or of conquest upon our part, but to that of the full enjoyment by them of liberty and of the ultimate establishment of stable government furnished by their own hands. Against this policy stands imperialism. In American politics the word is new—fortunately the policy is new. We are daily becoming familiar with its meaning, with its forebodings—and the end is not yet. It means a permanent departure from all

the traditions of the past; from the high ideals of the founders of the public. It abrogates the holding of our great court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of the government—the Constitution but its form and letter. Imperialism knows nothing of limitations of power. Its rule is outside the Constitution. It means the adoption by the American Republic of the colonial methods of European monarchies. It means the right to hold alien peoples as subjects. It enthrones force as the controlling agency in government. It means the empire.

As a necessary corollary to imperialism will come the immense standing army. The dread hand of militarism will be felt in the new world as it is in the old. The strong army of power will be substituted for the peaceable agencies which for more than a century have made our people contented and happy. It was Jefferson who said, "A well disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war." True, at the beginning of the century, with a few millions of population; no less true at the close, as we stand in the forefront of the nations with a population of eighty millions. The result of our recent conflict with Spain gives emphasis to the prophetic words of Jefferson. Existing conditions in continental Europe—entailing taxation and misery to the verge of human endurance—illustrate by sad object lesson the inevitable result of large standing armies in time of peace. Shall we still give heed to the warning of the great sage of the revolution, or enter upon a new century with European monarchies as our model? Without a large standing army, but relying upon the patriotism and courage of American manhood, we were victorious in the second war with Great Britain, with Mexico, in the great civil strife, and with Spain. In the light of history, can it be possible that the American people will consent to the permanent establishment of a large standing army, and its consequent continuing and ever-increasing burdens of taxation?

We are told that our Republic is now to become "a world power." In the highest sense—with the Declaration of Independence as its corner-stone—it has been in all its past a world power. It has been the lofty ideal to all liberty-loving people; the model for all builders of Republics for more than a cen-

ture. In the sense used by the imperialists the expression is one of terrible significance. It necessitates the methods and equipments of monarchies. It means the creation of and maintenance by our republic of standing armies equal to those of the world powers of Europe. At no less cost can we hold place as a world power. Study existing conditions in European nations, and know what this all means to us. It means taxation to the verge of despair. It means, as has been truly said, that "every laborer must carry an armed soldier upon his back as he goes to his daily toil." All history teaches that the cornerstone of imperialism is the force of the standing army.

We stand 100 years from the hour when the political forces were gathering which were to result in the election of the first Democratic President. The anniversary of the masterful day in our history was wisely chosen for the assembling in convention of the representatives of the historic party whose founder was Jefferson—and whose platform is the Declaration of Independence. In the great struggle now upon us we invoke the co-operation of all who revere the memory of our fathers, and to whom this declaration is not unmeaning parchment—but the enduring chart of our liberties. Upon the supreme issue now in the forefront—and to the end that Republican government be perpetuated—we appeal to the sober judgment and patriotism of the American people.

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

LINCOLN, NEB., Sept. 18, 1900.

Hon. James D. Richardson, Chairman, and Others of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention:

Gentlemen:—In accepting the nomination tendered by you on behalf of the Democratic party, I beg to assure you of my appreciation of the great honor conferred upon me by the delegates in convention assembled, and by the voters who gave instruction to the delegates.

I am sensible of the responsibilities which rest upon the chief magistrate of so great a nation, and realize the far-reaching effect of the questions involved in the present contest.

In my letter of acceptance of 1896, I made the following pledge:

“So deeply am I impressed with the magnitude of the power vested by the Constitution in the chief executive of the nation and with the enormous influence which he can yield for the benefit or injury of the people, that I wish to enter the office, if elected, free from any personal desire, except the desire to prove worthy of the confidence of my countrymen. Human judgment is fallible enough when unbiased by selfish considerations, and, in order that I may not be tempted to use the patronage of the office to advance my personal ambition, I hereby announce, with all the emphasis which words can express, my fixed determination not, under any circumstances, to be a candidate for re-election, in case this campaign results in my election.”

Further reflection and observation constrain me to renew this pledge.

The platform adopted at Kansas City commands my cordial and unqualified approval. It courageously meets the issues now before the country, and states clearly and without ambiguity the party's position on every question considered. Adopted by a convention which assembled on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, it breathes the spirit of candor, independence and patriotism which characterizes those who, at Philadelphia in 1776, promulgated the creed of the Republic.

Having in my notification speech, discussed somewhat at length the paramount issue, imperialism, and added some observations on militarism and the Boer war, it is sufficient at this time to review the remaining planks of the platform.

The platform very properly gives prominence to the trust question. The appalling growth of combinations in restraint of trade during the present administration, proves conclusively that the Republican party lacks either the desire or the ability to deal with the question effectively. If, as may be fairly assumed from the speeches and conduct of the Republican leaders, that party does not intend to take the people's side against these organizations, then the weak and qualified condemnation of trusts to be found in the Republican platform is designed to distract attention while industrial despotism is completing its work. A private monopoly has always been an outlaw. No defense can be made of an industrial system in which one, or a few men, can control for their own profit, the output or price of any article of merchandise. Under such a system the consumer suffers extortion, the producer of raw material has but one purchaser, and must sell at the arbitrary price fixed; the laborer has but one employer, and is powerless to protest against injustice, either in wages or in conditions of labor; the small stockholder is at the mercy of the speculator, while the traveling salesman contributes his salary to the overgrown profits of the trust. Since but a small proportion of the people can share in the advantages secured by private monopoly, it follows that the remainder of the people are not only excluded from the benefits, but are the helpless victims of every monopoly organized. It is difficult to over-estimate the immediate injustice that may be done, or to calculate the ultimate effect of this

injustice upon the social and political welfare of the people. Our platform, after suggesting certain specific remedies; pledges the party to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in nation, state and city. I heartily approve of this promise; if elected, it shall be my earnest and constant endeavor to fulfill the promise in letter and spirit. I shall select an attorney-general who will, without fear or favor, enforce existing laws; I shall recommend such additional legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside of the state of its origin; and, if contrary to my belief and hope, a constitutional amendment is found to be necessary, I shall recommend such an amendment as will, without impairing any of the existing rights of the states, empower Congress to protect the people of all the states from injury at the hands of individuals or corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

The platform accurately describes the Dingley tariff law, when it condemns it as a "trust breeding measure, skillfully devised to give to the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear." Under its operation trusts can plunder the people of the United States, while they successfully compete in foreign markets with manufacturers of other countries. Even those who justify the general policy of protection will find it difficult to defend a tariff which enables a trust to exact an exorbitant toll from the citizen.

The Democratic party makes no war upon honestly acquired wealth; neither does it seek to embarrass corporations engaged in legitimate business, but it does protest against corporations entering politics and attempting to assume control of the instrumentalities of government. A corporation is not organized for political purposes, and should be compelled to confine itself to the business described in its charter. Honest corporations, engaged in an honest business, will find it to their advantage to aid in the enactment of such legislation as will protect them from the undeserved odium which will be brought upon them by those corporations which enter the political arena.

The Republican party has persistently refused to comply with the urgent request of the Interstate Commerce Commis-

sion, for such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to realize the hopes aroused by its creation. The Democratic party is pledged to legislation which will empower the commission to protect individuals and communities from discrimination, and the public at large from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

The platform reiterates the demand contained in the Chicago platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves. The purpose of such a system is to restore and maintain a bimetallic level of prices, and in order that there may be no uncertainty as to the method of restoring bimetallism, the specific declaration in favor of free and unlimited coinage at the existing ratio of 16 to 1, independent of the action of other nations, is repeated. In 1896 the Republican party recognized the necessity for bimetallism by pledging the party to an earnest effort to secure an international agreement for the free coinage of silver, and the president, immediately after his inauguration, by authority of congress, appointed a commission composed of distinguished citizens to visit Europe and solicit foreign aid. Secretary Hay, in a letter written to Lord Aldenham in November, 1898, and afterward published in England, declared that at that time the president and a majority of his cabinet still believed in the great desirability of an international agreement for the restoration of the double standard, but that it did not seem opportune to re-open the negotiations just then. The financial law enacted less than a year ago contains a concluding section declaring that the measure was not intended to stand in the way of the restoration of bimetallism, whenever it could be done by co-operation with other nations. The platform submitted to the last Republican convention with the indorsement of the administration again suggested the possibility of securing foreign aid in restoring silver.

Now the Republican party, for the first time, openly abandons its advocacy of the double standard, and indorses the monetary system which it has so often and so emphatically condemned. The Democratic party, on the contrary, remains the steadfast advocate of the gold and silver coinage of the constitution, and is now willing that other nations shall determine

for us the time and manner of restoring silver to its ancient place as a standard money. The ratio of 16 to 1 is not only the ratio now existing between all the gold and silver dollars in circulation in this country, a ratio which even the Republican administration has not attempted to change, but it is the only ratio advocated by those who are seeking to re-open the mints. Whether the senate, now hostile to bimetallism, can be changed during this campaign or the campaign of 1902 can only be determined after the votes are counted, but neither the present nor the future political complexion has prevented or should prevent an announcement of the party's position upon this subject in unequivocal terms.

The currency bill, which received the sanction of the executive and the Republican members of the House and Senate, justifies the warning given by the Democratic party in 1896. It was then predicted that the Republican party would attempt to retire the greenbacks, although the party and its leaders studiously concealed their intentions. That purpose is now plain, and the people must choose between the retention of the greenbacks, issued and controlled in volume by the government, and a national bank note currency issued by banks and controlled in their own interests. If the national bank notes are to be secured by bonds, the currency system now supported by the Republican party involves a permanent and increasing debt, and, so long as this system stands, the financial classes will be tempted to throw their powerful influence upon the side of any measure which will contribute to the size and permanency of a national debt. It is hardly conceivable that the American people will deliberately turn from the debt-paying policy of the past, to the dangerous doctrine of perpetual bonds.

The demand for a constitutional amendment providing for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, appears for the first time in a Democratic National platform, but a resolution proposing such an amendment, has three times passed the House of Representatives, and that, too, practically without opposition. Whatever may have been the reasons which secured the adoption of the present plan, a century ago, new conditions have made it imperative that the people be permitted to speak directly in the selection of their representatives

in the Senate. A Senator is no less the representative of the State because he receives his commission from the people themselves, rather than from the members of the State legislature. If a voter is competent to vote for a member of Congress, for State officers and for President, he is competent to choose his representative in the Senate. A system which makes the Senator responsible for his election to the people, as a whole, and amenable to them if he misrepresents them, must commend itself to those who have confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the masses.

The platform indorses the principle of direct legislation. This is already applied to the more important questions in nation, state and city. It rests upon the sound theory that the people can be trusted, and that the more responsive the government is to the will of the people the more free it will be from misuse and abuse.

Several planks of the labor platform are devoted to questions in which the laboring classes have an immediate interest, but which more remotely affect our entire population. While what is generally known as government by injunction is at present directed chiefly against the employes of corporations, when there is a disagreement between them and their employer, it involves a principle which concerns every one. The purpose of the injunction in such cases is to substitute trial by judge for trial by jury, and is a covert blow at the jury system. The abolition of government by injunction is as necessary for the protection of the reputation of the court, as it is for the security of the citizen. Blackstone, in defending trial by jury, says:

“The impartial administration of justice, which secured both our persons and our properties is the great end of civil society, but if that be entrusted entirely to the magistracy, a select body of men, and those selected by the prince such as enjoy the highest offices of the State their decisions in spite of their natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias toward those of their own rank, and dignity. It is not to be expected from human nature that the few should be always attentive to the interests and good of the many.”

If the criminal laws are not sufficient for the protection of

property, they can be made more severe, but a citizen charged with crime must have his case tried before a jury of his peers.

The blacklist as now employed in some places enables the employer to place the employe under practical duress, for the skilled laborer loses his independence when the employers can not only discharge him, but prevent his securing any similar employment. The blacklist enables employers to secure, by mutual agreement, that control over the wage earners which a private monopoly exercises without contract.

The platform renews the demand for arbitration between corporations and their employes. No one who has observed the friction which arises between great corporations and their numerous employes can doubt the wisdom of establishing an impartial court for the just and equitable settlement of disputes. The demand for arbitration ought to be supported as heartily by the public, which suffers inconvenience because of strikes and lockouts, and by the employers themselves, as by the employes. The establishment of arbitration will insure friendly relations between labor and capital, and render obsolete the growing practice of calling in the army to settle labor troubles.

I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of the platform recommendation of the establishment of a department of labor, with a member of the cabinet at its head. When we remember how important a position the laborer fills in our economic, social and political fabric, it is hard to conceive of a valid objection being made to this recognition of his services. Agriculture is already represented in the president's official household; the army and navy have their representatives there; the state department, with its consular service, and the treasury department, with its close connection with fiscal affairs, keep the executive in touch with the business and commercial interests. A cabinet officer truly representative of the wage earning class would be of invaluable aid, not only to the toilers but to the president.

The Chinese exclusion act has proven an advantage to the country, and its continuance and strict enforcement, as well as its extension to other similar races, are imperatively necessary. The Asiatic is so essentially different from the American

that he cannot be assimilated with our population, and is, therefore, not desirable as a permanent citizen. His presence as a temporary laborer, preserving his national identity, and maintaining a foreign scale of wages and living, must ever prove an injustice to American producers, as well as a perpetual source of irritation.

The party expresses its pride in the soldiers and sailors of all our wars, and declares its purpose to deal generously with them and their dependents. A liberal policy is natural and necessary in a government which depends upon a citizen soldiery, instead of a large standing army. Self-interest, as well as gratitude, compels the government to make bountiful provision for those who, in the hour of danger, and at great sacrifice of business, health and life, tender their services to their country.

The pension laws should be construed according to the generous spirit which prompted their passage. The platform very properly reiterates the position taken in 1896, that the fact of enlistment shall be deemed conclusive evidence that the soldier was sound when the government accepted him. A certificate given now to the health of a person 40 years ago, even if easily obtainable, should not have as much weight as the certificate of the medical officer who examined the volunteer with a view of ascertaining his fitness for army service.

The Democratic party is in favor of the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua canal by the United States. The failure of the Republican party to make any progress in carrying out a pledge contained in its platform four years ago, together with the substitution in its latest platform of a plank favoring an isthmian canal for a specific declaration in favor of the Nicaraguan canal, would indicate that the Republican leaders either do not appreciate the importance of this great waterway to the maritime strength and commercial interests of the country, or that they give too much consideration to the interested opposition of transcontinental lines. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty, now before the Senate, would, if ratified, greatly lessen the value of the canal, if it would not indeed convert it into a positive menace in time of war. The paramount interests of the United States in the west-

ern hemisphere, together with the obligations to defend the Republics to the south of us, makes it necessary that our government shall be able to close the canal against any hostile power.

Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma have long been ready to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of statehood, and it will be a pleasure, as well as a duty, to carry out the platform pledge concerning them.

There will be a popular acquiescence in the demand for home rule, and a territorial form of government in Alaska and Porto Rico. Both are entitled to local self-government and representation in Congress.

The recognition contained in both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the right of the Cubans to independence, removes the general principle involved from the domain of partisan politics. It is proper, however, to consider whether the accomplishment of this purpose can be safely entrusted to the Republican party after it has yielded to the allurements of the Colonial idea, and abandoned its earlier faith in the natural and inalienable rights of man.

The time is ripe for a systematic and extended effort to reclaim the arid lands and fit them for actual settlers. The last agricultural report estimates that homes can thus be provided for many millions of people. The impounding and use of the waters which are wasted in the spring would people the western states with thrifty, intelligent, and industrious citizens, and these would furnish a valuable market for all the products of the factories. A small percentage of the money spent in a war of conquest would provide occupation and habitation for more people than would ever seek a residence in colonies within the tropics.

The reasons given by Washington, Jefferson, and the other statesmen of the early days in support of the doctrine that we should maintain friendly relations with all nations, but enter into entangling alliances with none, are even stronger today than they were a hundred years ago. Our commerce is rapidly increasing, and we are brought into constant communication with all parts of the world. Even if we desired to do so, we could not afford to alienate many nations by cultivating un-

necessary intimacy with a few. Our strength and standing are such that it is less necessary than ever before to lean for aid upon the friendliness of a foreign power.

We cannot connect ourselves with European nations and share in their jealousies and ambitions without losing the peculiar advantage, which our location, our character and our institutions give us in the world's affairs.

The doctrine enunciated by Monroe, and approved by succeeding presidents, is essential to the welfare of the United States. The continents of North and South America are dedicated to the development of free government. One Republic after another has been established, until today monarchical idea has barely a foothold in the new world.

While it is not the policy of this country to interfere where amicable relations exist between European countries and their dependencies in America, our people would look with disfavor upon any attempt on the part of European governments to maintain an unwilling or forcible sovereignty over the people living on this side of the Atlantic.

The position taken by the Republican leaders, and more recently set forth by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, viz.: That we cannot protect a nation from outside interference without exercising sovereignty over its people, is an assault upon the Monroe doctrine, for while this argument is at this time directed against the proposition to give to the Filipinos both independence and protection, it is equally applicable to the Republics of Central and South America. If this government cannot lend its strength to another Republic, without making subjects of its people, then we must either withdraw our protection from the Republics to the south of us or absorb them. Under the same plea, that the guardian nation must exert an authority equal to its responsibility, European nations have for centuries exploited their wards, and it is a significant fact that the Republican party should accept the European idea of a protectorate, at the same time that it adopts a European colonial policy. There is no excuse for this abandonment of the American idea. We have maintained the Monroe doctrine for three-quarters of a century. The expense to us has been practically nothing, but the protection has been

beyond value to our sister Republics. If a Filipino Republic is erected upon the ruins of Spanish tyranny, its protection by us will be neither difficult nor expensive. No European nation would be willing for any other European nation to have the islands, neither would any European nation be willing to provoke a war with us in order to obtain possession of the islands. If we assert sovereignty over the Filipinos we will have to defend that sovereignty by force, and the Filipinos will be our enemies; if we protect them from outside interference, they will defend themselves and will be our friends. If they show as much determination in opposing the sovereignty of other nations as they have shown in opposing our sovereignty, they will not require much assistance from us.

The Republican party, drawing as it does enormous campaign funds from those who enjoy special privileges at the hands of the government, is powerless to protect the tax payers from the attack of those who profit by large appropriations. A surplus in the treasure offers constant temptation to extravagance, and extravagance, in turn, compels a resort to new means of taxation, which is being kept in the background until the campaign is over, is a fair illustration of the imposition which will be attempted when there is a considerable amount of money idle in the treasury. The rehabilitation of the merchant marine, laudable in itself, is made the pretext for expenditure of public money for the benefit of large ship owners, and in the interests of a transportation monopoly. The government being only the agent of the people, has no right to collect from the people taxes beyond the legitimate needs of a government honestly and effectively administered; and public servants should exercise the same degree of care in the use of the people's money that private individuals do in the use of their own money. With a restoration of a foreign policy consistent with American ideas there can be an immediate and large reduction in the burdens now borne by the people.

By inadvertence the income tax plank agreed upon by the Resolutions Committee, was omitted from the platform as read and adopted. The subject, however, is covered by the reaffirmation of the Chicago platform, and I take this occasion to reassert my belief in the principle which underlies the in-

come tax. Congress should have authority to levy and collect an income tax whenever necessary, and an amendment to the federal constitution specifically conferring such authority ought to be supported by even those who may think the tax unnecessary at this time. In the hour of danger the government can draft the citizen; it ought to be able to draft the pocketbook as well. Unless money is more precious than blood, we cannot afford to give greater protection to the incomes of the rich than to the lives of the poor.

The subjects, however, treated in this letter, important as each may seem in itself, do not press so imperatively for solution as the question which the platform declares to be the paramount issue in this campaign. Whether we shall adhere to, or abandon those ideas of government which have distinguished this nation from other nations and given to its history its peculiar charm and value, is a question the settlement of which cannot be delayed. No other question can approach it in importance; no other question demands such immediate consideration. It is easier to lose a reputation than to establish one, and this nation would find it a long and laborious task to regain its proud position among the nations, if, under the stress of temptation, it should repudiate the self-evident truths proclaimed by our heroic ancestors and sacredly treasured during a career unparalleled in the annals of time. When the doctrine that the people are the only source of power is made secure from further attack we can safely proceed to the settlement of the numerous questions which involve the domestic and economic welfare of our citizens.

Very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

NOTIFICATION COMMITTEES.

The following is a list of the Committeemen selected to represent the several states for the purpose of officially notifying the nominees of the Convention of their nomination:

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT.

- Alabama—C. L. Lavretta.
- Arkansas—Jefferson Davis.
- California—R. F. Del Valle.
- Colorado—James Doyle.
- Connecticut—Bryan F. Mahan.
- Delaware—E. D. Hearne.
- Florida—J. Emmett Wolfe.
- Georgia—J. T. Hill.
- Idaho—W. H. Dewey.
- Illinois—Andrew Welch.
- Iowa—A. M. Potter.
- Indiana—W. H. O'Brien.
- Kansas—S. F. Neely.
- Kentucky—R. Lee Suter.
- Louisiana—E. Howard McCaleb.
- Maine—John Scott.
- Maryland—Edward J. Christy.
- Massachusetts—John O'Gara.
- Michigan—Justin R. Whiting.
- Minnesota—C. O. Baldwin.
- Mississippi—W. D. Cameron.
- Missouri—D. A. Ball.
- Montana—Walter Cooper.

Nebraska—John A. Creighton.
 Nevada—F. G. Newlands.
 New Hampshire—J. F. Dowd.
 New Jersey—Geo. Pfeiffer, Jr.
 New York—Frank H. Mott.
 North Carolina—J. A. Brown.
 North Dakota—H. D. Allert.
 Ohio—M. A. Daugherty.
 Oregon—R. M. Veach.
 Pennsylvania—John S. Rilling.
 Rhode Island—D. J. McCarthy.
 South Carolina—W. B. Wilson.
 South Dakota—T. W. Taubman.
 Tennessee—Wm. W. Wallace.
 Texas—William Capps.
 Utah—A. H. Tarbet.
 Vermont—John W. McGearry.
 Virginia—P. H. O'Bannan.
 Washington—W. A. Mosier.
 West Virginia—Joseph E. Chilton.
 Wisconsin—George Hilton.
 Wyoming—Horace C. Alger.
 Alaska—Wm. M. Hale.
 Arizona—B. A. Packard.
 Indian Territory—James Gibbon, T. M. Marcum.
 New Mexico—Macario Gallegos.
 Oklahoma—H. S. Emmerson.
 District of Columbia—J. Fred Kelley, C. T. Bride.
 Hawaii—Prince David Kawananakua.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

Alabama—F. M. Tankersley.
 Arkansas—J. H. Hindman.
 California—Wm. McFadden.
 Colorado—A. T. Gunnel.
 Connecticut—Wm. L. Hunting.
 Delaware—H. Harrington.
 Florida—R. D. McDonald.
 Georgia—George T. Cann.

- Idaho—W. B. McFarland.
Illinois—Reed Green.
Iowa—E. J. Murtagh.
Indiana—M. M. Hathaway.
Kansas—W. W. Letson.
Kentucky—W. P. Thorn.
Louisiana—E. Howard McCaleb.
Maine—Harry B. Stewart.
Maryland—John Keating.
Massachusetts—Charles D. Lewis.
Michigan—Adolphus A. Ellis.
Minnesota—Humphrey Barton.
Mississippi—J. T. Senter.
Missouri—W. D. Leeper.
Montana—F. E. Corbett.
Nebraska—Jonas Welsch.
Nevada—George Frazier.
New Hampshire—John F. Dowd.
New Jersey—David Crater.
New York—M. N. Kane.
North Carolina—Lemuel Harvey.
North Dakota—Thomas Regan.
Ohio—D. L. Rockwell.
Oregon—(Not selected).
Pennsylvania—William S. Thomas.
Rhode Island—George W. Green.
South Carolina—J. A. Mooney.
South Dakota—Stephen Donahue.
Tennessee—E. M. Holmes.
Texas—J. W. Blake.
Utah—A. G. Horne.
Vermont—John W. McGeary.
Virginia—Pannill Rucker.
Washington—J. W. Godwin.
West Virginia—Geo. B. West.
Wisconsin—F. B. Hoskins.
Wyoming—Richard A. Keenan.
Alaska—William M. Hale.
Arizona—George W. P. Hunt.

Indian Territory—James Givens, R. S. Williams.
New Mexico—Chas. F. Easley.
Oklahoma—T. L. Hill.
District of Columbia—F. B. Lord, Wm. Holmes.
Hawaii—John H. Wise.

HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES.

The following is the list of Honorary Vice Presidents and Assistant Secretaries selected by the delegations representing the several states at the National Democratic Convention at Kansas City, July 4-6, 1900.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

- Alabama—Robert J. Lowe.
- Arkansas—J. H. Berry.
- California—J. N. Woods.
- Colorado—Charles Henkel.
- Connecticut—James P. Piggott.
- Delaware—H. Harrington.
- Florida—Charles Wright.
- Georgia—Thomas Hutchinson.
- Idaho—W. H. Dewey.
- Illinois—S. Z. Landes.
- Iowa—J. B. Gorrell.
- Indiana—James Murdock.
- Kansas—N. F. Graham.
- Kentucky—C. C. Spaulding.
- Louisiana—S. D. McEnery.
- Maine—L. M. Staples.
- Maryland—Blair Lee.
- Massachusetts—Thos. F. Keenan.
- Michigan—W. R. Burt.
- Minnesota—C. F. Buck.
- Mississippi—J. H. Jones.
- Missouri—Thomas Connelly.

Montana—J. M. Holt.
 Nebraska—J. H. Miles.
 Nevada—Clayton Belknap.
 New Hampshire—John B. Nash.
 New Jersey—Joshua Salmon.
 New York—Charles M. Bulger.
 North Carolina—J. R. Blair.
 North Dakota—M. A. Hildreth.
 Ohio—Negley Cochran.
 Oregon—R. M. Veach.
 Pennsylvania—Robert E. Pattison.
 Rhode Island—John W. Davis.
 South Carolina—M. B. McSweeney.
 South Dakota—J. J. Conway.
 Tennessee—John E. Wills.
 Texas—John M. Duncan.
 Utah—George W. Thatcher.
 Vermont—A. B. Perry.
 Virginia—B. F. Buchanan.
 Washington—J. M. Jamieson.
 West Virginia—J. G. McClure.
 Wisconsin—R. B. McCoy.
 Wyoming—A. E. Miller.
 Alaska—Charles D. Rogers.
 Arizona—T. G. Norris.
 Indian Territory—B. F. Lafayette.
 New Mexico—Macario Gallegos.
 Oklahoma—C. J. Wrightsman.
 District of Columbia—W. F. Hart.
 Hawaii—Wm. H. Cornwell.

HONORARY SECRETARIES.

Alabama—Nathan L. Miller.
 Arkansas—A. L. Skillen.
 California—D. W. Carmichael.
 Colorado—Scott Ashton.
 Connecticut—Geo. Foster.
 Delaware—Geo. Draper.
 Florida—Mitch. Jacoby.

- Georgia—Chas. Daniel.
Idaho—Geo. Hickerson.
Illinois—W. R. Bradley.
Indiana—L. G. Ellingham.
Iowa—Walter H. Dewey.
Kentucky—Wm. Cromwell.
Kansas—H. W. Stewart.
Louisiana—L. E. Thomas.
Maine—Peter C. Keegan.
Maryland—Martin Lehmaye.
Michigan—Thos. J. Cavanaugh.
Minnesota—Frank L. Glotzboch.
Mississippi—O. H. Bowen.
Missouri—L. D. Ramsey.
Massachusetts—Stephen M. Walsh.
Montana—Frank G. Huggins.
Nebraska—Phil. Kohls.
Nevada—E. L. Bingham.
New Hampshire—John B. Jameson.
New Jersey—Addison Ely.
New York—Clif. H. Swartout.
North Carolina—E. M. Green.
North Dakota—H. D. Allert.
Ohio—H. L. Nichols.
Oregon—(None reported).
Pennsylvania—Joseph W. Moyer.
Rhode Island—Wm. L. Congdon.
South Dakota—(None reported).
South Carolina—D. H. Traxler.
Tennessee—Wm. A. Owens.
Texas—J. W. Hornsby.
Utah—Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohn.
Vermont—Richard M. Houghton.
Virginia—Joseph Button.
Washington—D. D. Fagan.
West Virginia—C. W. Campbell.
Wisconsin—J. M. Baer.
Wyoming—Walter L. Larsh.
Alaska—Louis L. Williams.

Arizona—Geo. W. P. Hunt.
New Mexico—E. C. DeBaer.
Oklahoma Territory—Roy V. Hoffman.
Indian Territory—Davis Hill.
District of Columbia—Wm. J. Donovan.
Hawaii—Chas. T. Wilder.

CHAIRMEN OF DELEGATIONS.

The following is the official list of the Chairmen of the several state delegations, as reported to the Secretary of the Democratic National Convention at Kansas City, July 4, 1900:

- Alabama—Tennett Lomax.
- Arkansas—Jefferson Davis.
- California—Stephen M. White.
- Colorado—A. T. Gunnell.
- Connecticut—W. Kennedy.
- Delaware—J. G. Gray.
- Florida—B. S. Lidden.
- Georgia—Boykin Wright.
- Idaho—C. O. Stockslager.
- Illinois—James R. Williams.
- Iowa—Cato Sells.
- Indiana—G. N. Menzie.
- Kansas—J. G. Johnson.
- Kentucky—James B. McCreary.
- Louisiana—John Fitzpatrick.
- Maine—P. Frank.
- Maryland—A. L. Knott.
- Massachusetts—George Fred Williams.
- Michigan—D. J. Campau.
- Minnesota—L. A. Rosing.
- Mississippi—A. H. Longino.
- Missouri—L. V. Stephens.
- Montana—W. A. Clark.
- Nebraska—W. H. Thompson.

- Nevada—C. E. Mack.
New Hampshire—Henry O. Kent.
New Jersey—Johnson Cornish.
New York—Edward Murphy.
North Carolina—E. J. Hale.
North Dakota—M. A. Hildreth.
Ohio—James Kilbourne.
Oregon—A. S. Bennett.
Pennsylvania—J. M. Guffey.
Rhode Island—George W. Green.
South Carolina—Benjamin R. Tillman.
South Dakota—S. A. Keenan.
Tennessee—James D. Richardson.
Texas—S. B. Cooper.
Utah—George W. Thatcher.
Vermont—T. M. Maldney.
Virginia—C. M. White.
Washington—Thomas Maloney.
West Virginia—Samuel V. Woods.
Wisconsin—David S. Rose.
Wyoming—A. E. Miller.
Alaska—William M. Hale.
Arizona—Thomas G. Norris.
Indian Territory—J. B. Thompson.
New Mexico—Charles F. Easley.
Oklahoma—D. H. Patton.
District of Columbia—James L. Norris.
Hawaii—D. Kawanakua.

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 1900.

Sen. James K. Jones, Chairman, Washington, D. C.
Gov. W. J. Stone, Vice-Chairman, St. Louis, Mo.
C. A. Walsh, Secretary, Ottumwa, Iowa.
M. F. Dunlap, Treasurer, Jacksonville, Ill.

Executive Committee. James K. Jones, Chairman, Washington; J. G. Johnson, Vice-Chairman, Peabody, Kas.; C. A. Walsh, Secretary, Ottumwa, Ia.; W. J. Stone, St. Louis, Mo.; H. D. Clayton, Eufaula, Ala.; D. J. Campau, Detroit, Mich.; Thomas Gahan, Chicago, Ill.; J. M. Guffey, Pittsburg, Pa.; Geo. Fred Williams, Boston, Mass.; T. D. O'Brien, St. Paul, Minn.; Thos. Taggart, Indianapolis, Ind.; James C. Dahlman, Omaha, Neb.; Norman E. Mack, Buffalo, N. Y.

Ways and Means Committee. J. K. Jones, Chairman, Washington; John R. McLean, Vice-Chairman, Cincinnati, O.; C. A. Walsh, Secretary, Ottumwa, Ia.; Urey Woodson, Owensboro, Ky.; Adair Wilson, Denver, Colo.; B. R. Tillman, Trenton, So. Carolina; J. G. Johnson, Peabody, Kas.; T. E. Ryan, Waukesha, Wis.; F. M. Tarpey, Alameda, Cal.; M. F. Dunlap, Treas., Jacksonville, Ill.; W. H. Hinrichsen, Trav. Manager, Jacksonville, Ill.

Press Committee J. K. Jones, Chairman, Washington; Clark Howell, Jr., Vice-Chairman, Atlanta, Ga.; C. A. Walsh, Secretary, Ottumwa, Ia.; Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, N. C.; True L. Norris, Portsmouth, N. H.; J. G. Johnson, Peabody, Kas.; David C. Dunbar, Salt Lake, Utah; Willis J. Abbott, Manager of Press Bureau, Chicago.

NOTE:—After the official list of the National Committee on pages 195 and 196 was printed, vacancies have been filled as follows: Hon. Geo. E. Hughes, of Bath, Maine, elected by the National Commit-

tee upon recommendation of the Democratic State Committee of Maine, to fill the vacancy from that state caused by the death of Hon. Arthur Sewell.

Hon. J. R. Jacobs, of Shawnee, Oklahoma, elected by the National Committee upon the recommendation of the Democratic Territorial convention, to fill the vacancy from that territory.

ERRATA: On page 142 the name Goggin in the fifth line from the bottom of the page evidently should be Hogan, as the name Goggin does not appear in the list of delegates from Massachusetts. The similarity in sound accounts for the error on the part of the stenographer making the report.

On page 169, eleven lines from the bottom, read "Newlands" for Newlangs.

On page 171, before the last paragraph at bottom of the page, read "Hon. William A. Daly responded when New Jersey was called."

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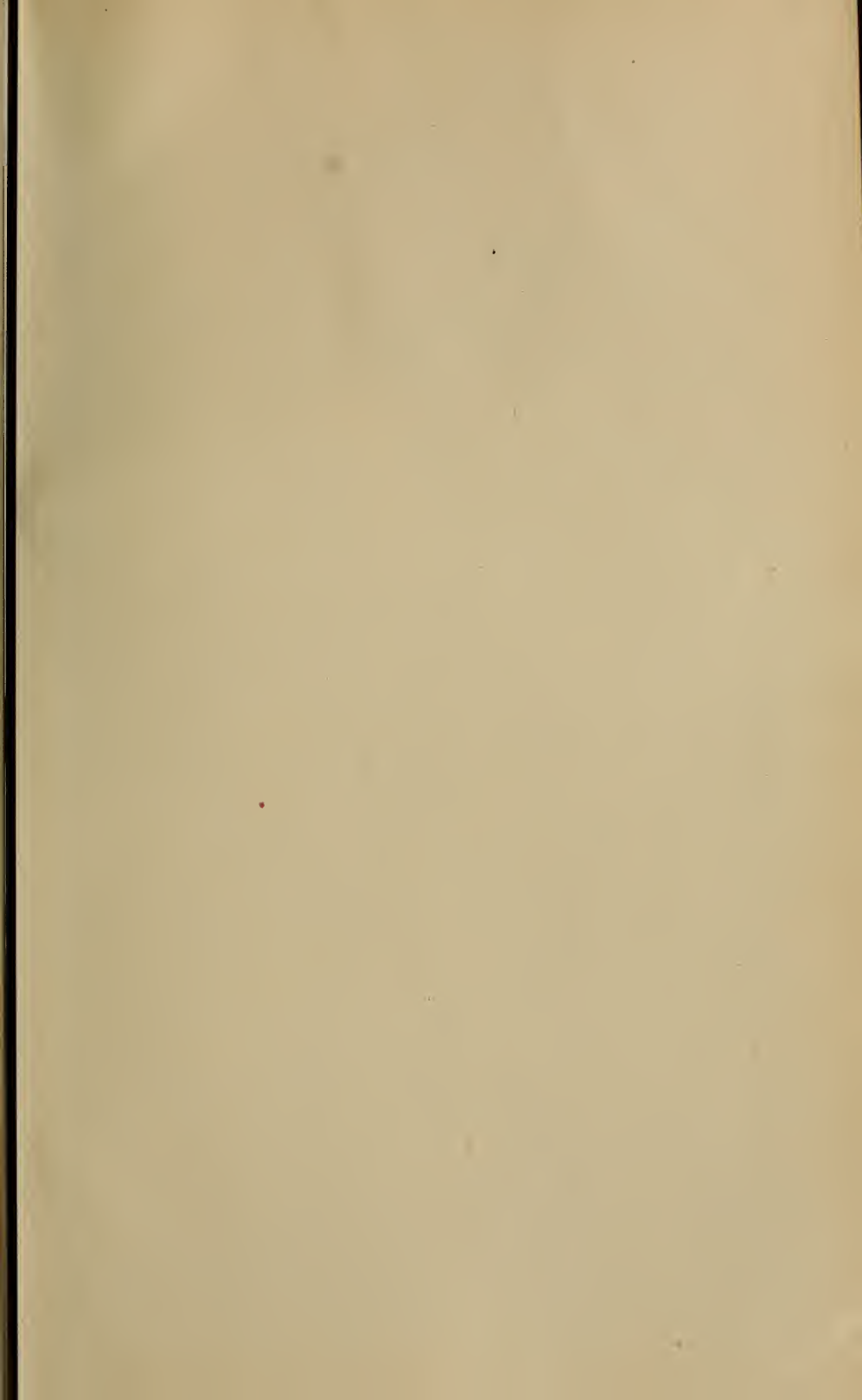


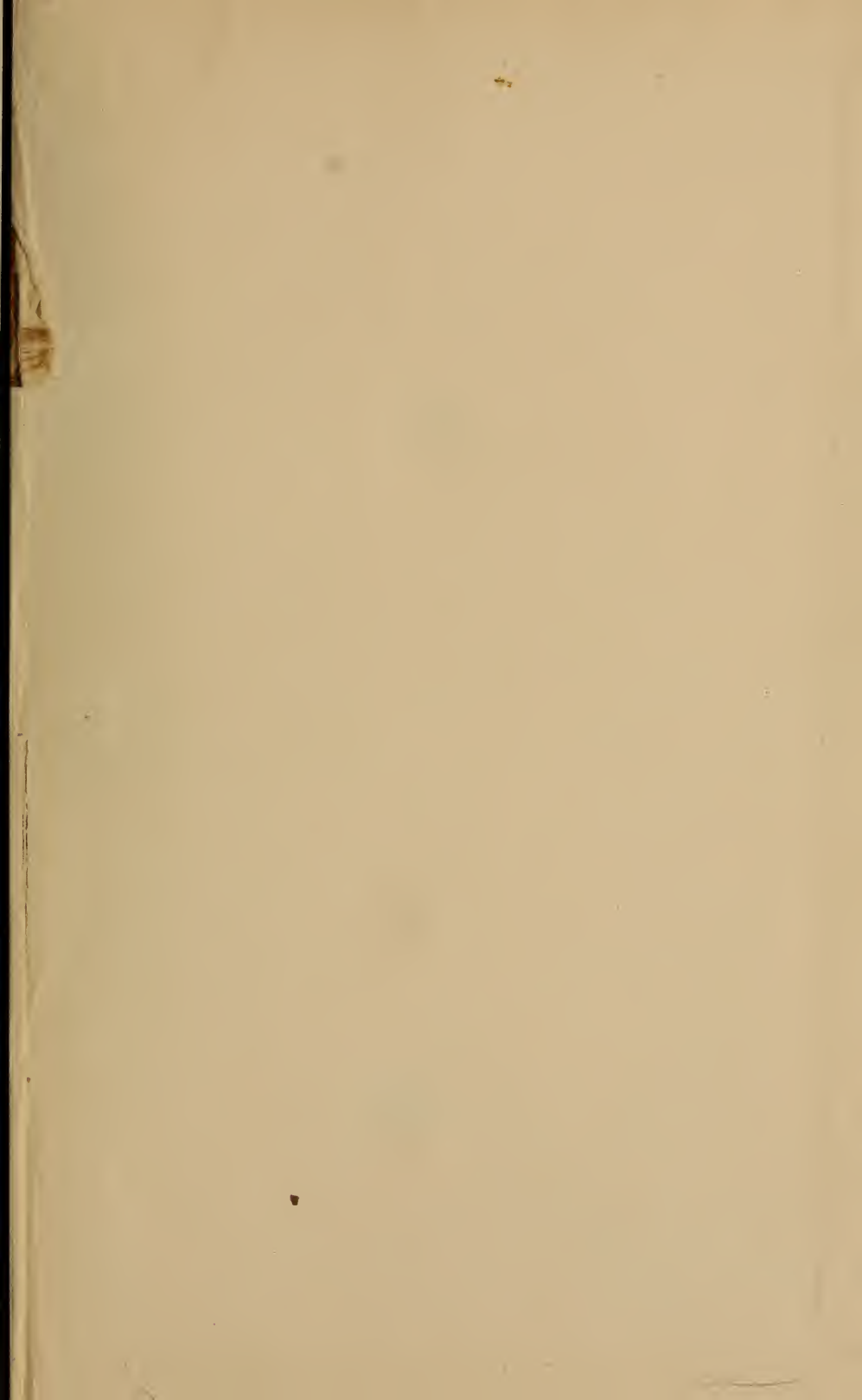
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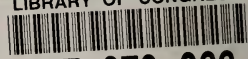
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