

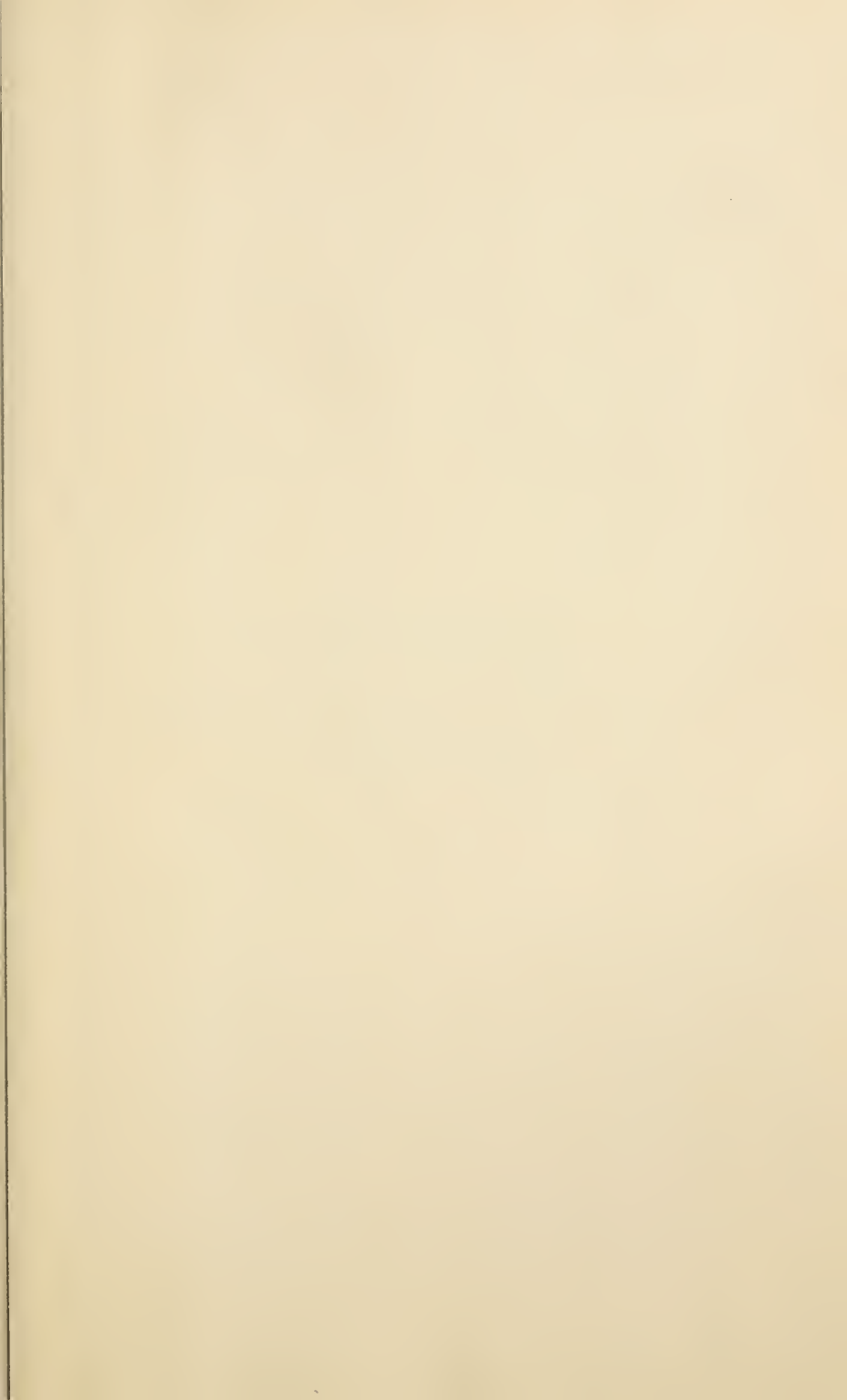
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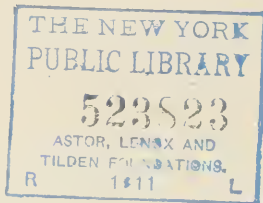
GOLDEN JUBILEE
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY

THE CELEBRATION IN PHILADELPHIA
JUNE 17, 18 AND 19, 1906

BY
ADDISON B. BURK

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
PUBLICATION COMMITTEE
HOWARD A. CHASE, J. LEE PATTON,
J. HAMPTON MOORE

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1906



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Introductory.

The story of a great party which has done so much for humanity, so much for the Nation and so much for the world as the Republican Party has accomplished, directly or indirectly, during



HOWARD A. CHASE
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON PRESS

its fifty years of existence, ought to be preserved in permanent form for the instruction of future generations. And the Golden Jubilee of the Republican party celebrated in Philadelphia, in June, 1906, has furnished the material for such a story in the reminiscences of men who were present at the birth of the party in 1856. The celebration was characterized alike by dignity and enthusiasm and was entirely free from factional difference and partisan bitterness. The programme included the general meeting at which historical addresses were made; the annual convention of the

National League of Republican Clubs; the Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania State League; a public meeting at the Academy of Music; a great street parade of Republican clubs and various excursions and entertainments for the visiting delegates.

To the descriptive record of these proceedings and the stenographic report of the addresses, have been added an account of the work of the committees having charge of the Golden Jubilee and a statistical history of the party, succinctly describing its growth and achievements. The purpose of the compiler of this volume has been to gather together the more or less fragmentary contributions to the history of the party, contained in the letters and speeches of its organizers; to present a faithful picture of the

ceremonies, with a transcript of the proceedings of the Jubilee celebration, and to add thereto a review that shall preserve, for ready reference, the story of the party as told in convention platforms and election results. It is a difficult, if not impossible task, to trace to all its varied causes any given result. The growth and prosperity of the country have resulted partly from its wealth of natural resources, partly from the intelligence and industry of its people, but it is customary, and by no means unreasonable, to attribute such growth and prosperity to the administration or government that protects the natural resources and gives full play to the intelligence and industry of the people. Misgovernment can do so much to put a check upon growth, to create distrust of the future and thus blight enterprise, that it is not unreasonable to attribute continued prosperity to good government. Without pretending to say that good crops are dependent upon Republican rule, it may nevertheless be affirmed that if that party had not established its policies respecting the protection of American labor, the maintenance of a sound standard of money and the encouragement of railroad extension across the continent, this Nation would not have expanded as it has expanded nor have won its way to commercial supremacy, no matter how bountiful its crops might have been. It is with a full understanding that other causes have helped the development, that distinction is claimed for the Republican party and its policies, because of the almost marvelous growth and prosperity of the Nation under its rule.

The history of a political party generally dates back beyond the day of its birth and formal baptism, and this is particularly true of a great party founded upon fundamental principles of government. Political parties in the United States have and had, even in their inception, very little in common with the political parties of the so-called mother country,—England. They arose from the natural division of sentiment regarding the principles that should rule an entirely new form of government. In the course of more than one hundred years of administrative experience, other issues have been raised to temporarily divide the parties into factions or to disrupt them, but from the beginning there have been two parties, called at different periods by different

names that have had, as their main issue, fundamentally different views respecting the character of the government provided by the Constitution, respecting the limitations of powers therein and respecting the distribution made of these powers. These differences control the attitude of the two great parties upon many subjects which have the superficial appearance of presenting new issues such as the finances of the Nation, the tariff and, at the present day, the regulation of rates charged by railroads and other common carriers.

The two parties which fought the first great battles over the Constitution and its interpretation were known as the Federalist and the Republican. The latter title is very misleading because it was taken by the party which subsequently called itself Democratic, and which was, in its time, the antithesis of the Republican party of to-day. After many changes of names the two parties finally assumed those which they bear in this day and generation. The Republican party of to-day is the lineal descendant of the Federalist party of Hamilton; The Democratic party (at least of the period preceding the advent of Bryan), is the lineal descendant of the Republican party of Jefferson.

For convenience and because of the misleading character of the name given to Jefferson's party, it will be here called the Democratic party, no matter what its name may have been in particular periods of its history, and the name Republican will be applied to the party in opposition to the Democratic party, no matter what its name may have been at similar periods.

The Revolutionary war was fought and won by a confederation of colonies (not states) which had, prior thereto, owed allegiance to Great Britain. The articles of Confederation conferred little power upon the general government, and its conduct of the war was greatly hampered because it was powerless to enforce its requisitions for men or money. Soon after the declaration of peace the weakness of the coalition became still more evident, and real statesmen (there were giants in those days) set about the task of forming a more perfect government. The result of their labors was the adoption, under great difficulties, of the Constitution of the United States. As an ideal form of government it was far from being perfect, for it partook of the nature of a

compromise between opposing factions and was purposely left obscure in some particulars that it might not arouse antagonisms to defeat its ratification. As a compromise measure to bring about a more perfect union of violently antagonistic elements, it deserves all the encomiums that have been heaped upon it. If it had gone a hair's breadth beyond the grants of power and concessions made in it, there would have been such a revolt as would have resulted in its defeat, and chaos would have come upon the young and struggling Republic. Thus as a means to an end the Constitution fulfilled its purpose; but it was not such a Constitution as Jefferson or Hamilton would have promulgated if either had been empowered to prepare a form of government.

Fundamental differences arose when the attempt was made to frame the Constitution and they resulted in the organization of parties as soon as the compromise measure came to be interpreted. According to one view the Constitution was framed by the people of the nation who created the states (theretofore colonies without Sovereign power) and provided for a division of authority between the people, the states and the central or National government. According to the opposing view, certain states, each Sovereign, (they having won independence through the revolutionary war) agreed to form a Union, surrendering a part only of their sovereign power to the central or National government, jealously reserving all other powers to themselves or to the people.

The corollaries derived from these fundamentally different conceptions of the nature of the Union, formed under the Constitution, have been various and far reaching. They have not always been followed consistently, for both parties have at times become Opportunists and have interpreted the constitution to meet particular issues; but in the main the Republicans (descendants of the Federalists) have regarded the Nation (with a capital N) as the custodian of power derived from the people and the Democrats have regarded the nation (with a small n) as the result of the union of Sovereign states. The civil war was supposed to have settled the question, but it did so only in a limited degree. Scratch a Democrat and you will still find a states rights man.

The Constitution (a compromise measure, be it remembered)

is largely responsible for the persistence of this difference of opinion. While the need of more power in the general government than is conferred in so many words by the Constitution, is generally recognized, the fact remains that according to its terms only certain specific powers are conferred upon it and all other powers are reserved to the states or to the people. In the practical administration of affairs the tendency of the Republican party has always been towards the enlargement of the powers of the Federal government to the ideal of the Federalists who helped to frame the constitution; the tendency of the Democratic party on the other hand, has always been to curtail the powers of the Federal government to those which, according to strict interpretation of the Constitution, were surrendered by the sovereign states in order to form the more perfect Union. Some concessions have been made to the increase of Federal power by common consent, but never without a struggle. The great Post Office department is founded upon authority given to Congress to establish Post roads; the Interstate Commerce Commission and the pending regulation of railroad rates, depend upon a clause authorizing Congress to regulate the commerce between states; the National Bank system rests upon even flimsier foundations and the tariff is held by many Democrats to be unconstitutional except when it is imposed "for revenue only."

It is neither necessary nor desirable, in this introduction to the history of the Republican party to discuss these points, nor to do anything more than show the cleavage lines which separate the two great National parties. When the issues between them are not ephemeral—born of the time as it were—they always rest upon interpretations of the constitution such as have been fought over, time and again, since the days of Hamilton and Jefferson. The thing to be kept in mind, in approaching the history of the Republican party, is that the real issue between the two great parties of the country, since the adoption of the Constitution down to and including to-day, has been the interpretation of its provisions respecting the powers of government and the distribution of such powers.

We find, accordingly, that the Republican party was founded upon permanent principles respecting the meaning, force and effect

of the Constitution. The attempted extension of slavery to the territories was the incident which gave rise to the organization, but the first platform of the party is distinguished, above all things else, by a clear exposition of the Constitution—an exposition that remained the platform of the party long after the extinction of slavery. It is also important to note that, although abolitionists joined the Republican party, the latter, as a party, respected the Constitutional recognition of slavery down to the day when, as a war measure, slavery was abolished. It freed the slaves as an incident of its career, not as a part of its original purpose.

Leaving out of consideration the shadowy claims of state or county conventions purporting to be progenitors of the Republican party because they made early use of its name or its principles, the genesis of the party, as organized in 1856, may be clearly traced to a small club known as the Republican Association of Washington, of which Hon. Lewis Clephane was Secretary. This club was formed June 19th, 1855, and adopted a platform with but one idea, opposition to the extension of slavery to the territories. In January of the following year it issued an appeal for the organization of Republican clubs throughout the country and simultaneously a call for a Republican National Convention was issued by the Chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin. That the Republican Association of Washington had some share in the issuance of this call may be inferred from the fact that its officers took an active part in the preliminary meetings. The party was yet to be formed, for, although so-called delegates appeared from various states, they represented no one save themselves. Their appeal, however was presented to the remnants of parties and factions opposed to the pro-slavery administration and by confining themselves to one issue they managed in an incredibly short time to organize a formidable party of opposition. The first call for a National Convention of the Republican party was issued January 17, 1856 and invited delegates to attend a preliminary meeting to be held at Pittsburg on the 22nd day of February, 1856. It was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 17, 1856.

To the Republicans of the United States:

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburg on the 22nd of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.

J. C. Goodrich, of Massachusetts.

DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania.

LAWRENCE BRAINERD, of Vermont.

WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wisconsin.

Horace Greeley, the eminent editor of the *New York Tribune*, gave to this convention or meeting factitious importance by his reports to the *Tribune*. It was an eminently respectable meeting of earnest men, woefully few in numbers and with no organized constituencies at their back, but Mr. Greeley's reports added to its dignity and importance and greatly helped to prepare the way for a real organization of the new party at Philadelphia in the following June.

In the light of subsequent events Horace Greeley's dispatches, relative to this convention might be regarded as prophetic; as a matter of fact they were successful efforts to boost a cause that, at the time, needed artificial stimulation. But the so-called Pittsburg convention, which was a meeting of self appointed delegates seeking to found a new party, though small in numbers, included a relatively great number of men already or afterwards to become distinguished in public affairs. Among them were Francis P. Blair, Joshua R. Giddings, David Wilmot, Horace Greeley, John M. Niles.

At this preliminary meeting a call was prepared for the convention at Philadelphia and an address was issued confined to a declaration of principles regarding the slavery question. After the convention had adjourned a great mass meeting was held to aid the emigration to Kansas in order to make it a free state. "Bleeding Kansas" was the issue of the day. The administration under the domination of the slave holders' party was engaged in trying to force slavery institutions upon Kansas and the radical opponents of slavery were equally active in trying to overcome the slave interests by peopling the state with a majority in favor of free institutions.

Although there was much violence, both parties, nominally at least, respected the rule of the majority; the violence was intended to produce the majority one way or the other. Force was met by force and Kansas became for the time being the battle ground.

The main purpose of the Pittsburg gathering was fulfilled. It organized an Executive committee representing 21 states and the District of Columbia to take charge of the National Convention.

This committee which met at Washington in March, 1856, had a delicate task before it, for it had to issue a call that would appeal to men of all factions opposed to the administration, taking care to avoid giving offence to any of them. Its well worded call with the names of the signers is here reproduced:

To the People of the United States:

The people of the United States without regard to past political differences or divisions who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state and of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson are invited by the National Committee appointed by the Pittsburg convention of the 22nd of February, 1856, to send from each state three delegates from every Congressional district and six delegates at large, to meet at Philadelphia on the seventeenth day of June next for the purpose of recommending candidates

to be supported for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, New York.
 FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland.
 JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut.
 DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania.
 A. P. STONE, Ohio.
 WILLIAM M. CHASE, Rhode Island.
 JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.
 GEORGE RYE, Virginia.
 ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine.
 E. S. LELAND, Illinois.
 CHARLES DICKIE, Michigan.
 GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire.
 A. J. STEVENS, Iowa.
 CORNELIUS COLE, California.
 LAWRENCE BRAINARD, Vermont.
 WILLIAM GROSS, Indiana.
 WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin.
 C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey.
 E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware.
 JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky.
 JAMES REDPATH, Missouri.
 LEWIS CLEPHANE, District of Columbia.
 National Committee.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.

The first National Convention of the Republican party to nominate candidates for President and Vice President was held in pursuance of the above call, at the Musical Fund Hall, in Philadelphia, on Tuesday, June 17, 1856. It was a remarkable gathering, in many respects comparable to the First Congress. It was an untrammelled deliberative body, composed of men of great intellectual power, some of them already distinguished; others destined in the near future to become leaders of men. The convention as a whole was moved by one spirit—opposition to the extension of slave power. Its speakers, confident to the degree of absurdity that the new party was destined to succeed, entered

the campaign with high hopes, although to the dispassionate onlooker the party could at best do no more than gather about it all the elements of opposition to the continued growth of the slave power.

The results of its organization were momentous not only to the party but to the Nation. Its nominee for President, John C. Fremont, renewed his title—the Pathfinder—for although he did not lead his party to victory he blazed the way for his successor. The Republican party with its well defined principles furnished the nucleus to which were gathered all the opponents of the Democratic party which, drunk with power, openly espoused slavery and sought to extend it. Before the Presidential election of 1860, the Democratic party had split upon this issue and by dividing its vote and furnishing some recruits to the new Republican party enabled the latter to elect Lincoln President. The war of the rebellion followed. Although slavery and its extension were the inciting causes, the issues still related to interpretations of the Constitution. The Southern states claimed the right to secede; the Republican administration denied the right and fought the war for the preservation of the Union and to uphold the power of the Federal government. Stupendous as was the struggle, it was politically comparable to the despatch of United States Marshals into a lawless region, to enforce the decree of United States courts against the will of the local authorities. The slaves were freed as a war measure, after the rebellious states had failed to acknowledge allegiance under the terms of the constitution recognizing slavery.

With this later history of the country, which has become a part of the history of the Republican party, and with the story of the development of its principles and the success which has attended its administration of public affairs, we have, for the present, nothing to do. It is sufficient to know that this great party had its birth in Philadelphia in June, 1856. The pages that follow tell how the fiftieth anniversary of that birth was celebrated.

A. B. B.

STORY OF THE JUBILEE.

The Republican National Convention of 1856, although it marked the birth of the great party of freedom and National progress offered no such inspiring spectacle as that which was presented in the same hall exactly



JOHN R. WIGGINS
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON STREET
DEMONSTRATION

fifty years afterwards. The first convention was determined rather than hopeful; the Jubilee convention celebrated not only the fulfilment of the original purpose but the establishment of important governmental principles and their successful maintenance for nearly fifty years. The single purpose of the first convention was fulfilled in less than eight years after the organization of the party; but with the growth of the latter, a well rounded policy was established dealing with the fundamental principles of representative government—a policy which brought victory to the party

and prosperity to the nation. The Jubilee celebration was an inspiration; it seized upon the imagination of men and aroused the enthusiasm even of those who had been lukewarm. The first convention of the party assembled in Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia, the opening session having been held June 17, 1856. The Fiftieth anniversary of that event happened to fall on Sunday, June 17, 1906, and on that day the Jubilee celebration was begun in the hall where Fremont and Dayton had been nominated. The hall itself had become world famous for its acoustic properties and because it was the scene of many notable events besides the first Republican National Convention,

and fortunately had been preserved unaltered, except in its decorations, for fifty years, so that it was possible to hold the celebration in precisely the same place that saw the birth of the Republican party as a National organization. Arrangements for the Jubilee were made with the utmost regard for the dignity of the occasion and with entire respect for the factional differences arising within the party during its long career. The first convention represented various parties and factions of parties united for a common purpose and the Jubilee celebration similarly was made to embrace all who were ready to do honor to Republican principles and to the founders of the party. The old hall had been richly decorated with bunting and with banners bearing the names of Republican candidates for the Presidency, in a grouping of flags, while the stage was a bower of ferns and carnations. Long before the opening of the exercises, every part of the auditorium except the space near the platform reserved for the Fremont voters was crowded. The enthusiasm which the occasion itself had aroused found opportunity for expression when the old songs were played or sung and especially when the veterans who had voted for Fremont in 1856 marched to the seats of honor reserved for them. There were nearly 300 of these Fremont voters assembled from all parts of the country. Each was necessarily more than 71 years of age and some of them 90 or even more, and they were given such cordial welcome as brought tears to the eyes of many of the feeble old men. Their emotion was shared by the younger men who reverently guided them to their seats, and seldom has been exhibited a more heartfelt enthusiasm than that which marked the opening of the Jubilee. J. Hampton Moore, President of the National League of Republican clubs, under whose auspices the celebration was given, who was acting as temporary presiding officer, led the cheering which greeted the veterans as they marched to their seats. Fresh enthusiasm was aroused when Luther Kidder the oldest member of the Fremont Republican Guard of Brooklyn, carried the banner of that organization to the platform where were seated among other guests General H. H. Bingham, Howard A. Chase, Samuel Lamond, Theodore Search, John L. Kinsey, Representative Thomas V. Cooper of Media, Henry T. Coates, William T. Tilden, Murdoch

Kendrick, Ziba T. Moore, Charles H. Sayre, Charles C. C. Baldi, Glenn C. Meade, and Miss Anna L. Dayton, daughter of William L. Dayton the first Republican nominee for Vice President. Miss Dayton was the guest of honor throughout the Jubilee celebration.

The music rendered by the orchestra while the audience was assembling, included the old songs of the war time and the audience joined in singing them with the greatest fervor, so that the Jubilee had an auspicious opening even before the formal exercises had begun. The singing of "America," led by the band, marked the formal proceedings and then followed the opening prayer by Rev. Dr. Edgar M. Levy, of West Philadelphia, whose appearance was as dramatically effective as the march of the veterans, for Dr. Levy had offered the prayer—prophetic in character—at the opening of the first convention in 1856 and on that account had been selected to invoke the Divine blessing upon the convention that nominated McKinley and Roosevelt in 1900.

A part of the prayer he offered in 1856 was as follows:—
"The oppressors of the weak are arrogant. They are forging chains to bind the white man as well as the black man. Thou hast helped us hitherto, oh, help us now. Thou God of our Salvation, leave us not to the power of evil and wicked men. Give not the control of our government into their hands. Let them no longer use the army and navy to enslave. Suffer them not to degrade our manhood by compelling us to assist in capturing those who may escape from the house of bondage. We pray that our land may become the land of liberty, and not the land of oppression. For the sake of the unhappy slaveholder, as well as for the slave, we pray that 'liberty may be proclaimed throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.' If it pleases Thee, may we live to hear the intonations of the silver trumpet of our jubilee."

It seemed to his hearers that the prayer had been abundantly fulfilled, when, fifty years later, he was privileged to stand on the same platform and give thanks to God for the manifold blessings bestowed upon the nation in the intervening time. After the prayer the Philamela Quartet composed of the Misses Richards, Robinson, Brinker and Rosenkrantz sang "The Lost Chord" and the hymn "Lead Kindly Light."

Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania presided and his introductory remarks were followed by the singing of "My Old Kentucky Home" by Miss Ada Turner Kurtz, the audience joining in the chorus with fine effect. Colonel A. K. McClure was then introduced and delivered an exceedingly interesting address filled with personal reminiscences, for Col. McClure was an important figure in politics at the time of the organization of the Republican party and the personal representative of President Lincoln in Pennsylvania during the war period.

William Barnes of New York, a son-in-law and former political and business partner of Thurlow Weed also made a reminiscent speech and exhibited the large silk flag which had been wrapped around the coffin of Lincoln when his body lay in state at the Capitol in Albany. He also had one of the torches carried by the Wide-awake Boys in the 1860 campaign.

A letter from Colonel Jacob Weand of Beaver County, one of the Fremont delegates, was read by Thomas L. Kennedy former Representative from that county and Dr. Robert Reyburn, who came into personal relations with President Lincoln during the defense of Washington against General Early's operations, also spoke.

The meeting concluded with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner in which the audience heartily joined. Throughout the proceedings great interest was exhibited in the historical features of the occasion and frequently the audience was aroused to exhibitions of such enthusiasm as sweeps over a nominating convention when a standard bearer has been named.

The second day of the Jubilee celebration, Monday, May 18th, was the busiest and in some respect the most important of the series. It was marked by a session of the National League of Republican clubs at Musical Fund Hall in the morning; a session of the Pennsylvania State League at Belmont Mansion, Fairmount Park, in the afternoon and a great mass meeting at the Academy of Music in the evening. The day was inauspicious the sky being overcast and rain falling at intervals, but the meetings were well attended and the programme was carried out without variation.

The session of the National League, J. Hampton Moore presiding, was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. George H. Ball, a

veteran Republican, eighty-eight years of age, President emeritus of Keuka college, New York, who had been a delegate from Rhode Island to the Convention of 1856. Seated upon the platform were the Fremont voters and other notable guests. At the outset the delegates were stirred to enthusiasm by the reading of cordial letters of greeting from President Roosevelt and Postmaster General Cortelyou, to whom responses were sent at once.

Mayor John Weaver delivered an address of welcome to which response was made on behalf of the League by Andrew B. Humphrey of New York and General E. A. McAlpin also of New York and former President of the National League.

Dr. Samuel S. Wallien of Brooklyn, who had been selected to visit the grave of the Pathfinder, reported that he had discovered it on the Hudson in the third plateau of Rockland cemetery, marked only by the G. A. R. headpiece. The result of this report was that a movement was inaugurated to erect a suitable monument to mark the last resting place of the Republican party's first standard bearer. This ended the first session of the National League.

In the afternoon, notwithstanding the threatening weather there was a large attendance at Belmont Mansion in Fairmount Park, where the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs held its reception. Here Edwin S. Stuart, the Republican candidate for Governor and the first President of the Pennsylvania League received a great ovation and made a brief address. The other speakers included Albert J. Edwards of Pittsburg, President; J. Hampton Moore and John R. Wiggins former Presidents, and Robert S. Murphy the Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

The feature of the celebration was the public meeting at the Academy of Music on Monday evening when Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury made a famous address on the Tariff. The report of the speech, from the prepared copy, fails to do justice to the orator, whose personal magnetism and colloquial style charmed the audience for more than an hour, although his subject is usually accounted dry and uninteresting. The Academy was profusely decorated for the occasion and with excellent taste, portraits of Fremont, Lincoln and Roosevelt being used in the

stage decorations. A small flag had been placed in each seat and these were used with inspiring effect to mark time to the music when the immense audience, largely composed of ladies, joined in the singing of patriotic songs, and also when the Fremont voters marched into the Academy to take their seats in a space reserved for them directly in front of the stage.

The United Singers of Philadelphia several hundred in number volunteered their services and their rendition of German songs and particularly of "My Old Kentucky Home" in German was heartily applauded.

J. Hampton Moore called the meeting to order and after prayer by the Rev. Dr. McMackin introduced Dr. Wallien, of Brooklyn who repeated his account of the neglected condition of Fremont's grave given earlier in the day. A framed portrait of Fremont, which had been standing covered upon the stage, was then unveiled and formally presented to the National League. It was saved from the California League headquarters after the earthquake and fire, the rooms of the League with their other contents having been destroyed. The portrait, a large oil painting, was subsequently accepted by the National League and entrusted to the care of the young Republicans of Philadelphia as custodian.

Governor Stokes of New Jersey was introduced as the permanent chairman and delivered a very happy address which prepared the way for Secretary Shaw's more serious but no less entertaining talk. Mr. Shaw's candour, sincerity and generous recognition of political opponents won the confidence of the audience and he frequently relieved the tediousness of economic discussion by asides addressed to the young men, usually prefaced by "I say boys." He held the attention of the great audience to the end and the meeting was brought to a close with undiminished enthusiasm, although the hour was late.

The third day Tuesday, June 19th, marking the anniversary of the last day of the 1856 convention, was opened by the second session of the National League of Republican clubs, which was devoted wholly to business, such as the adoption of a platform and the election of officers for the ensuing year. The convention adjourned soon after noon to permit the visiting delegates to go on

an excursion on the Delaware river. The steamer Columbia had been chartered for the occasion and a most enjoyable trip was made along the entire city front. An ample supply of refreshments had been provided and musical entertainment was given by the band and by skilled vocalists.

The spectacular feature of the Jubilee celebration was the parade of Republican clubs which filled Broad Street with marching bands and spectators for two hours during the evening. The weather had been threatening all day and, doubtless, this circumstance interfered to some extent with the turnout; but the rain held off and the parade was one of the largest and in all respects the most decorous political procession ever seen in Philadelphia. Notwithstanding factional differences, all classes turned out and there was complete harmony in the ranks. The inscriptions upon banners and transparencies related wholly to the history of the party. Bands of music were numerous and red fire abundant. The City had been decorated with flags for three days in honor of the Jubilee and on the night of the parade Broad Street was ablaze with lights, rendering the use of torches as in the Wide-awake parades, unnecessary. The front of the Union League, whose balcony was made the reviewing stand, was covered with electric light decorations within which were woven the names of all the Republican candidates for President during the fifty years of the party's existence.

Speaker Cannon had accepted an invitation to review the parade but his legislative duties prevented his attendance, and General Frederick Dent Grant, son of President Grant, took his place as the reviewing officer. Before the parade the guests of honor were entertained at dinner at the Union League. They were Major General Frederick Dent Grant, U. S. A.; Edwin S. Stuart, President of the Union League; General H. E. Tremain, President of the Republican Club of the City of New York; J. Hampton Moore, the retiring president of the National League of Republican Clubs; General E. A. McAlpin, president-elect of the National League of Republican Clubs; Dimmer Beeber, John R. Wiggins, Adjutant General Thos. J. Stewart, Captain Bowley, U. S. A., aide-de-camp to General Grant; Peter Boyd, George P. Morgan, Congressman Henry C. Loudenslager, of New Jersey;

William A. Dick, James Pollock, Howard A. Chase, A. C. Hetherington.

General Grant as reviewing officer was supported by General E. A. McAlpin the newly elected President of the National League and by Mr. Moore the retiring President, while crowded about them were as many members of the Union League as could find foothold on the balcony. The parade which had formed at Broad and Wharton Streets moved promptly and the reviewing officer was given no more than time enough after the dinner to reach his place on the balcony before the sound of drums announced the approach of the procession. The sidewalks were crowded with spectators and as far as the eye could see Broad Street was filled with light and color. Beginning at 8:30 P. M. the stream of marching men moved steadily on for two hours. There were five floats in line representing historical scenes. The Fremont voters, riding in automobiles, were escorted by the West Chester pioneer corps, a well drilled body of grenadiers splendidly uniformed. The parade moved to Broad and Diamond Streets and was there dismissed. Its formation is shown in the final general order which was literally followed:



GEN. TEOS. J. STEWART
CHIEF MARSHAL OF PARADE

Capt. B. H. Warburton
Gen'l. Edward Morrell

Philadelphia, June 12, 1906.

General Orders

No. 3.

The following will be the formation of the parade to be held on the evening of June 19, 1906.

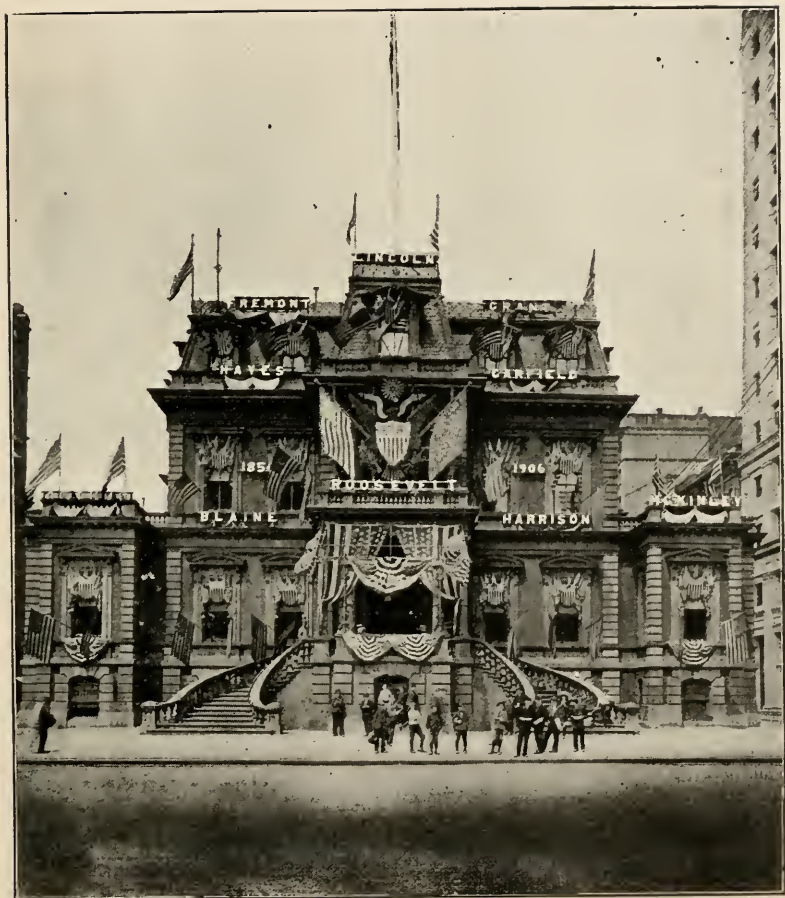
Platoon of Mounted Police, Lieut. WM. L. DUNGAN, commanding.

Grand Marshal, GENERAL THOMAS J. STEWART.

Chief of Staff, COLONEL SHELDON POTTER.

Assistant Marshals.

Col. Wendell P. Bowman
Col. Walter T. Bradley
Gen'l. Jno. W. Schall
Wm. I. Schaffer
David J. Smyth
Dr. J. C. Biddle



UNION LEAGUE HOUSE DECORATED FOR THE GOLDEN JUBILEE,
JUNE 1906.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Charles H. Sayre
 John O'Donnell
 Alex. M. DeHaven
 Col. Theo. E. Weidersheim

Lewis W. Moore
 John McClintock, Jr.
 Henry Clay
 John R. Wiggins



COL. SHELDON POTTER
 CHIEF OF STAFF, PUBLIC PARADE

Jonathan C. Knight
 Col. John V. Shoemaker
 Maj. Thos. S. Martin
 Joseph P. Rogers
 Dr. R. W. Montelius
 Hon. Chas. A. Ambler
 William H. Wilson
 Harold P. Beitler
 Col. Joseph K. Weaver
 Maj. E. Claude Goddard
 Capt. J. Clayton Erb
 Dr. Wm. M. Angney
 Col. Howard A. Davis
 Rowland C. Evans
 Benjamin H. Schwartz
 Hon. E. B. Hardenburg
 Col. Jas. B. Coryell
 Maj. J. Campbell Gilmore
 Joseph M. Huston
 Col. Samuel P. Town
 Henry J. Scott
 Chas. R. Hamilton

Colors.

National Colors.
 Sgt. Jacob Green.

State Colors
 Sgt. Wm. F. Loomis

City Colors
 Sgt. I. Harding Hunter

Chief Aide, COL. LEWIS E. BEITLER.

Aides.

Col. Wm. G. Price
 Col. S. A. Bonnaffon
 J. H. Holcomb
 Bromley Wharton
 Col. Wm. F. Richardson
 Robert Grier
 Frank D. Wildeman
 Geo. McNeely
 Col. A. L. Williams
 Col. F. G. Sweeney
 Stanford B. Lewis
 Capt. F. Taylor Pusey
 Capt. Aug. D. Whitney
 Capt. Chas. J. Hendler
 Ralph Blum
 Harold P. Moon
 Richard G. Oellers, Jr.
 Wm. Gray Knowles
 Henry I. Yohn
 Harry W. Keely
 Chas. B. Hall
 Maj. Chas. S. Turnbull
 J. William Good
 Capt. Wm. A. Ryan
 Col. Geo. Nox McCain
 Edwin Stuart Carroll

Col. J. Lewis Good
 Dr. D. B. Fuller
 John J. Orr

Hazlett Creelman
 J. Harry Geissel

HONORARY DIVISION.

Officers and delegates convention National League of Republican Clubs.

Officers and delegates convention State League of Republican Clubs.

Republican Invincibles.

COL. WM. B. SMITH, Marshal.

Young Republicans of Philadelphia.

CHAS. H. SAYRE, Marshal.

FIRST DIVISION.

HON. HUGH BLACK, Division Marshal.

HON WILLIAM S. VARE, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

William J. Hill
 Fred Furnival
 Harry Baxter
 Joseph Weaver
 Chas. Black, Jr.
 James McConnell
 C. T. Wingate
 Dr. Robert W. Brace
 Joseph Marley
 Alfred Furnival
 Wm. D. Gardner
 Leon Strause
 George W. Johnston

Hon. Joseph G. Richmond
 Douglass Redmond
 William Cuigg
 J. P. Fleshman
 Dr. C. B. Sleifer
 James Jeton
 Dr. C. W. Coburn
 Thomas Radcliffe
 Peter McAvoy
 William R. Schofield
 Hugh McAnany, Jr.
 Charles Steiwalt
 Joseph R. C. McAllister

First Ward Union Republican Club.

JAMES M. HAZLETT, Marshal.

A. R. H. Morrow Republican Club of Twenty-sixth Ward.

FREDERICK M. DUCKWORTH, Marshal.

Young Men's Republican Club of Thirty-sixth Ward.

H. BLACK, Marshal.

M. S. Quay Republican Club of Thirty-ninth Ward.

EDWIN H. VARE, Marshal.

SECOND DIVISION.

HON. WM. J. MILLIGAN, Division Marshal.

JOHN M. PATTERSON, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

Andrew F. Stevens	William McCoach
George F. Kersey	C. J. Perry
Henry H. Logan	C. C. A. Baldi
Frank Weiderman	Lawrence Farrel
George W. Sunderland.	

Penrose Club.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS, Marshal.

Aides.

John McCarty James Nixon

Thirtieth Ward Republican Club.

Wm. McCOACH, Marshal.

Floats.

No. 1—"The Path-Finder."

No. 2—"The Rail-Splitter."

No. 3—"Let Us Have Peace."

No. 4—"Arch of Triumph."

West Chester Pioneer Corps as escort to Fremont Voters.
 Fremont voters in automobiles.
 Italian-American Republican Club.

THIRD DIVISION.

CAPT. ROBT. G. KEARNEY, Division Marshal.

EDWARD H. FAHEY, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

Charles Brenner	Christ Deer
Joseph McClain	Elias Abrahams
John Murray	Jos. Palmer
Harry Murray	Herman Fischer
James Anderson	Charles Dietz
Charles Getzinger	Samuel Mahaffey
Drew Botto	O. Frank Runkel
Samuel Ripp	Thomas N. Hewitt
John Connely	John Flaherty
James Sheehan	Dr. Scott
Jacob Wildmore	Augustus Brodley

William R. Leeds Club.

THOMAS J. CUNNINGHAM, Marshal.



COL. LEWIS E. BEITLER,
AIDE TO GENERAL STEWART

E. C. Dixon
Col. Thomas H. Maginiss
Dr. J. J. Robracht
Thos. Dugan
Dr. G. C. Spiers
J. E. Pike
W. J. Harris
M. Sullivan
D. E. Bellew
C. O. Herbert
R. V. Hilands
John A. Case
J. P. Walker
Samuel F. Wheeler

Roosevelt Rough Riders.
Fremont Pioneer Corps, Darby, Delaware County.
West Philadelphia Republican Club.
BASIL H. BROWN, Marshal.

Consolidated Clubs, Twenty-fourth Ward.
JAMES HALL, Marshal.
Fortieth Ward Club.

FIFTH DIVISION.

CAPT. ROBERT GILLESPIE, Division Marshal.
FRANK R. COX, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Alfred C. Harmer Club.
ISAAC D. HETZELL, Marshal

T. L. Eyre Club, West Chester.
Young Men's Progressive Club, Coatesville.

FOURTH DIVISION.

COL. EDWARD W. PATTON, Division Marshal.

CHARLES E. CONNELL, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

A. L. Harris
Eugene Reyenthaler
Chas. H. Reisner
C. B. Siegel
Frank Richards
J. F. Neill
A. L. Byrnes
Alexander Colquhoun
George J. Elliot
Jeremiah Ogden
David C. Clegg
Capt. Hayes H. Duncan
E. K. Cole
George Connell
Jos. B. Kelly
Robert Moore
George Van Houten

Aides.

Elias Abrams	Hugh Clark
Thaddeus Maguire	Jas. H. Jebb
John Wisner	Dr. Henry Hulaman
Anti-Cobden Club.	
H. B. Hackett Club	
David H. Lane Marching Club.	
Workingmen's Protective Tariff League.	
Taylor Hose Co., (with carriage.)	

 SIXTH DIVISION.

JACOB BOCKIUS, Division Marshal.
Lincoln Rail Splitters.

Forty-second Ward Republican Club.

David Baird Association and Allied Clubs of Camden County, N. J.

COL. JNO. A. MATHER, JR., Marshal.
Central Republican Club, Wilkes-Barre.

 SEVENTH DIVISION.

WALTER STEVENSON, Division Marshal.

LEWIS HUTT, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

Hon. Chas. L. Brown	Hon. Wm. H. Berkelbach
Thos. B. Smith	Chas. E. Carpenter
Hamilton Wade	Edgar M. Fields
H. H. Hubbert	B. F. Berry
Fred'k K. Warner	F. C. Snelling
Wm. F. Gillespie	Wm. R. Lott
Sam'l F. Naulty	R. Q. Bliss
William Fox	H. R. Wildey
Howard S. Bear	Frank Mumma
H. F. Morgan	Maj. Robert B. Dick
Robt. Savage	R. M. J. Read
Wm. Summers	M. J. Kelly
L. D. Bach	Jos. Hunter
Richd. Taft	Geo. Findley
Geo. Sterr, Jr.	

Thirty-second Ward Consolidated Clubs.

HON. WM. H. BERKELBACH, Marshal.

Twenty-ninth Ward Consolidated Clubs.

HON. HARRY R. SCHOCH, Marshal.

Twenty-eighth Ward Consolidated Clubs.

HON. THOMAS B. SMITH, Marshal.

Fifteenth Ward Consolidated Clubs.

HON. CHARLES L. BROWN, Marshal.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

HON. HENRY F. WALTON, Division Marshal.

GEORGE W. MORRISON, Division Chief-of-Staff.

Aides.

Fred. M. Wagner	Newton M. Comly
William Boal	John Lukens
David T. Hart	William Felton
Joseph Clark	Richard Wilson, Jr.
Frank M. Kilcoyne	John Cody
Edwin M. Thomas	William McKinley
John Hart	Benj. W. Snyder
James Clarke	Clarence J. Lewis
Thomas J. Duff	Richard E. Tongue
D. V. Masterson	Col. J. Emory Byram
Samuel Lamond	Louis Farrell
Thomas Wagner, Jr.	George W. Ruch
S. Kingston Webster	Hon. Byron E. Wrigley
J. L. Wildey	Ferd. Baumgartel
Frederick W. Gerker	Robt. W. Snyder
George W. Baker	Albert Blaker
William L. Martin	Joseph Ashby

Eighth Senatorial Cavalcade.

Republican Clubs of the Twenty-third Ward.

United Clubs of the Twenty-fifth Ward.

Thirty-third Ward Republican Clubs.

German American League of the Thirty-third and Forty-third Wards.

Thomas B. Reed Club of the Forty-third Ward.

Forty-third Ward Republican Club.

Thirty-fifth and Forty-first Wards Consolidated Clubs.

II. The headquarters of the Grand Marshal will be established at Broad and Wharton streets, at 7.15 P. M.

The column will move at 8.00 P. M.

The formation of the Honorary Division, the First Division and Second Division will be completed at 7.50 P. M.

The Third Division at 8.10 P. M.

The Fourth Division at 8.20 P. M.

The Fifth Division at 8.30 P. M.

The Sixth Division at 8.40 P. M.

The Seventh Division at 8.50 P. M.

The Eighth Division at 9.00 P. M.

Divisions will be formed in close order and proper distances will be taken as they move into column. The Honorary Division will be formed under the immediate supervision of the Chief-of-Staff and Grand Marshal.

Each Division Marshal will detail a member of his Staff to keep him informed as to the movement of the Division immediately preceding so that he may move into position promptly when the left of the preceding division has taken its place in the column. Clubs and organizations proceeding to point of formation will avoid moving on Broad street between Wharton and Girard avenue.

* * * * *

IX. The following was adopted by the Executive Committee and is promulgated for the information and guidance of all concerned —

WHEREAS, The chief purpose of the Street Demonstration of June 19th, is to celebrate the origin and history of the Republican Party without regard

Resolved, That all the clubs and marching bodies participating be requested to carry such flags, banners, badges and designs as shall be emblematic and historical, and that no banners, transparencies, badges or designs be displayed having reference to the present campaign in City and State.

X. Clubs or organizations reporting at point of formation of Division to which they are attached after that Division has moved into column will report for assignment to Division Marshal of any Division then formed and waiting to move into column.

XI. Visiting Clubs or Organizations reporting after this date, their intention to participate, and that are not guests of any Club will be assigned to a Division by the Grand Marshal and the Division Commander so advised.

By order of GEN. THOMAS J. STEWART,

Grand Marshal.

COL. SHELDON POTTER,

Chief-of-Staff.

With the disappearance of the last torch from Broad Street the Golden Jubilee celebration was brought to an end; but some of the guests of the city remained and for these a trip to Willow Grove was provided for the next day June 20th. Many of the Fremont voters visited the Park and with the delegates were entertained there at luncheon.

FIRST DAY—MEMORIAL SESSION.

The first meeting of the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National League of Republican Clubs, was held at Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., June 17th, 1906. The President of the National League of Republican Clubs, Hon. J. Hampton Moore, called the meeting to order at 2.45 P. M.



JOHN VIRDIN
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON MUS-
ICAL FUND HALL

The President:—If your hearts thrill a little with patriotic fervor LET IT OUT in the reception you give to the heroes of 1856 who are about to enter the building in a body.

About three hundred grey haired veterans of the Fremont Campaign entered the hall and passed down to the front where seats had been reserved for them. Their entrance was greeted with cheers and tremendous enthusiasm, followed by the singing of "America" by the audience in chorus, led by the band.

The President:—Exactly fifty years ago in this historical hall, amid the scenes that were enacted at the birth of a great National Party destined to have a tremendous influence upon the happiness and the progress of the Nation, a young Baptist clergyman offered prayer. Great names with which you are familiar were then personified in the audience; he was a part of their lives as these three hundred men who have just completed this procession were a part of the lives of those times. By a remarkable co-incidence we have with us this afternoon to invoke as he did then, the Divine Blessing, the Rev. Edgar M. Levy, who will offer prayer.

PRAYER BY REV. EDGAR M. LEVY.

O God, our Heavenly Father, who doeth great things past finding out; yea, and wonderful things without number. Nations, kingdoms and parties rise and fall at Thy command. We bow in reverence before Thee. With gratitude we recognize Thy favor to us as a people. Thou didst give to our fathers a land, which is our inheritance, and which is fairer and richer than Canaan of old, when they were few in number and strangers in it. Thou didst drive out the savage before them, and didst break the yoke of kings. Thou hast increased the people greatly, and made them stronger than their enemies. Thou hast raised up a great and patriotic Party to execute Thy will in the destruction of slavery, and in securing unity and peace and prosperity, such as no other nation has ever known. Thou hast given wisdom to this party that they might nominate for the Presidency men of sagacity, of unspotted virtues and lofty patriotism. In the fifty eventful years past, not one has been chosen whose name is not illustrious, and whose memory is not fragrant.

And now, O God, we humbly beseech Thee, to enable this honored party to maintain its past prestige. May it yet fulfill its early pledge to eradicate not only slavery, but its twin brother, that relic of barbarism, polygamy, from our land. May it continue to be the champion of liberty, of temperance, education and religion. May it tolerate no injustice or greed or selfseeking, but ever seek and sustain those things which are true, and just, and lovely, and of good report in the sight of all men. Be pleased, O Thou God of our Fathers, to have in Thy holy keeping the President of the United States who has enshrined himself in the confidence and affection of the people. Help him to continue to be a terror to evil doers and a praise to all who do well. Bless, likewise, all others who are in authority in city or state. We commend to Thee also those who compose this assembly, and who have come to celebrate a marvellous epoch in the history of our Country. May their words and acts give a new inspiration to those principles which have made us great in the eyes of the world, and a blessing to all. Guard, O Lord our God, the sacred flame of Liberty on our altar, for if it should expire, who could kindle

it again? Save us from being overwhelmed by the millions of ignorant, unsavory, and wicked classes, who are flocking unchecked to our shores. Lift Thou up a standard against them, that our institutions may not be weakened, nor our Sabbath profaned. Protect and preserve us, O Thou King of Kings, now and forevermore. Hear, O hear our prayer, which we offer in the name of our great Redeemer, to whom be glory, world without end. Amen.

The Philomela Quartette (Misses Richards, Robinson, Brinker and Rosenkrantz) then sang "The Lost Chord," and President McKinley's favorite hymn "Lead Kindly Light."

The President: . . . On behalf of the various committees, National, state and local, having charge of this Golden Jubilee celebration, I have the great honor of introducing to you as the permanent chairman, the good Governor of this Commonwealth, the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker. (Applause.)

Governor Pennypacker:—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to me as Governor of this Commonwealth to be here upon a Sabbath afternoon to meet this great congregation of earnest, upright and Christian people, and to see in your faces a promise of the future as well as the pride of the past, and to learn from the large number of men who voted fifty years ago that Republicanism produces longevity as well as every other earthly benefit. (Applause.) Contrary to my usual habit I have for this occasion written out my address and with your permission, during the few minutes which are accorded to me, I shall read it to you.

We are met together to-day to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the Republican party, and we hold ourselves fortunate in having the presence of the survivors of those who participated in its earliest convention, and of so many of its representatives who are honored by and lend honor to high official station. Fittingly we meet within the limits of that Commonwealth in which the party had its origin and which, while receiving the least proportionate reward, has ever given to it the most continuous and effective support. Since the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Pennsylvania has never cast an electoral vote against a candidate of the Republican party for the

Presidency of the United States. The largest majority ever received by a presidential candidate in America was given in Pennsylvania to a Republican. No other political organization in the history of the world achieved such important and varied results as has the Republican party in the last half century. Neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, Girondist nor San Culotte, Royalist nor Roundhead, Whig nor Tory exerted so powerful an influence upon human affairs. It has broken the yokes from the necks of three millions of slaves. It has fought with equal success domestic insurrection and foreign aggression. It has so extended our possessions that the sun rises over the Philippines and sets beyond the Mississippi still shining upon American soil. It has gathered into our embrace the fairest islands of the South Sea. But more than all, it has brought forth men. Its first president ranks in diction with Jeremiah and Shakespeare, and in statecraft stands beside Alfred and William of Orange, on a plane with the most exalted characters of all time. Its last President, though it be too soon to form an adequate estimate of his accomplishment, has made an impression beyond that of any living statesman. Compare the Presidents of the United States during the last fifty years with the Emperors of Rome, or the kings of England or France throughout a like period of time, or if it be not ungracious, compare them with the Presidents elected between 1800 and 1860, and see what a tale of excellence is unfolded. The past is secure, the present follows rapidly in its pathway, but what of the future? Every age has its own problems and upon their successful solution depends the fate of nations. To be swept away by the fitful currents of life which trouble every sea, and cast up "mire and dirt" is for the nation, as for the individual to perish. Go forward like Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress, and the burdens of sin fall into the sloughs. Have faith and be of good cheer. Let us not forget that the province of the Republican party, the outcome of the highest wisdom, has been to construct and to upbuild. Cleanliness and decency are among the latest of human acquisitions, and American life has not yet reached its farthest stage of development. Many a gallant knight has fought behind a rusty shield and still has overcome his foe. If the Normans had been destroyed as marauders what would have been

the effect upon English civilization? Correct the evils which may have arisen in transportation, but do not forget that the system as established has created Chicago, and St. Louis and has peopled the West. Cleanse wherever necessary but preserve. Improve our products, but send them further around the world. See to it that labor secures a larger share of the profit, but recall that the annual inpour of people of every race and clime proves this to be the most attractive and remunerative of all lands. If there be an occasional individual among us who is too rich, the policy of the Republican party which has given him his opportunity has likewise given comfort and solace to millions of prosperous people. Therefore, be ye steadfast, immovable, and the Golden Jubilees of this great organization will grow in number as the centuries roll along, bringing in their course blessings and increase to the nation.

Ada Turner Kurtz sang Foster's famous song, "My Old Kentucky Home," the audience joining heartily in the chorus.

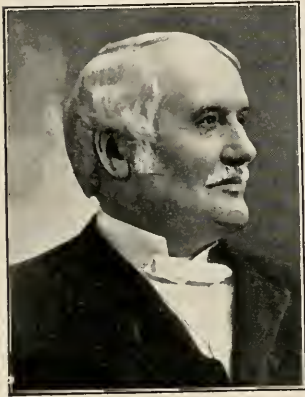
Governor Pennybacker:—I suppose you are all aware that the song which has just given you so much pleasure, like nearly everything else which is any good, came from Pennsylvania. We have an old gentleman with us, I ought to have said venerable, I suppose, who has been in the whole business from the start. He was there at the beginning and he is here now. If he has looked over the fences it has only been experimentally. (Applause and laughter.) We all like him. We all admire his capabilities, and we all hope that he will be here at the next Jubilee. He will now present to you a paper upon Abraham Lincoln. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Colonel Alexander K. McClure.

ADDRESS BY COLONEL ALEXANDER K. MCCLURE.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have no paper on Abraham Lincoln, nor have I any prepared address. I was advised that a number of other gentlemen were to deliver addresses here this afternoon, most of which would precede mine and I was left in the rear to fill in where the others had omitted. I well remember, (it seems to me as if it were but yesterday,) when I saw in this forum the great

foundation laid upon which was reared the great structure of the emancipation of four millions of slaves, and here was presented the Republican candidate for the Presidency, a man



ALEX. K. MC CLURE
PROTHONOTARY SUPREME COURT

who was then called, and who may ever yet be properly called, "The Path Finder." There were peculiar conditions in those days; very peculiar and unique conditions existed at that time. The party in power that had practically ruled the Government for over half a century, was drifting steadily farther and farther under its ablest leaders of the South towards the absolute dominion of slavery. At the time the Convention met in this hall fifty years ago, the movement was not to abolish slavery, but it was the result of a spontaneous uprising of the people of the

country in protest against the deliberate policy of the Democratic party of that day to make slavery national, and freedom local.

That policy they believed they had carried out by the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency and by the Dredd Scott decision that was foreshadowed in the President's Inaugural Address; and there was but one thing more they expected to establish, and that was the absolute right of transit of slaves through all the free states in the Union. That was the only unfinished part of the programme and they believed it would yet be consummated. I was not of those who were regarded as radical republicans at the time the Convention met. I was greatly disappointed and indeed hesitated to ratify its action at the time. I confess freely that it was because I didn't understand the situation as others did who had studied it better. I was of the Pennsylvania conservatives; men who felt that the only hope of carrying the Presidential election was to take some conservative man like Judge McLean, and when I found that the Convention had predetermined to nominate Mr. Fremont, I was greatly disappointed

and left the city utterly hopeless of any great results from the campaign.

The Cincinnati Convention followed with its declaration and platform boldly proclaiming the right of the South to take slavery into Kansas by violence, for that was what it meant. I soon became interested in the contest and never in any battle have I struggled with greater vigor than I did in the battle for Fremont, and I do not hesitate to say to-day that there was not a man of all the men in the Union who could have made the fight as grand and as successful as did John C. Fremont. I was here and saw the men who practically directed the action of the Convention. The two men who really decided the nomination were the older Francis P. Blair, one of the most sagacious of the old Democratic politicians of the country, and Thurlow Weed, the ablest Whig tactician. We would have taken Seward had we believed it possible to succeed, but they came here to nominate a man who had no political record, no political complications, a man chosen not with the hope of being elected, because they never dreamed that he would come so near to an election as he did. He was chosen as a path-finder, a man who was to go in advance and hew the way and blaze the path which Abraham Lincoln followed and gave emancipation to the country. (Applause. A voice:—God bless him.)

I also witnessed the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, and I witnessed it with more than ordinary interest. Curtin had been nominated for Governor and he had compelled me, sorely against my will and wishes to accept the responsibility as Chairman of the State Committee and conduct the contest in Pennsylvania. All of the old voters here, and most of the others, know that the battle in Pennsylvania in October was absolutely decisive of the national contest. (Applause.) If Curtin won in our State it proclaimed to the country and to the world that Abraham Lincoln would be the President.

If Curtin had been defeated in October, the fight would have been utterly hopeless and Lincoln would inevitably have been defeated. It was well understood that the whole battle of the nation was fought in this City and State in the October contest for the election of Curtin as Governor. My relations with Gov-

ernor Curtin were such that I could not refuse the very fearful responsibility to execute a task he compelled me to accept.

We did not even have a party. There was a Republican organization in some parts of the State, especially in the northern counties. There was a lingering relic of the American organization in every part of the State. We had a lot of old line Scotch-Irish Whigs like myself, who were pretty hard to manage. (Applause.) We had to bring these men, all these different elements into harmonious action in order to enable us to win the fight, and when the October fight was won, Lincoln was President. Remember, that when the battle was started we didn't even have a party. When ready to open the campaign, Colonel Mann and I walked up and down Chestnut Street for three days trying to find a merchant or a business house that would permit us to stretch a rope to hang a Republican flag on Chestnut Street. Philadelphia was then the centre of Southern trade; a large amount of southern commerce was here; the man with a Republican flag to his building would have felt that he was simply bankrupting himself by rejecting the old custom of the south. I repeat that we walked Chestnut Street for three days trying to find a business house where we could extend a rope across the street to hang a Lincoln flag. We intended to make it so big that no man could pass down or across the street without seeing it. After Dr. Jayne gave us his building for headquarters, the old Commonwealth Insurance Building, we found that there was nobody on the other side of the street who would listen to the question of having a rope with a flag attached to his building. One of the Committee, an active executive member was head of the Board of Commissioners who fixed the valuation of property for taxable purposes, and he concluded that there were three houses immediately opposite whose valuation was just about one-half as high as it ought to be. (Laughter). He was right. The taxes were simply nominal and he concluded that it was his duty to increase the taxation on the property down on Chestnut Street and to begin there, which he did. You will remember then, my dear friends, that a dollar was as big as a cart wheel and double taxation upon a business house on Chestnut Street was a very serious matter. They had made their appeal to the Commissioner who said that the Chestnut Street properties were all too low and that the poor people were

paying the taxes. (Laughter.) After they had turned away, some one, who probably was in close confidence with the Commissioners, went to these gentlemen and said he thought he might possibly adjust it. They eventually agreed that one of them should allow the rope to be attached; they selected the man who would be the least sufferer, and we got the rope across Chestnut Street. And then this Commissioner, after mature reflection, concluded that he had made a mistake in advancing the taxes. (Laughter.) That was the condition of things in 1860. The City gave a majority of over two thousand against Curtin, but God made the Country and he was chosen Governor by over 32,000, and that election absolutely settled the election of Lincoln as President of the United States. (Applause.)

The Governor has made an earnest appeal to the Republicans of the present day, and he was quite right in doing it. Do you know that since 1860, the Republicans have never lost a battle in Pennsylvania, and have never lost a battle in the United States by Democratic votes. (Applause.) The Democratic party has never cast a majority vote in Pennsylvania since 1857. (Applause) and unless it improves greatly beyond what I conceive it possible, I think it never will. (Applause.) The Democrats have not, by Democratic votes, given their candidate a majority vote of the nation, yet they have four times polled popular majorities for Democratic candidates for President. They have over and over again given majorities for Democratic candidates in Pennsylvania. Why was it so? It was not because, as the Governor very kindly expressed it, men like myself sometimes made experimental movements over the fence. It was not experimental. The Republican party has never yet been beaten in State or nation save when the sincere convictions of its own people compelled them to chasten it by defeat to make the Republican party better. The Republican party has always been successful, and will always be successful, as long as it adheres to the fundamental principles taught by Abraham Lincoln, (Applause) when he declared over the hallowed graves of our fallen heroes at Gettysburg, "That government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." And whenever the Republican organization in this State or nation has adhered to that teaching, it has

been invincible, and it ever will be. (Applause) I honor the Republican party, because when I saw it here fifty years ago I saw nothing but sincere conviction. There were none hunting places; there were none seeking advancement. They were here because their convictions brought them here. They were not here to indulge in political juggling, they were not here for graft or because they expected to gratify ambition: they were here because the times demanded that the slave power of the nation should be throttled. They laid the foundations here. They builded wiser than they knew, for they blazed the pathway that called Abraham Lincoln four years later to the Presidency, and with him came the freedom of the slave, and the last vestige of dishonor upon our national escutcheon was effaced forever. (Applause.)

Mr. Lincoln was nominated in a convention that was largely in favor of another candidate, Mr. Seward, who was confessedly the ablest, the most brilliant and the most experienced of all the Republican leaders. The Republicans of the entire country preferred him and when that convention met in Chicago, as I saw it day after day, there were two thirds of those delegates who earnestly desired to cast their votes for the nomination of Mr. Seward. I have seen a hundred various stories written by those who pretend to tell how it was that a Seward convention nominated Lincoln. Most of them are romances, for the solution is as simple as the alphabet, and there is no one present who will not understand it when I state the fact, that Governor Curtin was the candidate for election in Pennsylvania for Governor, and he had to carry his State in October. Henry S. Lane, who presided over this convention fifty years ago was made the candidate for Governor in Indiana, and he had either to be elected in October or defeated. These were the two pivotal States which had to be carried in October, and I was there, with Curtin, as Chairman of his State Committee. With Henry S. Lane was John D. DeFrees, Chairman of his State Committee, and naturally every man in the convention wanted to know how Indiana and Pennsylvania could be carried in October. They came to Curtin, they came to Lane and said; "How can you best carry your State?" I heard Lane and Curtin over and over and over again say to delegation after

delegation: "If Mr. Seward is nominated for President we are beaten." They had no feeling against Seward. Indeed, on the contrary, both would have been glad to have made him President. They knew the nomination of Seward would be utterly fatal to them and the reason was so obvious that none could dispute it. We had in Indiana and Pennsylvania an American organization embracing perhaps one-third of the popular vote by which we expected to carry those States. Seward, when Governor of the State of New York, had sent a message to the Legislature, urging a division of the school fund—which made him simply and utterly an impossible candidate for the American organization to vote for.

I saw a Vermont delegation in the presence of Curtin and Lane when they both said, "We are beaten if you nominate Seward." I saw an old man turn to the delegation with tears running down his cheeks and say to them: "My first duty is to the United States," and he voted for Lincoln.

I well remember when Chase was a candidate in 1864, when Lincoln was a candidate for renomination, and it became pretty hot, at least it appeared so on the surface, and Mr. Lincoln was much concerned about it. On one occasion after it was evident that Lincoln could not possibly be defeated, as a majority of the delegates already elected were in favor of his renomination, in conversation with him I urged him to dismiss all apprehension about it, when he said with a merry twinkle in his eye, "I don't quite forget that I was nominated in a convention that was two-thirds for the other fellow," and that was the truth, (Applause.)

It was the movement here fifty years ago that brought to his great work the man who will stand out high over all other Americans of his day, Abraham Lincoln. When he was called to the Presidency there was not a single man in his cabinet who believed he was fitted for the place. Do you know why? He selected all the men who were candidates against him, (Applause) and each one believed that he was best fitted for the place; each one believed that he was very much better fitted for the place than Lincoln. It is an absolute fact that his own cabinet and the leaders of his party believed that he was unfitted for so responsible a trust. He had never filled any position excepting that of members of Congress for a single term twelve years before. He was

not known to the public men, and to show you how strangely Mr. Seward misunderstood him, if you will turn to the life of Lincoln by Nicolay and Hay you will find that Mr. Seward, a few weeks after he became Secretary of State, formally notified Mr. Lincoln that he was not fitted for some of the various duties that he might be called upon to perform and suggested that as the duties had to be performed, he might select some one to perform those duties. If you will turn to that page, you will find that Mr. Seward wrote in detail a proposition to divert attention from our threatened Civil War by getting up a controversy, and probably a war, with France or Spain, and that some one man must direct the whole movement with dictatorial powers. He said to the President that if he did not himself choose to accept it he should name another to fill the place, and that he, Seward, while not desiring it, would not refuse it. Mr. Lincoln read the letter, put it away, and never referred to the subject afterwards with Mr. Seward or anybody else. (Applause.)

He was not understood when he came there and it is not surprising, because he came there in association with the most experienced statesmen of the Republican party. They were of great distinction, of great ability, and they all believed that it was impossible that a man like Mr. Lincoln, a countryman, untrained in politics, almost without education, without experience, could possibly meet so grave an occasion. And I know his heart was sore at the distrust that was shown to him not only by his cabinet but by the leaders of his party, and it was a long time before they learned that there was one man a master at Washington who stood high over all of them in sagacity and political ability. (Applause.) One by one they learned that there was a master and not a mere master, but a master whose intelligence and sagacity were equal to his authority. (Applause). And even Stanton, who was perhaps the most rebellious of all our public men, and who at first believed that Mr. Lincoln was entirely unfitted for the place, had his trials until Mr. Lincoln gave an order for the mustering of certain prisoners of war. Stanton said to the man who brought the order, "It cannot be executed. It cannot be done." The man carried the order back to the President, who sent for Mr. Stanton, and said: "Mr. Secretary I wish those men

mustered into the service; that order is to be executed." Mr. Stanton said, "It cannot be done." "The President said, "Mr. Secretary, that order will be executed," and that was the end of it.

It was executed. They learned in time, one by one, that the greatest of statesmen and the greatest of political leaders and the grandest in every great purpose, was the man they had received in Washington with fear and trembling, because of their apprehension that he was utterly incompetent.

He proved not only the foremost of political leaders, the surer, the safest in statesmanship, but he proved himself to be the most superb strategist of the war. (Applause) How many people know that he was the greatest military strategist as well as the greatest statesman? Do these ladies and gentlemen know that the military strategy and military policy that brought success in every department of the country during the war, was defined by Abraham Lincoln on the night after the battle of Bull Run? (Applause) He was the foremost military strategist of that age. When the army was driven back from the first battle of Bull Run a miserable mob, Lincoln was sore in heart and almost any other man would have been in despair. The Pennsylvania Reserves were marching to the Capital. They would not have them before the battle, but I saw a hundred dispatches on the night after the battle, coming to the Governor's office at Harrisburg, begging him to send the troops to Washington, and the tread of the Pennsylvania Reserves on Pennsylvania Avenue the next morning was the most grateful sound the people of Washington had heard for many a year. (Applause) Lincoln went to his executive office that night, long after the midnight hour, and he wrote out, what should be the policy of the nation in conducting the war, and what should be its military strategy in prosecuting it. He directed the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac, how Tennessee should be invaded, how the Southwest should be mastered, how the Mississippi should "again go unvexed to the sea" and had it in the war office on the following morning. There is not a single strategic plan in that declaration that was not carried out to the letter by the government. Do you remember when Hooker addressed him and asked permission to make an attack upon Richmond because Lee was moving north, how wisely he said, that Hooker

was going down there to lose a great many men and Lee would profit by the movement. And again, when Lee's army moved northward from Warrington to Gettysburg and Hooker suggested that he should make a certain movement, Lincoln said, "A line as long as that must be pretty slim somewhere. Can't you break it?" But when Lee moved northward and his plans were well known, Hooker then understood, that instead of following Lee and attempting to attack, he was to move on the shortest line between the confederate army and the Capitol, compelling Lee to cross the Potomac west of the Blue Ridge, thereby forcing Lee to greatly enlarge his line of supply and to fight the battle at Gettysburg, where the decisive battle of the war was fought. (Applause.)

There were other bloody battles fought after the battle of Gettysburg, but Appomattox is but the echo of Gettysburg.

We understand that you all know him as a statesman but all should know him as the military genius of the war. We all know him as the man who declared in his second inaugural address, uttered with a pathos that has never been exceeded, and when he knew that the Confederate Armies were absolutely broken, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." (Applause.) I have studied with great care all of the great characters of our nation and there is not one that is so complete in all the attributes of greatness and manliness of head and heart as the character of Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

The most pathetic remark I have ever heard made about him was made by Jefferson Davis when I was a guest at his home on the Gulf in Mississippi. He had then learned, and the South then had understood, that Lincoln was after all a man of great humanity as well as a man of the very highest sense of justice. In the course of the conversation, after I had spent a day with him and was received with great courtesy and hospitality, he was exceedingly anxious to know all about the attitude of Mr. Lincoln, not only what he did but how he did it, and why he did it. And when I had finished answering all his inquiries, when I had told him as I had the right to tell him, because it was the truth, that no man ever heard Lincoln utter a single sentence of resentment against Lee or any man at war with the nation, with tremulous voice

Jefferson Davis said; "Next to the day of the fall of the Confederacy, the darkest day the South has ever known was the day of Mr. Lincoln's assassination." Friends, let him be your guiding star. Let his name be upon every lip as the greatest patriot, statesman, emancipator and the man who has written the most illustrious history ever known in the history of the Republic, and children should be taught to lisp his name with reverence. Let all remember that he brought to the grandest consummation the completion of the great work started here fifty years ago. (Long continued cheers and applause.)

Governor Pennypacker: I am sure from what I have seen and heard of you that you can all sing as well as pray, and you are now asked to unite in singing "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." The patriotic song was given with fine effect.

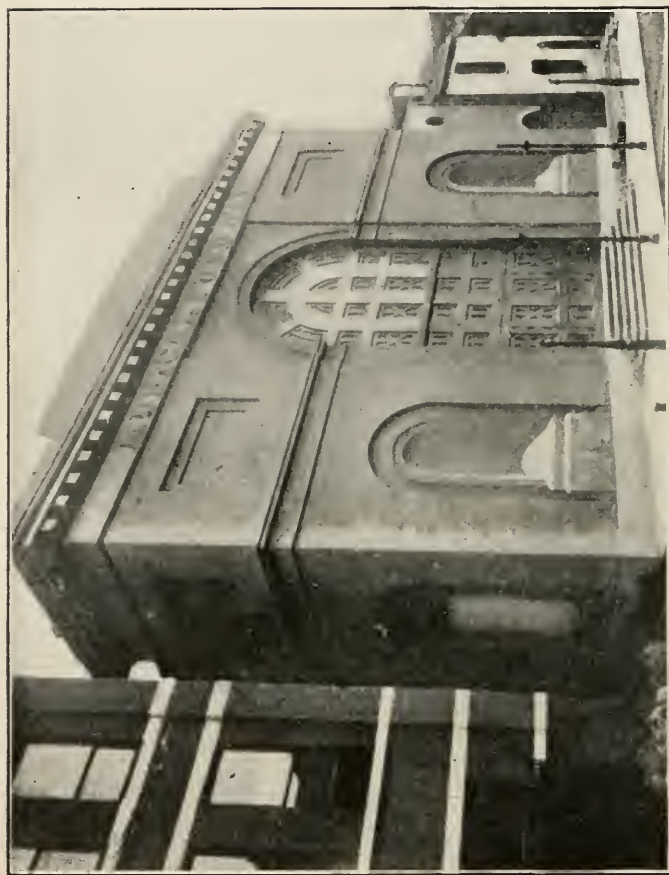
Governor Pennypacker: We will now have a few five or ten minute speeches. I am sorry they are so short as you will find them all full of interest and worthy of your attention. The first will be by Mr. William Barnes, Sr., of New York. He was a delegate to the Convention of 1854, at Saratoga, and is a son-in-law of that old war horse, Thurlow Weed, who won so many fights here years ago.

I will now present Mr. Barnes. (Applause.)

Mr. Barnes spoke briefly giving the points of a carefully prepared paper which is here published from the manuscript as a separate chapter, with valuable original illustrations, furnished by Mr. Barnes.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



MUSICAL FUND HALL AS IT WAS IN 1856.

FIRST DAY--(Memorial Session Continued.)

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

BY WILLIAM BARNES, SR.

On the twenty-second day of June, 1772, one hundred and thirty-four years ago, Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench (Trinity Term) announced the decision of the Court in the case of Somerset (a negro slave) v. Stewart, in which he declared:



WILLIAM BARNES, SR.
SON-IN-LAW OF THURLOW WEED

“The power of a master over his slave has been extremely different in different countries. The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced, on any reasons moral or political but only positive law, which preserves the force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it *but positive law*.

Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from a decision, I cannot say, this case is allowed or approved by the *law of England*, and therefore the Black *must be discharged*.”

The ancestry of the Republican Party can be traced back in lineal descent from this decision of Lord Mansfield that slaves cannot breathe in England, and that the moment they touch her soil their shackles fall from them and they are Free.

Through the labors of Wilberforce and Thompson and other

anti-slavery patriots English slavery was abolished in her West India colonies by compensated emancipation.

It is said that in the draft of the original Declaration of Independence there was a clause that specified the importation of African slaves to America by the consent and approval of King George III, as one of the grievances of the Colonists which caused their separation from Great Britain. Virginia was not allowed to prohibit the slave trade. The Fathers of the Republic, nearly all, reprobated and condemned slavery and favored gradual emancipation.

Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just,—that His Justice cannot sleep forever."

This policy of the early founders of the Republic, for reasons which space will not permit to be enumerated, was gradually abandoned and slavery tacitly approved in the Southern States and its extension advocated into the Territories.

Colonization to Africa was favored by the opponents of Slavery as a method for Emancipation and thousands of dollars were subscribed for this purpose. In its practical experiment, however, in Liberia and elsewhere it was demonstrated to be unadvisable for the welfare of the slaves and too expensive to be adopted as a means for Emancipation, and it was soon abandoned and shown to be a visionary dream.

The invention of the cotton-gin and the lucrative interstate slave trade almost silenced the friends of Freedom and Emancipation for scores of years.

The most notable feature in the history of the city of Philadelphia is that here, in Independence Hall, was signed the *Declaration of Independence* for American Freedom, July 4, 1776. But it is almost forgotten in American political history that fifty-seven years later, but now seventy-three years ago, in the year 1833, another *Declaration* was made by an anti-slavery convention assembled at Philadelphia, December 4, 1833, at which delegates or representatives were present from ten free States of the Union. This convention laid down the almost identical platform upon which the Republican Party of 1856 was founded, as follows;

"We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is

to exist within its limits. We concede that Congress, under the present National compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject. But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction. We also maintain that there are at the present time the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and *political action* as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States."

What is more fitting upon this Golden Jubilee of the First Presidential Nomination by the *Republican Party* than to republish this remarkable and significant "Declaration" by delegates from ten free States of their principles, which were so nearly identical with the platform of June, 1856, including the venerated names of the signers of this Declaration?

I copy this from an original printed copy on file in the archives of the Nantucket Historical Society, which is as follows:

DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

"ASSEMBLED IN PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 4, 1833.

"The Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following *Declaration of Sentiments*, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

"More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this-- 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *Liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness.' At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as free men, than desirable to live one hour

as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice, and Right were on their side, made them invincible.

“We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

“In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

“*Their* principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

“*Their* measures were physical resistance—the marshaling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

“*Their* grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

“But those, for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen—are recognized by the law, and treated by their fellow-beings as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder; the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping hus-

band—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

“These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.

“Hence we maintain—That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequaled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

“We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or inbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

“The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labour—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is Piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

“Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American slavery—That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, as his property, is (according to Scripture*) a man stealer—That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law—That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity—That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are

*Exodus, xxi, 16; Deuteronomy, xxiv, 7.

therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement of the law of Nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

“We further believe and affirm—That all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others—That the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

“We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle that man cannot hold property in man—Because Slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold—Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself—Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and, because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

“We regard, as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

“We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

“But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

“We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States; they are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger; it must be broken up.

“These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

“We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

“We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke.

“We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

“We shall enlist the Pulpit and the Press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

“We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

“We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

“We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to a speedy repentance.

“Our trust for victory is solely in GOD. *We* may be person-

ally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

“Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery, that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain that rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE and HUMANITY, or perish ultimately as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

“Done in Philadelphia, the Sixth day of December, A. D., 1833.

Maine

David Thurston,
Nathan Winslow
Joseph Southwick

James Frederic Otis
Isaac Winslow

New Hampshire.

David Campbell.

Vermont.

Orson S. Murray

Massachusetts.

Daniel S. Southmayd
Effingham L. Capron
Joshua Coffin
Amos A. Phelps
John G. Whittier
Horace P. Wakefield
James G. Barbadoes

David T. Kimball, Jr
Daniel E. Jewett
John R. Cambell
Nathaniel Southard
Arnold Buffum
William L. Garrison

Rhode Island.

John Prentice	Ray Potter
George W. Benson	

Connecticut.

Samuel J. May	Simeon S. Jocelyn
Alpheus Kingsley	Robert B. Hall
Edwin A. Stillman	

New York.

Beriah Green, Jr.	William Goodell
Lewis Tappan	Elizur Wright, Jr.
John Rankin	Charles W. Denison
William Green, Jr.	John Frost
Abram L. Cox	

New Jersey.

Jonathan Parkhurst	John McCullough
Chalkley Gillingham	James White

Pennsylvania.

Evan Lewis	James McKim
Edwin A. Atlee	Aaron Vickers
Robert Purvis	James Loughead
Jas. McCrummill	Edwin P. Atlee
Thomas Shipley	Thomas Whitson
Barth'w Fussell	John R. Sleeper
David Jones	John Sharp, Jr.
Enoch Mack	James Mott

Ohio.

John M. Sterling	Levi Sutliff."
Milton Sutliff	

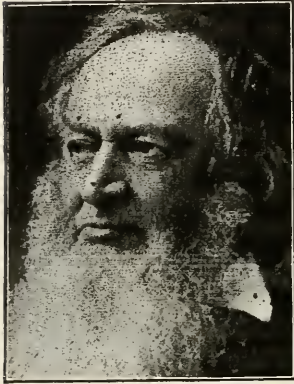
One will notice in this Roll of Honor the well-known names of John G. Whittier, Samuel J. May, Beriah Green, Jr., Lewis Tappan, William Goodell and Elizur Wright, Jr.

The descendants of these men should revere and honor the sacred memory of their fathers who signed this Second Declaration of Independence.

Chronologically, the next important event in Republican history was the organization in 1840-1844 of the "LIBERTY" PARTY.

THE LIBERTY PARTY.

In December, 1839, The Liberty Party on the initiative of Gerrit Smith, held a convention at Warsaw, N. Y., and nominated James G. Birney for President.



GERRIT SMITH
AN EARLY ABOLITIONIST

A National Convention was called to meet at Albany, April 1, 1840, and, by a vote of 43 yeas to 33 nays, nominated James G. Birney for President and Thomas Earle for Vice-President.

Among those in attendance were Charles J. Torrey, Elizur Wright, Jr., Linneus P. Noble, Myron Holley, William Goodell, Alvan Stewart, Rev. Beriah Green, Jr., Daniel Cushman, and Joshua Leavitt.

Approving letters were read, among others, from John G. Whittier and Gerrit Smith.

Birney received at the election of 1840,—7,069 popular votes.

In August, 1843, the Liberty Party Convention met at Buffalo and again nominated James Gillespie Birney for President and Thomas Morris of Ohio for Vice-President. One hundred and forty-eight delegates were present from 12 States.

Among other resolutions passed were the following:

Resolved, That the Liberty Party is not a sectional party but a National party; was not organized in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party or a third party but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era and striving to carry them into practical application.

Resolved, That the General Government has under the Constitution no power to establish or to continue slavery anywhere and therefore all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida or on the high seas, are unconstitutional and

all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive National jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

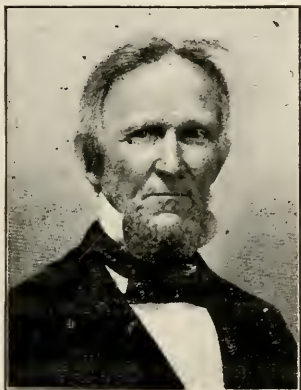
“*Resolved*, That we regard *voting* in an eminent degree as a moral and religious duty, which when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.”

In 1844 James G. Birney received 15,812 votes in the State of New York and 62,300 in all the free States.

The following letter from Samuel W. Green, the son of the Rev. Beriah Green, of the Oneida Institute, and who was President of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Convention of 1833, contains many facts of historical value and is therefore worthy of preservation, at this Golden Jubilee of our Party, of which the Liberty Party was the pioneer and forerunner:

“HON. WILLIAM BARNES, *No. 493 State St., Albany, N. Y.:*

“Dear Sir:—Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, of Geneva, N. Y., has sent to me your letter to her of July 7 inst. with the request that I answer it directly to you. I was born May 9, 1822, the son of Beriah Green, who became an Abolitionist at the Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, early in the thirties, and was President of the Convention at Philadelphia in December, 1833, at which was formed the American Anti-Slavery Society.



BERIAH GREEN
PRESIDENT FIRST FREE SOIL
CONVENTION

“The Abolitionists for the first few years contented themselves with exerting a moral influence against slavery. But as time went on they began to look for results, and took to questioning candidates as to what each would do in case of election, concerning matters brought up in the questions. The Whigs were pretty apt to answer as favorably as they

could; the ‘Locofocos’ took much less notice or ignored the questions altogether.

"In 1838 the Whig nominee for the Governorship of this State was William H. Seward, and the Democratic nominee was William L. Marcy. The former, you may remember, was familiarly christened 'Little Bill' because he favored paper currency as small as one or two dollars. The other, 'Big Bill,' because he favored making five dollars the lowest. The Abolitionists questioned the two, and I found myself in Utica, one of two compositors, detailed to spend a long evening at the printing office of 'Bob' Roberts, an older brother of Ellis H. Roberts. This office was near Bagg's Hotel where was a se-re-dunt of Whig leaders, headed by Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward, busy with the answer. A paragraph would come over to us, be put in type, and proofs sent to Bagg's. After an interval more came, and so on, until in some wee short hours ayont the twal—the answer was finished. Seward was elected by some ten thousand majority, toward which this answer contributed its share.

"But the question and answer business did not suit the mass of the Abolitionists, and they began to yearn for a *new political party*. After some tentative meetings, a 'National' Convention was called, to meet in Albany, April 1, 1840. The movement was repeatedly dubbed an '*April Fool*' one. Some 76 'members' reported, and the vote on organizing the Liberty Party and nominating candidates was 43 yeas, 33 nays. The meeting by this majority nominated James G. Birney for President, and Thomas Earle for Vice-President. Among the yeas in attendance were Charles T. Torrey, Elizur Wright, Jr., Linneus P. Noble, Myron Holley, William Goodell, Alvan Stewart, Beriah Green, Jr., David Cushman and Joshua Leavitt. Approving letters were read from, among others, John G. Whittier and Gerrit Smith. The Birney ticket received, as recorded, 7,059 votes. Not being then of age, I was not in this immortal seven thousand who did not 'bow the knee to Baal!'

"In my younger years I attended many anti-slavery conventions, occasionally being secretary. I do not remember one in which representation was confined to 'delegates,' or any attention paid to credentials. In this convention of April 1, 1840, the Yea votes were credited to Maine, Connecticut, each 1; Vermont 2; Massachusetts 7; New York 26. Of the Nays, Massachusetts 3;

New York 30 (See E. Wright's *Life of Myron Holley*, pages 259 on.) Whoever chose could sit and vote as a member.

"This made possible the capture of the American Anti-Slavery Society by the Garrison clique in April, 1840. This clique was a numerically insignificant fraction of the Abolitionists and had no controlling voice in the American Anti-Slavery Society up to May, 1840. For those in, and near Boston, desirous of attending the May meeting, 1840, of that Society in New York, a steamboat was chartered which landed more than 550 Eastern 'delegates,' men and women. This gave the clique a working majority of about one hundred. At the first vote in which this became apparent, the others withdrew, and with Lewis Tappan at their head formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The old American Anti-Slavery Society remained ever afterward an appanage of the Garrison clique.

"I do not remember the particulars of the renomination of Mr. Birney by the Liberty Party in 1844, with Thomas Morris as running mate. He was so renominated and received, as reported, 62,300 votes. But it is probable that the ticket received many more votes than were counted. 'Scattering' votes have few rights which regulars are bound to respect.

In 1848, Van Buren and Adams were nominated at Buffalo on a Freesoil ticket. There was a vast mass of us, in a great tent who listened to soul-stirring speeches galore. Meantime in a nearby building, a few were sitting and shaping the action to be taken. At the appointed time, Salmon P. Chase came in and dictated to the Convention what it should do. No man not on his program stood the least chance to be heard, and the Convention was officially reported to have done exactly what S. P. C. and those behind him directed. But neither Van Buren nor Adams could be swallowed by Simon Pure Abolitionists, and we had to go back to the old tactics. Mr. Birney had been thrown heavily from his horse in May, 1845, and permanently disabled, though he did not die till 1857. I remember we met at Buffalo—or was it Rochester? that same year, and nominated for the Presidency, Gerrit Smith—I forget who his mate was. Mr. Smith had, or thought he had, some new light on 'land reform' whatever that might be; and on his nomination, Elizur Wright withdrew to the

far depths of the tent, and there excogitated these lines which were read to the Convention:

“Smiths have wrought since Time began;
 Sometimes forging chains for man:
 Ours, who now the anvil smites,
 Cuts the chains from human rights.
 Let us blow for him to strike,
 For he treats all chains alike.
 Severed by his trusty hand,
 Fall they both from limb and land.”

“I cannot remember anything as to the votes cast for this ticket and they are *caret* in the records. Van Buren and Adams received 291,263 votes.

“In 1852, I do not remember that there was any Liberty Party or League ticket, and presume the Abolitionists generally voted for John P. Hale, as they did in 1856, for John C. Fremont, and in 1860, for Abraham Lincoln. Gerrit Smith's last vote was for Grant in 1872.

“If you propose writing on this subject, I suggest that you consult the University Libraries at Cornell and at Harvard. They are reported to be especially rich in anti-slavery material.

“I lived in Albany many years in the forties and used to meet Thurlow Weed generally twice a day on State street.

“Yours truly,

“SAMUEL W. GREEN.”

“No. 326 Pearl St., New York, July 11, 1904.”

The Liberty Party has been unjustly criticized and blamed even by intelligent citizens by confounding it with the Boston Garrison non-voting and non-political party or coterie which proposed to abolish slavery immediately by simply preaching and objurgating against it. Oliver Johnson says in his *Life of William Lloyd Garrison* (page 308), “Mr. Garrison thought in the first place that it was wholly unnecessary for Abolitionists to organize a *political party*. Moreover he insisted that a political anti-slavery party was subject to the limitations and compromises of the Constitution.” Garrison considered the Union and the Con-

stitution as a "covenant with death" and an "agreement with hell."

The motto of "The Liberator" newspaper was, "No union with slave-holders," and he favored the dissolution of the Union if slavery could not be abolished.

The Garrison Abolitionists were persecuted and often deprived of the liberty of free speech and mobbed, their presses destroyed, and Owen Lovejoy was even murdered in Illinois. But a century of declaiming against slavery, without any political action, would have only excited the derision of the LeGrees of the South.

The Liberty Party proposed *political action*, but only within the limits of the Constitution, and thus initiated the principles subsequently adopted by the "Democratic *Republican*" or Free-Soil Party of 1848, and the Republican Party of 1854-1856.

The *arguments* against human slavery had already been made in forcible language by Wilberforce, Thompson, Lord Brougham, Lord Mansfield and others in England, and by the fathers of our Republic—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, John Randolph of Roanoke and others—shortly after the Revolution.

The Garrison Abolitionists were conscientious and devoted philanthropists, but they misjudged the situation when they supposed that mere talking would remedy the evils of slavery without political action, and the practical fruits of political action achieved by the "Liberty," the "Democratic Republican," and "Republican" Parties should be credited to those far-sighted patriots who supported such action and not to those who opposed political action and the organization of Free-Soil parties.

THE FREE SOIL OR BARNBURNER PARTY OF 1848.

"FREE TRADE, FREE LABOR, FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, AND
FREE MEN."

A "Democratic *Republican*" ("Barnburner") State Convention was held at Utica, February 16, 1848, in pursuance of a call by the Democratic members of the Legislature.

Fifty-one counties were represented by 118 Delegates.

John Van Buren, of Albany, was chairman of a committee

on an address and it was made to the "Democratic *Republican* Electors" of the State of New York, and stated the "Condition and prospects of the *Republican Party* of the State and Nation."



JOHN VAN BUREN
FOUNDER OF REPUBLICAN PARTY
IN NEW YORK.

The following are extracts from John Van Buren's address:

"*Thirdly.* The Democracy of New York do now, and have always heretofore, believed in the wisdom, humanity and constitutionality of the policy of endeavoring to limit the evils of slavery by protecting the unsettled Territories of the United States against its introduction, whilst they are under a Territorial Government.

So believing, they will, when any such governments are established by Congress, either for the Territories we now possess, or such as we may acquire from Mexico, insist, so far as we have the right, and the means to do so, that this ancient, successful, and time-honored policy shall be applied to them. And why should we not do so? What is it that has caused the dissatisfaction with and the denunciation which has been so unsparingly poured out upon the Democracy of New York, for steadily pursuing the path which not only they but until very recently the great and good of all parties have uninterruptedly and happily trod? Apprehensive of the heart burnings and discord which might, in the progress of time, arise from the then great and most probable disparity of the condition in respect to slavery, of the States which had, by their joint efforts, established our national independence, the patriots of the Revolution took early measures to guard, as far as they could, the union of the States against the evils with which they foresaw it would be threatened from this source.

Southern men whose names are synonymous with all the virtues which can adorn the human character, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and a host of other patriots, lent their aid and the influence of their great names to the promotion of this object.

When the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted, Mr. Jefferson was not in the United States, but before he left them, he introduced into Congress the principle which was embodied in the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territories, by which that body with the declared purpose of "extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty which formed the basis on which these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected" provided that there should be, "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been first duly convicted."

This ordinance, be it remembered, embraced in its provisions all the territory which the United States then held in undisputed possession, and in the principal part, if not the whole, of which slavery was then permitted by law.

This great Charter of Freedom passed in Congress, by the unanimous vote of all the States. The representatives of every Southern State cordially united, and among the great and good men then prominent in the public service there was not, that we know of, either from the North or the South, the East or the West, a single dissident. A slave State made the principal cession of territory upon which the ordinance was to operate and Southern statesmen deemed it wise to take the lead in all measures for the amelioration and limitation of Slavery. * * *

The uniform and harmonious system of action upon the subject of slavery on the part of the Southern statesmen of those days was not only dictated by the purest and most devoted principles of philanthropy and patriotism, but was well calculated to subserve a policy which they did not attempt to conceal or disguise.

They regarded the existence of slavery in the United States as a misfortune of the first magnitude in any aspect in which it could be viewed; a misfortune which could not fail to prove disastrous to the welfare of the whole country, but destined to bear with the greatest severity upon the States of the South, where it prevailed to the greatest extent and was likely to be permanent. They justly claimed that neither its introduction nor present existence was attributable to them as a fault, that the blame in this respect rested upon the mother country; and so strongly was

the leading mind of the South in civil affairs impressed with this point that the promotion of the slave trade with the Colonies was one of the charges against Great Britain, preferred in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. * * *

Believing themselves to be right, they have long since taken their stand in favor of the exclusion of slavery from the present and future territories of the United States, in which it does not now exist. In the justice and constitutionality of this principle as has long since been known through the length and breadth of the land, there is an unanimity of opinion among her citizens of all classes, sects and parties, which has scarcely, if ever, been equaled. Her representatives in Congress, 34 in number, differing upon almost all other subjects, had voted in favor of this principle, with but one exception. * * *

It will welcome them to a standard which is unfurled, after rare defeats, with redoubled energy and the hope of more enduring ascendancy. On it are inscribed "*Free Trade, Free Labor, Free Soil and Free Men.*"

Notwithstanding the true *Republican* and *Free Soil* ring and sound and unanswerable arguments proclaimed by John Van Buren at this Barnburner convention at Utica on February 16, 1848, he was accused by his opponents of insincerity in these professions; partly, perhaps, from a story that was current, told by "Prince John" himself, as he was familiarly dubbed after his visit to England and his reported engagement to marry Queen Victoria.

Some crusty old Pro-Slavery "Hunker" Regular Democrat was rallying him one day on his able and very enthusiastic support of the Free Soil-Democratic-Republican presidential ticket in the autumn of 1848. John, with a vein of wit and humor peculiarly his own, answered his querist by telling a little story. One day, he said, as he was going along the highway he found a farmer tugging as for dear life to reload a large load of hay upset from his wagon in the roadway. He asked the farmer why he was working so strenuously to reload the hay. The farmer, without stopping his labor to make reply, simply shouted to his interlocutor: "*My Dad's under that hay.*"

The Convention, among others, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That while the Democracy of New York represented in this Convention will faithfully adhere to all the compromises of the Constitution, and maintain all the reserved rights of the States, they declare, since the crisis has arrived when that question must be met, their uncompromising hostility to the extension of slavery into territory now free, or which may be hereafter acquired by any action of the Government of the United States.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their best efforts to insert in any act or ordinance, establishing any and all such provisional or territorial government or governments a fundamental article or provision which shall provide and guarantee that slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall first have been duly convicted, shall be prohibited therein, as long as the same shall remain a Territory."

Other speeches were made at this Convention in the same strain of patriotism, in condemnation of traffic in human bodies, and warning the slave States to be content with the compromises of the Constitution.

Among the eminent delegates to this Convention appear the following among other names: John Van Buren, Andrew J. Colvin, George Rathbun, Henry S. Randall, Abraham Bokee, Nelson J. Waterbury, John E. Develin, Wilson G. Hunt, Lucius Robinson, Dennis McCarthy, Saxton Smith, Daniel H. Tompkins, Preston King, and Calvin T. Hulburd.

May 22, 1848, the regular Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore, to which both the New York "Barnburners," or Free-soilers, and the "Hunkers," or pro-slavery Democrats, sent delegations.

The Convention decided to admit both delegations and the "Barnburners" thereupon withdrew from the Convention.

They called a convention at Utica, June 22, 1848, in which five free States united and nominated Martin Van Buren for the presidency and Henry Dodge for Vice-President,

On the 9th of August, 1848, a National Convention was called at Buffalo, N. Y.; 17 States were represented by about 300 delegates, which nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President.

The following are some of the resolutions passed by the Buffalo Convention:

“Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention Congress has no more power to *make a slave* than to *make a king*; no more power to institute and establish Slavery than to institute and establish Monarchy. No such powers can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived from any just implication therefrom.

“Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or the continuance of slavery wherever the Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject and is thus responsible for its existence.

“Resolved. That the true and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of Slavery into territory now free is to *prohibit* its existence in all such territory by act of Congress.

“Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave territory our calm but final answer is—NO MORE SLAVE STATES AND NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORY.

“Let the soil of our extensive domains be ever kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

“Resolved, That we inscribe on our banners:—

“FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR AND FREE MEN.”

“And under it, ‘Will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall award our exertions.’”

New York cast for this ticket 120,510 votes, and the free States 291,263 votes. Van Buren received more votes in New York State than Lewis Cass, the regular Democratic candidate.

The campaign of 1848 in New York State for Van Buren

was a lively and energetic one and educated thousands for this Republican Party of 1854.

In 1856, July 24th, the "Barnburners," or Free-Soil Democracy, or "*Democratic Republicans*" of the State of New York met in State Convention at Utica and ratified the nomination of John C. Fremont for President and passed strong anti-slavery resolutions.

The Convention was presided over by James S. Wadsworth of Geneseo and numbered many able and distinguished men among its list of delegates, who afterwards attained high positions in the Republican Party. I will mention a few such names: David Dudley Field, Henry H. Van Dyck, Platt Potter, George Rathbun, William G. Fargo, Elisha P. Hurlbut, Timothy Jenkins, Ward Hunt, Le Roy Morgan, W. H. Shankland, Charles J. Folger, Robert Denniston, Noah Davis, Thomas B. Carroll, John M. Francis, Martin I. Townsend, Clark B. Cochrane, Robert Campbell and others.

THE REPUBLICAN OR ANTI-NEBRASKA PARTY OF 1854-1856.

The decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset Case in 1772 and the abolition of slavery by England in the West India Islands laid the foundation of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia in 1833. The organization of the Liberty Party in 1840-1844 and of the Free Soil Party in 1848 had gradually prepared the American people for the condemnation of slavery and the policy of preventing its further extension into free territory.

The adoption, however, of the series of so-called "Compromise" Measures of 1850 tended to assuage and modify this spirit, and if the Missouri Compromise had not been practically repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of May, 1854, the slavery question might have remained in abeyance and quiescent, *in statu quo* for many years.

This repeal aroused the free States in 1854-1855 as did the first shot at Fort Sumpter in 1861. Meetings and organizations sprung up in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and other free States calling for the formation of a new party based on the motto of "No more slave States or territory." New York took the lead in making the first

regular State party organization of a Republican, or so-called Anti-Nebraska Party, composed of Liberty Party men, Democratic Free Soilers, and Free Soil Whigs.

It has been a mooted question for public discussion which Northern State was entitled to the honor of calling and holding the first State convention of the Republican Party. Two States have claimed this credit and had celebrations on the basis of having held the first State Republican conventions in 1855 and 1856. Being personally familiar with the facts in New York State, and so few of the delegates to the Saratoga and Auburn conventions of 1854 being still alive, a record of the facts may enlighten this generation and future students of American political history.

Albany County took the initiative in this movement by a call on July 10, 1854, for a mass meeting of the electors of Albany County, without distinction of party, to meet at the City Hall in Albany on July 28, 1854, to elect five delegates from each Assembly district to a convention to be held at Saratoga Springs on August 16, 1854, to resist the aggressions of the slave power. The Albany call was signed by over three hundred and twenty-eight leading citizens of both parties. (See two Phamplets of Proceedings of the Saratoga Springs Semi-Centennial held Sept. 14th, 1904, for their names and list of Delegates by William Barnes.)

A mass county convention was called in New York city on August 8, 1854, for a like purpose. All the other counties in the State except three (Suffolk, Schoharie and Schenectady) followed the example of Albany, and called mass meetings and appointed delegates to the Saratoga convention, which was an anti-Nebraska, anti-Douglas squatter sovereignty, anti-slavery, Free Soil Republican gathering.

The following is a copy of the Albany call of July 10, 1854.

ALBANY COUNTY ANTI-NEBRASKA MEETING.

The undersigned respectfully invite the electors of the County of Albany, without distinction of party, who disapprove the repeal of the Missouri Compromise to assemble in mass meeting at the county courtroom on the 28th day of July, inst., at 3 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of appointing five delegates from each of their Assembly districts to represent the county in the great

State convention, to be held at the village of Saratoga Springs on Wednesday, the 16th day of August next, and for the purpose of expressing their views in relation to the growing aggressions and assumptions of the slave power.

The following is a copy of the call for the New York County mass meeting (from The Tribune of August 8, 1854):

MASS COUNTY CONVENTION.

The undersigned respectfully invite the electors of the County of New York, without distinction of party, who disapprove the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to assemble in mass meeting at the Park on Tuesday, the 8th day of August, inst., at 6 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of appointing five delegates from each of their Assembly districts to represent the county in the great State convention to be held at the village of Saratoga Springs on Wednesday, the 16th day of August, next, and for the purpose of expressing their views in relation to the growing aggressions and assumptions of the slave power.

“ABRAHAM VAN NEST,

“*Chairman of the Anti-Nebraska Gen'l. Committee.*

“SHEPHERD KNAPP,

“JOSEPH P. SIMPSON,

“ERHERT RICHTER,

“*Vice-Chairman.*

“JAMES M. BOYD, *Secretary.*”

The convention was duly held at Saratoga Springs, August 16, 1854. John A. King was temporary chairman, and William T. McCoun was permanent chairman. “The Albany Journal” of August 16, 1854, said of the convention: “The spacious hall is full of the most sturdy and intellectual looking body of men ever convened in this State in a delegate convention.” All but three counties were represented, mostly by large delegations. Horace Greeley was chairman of the committee on resolutions. Space will not permit the publishing of a copy of these Resolutions. Some of the other leading members of the convention were Preston King, John A. King and Henry J. Raymond. A mass meet-

ing was held in the evening. Addresses were made by Horace Greeley, Eli Thayer and others. The convention adjourned to meet at Auburn September 26, 1854.

The adjourned convention met at Auburn and nominated Myron H. Clark for Governor, and Henry J. Raymond for Lieutenant-Governor (who had previously been nominated by the Whig State Convention) and the rest of the ticket was not nominated by the Whigs. A State committee was appointed. Some of the delegates withdrew from the convention. Mr. Snow offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we are in favor of organizing a Republican party in this State, to co-operate with our Republican brethren of other States, which shall be independent of existing political organizations; a party which shall represent the friends of freedom in opposition to slavery extension, and in favor of employing all constitutional measures for crippling and overthrowing slavery where it now exists.

This was discussed, and finally the following resolution was adopted: "Dr. Snodgrass moved to call this the Republican Organization."

On July 4, 1855, the Republican State Committee, Joseph Blunt, chairman, called a Republican State Convention, to be held at Syracuse, September 26, 1855, at 12 o'clock m., for the purpose of nominating a State ticket and for other purposes.

On July 18, 1855, the Whig State Committee, E. D. Morgan, chairman, called a Whig convention, to meet at the same time and place for a like purpose. The Whigs met in Corinthian Hall and the Republicans in Wieting Hall, and on September 26th held separate sessions and appointed committees of conference.

The two conventions harmonized on a ticket and platform. John A. King was president of the Whig convention, and Reuben E. Fenton president of the Republican convention.

In joint convention, September 27, 1855, Mr. Dayton, of New York, moved that the name "Republican" be given to the party represented in this joint convention, which was adopted by acclamation. Judge J. W. Culver, of Brooklyn, performed a humorous mock heroic marriage ceremony between the widow Mrs. Whig and Mr. Republican, and the great Whig party of history

became extinct and merged in the young, stalwart and virile Republican party. Its freedom loving members proved to be a large element of the new Republican party, and shared largely in its success and honors.

Thus it is seen that August 16, 1904, completed the semi-centennial of the first State convention and organization of the great Republican Party of the State of New York and of the United States.

On September 27, 1854, the Republican party was fully organized in New York and named, and nominated a State ticket and a State committee, and its candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor were elected in November, 1854.

What are the facts? First, as to Maine—It is claimed that a convention was called in Portland, June 7, 1854, at which "most of the counties of the State were represented." This convention seems to have been the Maine Law Anti-Nebraska Democratic "Morrill" convention, which nominated Anson P. Morrill for Governor and was called the "Morrill" Democracy. (See *Daily Eastern Argus*, Portland, June 8, 1854.) Governor Morrill was supported by the anti-slavery element in both parties. Both Whig and regular Democratic conventions were held at Portland, the Democratic on August 21 and the Whig convention about August 28, 1854.

The convention held at Strong Village, August 7, 1854, which was called by a union of the Free Soil Whig and "Morrill" Democratic parties, set an example of union of all anti-Nebraska parties, and which made county nominations and adopted the name of Republican party was, however, only a local county convention, but it struck the key-note of Union of all opponents of Slavery extension.

James G. Blaine, the able statesman and true patriot (who probably was really elected President), in a speech made at Litchfield, Me., June 28, 1856, said: "The Republican party is a new political organization. It is not yet two years old. Its first small meetings were held late in the summer of 1854, when the name was adopted and the party organized on the one great principle of resisting the spread of slavery into the Territories of the United States."

Mr. Blaine made no claim to any priority of such meetings in his own State, and his language can be as fitly applied to the various meetings held in New York State, as in any other State.

The names of Republican and Democratic-Republican were early used in American politics, and the epithets of "Jacobin," "Red Republican" and "British Tory" were freely used.

It is said that after the passage of the Nebraska Act in May, 1854, several members of Congress suggested the name of Republican to designate the opponents of the Nebraska bill.

As to the State of Michigan. The convention at Jackson, July 6, 1854, "under the oaks," was called as a mass meeting and not a delegate convention. It was a very creditable meeting and nominated a State ticket and a State committee and persuaded the Free Soil ticket previously nominated February 22, 1854, to withdraw, and the Whig State convention, held at Marshall, October 4, 1854, to decline making a nomination and to ratify the previous nominations at Jackson. The Free Soil Whig element was the most numerous of the anti-Nebraska forces in Michigan, and the action of the Whig convention in October in approving of the Jackson nomination secured the success of that ticket.

Of course all mass meetings represent the vicinage mainly, and are not representative as delegate conventions or of the public sentiment of an entire State.

It has been said of the Saratoga convention: "It was simply known as the fusion or anti-Nebraska ticket, and though Governor Clark afterward became Republican, he was not known as a Republican in 1854 when he was elected." This is an error as to the name of the Saratoga convention; at its adjourned meeting at Auburn, September 26, 1854, it expressly adopted the name of "Republican party" with acclamation. Governor Clark also wrote a letter of adhesion to the Saratoga convention platform, and on the strength of his letter received the Republican nomination at Auburn, and was voted for and elected by Republican party votes. Governor Clark received 156,770 votes; Seymour, 156,455 votes, and Ullman, 122,154.

The first local convention of the Republican party under that name was probably held at Friendship, in Allegheny County, N. Y., on or before May 20, 1854. Horace Greeley gave the name

to the friends of the convention, and this was probably the first time the name of Republican party had been given to an organization of the combined opponents of slavery extension.

My old friend, A. N. Cole, editor of "The Genesee Valley Free Press," at Wellsville, Allegheny County, N. Y., in a letter to W. F. P. Fogg, of Strong, Me., dated August 1, 1884, gives the facts as follows:

It was in April, 1854, that, addressing a letter to Mr. Greeley, I said: "You seem to think the time has come to organize our long anticipated party of freedom. Tell me, will you, what name would you give it?" His answer came quickly. "Call it Republican—no prefix; no suffix, but plain Republican." I published Mr. Greeley's letter, and if nothing else comes of your celebration than the making known to the world the fact that to Horace Greeley, is to be accorded the honor of having given the name to our party, I shall be, myself, content.

"Forthwith, I set about the work of organization; drawing up a call for a convention to be held at Friendship, in this county. I signed it, four others uniting with me. The call was for a convention to take preliminary steps for the organization of the Republican party. . . . The date at which the convention was held I cannot fix to a day, and yet it was about May 20, 1854. The convention was one of two days and proved an eminent success, three or four hundred persons being in attendance, nearly every town of Allegheny County being represented. A few parties were present from adjacent counties of Western New York, and from Wilmot's district in Pennsylvania." (Pamphlet, W. Fred P. Fogg, on "History of Formation of Republican Party in Maine," pp. 44, 45.)

Mr. Cole gives further facts relating to the proceedings of that convention, and of a nominating convention held in October, 1854.

Mr. Joseph Warren, editor, of Detroit, says:

The honor of having named and christened the party the writer has always claimed, and now insists, belongs jointly to Jacob M. Howard, Horace Greeley and himself. In Mr. Greeley's letter, received only a few days before the Jackson meeting (July 6, 1854,) Mr. Greeley suggested to him the name of "Republican." According to his recollection, Mr. Howard contended for "Demo-

cratic-Republican" as an appropriate name of the proposed new party. ("Life of Zachariah Chandler," pp. 106, 107.)

The dates of the early Republican conventions in the States which I have been able to collect seem to have been as follows:

1854—May 20, mass convention at Friendship, Allegheny County, N. Y., of that and adjoining counties and of Wilmot's district, in Pennsylvania.

1854—July 6, mass convention at Jackson, Michigan.

1854—August 7, a delegate county convention held at Strong Village, Me.

The first Republican mass meeting held in Wisconsin was at Madison, July 13, 1854.

A mass meeting was held in Vermont on the same date.

July 13, 1854, a mass meeting was held at Columbus, Ohio.

On July 19, 1854, mass meeting in Massachusetts.

A mass meeting was also said to have been held at Norristown, Montgomery County, Penn., date unknown.

The Saratoga convention was a meeting supported by all but three counties of the fifty-nine in the great State of New York. The Tribune stated that it was attended by four or five hundred delegates. (Tribune, August 17, 1854.

It had the approval of such men as Horace Greeley and "The New York Times" and William Cullen Bryant and "The Evening Post" (metropolitan journals of large circulation and powerful influence); of John A. King, Reuben E. Fenton and Myron H. Clark, all subsequently Governors of the State of New York; Preston King, afterward United States Senator; John Jay, Joseph Blunt, Vice-Chancellor William McCoun, Eli Perry, and many others of high character and standing.

It was also well understood that the movement had the moral support and influence of William H. Seward,

Thurlow Weed, Edwin D. Morgan and numerous other Free



THURLOW WEED
LEADER OF NEW YORK REPUBLICANS

Soil Whigs. Without the support of New York State the Republican progress would have been checked. The Saratoga Springs convention was the first regular delegate State convention of the Republican party, held August 16, 1854, adjourned to Auburn, September 26, 1854.

When the local Republican mass or delegate meetings are considered, then the mass Republican convention held at Friendship, Allegheny County, May 20, 1854, was in all probability the first ever held in the free States.

As was said in reference to the victory over the Spanish navy in Cuba, there was glory and honor enough to go all around so all the Free States are justly entitled to credit and honor.

A very important National Republican Convention was called by the Chairmen of the State Committees of eight free states to meet at Pittsburg, February 22nd, 1856. All the Northern States and four Southern States were represented. It was attended by about eight hundred delegates; many were men of high standing in their respective States. The Pittsburg Convention called the National Convention at Philadelphia, June 17th, which nominated Fremont.

THE GREAT WORK ACHIEVED BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

No political organization in the history of civilized nations has ever in half a century accomplished so many reforms and elevated the human race to such an extent as our *Beloved Grand Old Party*.

Of course I cannot on this occasion enter into a full and complete analysis of its *Magnum Opus*. I will only allude to some of its credits during the fifty years since we effected a National Organization in the city of Philadelphia by the nomination of John C. Fremont for the presidency.

(1). Supported more or less heartily by the mass of the northern Democratic party, we suppressed a rebellion of eleven states of the Union, which called into the field more than a million of brave and hard-fighting soldiers—thereby rendering our Union, as far as human foresight can read the future, an united nation as long as our mountains shall stand and our rivers run to the sea. This alone is glory enough for any political party to have on its credit side in fifty years.

(2). With the aid of Free Soil Democrats we have prevented

the further extension of slavery and abolished it forever, wherever the American flag waves the Stars and Stripes. The wicked and traitorous euphemism that partially deceived many a good and gallant man into the sacrifice of his life in the Rebel ranks and doomed his family to poverty—that his loyalty was due to his state, and not to his nation—was not really believed by the masses of either army. Every intelligent man in the Northern army knew that he was fighting for the preservation of the Union and the probable limitation or abolition of slavery. Every intelligent man in the Southern army knew that he was fighting for the dissolution of the Union and for the protection and perpetuation of American slavery, as declared in the Confederate Constitution, adopted at Montgomery, Alabama.

Our Southern brethren grossly erred, when they charged the North with bitter hostility to the Southern States. We detested slavery (as Wesley said,) as the "sum of all villanies," but the Southern people were never personally hated by the Northerners. We simply held the opinions which prevailed in the early days of the Republic at the South as well at the North.

(3.) We readmitted the rebel States into the Union with all the rights of the Northern States, and peacefully returned to their homes and families an army of veterans of over a million of men.

(4.) We resumed specie payments after gold had been at a premium of over 250 per cent.

(5.) With the single exception of the Spanish war, we have peacefully arbitrated our difficulties with foreign nations; and our President, Theodore Roosevelt, has initiated a second Hague Conference of the nations and has, with the moral support of the whole American people of all parties and of all civilized nations, initiated and carried to a successful conclusion the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, one of the most cruel and bloody that ever soiled the pages of history. Our President doubtless saved the lives of half a million of men and half a billion dollars more of useless war expenditures. This action was taken at just the strategic time which rendered success possible, and was persisted in to the utmost limit of international courtesy. This act of his administration will be known and embalmed in history as equal in credit to the abolition of serfdom in Russia by Alexander II.

and the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in this country by Abraham Lincoln.

If the President should live a century and every day of his life violate every commandment in the decalogue, he could not run up a *Debit* in the Celestial Ledger which would cancel his *Credits* for the real authorship of the Portsmouth Treaty of Peace.

He has it in his power to perform an almost equally creditable act by instructing the American delegates to the Second Hague Congress to use their best and most earnest efforts to take the initial steps toward partial disarmament of the nations on land and sea, and for the entire neutralization of the oceans of the whole world as God's national highways of commerce and peace.

The beautiful and accomplished Baroness Bertha Von Suttner of Vienna, Austria, has recently aroused all Europe by a remarkable volume, entitled "*Die Waffen Nieder*," "*Ground Arms*," and immortalized her name beyond that of receiving one of the "Nobel" prizes.

Where is the American baroness to perform for America a similar work to that which Von Suttner has done for Europe? Where is the American who will give us a similar book, entitled "*Nations Disarm?*"

(6.) We passed the Homestead Bill, by the provisions of which hundreds of thousands of native and foreign citizens have secured comfortable homes of one hundred and sixty acres of fertile land without money and without price, save the mere occupancy and cultivation of their broad acres, now worth little fortunes for themselves and their children. No government under the sun was ever so generous or so well-paid for its generosity.

(7.) The Republican Party has firmly established an honest and solid gold currency as the American standard, and, with the aid of Gold Democrats, has forever buried the unmathematical and absurd theory that fifty cents in silver is equal to one dollar in gold, which strangely received the approval of about six millions of American voters.

(8.) The Republican Party, has again with the aid of patriotic Democrats, made certain the building of that great work—the Panama canal—which will yield incalculable benefits to the world's commerce.

Mr. Barnes having reviewed what he regards as the errors committed by the party, continues:

The highest compliment which can be paid to any political party is to have their opponents sooner or later approve their measures, and claim their authorship.

Judged by this standard, how does the Republican Party rank? We enumerate only a few of these examples.

(1.) We founded a party on the principle of no more slave States and no more slave territory. Who now opposes these principles?

(2.) We finally abolished slavery by an amendment of the Constitution. Who now favors the re-establishment of slavery?

(3.) We returned to specie payments. Who now opposes this standard?

(4.) We declined to make fifty cents in silver equal to a dollar in gold. How few voters now favor such a doctrine.

(5.) We decided to build the Panama Canal. Who now opposes its construction?

Even our Presidents, after a generation, are claimed by our opponents, as Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield are now by the Democracy, and as McKinley and Roosevelt will be in the near future.

MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

At a Semi-Centennial of the Republican Party, the occasion should not be allowed to pass without a cordial and affectionate tribute of remembrance to *Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe*, the authoress of "*Dred*" and "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*." These works achieved for her a world-wide reputation which still lives, and were no unimportant factors in accelerating the formation of the Republican Party, and to its success in our State and National struggles for victory. We place a wreath of laurel on her grave as an authoress who has helped to victory one of the noblest causes that man or woman ever sharpened the pen to give a death blow to wrong in favor of right.

The statistical work of Hinton R. Helper called the "*Impending Crisis*," and Judge Albion W. Tourgees' work of "*Bricks without Straw*," gave important aid to "*Uncle Tom*" in undermining the foundations of the Biblical and economic arguments

to sustain slavery, which had beguiled both the Northern and Southern conscience for generations.

The so-called conservative clergymen were against us, and cited Paul and Onesimus and other Bible texts *ad nauseam*, to justify slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law.

We could only reckon on our side the Quakers, the Shakers, the Unitarians, and a portion of the Methodist church.

The Democrats said that all long-haired men and short-haired women were Abolitionists. True some of our missionaries were not over pre-possessing in their personal appearance, but they did God's work better than the aristocratic Clericals who proved Slavery by the Bible and the Fugitive Slave Law by St. Paul.

During the first three years of my life slavery existed in the State of New York, 1824-1827.

The illiterate, the intemperate, and the vicious generally voted for slavery and the Democratic ticket. The great cities, those centers of population which Jefferson described as sores on the body politic, were generally against us. The very rich were also mostly Pro-Slavery Democrats. Fifth avenue and the Five Points joined hands and voted together. Our strength was among the middle classes—the honest country farmers breathing the pure air of freedom, and the sturdy mechanics and laborers who conceded to others the rights and privileges which they claimed for themselves.

The lower strata of Democrats ended all Constitutional and moral arguments with a simple interrogation, which to them was as conclusive and irresistible as any syllogism in demonstration in Euclid:—

Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?

It was said to us that if slavery was abolished the North would be over-whelmed with negroes and the white laborer could get no work.

The weight of conscience and intellect was on our side. The man who could approvingly hear the auctioneer's call ringing in Pennsylvania avenue in Washington, for the sale of men, women, and children, within sight of the National Capitol, could not be overburdened with those attributes of humanity.

The weight of the Northern national conscience soon overpowered the Democracy of the North and West.

With "Honest Abe" as our leader the "Little Giant" was overwhelmed with defeat; but when war was declared he patriotically rallied to the flag of the Union and rendered to Lincoln his cordial support and loyalty.

It is a law of nature that when one works for others and a good and noble cause, the worker himself is benefited and ennobled. It was so with our anti-slavery workers; they elevated themselves as well as freed the slaves.

JOHN BROWN.

John Brown ended his life with a Virginia halter around his neck, but he has been apotheosized by lovers of liberty in every civilized country on earth. I have heard Aztec Indians rowing their boats on the Vega canal in old Mexico keep time with their oars, singing "John Brown's Body."



JOHN BROWN
FROM ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH,
1857

His soul and body have traveled over the earth in every civilized country to the music of the immortal song, the authorship of which is unknown. I knew the old man by correspondence and personally, and his effective work, and that of his family, for freedom in Kansas. He was actuated by as pure and holy motives as ever pulsed the heart of a human being. The old man was prophetic when he said that he could serve the cause of Freedom better by dying on the scaffold than in any other manner.

Requiescat in pace, holy martyr of freedom.

The striking likeness of John Brown was taken for me in 1857. His dress is all homespun and was of a bluish-grey color.

GERRIT SMITH.

One of the most efficient workers for the anti-slavery cause and for freedom in Kansas was Gerrit Smith of Petersboro, N. Y.

He subscribed thousands of dollars to our New York State Kansas Committee and to the National Committee to send free State emigrants to Kansas and for their support when attacked by Missouri border ruffians. He was of tall and commanding figure, a noble specimen of manly beauty. His voice was deep and sonorous, with a magnetic and sympathetic tone that entranced his audiences, even in the open air of central New York.

His deep bass, rotund, far-reaching enunciation when he pleaded the cause of the slave and of "*God's Poor*," was very impressive and convincing and was an incentive to duty ever after, and excited an ambition to fight always for the Right as against the Wrong.

After the lapse of nearly seventy summers and winters I can still hear its silvery tones ringing in my ears.

His philanthropy and munificence were as broad and noble as his physical frame.

I cannot attend this National Semi-Centennial of rejoicing for our party without this tribute to his sacred memory. It would have rejoiced his soul to have been present this day in this holy city of Patriotism and Republicanism.

It was from the eloquent lips of Gerrit Smith, in the early forties, in an open air speech in Madison county, N. Y., that I first fully learned my duty to use all legal means to limit the extension of slave territory in our Union and to worship at the shrine of freedom for all mankind.

The photograph of Mr. Smith is an excellent one sent to me by Mr. Smith many years ago.

JOHN C. FREMONT.

Our first National standard bearer we this day honor and commemorate. He was not elected, but he laid the broad and solid foundations of the structure which Abraham Lincoln completed. His was an adventurous and gallant spirit, and we all shouted:

“Rise up Fremont and go before.
Put on the hunting shirt once more,
And lead in Freedom's van.”

John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton were nominated fifty years ago in this hall at Philadelphia; but in the canvass before the people the candidates were “*Fremont and Jessie.*” Never in any presidential political campaign did the wife of the candidate participate so fully in the campaign. Jessie Benton Fremont, the daughter of Thomas H. Benton, was a woman of strong intellect and capable of affording intelligent and valuable aid to her husband in his public and official career. Let her not be forgotten, on this festive occasion, to the success of which she could have added so many womanly attractions.

It should not be forgotten that Fremont issued the first emancipation Proclamation giving Freedom to all slaves within his military district.

John C. Fremont was not only the first Republican candidate for President, but he was the “Pathfinder” to the Pacific ocean, and for his services on the plains and the Rockies and the Sierras, the whole people of all parties owe him a debt of gratitude which has long been due and as yet has never been paid. Let this Convention ask in decisive terms, that at last his statue shall be erected in the National Capitol at Washington and his remains honorably interred in their natural and appropriate resting place in Arlington Cemetery at Washington.

At the next session of Congress the Committee appointed by this Convention and the Senator and members from California, should see that this tardy justice is done to the memory of the gallant Pathfinder of the Sierras.

On this anniversary, as I turn the pages of fifty years ago, I see before me a procession of Liberty Party, Whig, Free Soil and Republican patriots, long since gone before, who were inspired by the same patriotic spirit that animated our fathers of seventy-six—men of intense love, of exalted principles and of love of country—men, scores of whom were fitted to honorably and usefully fill the offices of Senators, Governors, and even the Presidency of the United States, and who would have adorned the woosack of the

Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court of the United States. Time will not permit the calling of this roll of honor. If they could revisit us this day they would be amply repaid for their self sacrifices and early labors in the field of political warfare, as honorable even as those gained in the battlefields of war.

The Liberty Party men (the pioneers) of 1840-1844, the Free Soilers of 1854, the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and "Wolly-head" Whigs, all joined hands and in the second Presidential campaign won a victory, the fruits of which Republicans of to-day are freely enjoying, sometimes with too little reverence for the purity and patriotism of the founders of our glorious party that has maintained its control, with two exceptions, over the National councils for half a century. The Democratic Party has been justly punished for its support of slavery and the Rebellion.

KANSAS FREE-STATE SETTLERS.

We forget,—those who did not participate in the fight for free Kansas, how much not only the State of Kansas, but the Republican Party owes to those brave men, many with small means, who, inspired with the spirit of freedom, took their lives in their hands and with their wives and children "Crossed the prairies as of old their fathers crossed the seas," for securing freedom to the Territory of Kansas in spite of border ruffians and a National administration ready to favor slavery and prosecute Free State settlers and even threaten them with the army and a trial for treason for resisting the encroachments of the slaveholders.

All honor to those sturdy descendents of the Pilgrim Fathers who saved Kansas to freedom and prosperity. I hope that some of them or their children are here to-day to rejoice with us and to receive our sincere thanks and admiration for their patriotic and holy services to Republicanism, whose aid was sorely needed by our nascent and struggling party.

It is so easy now to be a Republican—and some of our members and even officeholders little know how hard a road it was to travel in the early days of the Liberty, Free Soil, and Republican Parties.

On this history-making occasion, it is, perhaps, proper and due to the memory of those who have gone before, that I, having been secretary and executive officer of the New York State Kansas

Committee and organizer of the Cleveland and Buffalo National Kansas Conventions of 1856, should give the names of those patriots who organized the Free State settlers' crusade for the freedom of Kansas Territory, now the vigorous and wealthy State of Kansas.

Besides many State, City and County Free Soilers meetings a National Convention of the friends of Freedom in Kansas was held at Cleveland, Ohio, June 21, 1856, which was adjourned to Buffalo, July 9th, at which thirteen States were represented by delegates.

A National Committee was chosen, consisting of the following gentlemen:

Thaddeus Hyatt, President, of New York city, then temporarily residing at Chicago.

Captain J. D. Webster, Vice-President, Chicago, Ill.

H. B. Hurd, Secretary, Chicago, Ill.

Geo. W. Dole, Treasurer, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. S. G. Howe, General Financial Agent, of Boston, then temporarily residing at Chicago, Ill.

W. F. M. Arny, General Transportation Agent, of Bloomington, residing at Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., Boston, Mass.

William H. Russell, New Haven, Conn.

Governor W. H. Hoppin, Providence, R. I.

Alexander Gordon, Pennsylvania.

John W. Wright, Logansport, Ind.

Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.

S. S. Barnard Michigan.

J. H. Tweedy, Milwaukee, Wis.

W. H. Stanley, Cleveland, Ohio.

F. A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.

W. Penn Clark, Iowa City, Ia.

A. H. Reeder, Kansas.

S. W. Eldridge, Kansas.

J. Y. Scammon, Chicago, Ill.

Office: No. 11 Marine Bank Building, corner of Lake and La Salle streets, Chicago, Illinois.

A State Committee was organized in every Free State. The one for New York consisted of the following persons in the city of Albany: H. H. Van Dyck, President; M. McGowen, John N. Wilder, Vice-Presidents; C. P. Williams, Treasurer; William Barnes, Secretary; Deodatus Wright, Seth B. Cole, John G. Treadwell, S. H. Hammond, David S. Pierce, George Wolford, Isaac L. Wilde, Clark B. Cochrane, Daniel Leggett.

Office: No. 442 Broadway, Albany.

Eli Thayer, Esq., of Worcester, was the General Agent of the National Committee for the organization of the States; Rev. A. H. Shurtleff, of Painted Post, New York, was one of the Agents appointed by the State Committee.

Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, was President of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and Eli Thayer, of Worcester, was its Executive Agent, and very important services were rendered by this Society to the free State cause in Kansas.

REPUBLICAN LEAGUES.

The Party which secures the devotion and loyalty of the young men of the nation will eventually secure success in political affairs. In the early days of the Anti-Slavery and Republican fight for supremacy I well recollect many cases where the fathers remained Jackson, Bourbon, Hunker Pro-Slavery Democrats, after the sons had joined the ranks of Free Soil, Free Speech, and Free Men, with intense zeal and enthusiasm. In all the great crises we winnowed the Democratic Party of its young as well as old men, its ablest and most patriotic members, simply because we were right in our contention.

Some of our best, most conscientious and well-vertebraed men came from the Democracy and were ever in the front rank of the battle. An observer would have predicted that the Party which claimed Jefferson as a leader would have led in the policy of limiting Slavery and abolishing it as soon as practicable.

When the Democracy as a party (except the Barnburners and Free Soilers) failed in their exigency to take the side of Freedom and organized the most expensive and bloody Rebellion known to history for the perpetuation of Slavery, the sceptre of sovereignty, which it had held for fifty years passed over to its opponents

and they became and have continued to be the real and true Democracy of the nation.

In 1860, the "Wide-Awake" torches were seen in the streets of every city, village and on country roads of all the Northern States, illuminating the heavens and earth with their picturesque processions. It required no Hebrew Prophet to read in the curling smoke and flames the doom of slavery,—"*Mene Tekel Upharsin,*" freely translated, read, "*No more Slave States—no more Slave Territories.*"

Hundreds of thousands of these Wide-Awake lamps were in a few months transformed into muskets, and the sturdy, enthusiastic young men of the North showed their devotion to the cause by leaving many of their graves on two thousand battle fields in the Southern States.

We old veterans in the Grand Old Party extend our cordial thanks to the young generation joining Republican Leagues and wish them another fifty years of such great success as has cheered and delighted us in our past history of fifty years.

We can only shout to them, "*Wide-Awake!*" "*Wide-Awake!*"

"The Pilgrim's Progress" of our party, so far as its principles are concerned, may be easily traced by the genealogist to:

(1) The Anti-Slavery "Declaration" of December 4, 1833 which I have copied in full into this paper. No political party was then organized.

(2) The Liberty Party of 1840-1844, with 7,069 votes in 1840 and 62,300 votes in 1844.

(3) The Free-Soil Party of 1848, with 291,263 votes for President.

(4) The Republican Party of 1854-1856, with 1,341,264 votes for Fremont for President.

(5) The Republican Party of 1860, with 1,866,452 votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Some ignorant or prejudiced Republicans attempt to deny the paternity of the Republican Party to the Liberty Party and the Free Soil Parties, but any one who examines the platforms will see the lineal and direct descent and it is useless to deny the kinship of blood when the features and lineaments of the three are examined by any skillful physician or anthropologist.

Only one task remains to the Republican Party to accomplish, and all the work for which it was originally organized will have been accomplished. This is the passing of an act decreasing the representation in Congress and the Electoral College of those States that deny the right of suffrage to large numbers of American citizens against the express provisions of the amendments to the National Constitution.

The "Old Sarums" and the rotten Boroughs of the black belt should be "Reformed" as provided for by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. No white man at the South should have any more power in Congress and the Electoral College than a white man at the North or West. Before the war the Slave States practically cast three votes for every five slaves. This provision although repealed has practically been more than revived and enforced against the Free States by the recent Constitutions and statutes of several former Slave States.

When this task is completed where is the great moral issue upon which the Republican Party can fight its future campaigns? Our party is always stronger and more successful when battling for a great moral principle which appeals to the conscience of its members.

Mr. Barnes closed his interesting paper with a strong plea for the disarmament of nations, saying: "Is not this Fiftieth Anniversary of our BELOVED GRAND OLD PARTY a fitting occasion to inaugurate such an international movement and thus regild our Golden Jubilee with additional blessings for humanity?"

COLONEL FREMONT JUDGED BY HIS COTEMPORARIES.

James Buchanan, now candidate for President of the United States, testified on oath: "His (Col. Fremont's) services were very valuable; he bore a conspicuous part in the conquest of California, and, in my opinion, is better entitled to be called the conqueror of California than any other man."

Senator Butler of South Carolina said: "He (Col. Fremont) is a gentleman of rare endowments, of rare abilities."

The Hon. John C. Calhoun, the idolized statesman of South Carolina: "I have acquaintance with the Colonel, and I am so favorably impressed as to him that I would as readily trust him as any other individual; his integrity is beyond suspicion."

Senator Rusk of Texas: "I regard Col. Fremont as one of the most heroic and successful officers in our army—an army of which any nation might be proud."

Senator Bagley of North Carolina: "I agree with the Senator from Texas that he (Col. Fremont) is a man of extraordinary merit and ability."

The Hon. John A. Dix of New York: "Col. Fremont exhibited a combination of energy, promptitude, sagacity, and prudence, which indicates the highest capacity for civil and military command. That the country will do justice to his valuable and distinguished services, I entertain not the slightest doubt."

The Hon. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky: "The courage and conduct of Col. Fremont have signalized his name. His services were peculiar, attended with great responsibility to himself—characterized by great firmness and humanity, as well as devotion to his country."

The Hon. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts: "Col. Fremont is a young officer of great merit—one who deserves well of his country for the bravery and ability with which he discharged his important and delicate duties in California."

FIRST DAY (Memorial Session Continued.)

After the address by Mr. Barnes the proceedings of the first day's session was as follows:

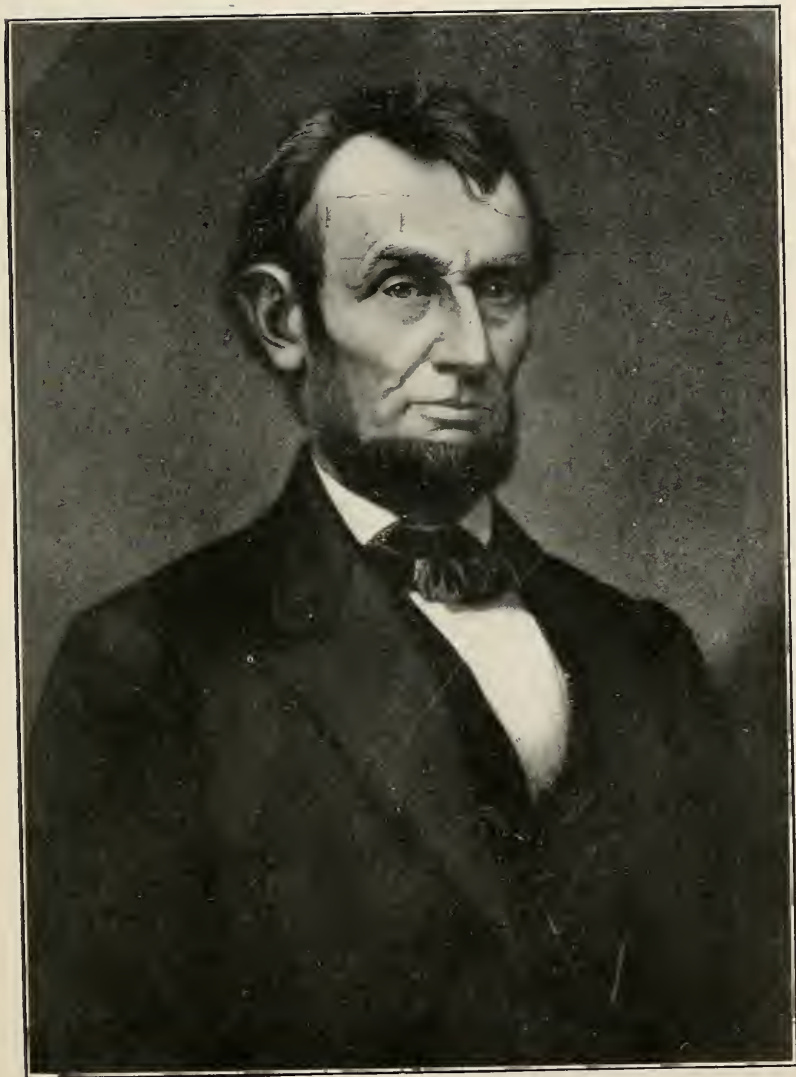
Governor Pennybacker: There was a preliminary Republican Convention held in Pittsburg a year before the one that was held in this hall and Col. Jacob Weyand was a delegate there. He is too old to be here but he has prepared an address which will now be read by the Hon. T. L. Kennedy, of New Brighton, Pa, Beaver County. I shall not say a word about Beaver County; we all know what it can do.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY, TIME OF ITS BIRTH AND ITS BIRTHPLACE.

BY LIEUT. COL. JACOB WEYAND.

Early in the Spring of 1900, Senator M. A. Hanna, who was then Chairman of the Republican Committee, learned that there were still a few men living who had been delegates to the Convention which formed the National Republican Party.* After ascertaining their names and places of residence, he sent to each one of the survivors a cordial invitation to attend the National Convention which was soon to assemble at Philadelphia, and take seats on the stage as honorary members of the Convention. Thirteen responded to this invitation, the writer hereof being one of the number. Since then three of them have gone to that undiscovered country from which none ever return. The absent ones are Sydney Edgerton of Ohio, John H. Bryant, of Illinois (brother of William Cullen Bryant, the Poet) and S. P. Mc Calmont of Pennsylvania. Although the first National Convention of the Republican party ordered its minutes to be published in pamphlet form, yet from some cause or other it was never done and the newspapers of that time, too, have a very meagre account of its proceed-

*The convention to which Col. Weyand refers is the Pittsburg convention, of February, 1856.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ings; hence after a lapse of nearly fifty years the impelling motives and the spirit of the gathering is found only in the memories of the men who participated in its deliberations. As many of the younger Republicans of the Country may be unfamiliar with the causes which led up to the origin and birth of the party of their choice, I herewith submit the following brief history of the event. It may be regarded as authentic, for the writer can truthfully say: All of which I saw and part of which I was:

By an act of Congress, approved March 20, 1820, slavery was prohibited in all territory of the United States, lying north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes.

This act was known as the Missouri Compromise. The territory thus affected was acquired by the Louisiana purchase. It was bought from France in 1803, Thomas Jefferson, being then President of the United States. So popular was this expansion policy, at that time, that his re-election easily followed.

For a third of a century the Missouri Compromise had stood as a dividing line between freedom and slavery. At the end of that period the slave power had become arrogant and dictatorial and sought to and did shape the legislation of the country. A few brave, sturdy men in Congress resisted, but they were numerically too weak and inexperienced in parliamentary tactics to cope successfully with the trained athletes of slavery. Both houses of Congress had a large number of members who hailed from the north but entertained or avowed southern principles. Some of these honestly believed that slavery was right, others of them did not; but were driven to its support by the party lash. In this way the south secured a hold upon the government that made it almost political suicide for a public man to raise his voice against its wishes. It had everything its own way. It named all candidates for the presidency, suggested all cabinet ministers, and laughed derisively when the conscience of the north was referred to.

This was the condition of affairs up until 1854. In January of that year Stephen A. Douglas, a Senator of Illinois, reported a bill in the Senate for the organization of two territories—Kansas and Nebraska. This bill carried with it the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The intention was to push slavery as far north as

it could be profitably maintained. When the scheme became thoroughly understood by the people of the United States, intense excitement and indignation prevailed. The south was almost a unit for the Douglas bill, while the north was divided with a majority in favor of its defeat. Gen. Franklin Pierce, a northern man, was President of the United States. He favored the passage of the bill, and the whole power of his administration was thrown in its behalf. Under these circumstances the bill passed both houses and became a law on the 30th of May, 1854. Then began a rush of settlers to these two territories—free men from the north who wanted homes for themselves and families, and slaveholders with their slaves from the South, who desired to plant their peculiar institution in these virgin soils. The north stood heroically by its emigrants and reinforced them with men, food, clothing and money. The clash of ideas soon gave place to the clash of arms. Arson, pillage, violence and bloodshed followed each other in such rapid succession that the moral sense of the country shuddered when contemplating the deeds done on the Kansas plains. John Brown of Ossawatimie and "Jim" Lane of Topeka developed into heroes in the struggle for freedom in Kansas. The fight was furious and long, but in the end freedom triumphed and slavery was driven back to its original boundaries.

Up until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise the Whig and Democratic parties were the dominant ones of the country. For the sake of their party the northern Whigs had tolerated slavery. Now they would do this no longer. The ties which had bound them to their Whig brethren in the south were sundered as quickly as conscience could right itself. Many of the most enlightened and conscientious Democrats in the north shared their views and linked their future with them. Indignation meetings were held all over the north and resolutions adopted denouncing this breach of faith on the part of the south and declaring eternal hostility to the further extension of slavery in the United States. Thus were party lines obliterated. Local organizations were formed. Some of these embraced only villages, others took in counties, while still others enveloped whole states. Without any pre-arranged understanding they all seemingly with one accord named themselves Republicans. Leading men now began to give this

strange phenomena in politics their attention. The new movement seemed to have its deepest roots in the far east and in the northwest. Chase, Giddings and Remelin of Ohio, Greeley, Dorsheimer, Morgan, Raymond and the two Kings (Preston and John A.) of New York, Brainard of Vermont, Bingham of Michigan, Wilmot of Pennsylvania and others came to the front and assumed to give direction to the great uprising.

The Pittsburg Gazette, at that time the most pronounced anti-slavery Whig paper in Pennsylvania, enlisted early in the cause. Its editor, the late Hon. D. N. White, and his assistant, Hon. Russel Errett, also deceased, were consulted by two of the gentlemen above named at about the close of the year 1855, and a definite line of action was agreed upon. Up until this time no attempt had been made anywhere or by any person to weld these various local organizations into a national party. On January 17, 1856, however, the following call was issued from Washington, D. C.

“To the Republicans of the United States.”

“In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, Chairman of the State Republican committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the union to meet in formal convention at Pittsburg on the 22nd of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting a national organization and providing for a national delegate convention of the Republican party at some subsequent date to nominate candidates for president and Vice-President, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.

J. T. GOODRICH, of Massachusetts.

DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania.

LAWRENCE BRAINARD, of Vermont.

WILLIAM WHITE, of Wisconsin.”

Pursuant to this call the Pittsburg convention assembled. Its meeting place was in Lafayette Hall. The Hon. Francis P. Blair of Maryland, was made president, Hon. Russel Errett of

Pittsburg, secretary, and the Rev. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, opened the proceedings with prayer. The convention was in session two days, and on the evening of the second day a Kansas aid mass meeting was held which was addressed by a number of delegates from abroad. The regular sessions of the convention were fairly well attended, but the hall was not crowded. This was, perhaps, because business and not oratory occupied the time and attention of those present. Still occasionally a few sentences would be heard which would thrill and entrance those present. Oakey Hall, Preston King, Horace Greeley, John A. King and Henry J. Raymond of New York, Joshua R. Giddings, Charles Remelin of Ohio, Kingsley S. Bingham of Michigan, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania and a number of others who were widely known as finished and fearless orators were there, and were listened to with rapt attention when addressing the convention. An incident of the second day made a deep impression on many members of the convention, the writer included. Both days had been dark and cheerless. No sunshine had found its way into the hall. At about 2 P. M. Mr. Remelin had the floor. Suddenly a flood of sunlight made its way through one of the windows and illuminated every nook and corner of the large room. Mr. Remelin turned towards the window through which the stream of light came and after looking at it for a moment, turned to the convention again and said: "Fellow citizens, that is a token of our success; Providence is lighting our way."

The incident and the speaker's words thrilled everyone and it is not beyond the range of probability to believe that many of those men thought until they went down to their graves that Omnipotence had flashed an approval of their work through the Pittsburg window.

In view of the grand achievements of the Republican party within the last 40 years I am not inclined to doubt Mr. Remelin's prophetic words on that occasion.

Henry J. Raymond, then editor of the New York Times, and afterward Lieutenant Governor of his State, had prepared and read a lengthy address, giving a history of the slavery legislation of Congress, and also reciting the atrocities perpetrated upon our people in Kansas. This address was adopted by the

Convention and became the keynote of the new party. Accordingly the resolutions were very brief and were as follows:—

First. Resolved, that we demand the repeal of all laws allowing the introduction of slavery into territories once consecrated to freedom, and the resistance by constitutional means of the existence of slavery in any territory.

Second. Resolved, that by all lawful means at our command we extend our hearty support to our struggling brethren in Kansas against the usurped authority of lawless invaders, and wish them God-speed in their efforts to make that territory a free state.

Third. Resolved, that now, as ever, we favor a free press, free speech, free thought and free men, and believe that all men were created equal before the law.

Fourth. Resolved, that the Republican organizations throughout the whole country be urged to array themselves against the present national administration, as it has been, and is now, a foe to liberty, and a willing tool in the hands of the slave power to perpetuate and extend slavery wherever possible.

Fifth. Resolved, that the proceedings of this convention be published in pamphlet form, and that the thanks of its members be tendered to the citizens of Pittsburg for their hospitality while they were in the city."

On motion of Judge Spaulding of Ohio, grandfather of Judge W. R. Day, now Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, the address and resolutions were adopted with nine cheers.

A motion was also carried for the appointment of an executive committee, with Senator E. D. Morgan of New York as chairman. This committee was composed of one member from each of the states represented in this convention. The committee was instructed to issue a call, at the proper time, for the holding of a national convention at Philadelphia on the 17th of June, 1856, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president, to be supported at the November election.

The business of the convention having been concluded, a motion to adjourn *sine die* was carried. Thus ended the first national convention held by the Republican party.

When the convention was held the country was half slave and half free. It was not believed at that time by many persons that this condition of things could permanently endure. The advocates of slavery and owners of slaves themselves believed that the time was not far in the future when they could call the roll of their slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill. Those who entertained the opposite view felt confident that slavery—the sum of all villainies—would gradually melt away under the humanizing influences of Christianity, or in the end meet its death in the tempest of war.

The men of the Pittsburg convention and those they represented held this view; yet so loyal were they to the Union, and so profound was their reverence of Washington and other founders of the government, many of whom had been slaveholders and whose descendants were now slave owners, that their convictions were held in silence or only spoken with bated breath.

They were content to leave slavery alone, in the states where it was established by law, but beyond that with their consent, it should never go. Hence when the Missouri Compromise was repealed by the slave oligarchy, the long pent-up feeling against slavery asserted itself, and the enlightened conscience of the country bounded into the fray and never afterwards took a backward step. What followed has already been told in this paper.

By an exhaustive search of the records, and a close examination of the Pittsburg papers published at that time 260 persons were members of the convention. There may have been more. If so their names were not recorded by themselves nor were they noted by others. All of these men excepting ten have gone to their rest. Nearly all of them lived their allotted time, three score and ten and quite a number of them rounded up their four-score years. With rare exceptions they kept the faith and died believing that they had builded better than they knew.

At the present time, December 30th, 1904, there are but ten survivors of the Convention which met in Lafayette Hall, in Pittsburg on February 22nd, 1856, to form the National Republican

party of the United States. Their names and States are as follows:—

Charles G. Davis, of Massachusetts.

George H. Frye, Rush E. Sloan, Roeliff Brinkerhoff and Wm. H. Upson of Ohio.

William Penn Clark and William A. Cook, of Washington, D. C.

William H. Lane, Jacob Weyand and Allen A. Craig of Pennsylvania.

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, DECEMBER 30, 1904

Governor Pennypacker:—Dr. Reyburn, who attended President Lincoln and also President Garfield will now read a paper.

ADDRESS BY DR. REYBURN.

Personal Recollections of President Abraham Lincoln, by Robert Reyburn, M. D., formerly Brevet. Lieut. Colonel and Surgeon, United States Volunteers.

What glorious yet sad memories cluster around the honored name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Devoted admirer as I always had been of our martyred President, yet it was not my good fortune to have personally known him until the last year of his life.

Early in 1864, I was relieved from duty with General R. O. Tyler's Division, Headquarters Fairfax Court House, Virginia, and ordered to Washington, D. C., there to report to General Hardin as Surgeon-in-Chief of the defenses North of the Potomac. These defenses consisted of a magnificent chain of Forts connected by rifle pits and extending from near the Chain Bridge (at a point somewhat north and west of the city of Washington) down the Potomac to Fort Washington.

The whole chain of Fortifications was over twenty miles in length, and if suitably manned, garrisoned and provided with heavy guns, would make an impregnable defense for the Capital. However, at the time herein mentioned, August, 1864, the armament of the Forts was in a very imperfect condition, and as far as troops were concerned to man the guns, they were very few in number for the defense of such a long line of fortifications.

General Grant was carrying on that gigantic series of battles

known as the Battles of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor and needed every soldier to enable him to crush the enemy.

My duties as Surgeon-in-Chief required me to visit and inspect each week the Fort Hospitals, and in so doing, I frequently met President Lincoln. On many of these occasions the President was on his way to and from the White House to the house which was provided for him as a Summer Retreat at the Soldiers Home (a little outside the city of Washington). He was always accompanied by a few cavalry soldiers as escort. This escort was exceedingly distasteful to the President, and he only yielded to its presence on account of the persistent solicitation of his great War Secretary, Secretary Stanton. How well I remember that dear, honest, kindly face, that seemed to our eyes to wear such a constant look of gloom, as if it had never known a smile. How the horrors of the dreadful struggle that was going on between the contending armies of the North and South wore new lines of sorrow and care on his countenance that showed themselves to be growing deeper every time you saw him.

President Lincoln was a very remarkable man to look at. He was very tall, being nearly six feet, four inches in height, and strong and muscular. His height was accentuated by his dress, which was always a long frock coat with a high silk hat. When he was in a sitting position and gradually arose, he gave you the feeling that he was unwinding himself, and when he stood up he generally towered above all the people near him. The spirit of jocularly, with which his enemies some times reproached him, was, I firmly believe, nothing more than a desire to lighten the dreadful burden of care and sorrow that he always carried. President Lincoln often had persons coming to him with all manner of schemes for their own personal aggrandizement. He would listen patiently, generally sitting with his legs crossed (which was his favorite position,) and when they were through, he would say "That reminds me of a little story." He would then narrate some joke, the point of which was so obvious, showing their schemes were seen through, that they generally departed at once, wiser if not better men.

I saw President Lincoln when he visited the Fortifications during the attack upon Washington, by Gen. Early, August, 1864.

During the early part of August, 1864, we had heard vague rumors of an attack being about to be made upon the city of Washington, but gave little heed to them. It may be surprising to those who are unacquainted with the topography of the country that an attack could be made upon the city of Washington without timely warning being given and opportunity for defense.

The explanation of this is very simple. The southwestern portion of the State of Virginia, adjoining the Capital, is traversed by a double chain of mountains which are a part of the Alleghenies, (or as they are usually called in Virginia, the Blue Ridge Mountains.) These mountains have between them a fertile valley a few miles in width which extends from the lower part of the State of Virginia northward up into Maryland and Pennsylvania. This valley is readily accessible from Richmond, Virginia, and the Confederates could pursue their way through this valley sheltered and screened from observations almost to the borders of our city. The inhabitants also of this valley being zealous in the Southern cause, gave every information and assistance they possibly could to the Confederates.

At various points in the Valley of Virginia the continuity of this chain of mountains is broken by openings called "Gaps," through which an invading force might attack or threaten the Capital.

July 5th and 6th, 1864, the Confederate troops under command of General Early, crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and pursued their way towards Washington. Their progress was resisted by the Union troops and a severe struggle between the contending armies took place at Monocacy, on July 9th.

General Lew Wallace, who commanded the Union troops at the battle of Monocacy, had a hard problem to solve. He was confronted by a very superior force of the enemy and knew of course that he would be defeated. To gain time, however, was vitally important, for it would enable General Grant to forward reinforcements to the threatened city of Washington. Like a true soldier, therefore, General Lew Wallace gave battle, which delayed the progress of the enemy for more than twenty-four hours, and thus saved the Capital at the risk of the destruction of himself and his whole army.

At midnight, July 10, 1864, I received a message from Colonel Abbott, Medical Director, directing me to take ten Doctors out to Fort Reno, accompanied by appropriate medical supplies for the care of the wounded, as the enemy were in force and rapidly approaching Washington by the way of Rockville, Maryland.

On arriving at Fort Reno, on the morning of July 11th, a scene of dire confusion was apparent. Fortifications we had in abundance but we had very few men to man them and a very insufficient supply of the munitions of war.

General Grant was fighting the bloody campaign of the Wilderness and almost every available soldier had been sent to the front. If General Early had known our weakness in military strength he could easily have driven our forces before him and entered the city. General Early with the vanguard of his troops reached Fort Stevens, on the Seventh Street Road, on the afternoon of July 11th, and found the Fort feebly manned. Thereupon he ordered his advance to form line and move into the works, but before the division could be brought up, a column of Union troops entered the works and an artillery fire was opened upon the Confederate forces.

Skirmishing then took place on the afternoon of the 11th and 12th of July. During this time the Union troops were reinforced by the Sixth Corps which had been hastily despatched by General Grant for the relief of Washington. Immediately on the arrival of these reinforcements the Union troops assumed the offensive and quite a severe contest took place at Fort Stevens, a little to the north of the city, and adjoining the Seventh Street Road.

For several hours in the long summer evening I watched with eager interest the conflict. The fighting occurred chiefly on the skirmish line. Each man flattened himself upon the ground seeking to cover himself from the enemy by every inequality of the ground or little hillock, and singly each soldier fired upon the antagonist nearest to him.

Our men occupied on this skirmish line a valley in front of Fort Stevens, and the Confederate were in front of them on the ascending slope of the opposite valley.

Every now and then the Union troops would make a rush and were evidently driving the Confederates back from their

positions. After dark the firing became more continuous and the flash of the musketry firing as each piece was discharged temporarily illuminated the scene.

During all this time from Fort Stevens the troops were firing shells at long range upon the Confederate positions. You could watch the progress of the shells as they ascended, looking exactly like gigantic rockets, then as they fell we could see the chasm in the earth made by their explosion.

If you could divest yourself of the idea that people were being wounded and killed during this time, it seemed to look exactly like an exhibition of gigantic fireworks.

President Lincoln, in company with Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, watched the conflicts from the ramparts of Fort Stevens and rather recklessly exposed himself to the enemy's fire. His tall, conspicuous figure as he stood there made him an excellent mark for the Confederate sharpshooters. My recollection is that General Wright, in rather a brusque manner, almost forcibly insisted that he should get down from his exposed position, and said he was not going to have the President of the United States shot in that way.

Just at this time an orderly summoned me to the Hospital (which was immediately in rear of the Fort) telling me that the wounded were being brought in.

We lost three hundred and twenty-three killed and wounded in the few hours of the conflict. That night about midnight our scouts came in and reported that the enemy had hurriedly departed, leaving their dead and wounded in our hands. Of course the Medical Department of the Army knows no distinction after hostilities are over and the wounded and dying Confederates received just the same care that was given to the Union soldiers.

As you may imagine, this was a busy night for myself and the other physicians who cared for the wounded. We worked continuously until the dawn of the morning. By that time the wounded had all received their primary dressing and were transported in the ambulances provided for them to the Military Hospitals of Washington.

During the fall and winter months of 1864, I embraced every opportunity of seeing President Lincoln and also of coming in

contact with the galaxy of great men that surrounded him and were connected with his administration.

Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Wilson, Senator Sumner, and a host of others, were all personally known to me, but alas, they have almost all departed, and it seems to me that they have left few worthy to succeed them.

One of my last recollections of President Lincoln is the hearing of the last public address he made from the portico of the White House to the delegation from Louisiana on the subject of the principles which would guide him in reconstructing the Southern States, when they would again take their places in the Union.

Every one now admitted the collapse of the Confederacy, and the address of President Lincoln breathed such a spirit of conciliation and kindness as to show how their return would be welcomed by him. Unhappily he was not fated to see accomplished the re-union of the States he had so ardently longed for, but was stricken down by the bullet of an assassin and died a martyr's death on April 14th, 1865. I was not present at the time of his assassination and had only the melancholy honor of watching his dead body for twenty-four hours after his death.

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS ON GUARD OVER THE BODY OF PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Just as vividly as if it were yesterday, do I remember the night on which President Lincoln was shot.

It should be remembered that there were many rumors current, towards the close of the war, of plots to assassinate President Lincoln, among many others, Mr. Ward H. Lamon was especially anxious on his account.

On the eve of his departure for Richmond, he urged upon Mr. Usher, the Secretary of the Interior, to persuade Mr. Lincoln to exercise extreme caution, and to go out as little as possible while he was absent. Mr. Usher went with him to see Mr. Lincoln, and when about to leave he asked him if he would make him a promise. He asked what it was, and said that he thought he could venture to say he would. He wanted him to promise that he would not go out after night, especially to the theatre. The President turned to Mr. Usher and said: "Usher, this boy is a monomaniac on the subject of my safety. I can hear him,

or hear of his being around at all times of the night to prevent somebody from murdering me. He thinks I shall be killed, and we think he is going crazy." He then added, "What does any one want to assassinate me for? If any one wants to do so, he can do it any night or day, if he is ready to give his life for mine. It is nonsense."

Mr. Usher then said, "Mr. Lincoln, it is well to listen and give heed to Lamon. He is thrown among people that give him opportunities to know more about such matters than we can know. He then renewed his request, standing with his hat in his hand, ready to start.

"Well," said Mr. Lincoln, "I promise to do the best I can towards it." He then shook him cordially by the hand and said, "Good-bye, God bless you, Hill!" That was the last time he ever saw his friend.

The night of the 14th of April, 1865, was a chilly, misty, foggy evening of early spring. I was on duty at that time as Surgeon-in-Chief of the defenses north of the Potomac, which were under the command of General M. D. Hardin.

About 11 p. m. on the above date I was hastily summoned by General Hardin to the Headquarters of the Defenses, 19th and Pennsylvania Avenue, with the news that President Lincoln had been assassinated at Ford's Theatre.

Dreary was the time we passed at Headquarters that night. The spirit of murder seemed to be in the very air and the wildest rumors were prevalent. At one time we heard that Vice President Johnson, Secretary Stanton and General Grant had been murdered. Then rumors came that other members of the Cabinet had been attacked, followed by the news which we speedily authenticated of the wounding of Secretary Seward and the members of his household. Men looked at each other in dismay, wondering what dreadful news we would hear next.

The troops in the city of Washington were all under arms that night, no one knowing what military exigency might arise requiring their services. President Lincoln was carried from Ford's Theatre on Tenth Street, near E, where he had been shot, to a house immediately opposite, which is now used as a Museum of Relics of Abraham Lincoln. During all the night Surgeon-

General Barnes, Dr. Stone, Colonel Crane, Assistant Surgeons Woodward, Curtis and Netson, Acting Assistant Surgeon Taft, and others, endeavored to give such medical assistance as was possible, but without avail. President Lincoln was wounded at 10:30 p. m., April 14, 1865, and died at 7:22 a. m. April 15, 1865.

The body of President Lincoln was then removed from the house opposite Ford's Theatre to the north room of the second story of the White House. On Sunday, April 16, 1865, I was ordered with two other Staff Officers to accompany General Hardin for duty in guarding the body of our martyred President. We reported for duty at 6 p. m., Sunday, April 16th, 1865. General De Russy, with three of his Staff Officers, was also detailed for this service, and we remained on duty during the twenty-four hours ending at 6 p. m. on Monday, April 17, 1865. Our chief duty during this day was the conducting of the Members of the Cabinet and Senators with their wives to view the remains of the murdered President. It was a most affecting and painful scene. I well remember the unfeigned grief displayed by Mrs. Stanton, and especially of Secretary Stanton. The tears streamed down his cheeks as he looked on the body of his old friend and companion who had shared with him the dreadful burdens imposed upon them of our great Civil War.

It was especially noticeable to us all who were present, for Secretary Stanton was habitually so stern a man, that we, in common with all other Army Officers, scarcely believed it possible for him to shed a tear. It is hard for those who never saw the War Secretary to give an idea of how much he was dreaded by Army Officers, as well as the clerks and other employees of the War Department. I happened once to follow him as he entered the Old War Department Building, located on 17th Street near C, as he passed through the long hall which ran from east to west along the length of the building, to his room—not a clerk nor employee could be seen. On seeing him approach, every officer and clerk would dart into their rooms, which ran off on either side of the hall, and would remain there safely ensconced until he had passed and was in his private office.

The reason of this was that the dreadful wear and tear upon his nervous system by the multitudinous cares and anxieties of

our great struggle, had made his temper so uncertain and irritable that he was a terror to all around him. He was, I believe, an eminently just man, but often acted so hastily and on the impulse of the moment, that he many times committed acts of great injustice. Woe be to any officer or employee whom he thought had committed any offence, or worse still, had neglected any duty. The glare he gave to offenders through those spectacles of his made them tremble, and with him, it was too often, punish first and inquire afterwards. A striking illustration of this was seen during his visit to the room in which the President's body was laid. The two Brigadier Generals, Hardin and De Russy, would some times while away the hours of their vigil by going out, leaving us to watch until their return. Fortunately, however, they were both present when the dreadful Secretary of War came in. I heard one of them whisper to the other as they saw him coming: "I am mighty glad we are both here."

During the evening of our watch and the whole of the day following, there was a continuous stream of mourning visitors to the room. These included almost all the eminent statesmen and politicians of that famous era in the history of our Republic.

Among the visitors on Monday morning were two Quaker ladies,—one of them a Quaker Missionary, whose name I can not recall, broke out into one of the most sublime extemporaneous prayers I have ever heard. With tears streaming down her face she blessed the memory of our departed President, and implored the guidance of the Great Jehovah for our country in this its hour of trial and sorrow.

I had often seen the tall and ungainly figure of President Lincoln during life, and gazed upon his homely, quaint and quizzical face, but I had the opportunity for the first time, to carefully examine the contour of his head and body. There was a massiveness and grandeur in the proportions of the head and face, and indeed, of all the parts of his body, which was very striking on close examination. In my opinion, all the busts and statues of him that I have ever seen in this respect, fail to do him justice. The statue of him in front of our City Hall in Washington, by Vinnie Ream, is in my judgment, a regular caricature, and should be forthwith removed.

I examined the wound of President Lincoln carefully. The pistol ball fired by the assassin entered the left side of the back part of the skull, one inch to the left of its centre, and passing forward in an oblique direction towards the right side of the brain, lodged immediately behind the ball of the right eye. Of course this wound was necessarily mortal, and no human skill could do more than slightly delay the inevitable death.

I may here say, that I possess as one of my choicest treasures, some of President Lincoln's hair, which I secured that day in a somewhat irregular manner. Many locks of the President's hair had been cut off for his family, and I had very urgently pleaded for one of them, but to no avail.

One of the Generals, who was present, however, noticed that in cutting off the hair one of the locks had dropped on the floor and had remained unnoticed. He said to me, "Doctor, I can't give you any of the President's hair, but I see a lock of it has dropped upon the floor and if you capture it, I shall make no objection." You may be sure I seized upon the precious relic at once, and if I committed larceny on that occasion, it is one sin that has never burdened my conscience.

And now in conclusion, let me say, that deeply lamenting, as all did, the great loss the Nation sustained, yet my belief is, that his death was a happy one. Suddenly stricken down by the hand of an assassin, as he was, there was no expression of pain on that placid face. How many great statesmen and warriors have lived long enough to dull the brightness of their early glories by the errors and mistakes of their later years.

Nothing like this can be said of him. He died in the zenith of his glory, with the citizens of our whole country, yea with even the Nations and the Peoples of the whole world for his mourners. A man can die but once. What more glorious death can a man die than this, to leave a memory that will be embalmed in the affections of every lover of freedom till time shall be no more.

Governor Pennyacker.:—We thank the speakers for their interesting addresses, we thank the representatives of the Press for their presence, we thank you all for your earnest attention and we thank the ladies, who, after all, are the best. By request, we will now sing the Doxology then go to our respective homes.

The meeting adjourned after the singing of the Doxology.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The second session of the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National Republican League, was held at 10 A. M., June 18th.

The meeting was called to order by President Moore.



GUSTAVE BACHARACH

The President: A half century ago to-day there stood in this Hall in a convention which nominated John C. Fremont of California, for President, (applause) and William M. Dayton of New Jersey, for Vice President, (applause) a young man who represented with other delegates the Commonwealth of Rhode Island. He was then fired with the patriotic spirit that held amongst the great Republicans of this country and during the busy years of a busy life between educating the youth of this country and founding Colleges in New

York and at Harper's Ferry, he has lost none of his enthusiasm. He is here to-day to offer the invocation—The Rev. George K. Ball, D.D., of Keuka, N. Y.

PRAYER BY DR. BALL.

Ever blessed, ever present, ever helpful God, Our Father, with gratitude of heart we come into Thy presence to thank Thee that the spirit of '76 and '56 still continues to work in human hearts and finds inspiration at this Jubilee gathering, at this centre which has gone out again and again and again to proclaim the liberty of human rights and human privileges. We thank Thee, our God, for the loyal men who gave shape to this Republican Government. We thank Thee for the brave spirited men who rushed to the rescue when this government was endangered and stood by their proclamation and their claim for human rights

during the four years of bloody strife and by Thy blessing established righteousness and liberty and truth on this continent and bided forever as a light for all the nations of the earth. We pray Thee, oh, Our Father, that Thy blessing may rest upon us and that this Jubilee occasion may give a new inspiration to this foundation and ideas of human rights and human privileges which has thus far been vouchsafed in our national history in times of adversity and in times of victory and wisdom and administrative power. We pray Thee that from this meeting, from this Jubilee occasion shall go forth through all our land an inspiration that shall give courage and strength to every true heart that prefers righteousness to profit, that prefers justice to fame or wealth; and grant, we pray Thee, that from this city and from this meeting, from this Jubilee occasion, that the brave, the progressive, clear-sighted wise men that are working for progress and improvement may gain strength and inspiration and that in every state and in every community of the United States may be felt the quickening life and strengthening purpose and inspiring courage qualifying the eye of the understanding and opening the way for a higher and still higher development of the loyal principles underlying this great Republic. And we pray Thee that especially the influence may be felt for the encouragement and inspiration of those assembled at Washington for the administration of our Government and the encouragement and comfort of the loyal man who stands at the head of the nation in his great battle for clearing out the wrong and purging out the evil and establishing purity, and cleanliness, and righteousness and order and equality in all the lines of our national activity, so that this nation may grow up unfettered, and stand still more clearly as a light to all the nations of the earth. We pray for Thy blessing upon the officers and upon all who are here assembled and upon all whose sympathies are centered in this great endeavor to press onward to the highest accomplishment and realization of Christian civilization among this great people. We pray Thee and adore Thee and serve Thee for Thy glory and the blessing and help of humanity, now and forever, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord, Amen.

(Dr. Ball's prayer was reverently listened to in silence, and a few moments after it was finished it was gently applauded.)

The President: In order that the Convention may be properly organized, I desire to announce the appointment as Sergeant-at-Arms of Gustav Bacharach, of Philadelphia. Mr. Bacharach will co-operate with the Chairman of the Musical Fund Hall Committee, Mr. John Virdin, of Philadelphia, who will have the following assistants. The Secretary will please read the names of the assistants.

COMMITTEE ON MUSICAL FUND HALL.

JOHN VIRDIN, Chairman	CHAS. E. PRESTON
WM. C. K. WALLS	CHAS. R. DIETZ
JAS. G. CALDWELL	BENJ. BERRY
JAS. B. CRAIGHEAD	GEO. W. SUNDERLAND
JOSEPH CALL	EDW. A. DEVLIN
EDW. C. BAXTER	HARRY MAKWER
CHRIS. FUHRMAN	JAS. L. GOULD
JOHN H. FULMER	A. C. LOGAN
J. AUG. SHERN	FRED. KOENIG
EDW. SHELLENBERGER	WM. H. SHORT
SAM'L ATMORE	WM. CORNELL
JOHN R. GORDON	JAS. A. HUMPHREYS
DR. WM. C. T. BAUERLE	B. D. McCAUGHN
SAM'L YEO	CHRIST SHILLOW
GEO. W. B. HICKS	WM. H. OTT
	FRANK W. WILLIAMS

The President: The Secretary of the Convention, Mr. Weeks, will now read the call.

PRESIDENT'S HEADQUARTERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., April 10th, 1906.

To all Republican State and Territorial Leagues, Delegates and Alternates

In conformity with Article VII of the Constitution and in compliance with the action of the Executive Committee recently had at St. Louis, notice is hereby given that the next Biennial Convention of the National Republican League will be held in the City of Philadelphia on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the First National Republican Convention, June 17th, 18th and 19th, 1906; the first business session to open in Musical Fund Hall, the historic structure in which the first National Republican Convention met, Locust Street West of Eighth, at 10 o'clock promptly, Monday morning, June 18th.

The attention of officers of State and Territorial Leagues is called to Article XIII of the Constitution which, among other things, provides

"It shall be the duty of the officers of each State, Territorial League and American College League, to call a Convention at least once in two years for the purpose of electing officers and delegates to the next National League Convention, and transact such other business as may properly come before the Convention.

"It shall be the duty of the Secretaries of the State and Territorial Leagues and the American College League to furnish to the National Secretary a true and complete list of all clubs belonging to and affiliated with said League on or before the first day of June each year."

Names of delegates and alternates must, in compliance with the President's ruling, be reported to the Secretary at Philadelphia at least five days in advance of the Convention, to wit: before the close of Monday, June 11th, 1906. A prompt observance of this rule will facilitate the distribution of badges, tickets and local courtesies, to visitors entitled to them.

The Headquarters of the National League Officers in Philadelphia, will be at the Hotel Walton, Broad and Locust Streets, where the Secretary or his representative, will be in attendance from June 11th to the close of the convention.

Address all official correspondence to P. O. Box No. 2, Philadelphia.

Respectfully,

J. HAMPTON MOORE,

President.

ATTEST:—E. W. WEEKS, Secretary.

NOTE—Through the courtesy of the Allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia and vicinity a special circular is enclosed herewith, giving necessary information concerning hotel accommodations, transportation rates, &c. Inquiries for further information may be sent direct to the Allied Republican Clubs, Perry Building, Philadelphia.

The President: The Chair desires to announce the appointment as Assistant Secretaries to Mr. Weeks, of Mr. C. Philip Waters of Little Rock, Arkansas, Harry W. Keely, Secretary to the Pennsylvania State League. These gentlemen will help in the matter of supplying tickets, badges and general information. I desire at this time that the Secretary read a letter, which has just been received. The following letter from the President of the United States, was read:

"My Dear Mr. Moore:

"I wish I could be present with you at the Golden Jubilee

convention of the National Republican League, but as that is impossible, will you convey to the delegates present my most hearty greetings and my earnest hope that the National Republican League will have the same success in the future that it has had in the past, and will be able to continue without check its work for good government?



ROBERT OSEORNE, JR.
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON FRE-
MONT VOTERS

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

(The letter was received with cheers and a call for three cheers, which were enthusiastically given.)

The President: You have heard the letter of the President. Do you think we should send him a message of greeting from the National Convention?

Mr. Spielman, of Ohio: I move that a message of greeting be extended to the President of the United States through the President of the National League of Republican Clubs.

A delegate from Missouri, Mr. Rimmel, seconded the motion which was carried. The following telegram was sent to the President.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C.:

Officers and delegates to the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National Republican League are grateful to you for your cordial greetings and sincerely regret your inability to join in our celebration.

The spirit of Fremont and of Lincoln still lives, and we congratulate you on your own splendid championship of the basic Republican principles of 1856 and 1906.

J. HAMPTON MOORE.

The Chairman:—We have another communication here which I will ask the Secretary to read.

Secretary Weeks read the following telegram from Postmaster General George B. Cortelyou.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore, President National Republican League, Philadelphia, Pa.:

I regret exceedingly that I shall be unable to attend the Golden Jubilee Convention. Please convey to the members of the National Republican League and allied organizations my congratulations and best wishes for their prosperity. May they continue worthily to follow the standard of the great party whose principles and policies have been for over half a century among the greatest factors in our moral and material development.

GEORGE B. CORTELYOU

Mr. Remmel, of Arkansas moved that the greeting of this Convention be extended to the Postmaster General and Chairman of our National Republican Committee, in response to this letter through the officers of the National League of Republican Clubs.

Mr. Albus, of Missouri, seconded the motion. Carried.

The following reply was sent.

Hon. George B. Cortelyou, Washington, D. C.:

Republicans participating in the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National Republican League acknowledge your cordial greetings and regret your inability to personally join in our enthusiastic celebration of the Republican party's official organization in 1856.

J. HAMPTON MOORE.

The President: I want to announce at this time that owing to some oversight the standard of the District of Columbia was not in the room earlier in the session, but if you will cast your eyes to the left of the hall you will see that a standard has now been provided.

I want also to announce that the delegates from the State of Delaware have just come in, and are under their banner. It is customary upon occasions of this kind to select one of the strong men of the community to deliver an address of welcome. We have been honored this morning by the presence of one of the foremost of Philadelphia's citizens, who has been selected by the

people of this city not only to extend to visitors the hand of welcome, but the shield of protection. I have pleasure in introducing His Honor, John Weaver, Mayor of Philadelphia.

Mayor Weaver was then introduced and concluded his address of welcome as follows:

"As Chief Magistrate of this city I greet you and bid you welcome, and the freedom of the city is yours. Its keys, symbolically, are in your hands. The people of Philadelphia, through me, wish you every enjoyment, a pleasant stay and a safe return to your homes when this celebration is over."

The President: I now take great pleasure in introducing to you the Ex-Secretary of the National League, Mr. Andrew G. Humphrey, of New York, who will respond to the Mayor.

ADDRESS BY MR. ANDREW G. HUMPHREY.

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Veterans of 1856 and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I regret very much that the gentleman selected for this duty has been detained and could not be here in time. I have been called in as a Minute Man without many minutes to prepare a response, but as a Minute Man and as a League man I am glad to respond even though I may not be able to do justice to the occasion. We come back, in response to the Mayor's address, to the Mecca of Republicanism, and to say it is a double pride and joy that we see these veterans on the platform, standing as we do under the shade of the old Liberty Bell, sitting as we are to-day in the very heart of the Republican Government. We come back to the Ark of the Covenant to take up a new battle which you started fifty years ago. We pledge to you, the patriots of 1856, to carry your banners, and we will pledge to take up the banners which you held up, and carry them on and on and, so help us, God! we will stand by them and by the principles of the Republican party which you started, no matter who stands in the way. We are not here to eulogize individuals; we are not here to exalt our personal interests; we come here in the spirit of the fathers to put our hands upon the altar and to renew the pledge that this being the home where the Republican Party was nominated for human liberty there shall go forth

from this Convention a new cry that liberty shall not only be "proclaimed throughout the earth, but that it shall be continued throughout the United States. (Applause.) And that every



ZIBA T. MOORE
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON WIL-
LOW GROVE

citizen born under its Constitution with all its rights and privileges shall be protected not only abroad, but at home, (applause) and his rights and her rights (and God bless the women of the United States) shall be protected. Mr. Chairman, I do not need to tell Philadelphia or Philadelphians or this Convention how much we appreciate coming back to this "cradle of liberty." I belong to the hills of old Tompkins County, New York, and in this county, where I spent so many happy years of my life we have what we call a "Home-coming Week" once a year, when all who have left come back to renew their youth and

their acquaintance and their faith in each other and their faith in humanity. We come back in the same spirit to the old home here of our fathers, and I come back with particular reverence, because standing where I now stand there stood, fifty years ago, a man for whom I have a warm feeling; one who, of the scores of names on this first call placed his name there and who was in this Convention—I have reference to John C. Field, of Old Kentucky, who stood in this place. I thank God that for three years it was my privilege to sit at his feet and imbibe the spirit of the Convention of 1856. (Applause.) It is not only in the names of these delegates but in the name of those who have gone before that we pledge to you what this nation shall do or will be, and let this be the beginning of a new revival of Republican sentiment that shall fill the whole United States with an enthusiasm that shall carry out the doctrines and the principles of the Republican Party. (Applause.) I appreciate Philadelphia. I do not forget that the first local Republican Convention was held in Pittsburg, but the first National Republican Convention was held in

this city and in this hall, and the Declaration of Independence was signed in this city and this is the cradle of liberty and the old home of the Republican Party. And I do not forget that a woman's hand made the first national flag and placed it before George Washington in this City of Philadelphia, on Arch Street. (Applause.) and I say all honor to Old Glory. We come back to Philadelphia to pay our respect to the city that has all these honors and to the old Philadelphia, which means brotherly love. We accept the hospitalities of Philadelphia in the same spirit in which they are extended, and we believe from this hour there will go forth a new glory for Philadelphia in her having held the National Republican League Convention of 1906. (Applause.)

The President: We have one of those unusual pleasures this morning, the presence of a former President of the National Republican League, a modest man, a retiring man, but a forceful one in a fight. I take great pleasure in introducing to you the former Adjutant General of New York State and former President of the National Republican League, General E. A. McAlpin.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL MCALPIN.

Mr. President, Delegates and Brother Republicans:

This is one on me. "In times of peace prepare for war."

I had no idea that I was to have this honor. I am not prepared for it, but with all the enthusiasm we had yesterday and all the dear friends of the glorious old Republican Party, is there one in our number here to-day that could fail? (Applause.) I can say that my spirit and heart jumped yesterday and it has been jumping ever since, when these glorious old path-finders marched down that aisle and up the centre of this hall—a glorious procession (applause and cheers). When I thought how they had set that pace, that we have carried for fifty years, the tears came to my eyes. Do you



JOHN MC CLINTOCK, JR.
SOLICITOR A. R. C.

realize, brother Republicans, the responsibility that has been thrust upon you? Look at these gray hairs and stooped shoulders; look at the countenances of these old heroes. You talk about a civil war and four years of blood-shed. Do you realize for one moment what those men have shouldered for fifty years? Can you to-day shirk your duty and lay down the responsibility that has been received by you? Consider well your position. Consider well the old standard that has been so nobly protected for the last fifty years. Now, I know there is much more to be said, but this request, this honor conferred on me to speak to you, was like a thunder clap from a clear sky, and I had no idea of it, for, if I had, I would have come here, perhaps prepared and you would then have been very glad to see me go off the stage. However, I congratulate you, fellow delegates and I congratulate you, Mr. Moore, as President of this Republican League upon what you have done for us in this great Convention. (Cheers and long continued applause.)

The President: I have a treat for you this morning, brother delegates. One of the "Old Guard" is here to speak to you upon a subject in which you are interested. We didn't get a chance to put him upon the platform yesterday afternoon. He has come from the grave of the Path-finder; he is interested and his heart bleeds for the cause. He will be interesting to us, friends of the old guard upon the platform; and he will be interesting to you, gentlemen of the Convention. I have pleasure in introducing to you a representative of the "Old Guard" of Brooklyn, Dr. Samuel S. Wallian.

ADDRESS BY SAMUEL S. WALLIAN.

Mr. Chairman: Comrades, Veterans, Fellow Republicans, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In behalf of the Fremont Old Guard of Greater New York, which appointed me a Committee to locate and report upon the condition of the "Path-finder's" grave, who made me in other words a Grave finder, I beg to state that his ashes lie on the banks of the Hudson, in what is called the "Third Plateau" of Rockland Cemetery, above Piermont, on the Northern R. R. of New Jersey twenty-eight miles above New York.

Just why this remote, yet very sightly spot was selected as his place of sepulture is not quite clear. Years ago an effort was made to erect a suitable monument, but beyond the laying of a foundation nothing was accomplished.

The usual cast iron star of the G. A. R. is now the only mark by which the grave can be identified. The inurned ashes of his illustrious wife, Jessie Benton, are now in the vicinity, awaiting final action as to some suitable identification of her husband's body.

You are not here to listen to any long array of dry statistics, therefore I present a very brief sketch of the man whose deeds we celebrate and whose character we revere, from his cradle in South Carolina to his modest and unmarked grave on the crest of the Palisades. My little offering is entitled

JOHN C. FREMONT—A PROTEST AND A PLEA.

“The evil that men do lives after them; the good
Is oft interred with their bones.”

Born in 1813, an orphan at five, in college at fifteen, a teacher at twenty, an instructor in mathematics, on board a sloop of war, at twenty-one, on which he made a cruise to South America.

This is a rapid sketch of the early career of our subject.

On his return from South America he turned his attention to civil engineering, for which he was eminently fitted, by both nature and education.

He first explored and surveyed the mountains of South Carolina and Tennessee; then the extensive region lying between the Missouri river and the British possessions. He accomplished this difficult task with such thoroughness and fidelity that he was appointed a Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers.

Eager for further conquests, he proposed to the Government a plan for the exploration of the Rocky Mountains, at that time a terra incognita. His plan was approved, and he was commissioned to proceed with the undertaking. In 1842, with a few picked men, he set out on this arduous, and at that time dangerous, enterprise. No white man's foot had ever traversed the region. Hostile tribes beset his way. Buffalo, antelope and wild horses roamed the endless plains. Grizzlies, the fierce mountain lion, the savage

gray wolves resented his intrusion, and skulked along his rugged path. He halted at nothing. He overcame all obstacles. He sought a passage, through which the covetous wheels of commerce could find their way to the Pacific Coast. In locating the Great South Pass he virtually broke the backbone of the Continent. He was the John the Baptist of the Great West. He thus made trans-continental railways possible; and while he thoroughly noted every practical and commercial point, in connection with his work, he did not neglect its scientific features. He carefully determined the geography, geology, botany, meteorology, and even the principal astronomical facts, and special features, together with a preliminary estimate of the mineralogical wealth of the regions traversed. Never before had such comprehensive and thoroughly accurate work been accomplished, in this, or any other country. He paved the way for the later millions of more hesitant pioneers, who have since peopled that vast realm, who have wrenched from its mountain ledges their inexhaustible hoard of precious metals, and transformed its fertile, but parched and primitive valleys into fields of grain, orchards of fruit, producers of milk and honey, of corn and wine; of herds of neat cattle, and flocks of grazing sheep.

He not only blazed the way for the iron horse, and for all the teeming results that follow in its wake, he also selected and indicated the strategical sites for future forts and supply stations, from the Missouri River to the Bay of San Francisco. This he did with such wise discrimination that his selections have never been improved upon or superseded.

In 1845, acting under authority, he drove the straggling Mexican troopers and lawless marauders out of Upper California, planted the American flag, over soil that had hitherto known only despotic rule, and promptly planned other and more ambitious explorations.

He traversed unknown stretches of desert, scaled numerous mountain chains, located the monster groves and promising valleys of Alta California, traced the winding Sacramento, the wider sweep of the San Joaquin, the lovely Santa Clara, the matchless trees of Mariposa, the dizzy depths of the Yosemite, the glorious Golden Gate, the landlocked Bay of San Francisco, the lofty

mountain peaks,—Diablo, Shasta, Hood, modest Tamalpais, and the thousand hills about the Bay, that then were bathed in perpetual sunshine and oppressive silence, but now are swarming with a busy and pushing populace, athrill with the whir of wheels, of puffing engines, and with the songs of happy orchardmen and artisans, at their tasks.

How well he earned the title of "Path-finder!" And every path he pointed out has become a Pathway of Progress, an Avenue of Peace, a Highway of Happiness.

His genius in his chosen field, his broad intelligence, and his unconquerable courage did not fail of due appreciation. Foreign nations knighted him. Baron Humboldt praised his scientific accomplishments, and in 1846 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and appointed Commandant and Civil Governor of California. While serving in this capacity he proved his diplomatic ability by consummating a treaty with Mexico, through which we acquired territory whose wide area exceeds that of all New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined.

In 1847 he purchased the wonderful Mariposa estate, on which he settled in 1849, only to be wronged of its title a little later on.

When the Nestor of the United States Senate, Thomas H. Benton, refused him the hand of his brilliant daughter, Jessie, he promptly turned Othello, and took her, nolens volens. The irate Senator was baffled; and when in after years, the eloping Lieutenant had earned his laurels, and his august father-in-law was asked his more mature opinion of the runaway match and its sequel, with a proud and relenting paternal smile, he replied: "Well, it turns out that Jessie was a better judge of human nature than her father."

The spirit of adventure never left him. In 1853 he set out on his fifth expedition across the Continent; but this time without the aid of a Governmental Commission. It proved the most hazardous of all his undertakings; but he dared every danger, and while he suffered untold privations, and barely escaped actual starvation, he again demonstrated his ability to deal with the impossible. But for his iron will, and his iron constitution, his bones, and those of all his companions, would have been left to

bleach under the blazing sun of the treeless, trackless and inhospitable American Desert.

This brings us to the experiences of 1856, with which you are all more or less familiar.

The unanimity with which he was then nominated is ample evidence of his wide popularity with the masses. His unselfish devotion to the service of his country, his invaluable contributions to the material wealth of the nation, and to the world's store of general scientific knowledge, made his fame international and cosmopolitan.

At the outbreak of the Rebellion he hurried back from abroad and tendered his services to the Government. He was placed in command of the Department of the West, and although himself a Southerner by birth, with no instinctive aversion to slavery, he at once perceived that if the South won it would be through the direct, even if unwilling aid of its slave population. Accordingly, he took the bull by the horns, and issued a Proclamation, to the effect that as fast as he could reach them he should declare the bondmen of open secessionists forever free. The conservatives of the country stood aghast at the innovation, and set up such a howl of remonstrance that the cautious and conservative President revoked the Proclamation and recalled Fremont. He had not long to wait for his complete vindication, which culminated in Lincoln's reluctantly signed yet immortal Emancipation Proclamation. Fremont was right, simply because he had foresight, was prescient, and had the courage of his convictions. Tardy history will in the end reiterate the old truism, that it is always better to be right than President. It was not his incompetency that caused his recall, but the incompetency of a Secretary of War, over whose lapses it is better that we draw a generous mantle of charity and forgetfulness. If any descendant of Peacemaker, Penn, resents this revival of a humiliating episode, or denies that it was the luke-warmness and political jealousy of that same brief-time Secretary, whose plain English name was Simon,—another Saul of Tarsus—that lost the vote of Pennsylvania, therefore the national election, in 1856, let him console himself as best he can, by a frank admission that while the statement is not pleasant reading, it is very good political history!

In '78 Fremont was appointed Governor of Arizona, and served his term with distinction.

In a word, his was a life of intense activity, of noble effort, and of constant self-denial. Whatever his country asked of him, that it received in fullest measure.

And yet, comrades, fellow citizens, and members of the National League of Republicans, the body of this illustrious patriot, Presidential candidate and "Path-finder" sleeps to-day, anonymous;" the ashes of this hero of a life-time of unselfish service to his country lie buried in an unmarked and almost unknown grave, beside the Hudson, on the crest of the upper Palisades, where only complaining wildbirds, and the wandering winds of heaven sing to him sad requiems, that he can not hear!

Where is the Government, which, years before the death of his devoted wife took for its own use, Fremont's estate, for which to this day it has persistently failed to make any compensation, thus adding outright extortion and virtued fraud to its already dishonored account with the dead hero and his loyal wife?

Where are his political friends, and the party to which his clean character, and manly methods of campaigning gave initial impulse and permanent prestige?

Where is the Grand Army of the Republic, of which he was an honored comrade, and which has ample funds in its Post treasuries, set apart for the care of its disabled, and to provide suitable monuments to mark their last resting places, when they finally fall by the wayside?

Where are the people, the everyday people, who are not too busy, nor too penurious to set up statues of hundreds of lesser heroes, even of men who were notorious self-seekers, and were unworthy to unloose the shoes of him we celebrate?

Again I say, where is the Republican Party, with its millions of stalwart supporters, each of whom would be only too willing to contribute his mite towards the reasonable, if tardy recognition of our dead hero's fame?

It needs but a word of initiative, an earnest leader, to say to willing hearts, and open hands, *here is a way.*

Who will give to this movement its needed impulse?

Shall the freed spirit of Fremont still longer look down on that unmarked mound of earth, at Piermont, and say:

“Yea, anything on earth, in hell or heaven,
Rather than lie a nameless clod forgot,
Letting stern Time in triumph forward tramp
Above my tombless and neglected dust?”

The President: The Chair recognizes General E. A. McAlpin, of New York.

GENERAL McALPIN: I move that a Committee be appointed by the President to act on these suggestions read by Dr. Wallian. I believe it is only right that the Republican League should take up this matter to restore the grave where lie the remains of General John C. Fremont, the Path-finder.

MR. REMMEL, OF ARKANSAS: Mr. President, I wish to second that motion. I am glad that our representative from the State of my nativity has made that motion. I had risen for the purpose of saying that while listening to that patriotic, that noble paper, that appeal to the people of the United States and to this Convention, that the time had come, fifty years after John C. Fremont was the leader of the Republican Party of the United States, that his neglected grave should have a monument placed over it; and I, as a citizen of Arkansas, subscribe \$25.00 towards that movement. However, I want to amend the motion that one member of that Committee shall be the President of this League, Mr. J. Hampton Moore, who has done so much to bring the attention of the people to this neglected grave. (Applause.)

The President: The attention of the country has been called to this neglected grave by the Old Fremont Guard.

MR. SEABURY, OF NEW YORK: Mr. President, while it is a very beneficent act upon the part of the delegate from Arkansas to subscribe \$25.00 as a personal matter and as an individual subscription, I hope that the Committee having this in charge will make it a national matter entirely. Let us do it as Americans and not by separate subscription. (Applause.)

The President: The motion by General McAlpin, seconded

by Mr. Remmel and Mr. Seabury is that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair to take into consideration the suggestion made in the paper of Dr. Wallian to provide a monument and place it over the grave of General John C. Fremont.

(After the Chair had announced the motion as seconded it was put to the Convention, and unanimously carried.)

The President: I desire to present to you a prominent and respected citizen of Philadelphia, Mr. Joshua L. Bailey.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOSHUA L. BAILEY.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: This takes me by surprise. I was very glad to show myself and put myself into the ranks of those who were in the campaign of 1856. It was my privilege to be present in this hall at that time to assist in the nomination of John C. Fremont. I remember very well that in the procession which passed through this city I rode on horseback and in the midst of my enthusiasm as I passed over the streets in the lower part of the city my interest was punctuated by a slight accident. When John C. Fremont returned to Philadelphia from one of his expeditions to the Northwest he brought with him an Indian, a member of the Flat-Head tribe, and he was placed under my care to be educated. I raised the money that paid for his education and at the end of a certain period placed him in the hands of John C. Fremont, who returned him to his native tribe in Oregon. I am very glad to-day to add a word in commendation of the resolution which has just been passed here and I hope it will be promptly acted upon, and that a proper monument will be placed over the neglected grave of John C. Fremont, and then it shall no longer be said, in this instance at least, that Republics are ungrateful. (Applause.)



EDWARD W. BUCHHOLZ
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON EN-
TERTAINMENT

The President announced that the Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, Mr. Buchholz and the Chairman of the Transportation Committee, Mr. Bacharach, would look after the wants of delegates who need their help, and would further announce the programme for the rest of the sessions of the Convention.

President Moore also requested Mr. James B. Dayton, of New Jersey, son of the first Vice Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, who represented the State of New Jersey on the floor of the Convention as a delegate, to come to the platform. Mr. Dayton, as announced by President Moore, modestly requested to be permitted to remain on the floor of the convention.

By order of the President, the following telegrams and communications were read by Secretary Weeks:

LETTER FROM VICE PRESIDENT FAIRBANKS.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE

I very much regret my inability to join with you in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the first National Republican Convention.

The event is one which appeals strongly to every friend of liberty and good government within the limits of the Republic. Republicans may take a special pride in celebrating the anniversary of the year when the standard of Republicanism was placed in the hands of the great Path-finder, the pioneer in many political contests in which the Republican party has resolutely stood for national union, wholesome laws and rational administration.

The fifty years which have come and gone since General Fremont was nominated embrace mighty events in the United States and throughout the world, but nowhere has more been accomplished than in the great Republic for the advancement of justice and righteousness among men.

In all the fifty years which have passed, the Republican party has done very much to enlarge the field of human liberty and lay securely the foundations of sound national development. It has met great exigencies and it has met them with superb courage and with profound wisdom. It has met them on the high plane of national duty and national honor. It stood by the union in the midst of the tempest and has promoted the enactment of beneficent laws in times of peace. Its tenure in public administration has been without parallel in the history of parties. This has not been due to any mere accident but is owing to the fact that it has been the steadfast advocate of policies which were sound and in the fullest degree essential to the national advance.

A party to win political victories must first of all deserve to win them.

Parties are but agencies to promote the interests of the people and so long as they serve well the people, they will receive their sanction and support. Parties, like individuals, to win success must possess exalted ideals and adhere to them with unflinching fidelity through good and evil report.

The Republican party has always been a sound thinker. It has been a conservative party. It has stood with intelligent firmness for the conservation of the interests of both labor and capital. It has never sought to win success by descending to demagogic appeal or the advocacy of measures which did not have the sanction of its most profound and mature judgment.

It has been fortunate in its great leaders. Fremont and Lincoln, Grant and Hayes, Garfield and Elaine, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt, superbly bore its banner in great national contests. Men of high purpose and stalwart Americanism, they each and all thoroughly consecrated themselves to the public service. Under their inspiration we have gone from victory to victory, lifting the country to a higher level of social, commercial and national development.



J. LEE PATTON,
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON
ORGANIZATION CITY COMMITTEE

We were never greater at home and never more respected among the nations of the world than we are to-day. The great leaders of fifty years ago, in the farthest reach of their imagination, could not have foreseen the present measure of our strength and our matchless national glory.

There is much work for the Republican party to do. It will go forward with high resolution. It will go forward meeting well the new duties which from time to time rest upon it, inspired by the illustrious deeds of those who have wrought so well in the past and by all the hallowed memories and splendid traditions of the past fifty years. It will go forward in the accomplishment of new victories and in the winning of new glories for home and for country.

With best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, President National Republican League,
Philadelphia, Pa.

The following reply was sent.

HON. CHAS. W. FAIRBANKS, U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Golden Jubilee Convention of the National Republican League acknowledges with thanks your very patriotic and cordial letter and regrets you are unable to be present.

J. HAMPTON MOORE.

FROM SPEAKER CANNON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 19, 1906.

J. HAMPTON MOORE, UNION LEAGUE CLUB, PHILADELPHIA, PA

I regret that I cannot join the National Republican League, in celebrating the Golden Anniversary of the Republican Party. Under the leadership of that party the people of the Republic have made progress in fifty years, which if you measure time by events is more than in many centuries of the history of the race. The preservation of the Union, the economic and fiscal policy of the Republican party from '61, to the present time has made it, first, in production; first in wealth; first in prosperity, and first in just compensation for all kinds of endeavor, among all the Nations of the World. A continuance of the policy under which these great results have been accomplished will lead to greater accomplishments and greater good to all the people in the next fifty years than has been realized in the last fifty years. While we rejoice over the accomplishments under the leadership of this party in the past, let us, from the standpoint of practical achievement hold fast to those policies in the present.

J. G. CANNON.

MERCHANTS AND TRAVELERS ASSOCIATION.

N. E. COR. THIRTEENTH AND MARKET STS.

PHILADELPHIA, June 15, 1906.

MR. J. HAMPTON MOORE, PRESIDENT NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE,
927 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

Dear Sir—The MERCHANTS and TRAVELERS Association desires to extend through you, to the merchants who may be in the City for the Convention of the National Republican League, a cordial invitation to make use of the facilities and rooms of the Association during their stay in Philadelphia.

Being midway between the Railway Stations, at the Northeast Corner of 13th and Market Streets the rooms of the Association are easily accessible and will be found to have facilities for reading, writing and information regarding the City, that may be desired by those who are attending the sessions.

The rooms will be open both day and evening, and a cordial welcome will be extended to visitors. Trusting that you will extend this invitation, I am,

Very truly yours,

CALVIN M. SMYTH, *President.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 2nd, 1906.

MR. J. HAMPTON MOORE, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR BROTHER MOORE:—

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and those who may be assembled with you on the occasion of the Semi-Centennial of the Delegation of the National League of Republican Clubs an invitation to visit Masonic Temple, at any time during your sessions at their convenience. I am sure we will make it both interesting and entertaining for them.

With best wishes, I am, sincerely yours,

GEO. W. KENDRICK, JR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 17, 1906.

The Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs, Room 624, Perry Building, Chestnut and 16th Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

Deeply regret invitation received seventeenth too late to celebrate with you the Golden Jubilee of the Republican party.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., June 18th, 1906.

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE

President National Republican League, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Unavoidably detained at the last moment from attending convention much to my regret. Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence to stand and fight for principles which time has demonstrated were for the best interests of humanity, civilization and the Nation. Let the work of the Lincoln League continue to strengthen, uplift and upbuild the great Republican cause and perpetuate its principles. Wishing you every success.

EDWARD E. GATES,

President Lincoln League of Indiana.

LEWISTOWN, MONT., June 18, 1906.

J. HAMPTON MOORE, MUSIC FUND HALL,
Philadelphia.

To the Convention to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first Republican National Convention, the Republicans of Fergus County, Montana, in mass meeting assembled send hearty greetings. May your celebration be an unqualified success and may the grand old party continue its beneficent work for a thousand years.

EDWARD P. CHANDLER

HARRY YAGER

P. W. BELDIN

CHAS. M. KELLY

F. E. SMITH

Committee.

OLIVIA, MINN., June 16th, 1906.

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. MOORE —

I regret very much that I am unable to be in attendance at the Golden Jubilee Convention. I should be pleased to have you express my regrets to my numerous old-time friends in the League.

With kind personal regards and best wishes, I am,
Yours very truly,

M. J. DOWLING.

HOLYOKE, MASS., June 19, 1906.

J. HAMPTON MOORE, PRESIDENT REPUBLICAN CLUB LEAGUE,
Musical Hall, Philadelphia.

The Holyoke Republican Club sends greetings and tenders congratulations to League of Republican Clubs of Philadelphia.

M. J. LAPORTE, *President.*

NEW YORK, June 18th, 1906.

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE,
Philadelphia.

The Republican Club of this City of New York in regular meeting assembled sends congratulations and best wishes to the National Republican League upon its efforts to advance the best interests of the Republican party.

ROBERT C. MORRIS, Chairman.

RUBEN LESLIE MAYNARD, Recording Secretary,

HARTFORD, CONN., June 17th, 1906.

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL LEAGUE AND
FREMONT VETERANS, Philadelphia, Pa

DEAR SIR —

The Fremont and Dayton Club, an organization of forty men who voted the first Republican ticket fifty years ago, which was formed in 1900 in support of McKinley and the principles of Republicanism, and is yet "in it," wishes to extend its cordial greetings and best wishes.

Respectfully yours,

H. C. STORRS, *President.*

H. J. CASE, *Secretary.*

Mr. Edwards, of Pittsburg, moved that the officers of the National League send the greetings of the Convention to Vice-President Fairbanks and to Secretary Cortelyou and that all communications and telegrams read before the convention be embodied in the records of the proceedings.

Seconded by Mr. Spielman, of Ohio. Carried.

MR. HUMPHREY, OF NEW YORK. I move that all resolutions be referred to the Committee on resolutions without debate.

MR. ALBUS, of Missouri seconded the motion. Carried.

MR. ARCHER: I move that the Chairman of each delegation appoint a member for each Committee.

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio: I would suggest when this list is sent up it include the committee on Credentials, Rules and Order of Business, Vice Presidents and National Committeemen, all to be done on one slip. The amendment was seconded.

The President: It is not customary to elect the Vice Presidents and Executive Committeemen in this way. They come later.

MR. BONNERT, of New Jersey: It is not customary to make a selection of Vice Presidents and Executive Committeemen in this manner. It seems to me that many of the delegates have left the hall, and I know that so far as the New Jersey Delegation is concerned it is not at the present time fairly represented. In my estimation, a better time would be to-morrow morning at the beginning of the session at 10 o'clock and not now.

The President: The mover of the motion withdraws that portion of the motion that refers to Vice Presidents and National Committeemen and the motion as amended now is that the various delegations hand up the names of their selections for Committee on Credentials, Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and Committee on Resolutions—three names. Carried.

Committees were named as follows:

STATE	CREDENTIALS	RESOLUTIONS
Missouri	O. E. Myersick	Chas. F. Busche
Oklahoma	Wm. Noble	Wm. Noble
California	C. W. Pendleton	J. F. Hughes
Ohio	Guido Gores	J. F. Goldenbogen
South Carolina	E. H. Deas	E. H. Deas
Pennsylvania	Hon. Alex. T. Connell	Gen. E. B. Harden- berger
Delaware	Harry A. Brown	
Illinois	Chauncey Dewey	John S. Brown
Massachusetts	Francis Curtis	Francis Curtis
Philippine Islands		L. A. Dorrington

STATE	CREDENTIALS	RESOLUTIONS
Texas	O. H. Baum	E. P. Bardon
Kentucky	R. H. Fleming	W. H. Cox
Maryland	Dr. L. H. Jarrett	C. R. Solinn
Arkansas	D. M. Bostwick	E. H. Vance, Jr.
Tennessee	E. W. Mattson	
New Jersey	Alex. C. Yard	Wm. H. Parry
New York	C. R. Borzillieri	A. B. Humphrey
South Dakota	Fred. A. Mix	E. W. Munson
Nebraska	George W. Neill	G. W. Neill
Georgia	Geo. F. White	Geo. F. White
Dist. of Columbia	Wm. C. Conner	Henry M. Camp
Idaho	Ed. D. Wadsworth	Gen. Geo. H. Roberts

MR. STEWART, of New York. Mr. President, In memory of one of our active members, a gentleman of sterling honesty and sincerity and staunch Republicanism, the late Thomas Marnell, I move that a Committee of five be appointed to draft a suitable resolution, and report to the Convention at the following session. The motion was seconded and carried.

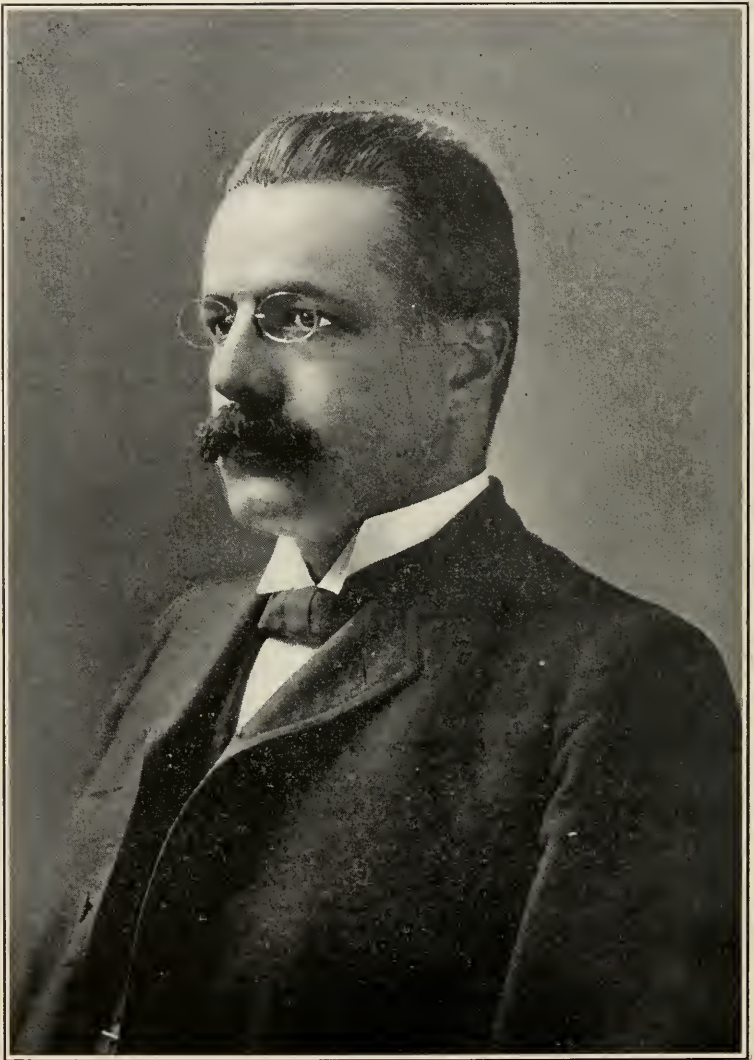
The President appointed the following gentlemen to prepare a resolution on the death of Mr. Thomas Marnell:

John J. D. Trenor, Dr. Borzillieri, Elliot Lord, Michael del Papa, and Mr. Baker, all of New York.

GEN. GEORGE H. ROBERTS, of Idaho. Mr. President. I desire at the proper time to present a resolution which I desire to have referred to the Committee on Resolutions. As I understand it, a motion was made and carried to refer all resolutions to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The President: Gen. Roberts has a resolution which goes to the Committee on Resolutions, without reading.

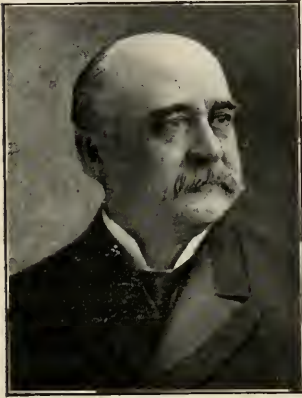
Adjourned to meet on Tuesday morning, June 19th, at 10 a. m.



GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
CHAIRMAN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

SECOND DAY—SESSION OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE LEAGUE.

In the afternoon of the second day the annual Convention of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs was held at Belmont Mansion, Fairmount Park.



EDWIN S. STUART,
FIRST PRESIDENT PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LEAGUE.

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 P. M. by Albert J. Edwards of Pittsburg, President of the League.

The President: The Convention will please come to order.

This year we are holding our State Convention much earlier than we have ever held it before. The reason of this is because of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Republican Party. The idea of celebrating the Golden Jubilee was conceived by that able and progressive President of the National League of Republican Clubs, Hon. J. Hampton Moore, of this City. (Applause.)

When he conceived the idea a delegation of the Allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia, and of the Pennsylvania State League of Clubs, went last Fall to the City of St. Louis in order that we might bring this meeting to Philadelphia and that we could go into the old Musical Fund Hall and that all our Clubs represented in the United States could join in celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the greatest party of all times. (Applause.)

It does the people of this nation good, as it does the patriots of the country and all good citizens and all good Republicans good, to come here to the cradle of our country, to visit old Independence Hall, and on this occasion, hold our meeting in the place

where the first Republican National Convention was held fifty years ago. (Applause.) We, of Pennsylvania, are especially proud of the Republican Party because it was born here. It was actually born over on the other side of the State, in greater Pittsburg, one of the greatest Cities in the Union. (Applause.)

Salmon P. Chase was passing through the City of Pittsburg and while in the Monongahela House he there held a conference with D. L. White, the Editor of the Pittsburg Gazette and with Russell A. Moore, of blessed memory and a few other patriots and they issued a call to the people of this country who were opposed to the extension of slavery. It was not a convention of elected delegates, but a mass meeting of the whole people. This call was sent out to Democrats, and to Whigs, and to Free Soilers and to Know Nothing Men and to Anti-Slavery Men and to the fragments of various parties. The result of that call was that the brains of America met there on Washington's Birthday, in Lafayette Hall, in Pittsburg, in 1856. (Applause.) There was present Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, there was John C. Raymond and there was Joyce, and there was Gideon Welles, the champion of the Free Soilers, and there was Francis P. Blair and other men who were noted as Anti-Slavery men. There it was that the banner of the Republican Party was unfurled to the breeze and the name given to it as a National Party. (Applause.) A committee was appointed at that meeting to call a National Convention of Republicans and that call resulted in regularly elected delegates to a National Convention to be held in Musical Fund Hall, the occasion which we are now celebrating.

I did not intend to make any speech in the opening of this Convention, but I want to say that we, as Pennsylvanians, are proud not only of the fact that the Declaration of Independence was adopted in our State, but that the Grand Old Party found its birth within the confines of our Commonwealth.

I will now introduce to you the Rev. J. Wesley Sullivan, who will open the Convention with prayer.

PRAYER BY REV. J. WESLEY SULLIVAN:

Thou, God, we recognize Thee as the living, true God; our faith is in Thee; we are Thy people; Thou hast guarded us and in

all our ways we would honor Thee. Thou hast been favorable unto us; because Thou hast given us to dwell in such a great land. Thou hast been favorable to us and to-day we have the honor of being citizens of the greatest country in the world. We thank Thee, Oh God, for the way in which Thou hast watched over us and guided us as a nation, and to-day we pray Thy continued guidance and blessing as a people. Thou wouldst be with our President and with all those in authority and we rejoice to-day that our lot has been cast in this commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and we rejoice that we can meet in her name to-day. We thank Thee for all Thou hast done for us here in our home and pray Thy continued favor and blessing. We also rejoice in the great fact to-day that we are Republicans; that we are members of the greatest political organization of the world. We thank Thee that Thou hast so favored us and we come to render unto Thee the thanks of our hearts to-day for our fathers, some still living and others who are dead, who, in the years gone by, laid the great foundation upon which this party has been built. And now after fifty years we thank Thee for all its prosperity, for all its success. Notwithstanding its enemies and some who profess to be its friends, it still triumphs, still lives in the hearts of the great multitude, and it must live. We thank Thee for all the successes and blessings with which Thou hast crowned our party in all its years. Do Thou continue with us and our hearts go out to-day, somewhat sorrowed to Thee, that some of our good brothers have seen fit to turn aside, but Oh God, we ask to-day for the prodigal, who, if he wander, that he may not wander too far away when the shades of night are darkened and not be able to find his way back into the fold again. Bring all back to us heart and hand and may we stand indeed shoulder to shoulder in the coming battles that stare us in the face as a nation and as a commonwealth. We look unto Thee and we ask Thee to enable us to do all these things that shall honor and glorify Thy name, that shall be for the good of the people and for the best interests of this great country.

While we pray for ourselves to-day in our great prosperity, we would speak a word for our sister nation, the Russian people, who are in a struggle and in the conflict. Oh God, be their helper and may the right triumph, may thou, Oh God favor us—be glo-

rified and the people be blessed. Oh God, be with all the nations of the earth, until at last the cause of this world shall be the cause of our Lord and Christ and that we shall triumph and reign in that Kingdom that knoweth no end. We ask it in the name of the Captain of our salvation, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

President Edwards: Gentlemen of the Convention: We usually have speeches of welcome made and responses thereto at our State Conventions, but as we had a speech of welcome to-day at the National Meeting, and as the delegates at the first meeting were present, we will dispense with that part of the programme as far as doing it officially from the Mayor of the City. We also have been accustomed in the opening of our Conventions to have addresses made by our past Presidents. We are fortunate to-day to have with us an Ex-Mayor of Philadelphia, who may give us a word of welcome, one whom the League has in days gone by been proud to honor as the President of the State League of Republican Clubs. (Applause.)

I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Sixteen years ago when the State League met in the Academy of Music our first President was nominated for a third term by the Hon. John B. Robinson. On behalf of the City of Allegheny I seconded that nomination and I closed that speech by saying that in a few months the President of the League would be called to be the Mayor of the great City of Brotherly Love. (Applause.) And that some day a call would come from the people of this commonwealth, calling him to the Executive Chair.

I have the honor of introducing to you, ladies and gentlemen, the first President of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs, the Hon. Edwin S. Stuart.

(A delegate in the audience: "Three cheers for the next Governor of Pennsylvania.") The three cheers were given with a vim.

ADDRESS BY HON. EDWIN S. STUART.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen and members of the Republican League of Pennsylvania: I appreciate the privilege, after a very busy day, to come out here and be present at the

meeting of the Republican League of Pennsylvania, whose Conventions, I believe, with one exception, I have attended every year since its organization.

I had the honor to be elected President of the Republican League at the first Convention held in the City of Lancaster. In 1888 the Republican League was formed in the City of Lancaster, the home of the honored defender of the people, Thaddeus Stevens, at which I had the honor to be elected President. The second Convention was held in the great metropolis of this State in the west, Pittsburg, and that Convention was held in Lafayette Hall, the birthplace, as stated by President Edwards, of the Republican Party. In that old Hall the meeting was held that called together the delegates that met in convention in Musical Fund Hall in Philadelphia, where the first candidate of the Republican Party was nominated for President. (Applause.)

I do not propose to talk to you very long to-day for the simple reason that I have an engagement that will take me away in a hurry this afternoon, but I want to say to you that the Republican Party from its foundation and the Republican Party from the time of the election of its first President, Abraham Lincoln, has stood for the principles that have tended to make this country great. Upon every public question it has been on the right side. It was on the right side on the great cardinal principle of the Republican Party Protection to American industry. It was on the right side on all the great questions of the day and the financial issues and by reason of the legislation and the action of the Republican Party, we are to-day having the most uninterrupted prosperity known to any nation in the world. (Applause.) 1860 gave us Abraham Lincoln and we have had a long list of Republican Presidents since and now at the end of fifty years we have in the Executive Chair a man put there by the Republican Party, a man who stands for everything that is in advance in our national life; in the state life and in the municipal life of our country he has always stood for decency in public affairs and in politics. (Applause.)

I want to say to the young men of to-day as we enter upon this next fifty years, let us take as our example the principles of the Republican Party of 1860, of Abraham Lincoln, and let us

take as our example in public affairs the deeds and the works and the name of Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.) Those of us who may be here fifty years hence will still perpetuate the trust of the Republican Party, so that, as in the past, it will be an honor to the country and an honor to the world at large. (Applause.)

The President: In the absence of our second President, Hon. John B. Robinson, the Secretary will read a telegram that has just been received.

(The Secretary read a congratulatory telegram from Hon. John B. Robinson, Ex-President of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs.

The President: The next past President of the League is a Philadelphian, a young man of vim and vigor, a man who has done more than any other man in recent years to stir up the true spirit of republicanism and who has been working upon the people of this commonwealth and of this nation to bring them back to basic principles. I refer to the Hon. J. Hampton Moore, Ex-President of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs and President of the National League.

ADDRESS BY J. HAMPTON MOORE.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has been a splendid tribute to Philadelphia that so many of you should come from afar; it has been a fine compliment to Pennsylvania that you should come here to pay her homage; it has been a credit and an honor to the young republicanism of this state—which runs along any where under the age of 90,—that so many of you dear old Fremont voters with those red, white and blue badges should come here to give us aid. (Applause.) We can all understand as we gaze into your faces why it is that we have grown in population and in sturdy manhood throughout this country. We can conceive that there was manhood and manliness in the campaign of 1856; that there was courage in the campaign of 1856; that there was heroism and patriotism then, such as we hope to instil again into the hearts of our people for all times. (Applause.)

Well, I had a splendid introduction by the chairman of the League, Mr. Edwards, a little while ago, and he made some very

flattering remarks. Perhaps I ought to stop here although I may say this, that the brief career I had in club work, began in Philadelphia when I first became interested in local clubs and when after a period of time I became president of the Allied Clubs of the city of Philadelphia and vicinity. Then I became president of this State League of Republican Clubs of Pennsylvania and then these good strong, stalwart, energetic friends of mine pushed me forward until they made their impress upon the republican clubs of all the United States and I became President of the National Republican League. (Applause.)

If there is any young man in this audience who feels that there are no honors in store for him, let me tell him that I have not yet reached the age limit and that I am still within the age prescribed by Dr. Osler and that there is a chance for him. (Applause.)

Then if there is any young man in this audience who has any doubt about his right to recognition in public affairs, let him gaze a little while upon the faces of these good old men, the Fremont voters, the patriots of "56", every one of whom must be 71 unless he voted before he was 21 in 1856, and I am told some of them did in those days, for it is said that if a democrat challenged them down he went. (Laughter.)

Let a young man who is aspiring, hopeful and ambitious, look into these faces and then again think of what has been going on in this country for the past fifty years; let him remember that these men didn't understand, when they voted for Fremont, the use of modern electricity, or the modern conveniences; knew nothing of modern transportation and nothing whatever of the telephone and little of the telegraph; nothing of the modern trolley or steam road and little of the steamboat. Let him as he looks into their faces, observe, that they have risen step by step, not only as the years of their lives have come, but that they have progressed with the nation from the time of its poverty and patriotism up to the time when the commercial and industrial development has reached the apex of progress in the history of the world. (Applause.)

We have not yet reached the end. The world is large and broad and the opportunities for young men are many. Those

who doubt or fear have but to ask the men of Fremont's time what the conditions in commerce and industry were when they began, and ask them for a fair comparison of those days with the days of the present time. They will be told not only the story of self-sacrifice and the patriotism then unfolded, but they will be told of material progress which rivals the stories of Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp, and they will be told too that the secret of this progress has been the power and the influence, and the wisdom of direction in the Republican Party of the United States. (Applause.)

They will be told that the worker of years ago was employed at a wage that would shame the worker of to-day; they will be told of the great institutions rising all over this land for the care of the poor and the maimed and the insane. They will be told of the great industrial establishments reared where there were wilds and open fields. They will be told of rivers utilized for the purposes of navigation and of distances surmounted by the great transportation lines, encouraged by a national republican policy; and then when they have been told all this, we would ask, "In the face of all this progress and prosperity, all these wondrous changes in the affairs of men, throughout this country, would you turn back and vote a ticket that would pull down alike the men of Fremont's time and the men of the time of Theodore Roosevelt. (Applause.)

In this State of Pennsylvania we have had a great conflict and only a year ago we were defeated by one hundred thousand majority in the very bulwark of republicanism. To-day there stood upon this platform a man who has received the nomination of the Republican Party for Governor, and by the grace of God we will elect him Governor in November. (Cheers and applause.)

He has been nominated to maintain the principles of Fremont to uphold the policies of Lincoln, the Emancipator; of Grant, the soldier; to stand by the record of a Hayes, and a Garfield, of an Arthur, and a Harrison, of a McKinley, and a Roosevelt, (Applause and we wish to say to you gentlemen, who come from every quarter of this country and are told the story of Pennsylvania's solidity in republicanism, that our opponents would overthrow these

policies,—would tear them down and ruin and destroy them. (Applause.)

Upon this platform sits a gentleman who will speak to you presently, who received the suffrages of his fellow citizens as the nominee of the Republicans of Pennsylvania for Lieutenant Governor of this Commonwealth. (Applause.)

(Mr. Moore referred to Robert S. Murphy the nominee for Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania.)

He is the son of that famous man, known over the country, as the greatest temperance advocate of his time, Mr. Francis Murphy. (Applause.) Not alone upon the record of his father does he stand, but upon a record made through his own energy and effort, his own industry, and a record which appeals to the people of this commonwealth; it appeals to the liberty loving republicanism which will testify in Pennsylvania when the time comes for the people to express themselves in November. (Applause.)

You will pardon me as a Philadelphian and a Pennsylvanian for taking so much of your time this afternoon. While the festivities are going on and while you are in Philadelphia, to which I had a humble part in inviting you, may your stay be pleasant and may you find here the companionship of the real heart, the real soul and the real life of our city. Please don't go away with the thought that Philadelphia is mean or shallow or below the grade. If there be something you don't like pause, not there, but go on until you find and come in contact with the real men and women of this community.

You have heard in times gone by things disparaging to this great loyal republican city. Judge its character by the men and women of the city; don't judge it by the stories of its detractors. (Applause.)

We are a united people and the more we come in contact with the people of the country, the more we find the Philadelphia spirit. We have profited by your lessons and we find that you have profited by ours. We find that when we come together in these national conventions and exchange views and ideas that good comes from it all. We go back to our respective places better for having been together and I hope that after you leave our city

you will feel better for having been in this great old state of Pennsylvania and in this good old city of Philadelphia. (Applause and cheers.)

The President: When I look over to my left here, I discover my predecessor, another past President of this magnificent organization, that earnest, energetic, young Republican worker, John R. Wiggins, whose genial countenance always beams a smile of welcome.

ADDRESS BY JOHN R. WIGGINS.

Mr. President, Delegates, ladies and gentlemen: After having heard from the next Governor of Pennsylvania, from the most eloquent man who ever held the office of President of the State

League of Republican Clubs, Mr. Edwards, and from the President of the National League of Republican Clubs—Mr. Moore—to call upon me reminds me very much of General Stewart's story told at the Union Republican Club's banquet about a man who wanted to sell a horse. After getting it in shape (as those people who know something about selling a horse usually do) he sent word out that the horse was for sale and a customer arrived. The customer looked over the horse for a moment and asked the price of it. The seller asked five hundred dollars. The other man hesitated a little while



MUREOCK KENDRICK,
SOLICITOR A. R. C.

and then said, "I will give you seventy-five dollars." The seller said, "Well, it is coming down an awful long way, but I guess I will take it." That is what you are up against now. You are coming down an awful way from the previous speakers to myself, but you will have to put up with it for a little while. (Applause.)

The spirit of anniversary and jubilation is on us. We are celebrating a magnificent event as well as holding at the same time two Conventions, that of the National Republican League and that of the State Republican League, and while those in charge of the celebration have insisted that partisan politics must be left out as much as possible during the celebration, I believe that a Convention of the State League of Republican Clubs is the place where a man can stand on the platform of stalwart republicanism and speak for the candidates on the ticket. (Applause.)

This morning someone made the mistake of trying to help the Lincoln Republican Party, and at this moment while I would like to talk on that question, instead of that I will speak for a moment of a man of whom Philadelphia is proud, who stands as the one most eligible, most able, and the best candidate at this time to receive our suffrages for the highest office in the gift of the people in the State of Pennsylvania. (Applause.) Mr. Moore has told you that by the grace of God he will be the next Governor. It is far from my wish to say anything against Providence or against what God will do, but I want to tell you that God helps those who help themselves, and the Republican Party is going to help itself in the next campaign. It is going to persevere and we are going to elect our candidate by the grace of God and by the votes of the Republicans of this State. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, if you were all Philadelphians here, I would not have to say anything to you about "Ned" Stuart. I do not use that term without respect, but there is hardly a man who lives in this city who does not know him better by that name of "Ned" Stuart than by that of Hon. Edwin S. Stuart. It is not necessary for me to say anything to the citizens of Philadelphia about "Ned" Stuart. They know all about him. They know that when fourteen years of age he applied to Mr. Leary for a position as office boy and was told by Mr. Leary that he was sorry, but that he had secured a boy that morning for two dollars a week who would fill the place. Little Ned said that two dollars a week was too small a sum for him; he would not work for that anyway; he would not work for less than three dollars a week. He impressed himself so well that within a few days when Mr. Leary

had gotten tired of the other boy, he sent for Edwin S. Stuart and inside of ten years Edwin S. Stuart was the proprietor of the business place where he had started and which he had swept out ten years before. (Applause.) That is the impression he made on the business life in Philadelphia and shortly after that he joined what was called the most influential Republican Club in the State of Pennsylvania—the Young Republicans, (Applause,) of which the present Attorney General of Pennsylvania was the first President. At the end of one year there was a division among the members, half of them wanted Mr. Carson to be re-elected and the other half wanted to make Edwin S. Stuart President. The vote was so close that it was necessary to bring one man out of his sick bed and to go to the theatre where they heard another man was, to bring him to the election. Edwin S. Stuart was elected President by the immense majority of one vote that night. For ten years he so gained the affection and respect of the members that he remained the President and was only succeeded by another on account of resigning to take up the office of Mayor of Philadelphia. You know his history after that as well as I do. You know that every bill and every ordinance and every subject that came before him was decided by his best judgment, after hearing from both sides of the question. He was always known as a man whom neither bias nor any other influence could divert from the course he thought right and just and when he came out of that office—and I say this without any intention of disparaging any other man who held it—he came out of it with more honor, more respect than any other man who had filled that position. (Applause.) That is the man whom we stand for in our straight, stalwart republicanism; that is the man the people of Philadelphia love and that is the man of whom, five years from now, you will say he was the “cleanest,” yes, “cleanest” is the word, Executive, that Pennsylvania has ever known. (Applause.)

A year ago I gave up the administration of the affairs of the State League of Republican Clubs to the man who now presides over this meeting. After having worked hard for its interests for two years, I was glad to be succeeded by one whom I knew would carry on the work as well as those who had preceded me. I am glad to be able to congratulate him upon the able manner in

which he has attended to its affairs and upon the very successful Convention he has brought around him to-day. (Applause.)

They say there is a great deal of rivalry between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, but in the State League of Republican Clubs the Philadelphia delegation and the Pittsburg delegation have always been standing together. The Philadelphia delegation has always been standing for Pittsburg or Pittsburg has been championing Philadelphia and therefore I can say that Philadelphia and Pittsburg in the State League of Republican Clubs have always shaken hands across the state and have always been good friends, and it is with pleasure that I can say to you now that congratulations are due to Mr. Edwards, the President of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs. (Applause.)

The President: We have arranged matters to take up as little time with our State League Convention to-day as possible on account of the more important meetings of the National League and on account of the various entertainments that are being given by the Allied Clubs to the visitors in this city.

The regular committees were appointed at a meeting of the Executive Committee on Saturday night, held in the Young Republican Club House and the committees will be ready to report here to-day.

The first thing in order will be the report of the Credential Committee, by Mr. Harry J. Meyers, Chairman.

Henry J. Meyers: The Committee on Credentials report that they have in their hands the credentials for 490 delegates entitled to seats in the Convention. On motion seconded and carried the report was adopted.

The President: We will next have a report from the Committee on Time and Place, by the Chairman, Col. Henry C. Demming, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania.

Col. Demming: Mr. Chairman, in submitting this report we invite the members of the State League of Republicans to come to Harrisburg next year. We want to show you one of the finest, most substantial and most beautiful public buildings in the world. We want to show you a building where every block of granite has been honestly laid, and honestly paid for out of the surplus revenues of this commonwealth and all within the appropriation.

Furthermore, we will take you to the place where the lid was raised and in lieu of the proverbial mouse and the boulder, was found more than twelve million dollars of public money and all bills of the commonwealth paid, and this under a Republican administration.

As Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, I beg to report that they have agreed upon Harrisburg as the place for the next meeting of this League and recommend that the time of holding this Convention be referred to the Executive Committee. On motion seconded and carried, the report of the Committee was adopted.

The President: Mr. Milton W. Lowry, of Lackawanna, Chairman, will report from the Committee on Resolutions. The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by the Chairman, as follows:

The Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs in its 19th Annual Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia, on the auspicious occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the First National Republican Convention, hereby pledges its unfaltering loyalty to the principles which make for protection, progress and prosperity; and recommends efficient party organization to preserve unbroken, the ranks of the great army of our young ardent Republican electors, to secure the triumphant success of our candidates, who best represent our party policy.

The faithful service, honest purpose, ability and integrity of our candidates, commend them to our united support, and we hereby endorse the Hon. Edwin S. Stuart of Philadelphia for Governor, Robert S. Murphy, Esq., of Cambria County for Lieutenant Governor; the Hon. Robert Kennedy Young of Tioga County for Auditor General, and the Hon. Henry Houck of Lebanon, for Secretary of Internal Affairs.

We commend the administration of the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of our Commonwealth; and to his high purpose in civic affairs do we attribute much of the salutary legislation of the last session of our legislature; a large measure of which was recommended by this organization, in our last annual Convention.

The Republican State League, progressive and alert to the

best interests of our people, believes that there is still needed, National and State, legislation for the welfare, both of the individual and of society—that corporate power should be more carefully regulated, its unjust and unfair methods, wherever practiced, curbed and controlled; and a constant guard against discrimination, favoritism, graft and greed, effectively maintained.

We congratulate the City of Philadelphia, in that, the past year has shown that the Old Quaker City has a sterling, quiet and honest citizenship, that will not remain quiet and listless under intolerant abuses, but abounds in a public conscience that can be awakened, when occasion requires, and right the wrongs suffered.

This organization believes that a law which, because of age alone, discriminates against an American citizen, who is morally, mentally and physically sound and capable, is an unjust, unreasonable and unfair measure, and wherever such laws exist they should be repealed and expunged from our Statute books.

We can ill afford to slight, minimize or disregard the patriotism, the mental power and purpose of men now past middle life, who have grown stronger and wiser in upholding and maintaining the principles of Republicanism for which they have contended from their youth up.

The attention of our Legislature is hereby called to the burden, in some sections of our State, of "Toll bridges" and "Toll roads;" and it is suggested that the State can well afford to purchase and take over our burdensome bridges and thoroughfares by legislative provision; the respective counties affected, to contribute their proper share of the expense.

It should not be forgotten that it was the Republican Party that brought the present good Government conditions to our State and in spite of endless adverse criticism, has preserved its financial honor, paid its debts of enormous magnitude, and in the face of such economical management, and the reduction of our bonded indebtedness, it has paid fabulous sums for public education, and for the support and relief of the indigent, unfortunate and helpless.

This is a record that should inspire every Republican to use his best efforts to elect the nominee of our Party; and to this end we pledge our organized and individual strength, for the triumphant election of all our party candidates, National, State, County

and Municipal; believing that in their success will our purposes of good government and ever improving conditions be best served.

Thos. V. Cooper, of Delaware County: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the resolution, especially that part which refers to the feature of the Civil Service Law to disable men at the age of forty-five from applying for a federal position. There is no statute law in any state of that kind. It is a feature of the National Civil Service Law and I am glad the State League and the National League of Clubs have instructed, as they now do, our members of Congress to advocate the repeal of that feature at least of Civil Service Law. (Applause.) I, Mr. President, am seventy-one years old, else I could not wear a Fremont badge. I have held office for thirty-one years and am not yet tired. (Applause.) Mr. Chairman, I am still a candidate and I do not want to be Oslerized by a quack doctor or by a quack law. I think I have the same ability I have had as to politics, as to business, as to domestic duties, and I can (here a tremendous burst of laughter and cheers interrupted the speaker) yet, Mr. President, "look with soft eyes that speak of love into eyes that speak again." (Long continued cheers, applause and laughter.)

The resolutions were adopted.

Alexander T. Connell, of Lackawanna, presented the following resolution:—

Resolved, that the thanks of this Convention of the State League of Republican Clubs be extended to the Allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia and vicinity, and to the citizens of the Quaker City for their generous hospitality.

Colonel Demming:—I move to strike out the word "Quaker" and insert instead "Friend."

The resolution as amended was seconded and carried.

Resolution presented by W. R. Brown of Allegheny, Pa.—

Resolved, that the thanks of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs be extended to the Americus Republican Club of Pittsburg, for its courtesy in permitting the use of its Club House as the Headquarters of this League, and that this action be forwarded to the President. Carried,

J. Hampton Moore:—There was one other duty imposed upon me that I have not yet performed. For many years we had

a Secretary of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs; a stalwart League worker; a man who was always at his post no matter what the hour of day or night; to whom too many calls to duty could not come; one who was a friend of all the members of the League and who was beloved by all. He was a good friend and a faithful, efficient officer.

I beg of you the privilege at this time of presenting the resolution which will be written hereafter, expressing the deep regret of the Pennsylvania State League at the loss of its former Secretary, John Kelley.

Mr. Milton W. Lowry, of Lackawanna, seconded the resolution which was carried.

The Resolution as adopted was as follows:

WHEREAS, the late John Kelley, Secretary of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs had worked long and faithfully in the interests of the League, endearing himself to the officers and members thereof, and had, by his great good nature, assisted in promoting the sterling friendships which now exist in League work throughout the State.

RESOLVED, As a mark of special respect to the memory of the late John Kelley, that this preamble and resolution, expressive of the League's sorrow and regret, be spread upon the minutes.

The President:—We will now proceed to the election of officers.

Mr. J. Hampton Moore:—Mr. President, I know that most every one here is anxious to adjourn the meeting. You indicated yourself at the beginning that your proceedings would be short and I have not heard any objections. The present officers have performed their duties carefully and should continue to serve. In order to economize time, I will not now pay a deserved tribute to their faithfulness. Their term has been short and they should serve another, I move that they be re-elected by acclamation.

The President:—I will call the Senior Vice President Ex-Mayor Alexander T. Connell to the Chair.

A Delegate:—I will call for three cheers for Ex-Mayor Connell of Scranton.

Three hearty cheers and a tiger were given for Ex-Mayor Connell.

Vice President Connell:—Gentlemen: The motion before you, which has been seconded, is that the present board of officers of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs be re-elected by acclamation.

The motion was carried unanimously and President Edwards was called upon from all parts of the floor for a speech.

The President:—(Who again took the chair) Gentlemen: With a feeling of timidity I accept again the election as President of the State League of Clubs. I have endeavored in the past year to do my duty and I assure you that I propose to do my duty again.

A Delegate:—You always have done your duty.

The President:—There is a great responsibility resting upon the shoulders of the President of the State League of Clubs and he alone cannot do every thing. He must have the support of the rank and file throughout this Commonwealth, and I ask every club represented here to-day to do its full duty, and that when the President calls upon it to do any work of any character that it shall be done. We are all Republicans and we are all for one common purpose—The success of the patriotic principles of the Republican Party. (Applause.)

If you are true Republicans and true leaders you will not wait for the President to give you instructions but you will start this day and when next November comes you will exert your best efforts for Stuart and success. (Applause.) Let it be our watch-word for this campaign "Stuart and Success." There are thousands of young men throughout this State who can be brought into the ranks of this party and become active and not dormant. If we only do our duty, and let us do that, the League candidates and the whole Republican ticket will have a majority something approximating that of Roosevelt. (Applause.) I am sorry to inform you that at the last moment it became impossible for Senator Thurston of Nebraska, to be here, but we have with us a man from the Western slopes of the Alleghenies; a man who went into the convention backed by his county and his neighboring counties for Governor; a man who was a true Republican and we of Pennsylvania are proud of Bob Murphy. (Applause.) In that convention it became impossible to secure his nomination.

He was one of the favorite sons. The Convention was there with uninstructed delegates, to a great extent, and yet we are told it was a boss convention. If there was a boss that made such a ticket as we have to-day, he ought to be congratulated and the people of this Commonwealth should congratulate him, but it was a nomination made by the delegates. It was not dictated by Philadelphia. If you had left Philadelphia out of that convention Stuart would have been nominated by the other districts of this State.

They had more votes than the other candidates had at that time and it was not Philadelphia alone that nominated him; he would have been nominated by the delegates irrespective of the votes cast by the Philadelphia delegation. But in making up that ticket they did not ignore their favorite son on the Western slopes of the Alleghenies. We have him here to-day. I have the honor to introduce to you Robert S. Murphy, the next Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY ROBERT S. MURPHY.

Mr. President and My Dear Friends:

It is always a great pleasure for me to sustain and support the Honorable J. Hampton Moore in any declaration that he may make, but I regret to say that he made one mistake here this afternoon that I cannot sustain and support. I should dislike very much to put my chance of salvation against his ability as a weather prophet. (Applause.)

(Mr. Moore had predicted fair weather for the afternoon and evening.) For I think the indication on the outside is, that in this particular instance, it will be impossible for him to make good. But I want to say, in addition, that it is an exception that proves the rule and in any other line of work, especially political, there is no man among my acquaintance who has worked more intelligently, more loyally, more faithfully, and more eloquently for the Republican Party and for the principles for which it stands than the Honorable J. Hampton Moore. (Applause.)

I should be unjust to myself and my friends from Western Pennsylvania if I didn't take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of appreciation of the magnificent and generous man-

ner in which we have been entertained here in this loyal City of Philadelphia. (Applause.)

No man unless he is in touch with the organization and is familiar with this work can realize the amount of ability and the amount of actual hard labor that is entailed upon the manager of an enterprise of this character, that brings within the limits of this municipality not only the citizens of this commonwealth, but all these Republicans who came from all over this broad land, these United States. (Applause.)

This work has been done well; it has been done superbly and is but the expression of the strongest and most eloquent testimony that it has ever been my privilege to hear of what may be accomplished. (Applause.)

I don't think, Mr. Chairman, that I have ever sat in a public meeting in my life and had my heart beat and throb as it did in Musical Fund Hall yesterday afternoon. (Applause.) I don't think there has ever been a more magnificent demonstration of enthusiasm and patriotism than was witnessed upon that occasion I don't believe that I ever heard a more noble or a more magnificent utterance than was delivered by Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, the Governor of this Commonwealth; and who was there that didn't respond with his whole soul and his whole being to the classical utterance of that brilliant man and popular citizen, the Honorable Alexander K. McClure in his address upon the Great Emancipator! Who was not charmed and delighted and thrilled and inspired by the patriotic airs that were rendered by the assembly, and who was not touched by that sweet rendition of the "Old Kentucky Home," by Ada Turner Kurtz, aided by the chorus and the whole convention. (Applause.)

I have seen some of the charming things in this world and I have seen some things that have stirred my heart, but I have not in all my life beheld such a magnificent demonstration as that made by the Fremont and Dayton Veterans as they marched down the aisles of that old Musical Fund Hall. (Cheers and applause.)

I realized that every man in the meeting felt that they were the men who helped to summon this great party into existence. I realized that it was the conscientious protest of liberty loving

people against the slave-holding power. I realized how it was that the youth and manhood of that day became so enthused with the spirit of liberty that they were willing to leave their work and their homes. I realized then why the father left his helpless family for the purpose of saving the liberty of this nation to its citizens. (Applause.)

A wonderful era this is as we measure it by that cycle from 1856 to 1906.

In every man's heart in that assemblage there echoed a cry for principle and men made sacrifices for liberty and for the one name and that name was Lincoln. (Applause.)

(A Delegate:—God bless him.) He was the one great spirit that inspired this country to such a degree and to such an extent that the issues he made were never and could never have been in doubt. That contest was one fraught with frightful and important results to this country. It was an epoch in itself and I am proud to be a member of, and an acting loving member, of that party that opened the path of liberty in this country. (Applause.)

It is a singular fact that in the two great epochs in the history of this country,—the responsibility and the safety of the country have in both instances fallen upon Republican shoulders. Any one who will read the story of this country must be thrilled with the greatness and the glory of its record and it is a proud fact for every Republican to feel that when liberty stood trembling in the balance, when organized evil was threatening this country and had it by the throat, it was the Republican Party that saved it from destruction. (Applause.)

The Republican Party is the same strong, frank, aggressive, straightforward organization that it has ever been and if it was not that kind of an organization, it would not for one moment have my support. I tell you the great interests of this country can be most safely trusted to republican management and republican direction. Its story is one of glory and I need not enumerate to you its great triumphs. We continued our work only yesterday by adding another star to the flag we love so well. We are doing our duty as we believe that duty commands us, and that duty is imperative that we shall conduct the affairs of this country in the spirit of patriotism, "by the people, of the people and for

the people." I don't believe that any organization in this nation is so absolutely and sincerely committed to the interest of the people as the Republican organization of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

I believe that with your assistance and with that same spirit of enthusiasm that dominated in 1856, that we will, this year, go forward to a great victory. (Applause.)

The President:—I want to introduce to you a man who was present at the birth of the Republican Party in Lafayette Hall, Pittsburg—Mr. David C. Herbst.

ADDRESS BY MR. DAVID C. HERBST.

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen:

On an occasion like this on the anniversary of the birth of the Grand Old Republican Party, it seems appropriate and pertinent to present a kind of family tree to show the inception and reasons for its birth. In going back to the early history of America it is found that it's first President George Washington, had no party, but received an unanimous election. After that and before he finished his term an opposition was started and he ran for a second term against George Clinton and received 132 out 135 electoral votes. That was in 1792. In 1796 John Adams, Federalist was elected president and Thomas Jefferson vice-president. Jefferson was on the Republican ticket. In 1800 Thomas Jefferson was elected President and Aaron Burr Vice-President, each running on the National Republican ticket and received each 73 electoral votes.

In 1804, Thomas Jefferson, and George Clinton were elected on the National Republican ticket, each receiving 162 electoral votes. In 1808 James Madison was elected as a Republican, receiving 132 electoral votes and in 1812 he was re-elected as a Republican receiving 128 votes. In 1816 James Monroe was elected as a Republican by 183 electoral votes. In 1820 James Monroe was re-elected by 231 electoral votes. In 1824 Andrew Jackson, Republican, ran against John Quincy Adams, Federalist, there being several candidates, none of which had a majority of the electoral vote. The election was thrown into the House

of Representatives which gave the Presidency to John Quincy Adams.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson ran as a Democrat and was elected, defeating John Quincy Adams, the National Republican candidate. In 1832 Andrew Jackson as a Democrat was re-elected, having 219 electoral votes while his opponent Henry Clay, the National Republican candidate, received only 49 electoral votes.

It was at this time that gloom spread over the country. The veto of the United States Bank re-charter, which expired in 1836, destroyed all confidence, stopped all work. The country was flooded with irredeemable State Bank paper notes. Many of the banks had no charters or capital. There being no silver whatever in circulation trades people had to resort to the issue of 5, 10, 25, and 50 cent scrip on their own account. This issue got so common that it was called "Shin Plasters." The great mass of the people in New York City had to resort to public soup houses to keep from starving. Shiploads of peat were brought from Ireland to keep the poor from freezing. Coal at that period was not generally in use, it was mostly imported from Wales. Bread and flour riots had to be put down by government soldiers. Cholera added its horrors to an already overburdened people.

In 1836 Martin Van Buren was elected as a Democrat to the presidency, defeating Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, Whig candidate. The election of Van Buren and its promised debauchery roused the liberty loving suffering people to so high a pitch that, when the campaign of 1840 opened up everybody seemed ready for a change. It was called the Hard Cider, Log Cabin, Buckeye campaign. The banners read Protective Tariff and for the working Man, Two Dollars a Day and Roast Beef. This seemed a chimerical promise as labor then was getting 50 cents to 75 cents for a day of 12 hours. We pay in Pittsburg now for the same labor for 8 hours work \$2.25 to \$4.00. Same ratio for 12 hours work would mean \$3.00 to \$6.00 per day. The Free Trade and Slavery Dogmas were written boldly on all Democratic escutcheons, and in their newspapers working people were called "Mud Sills," of the North. Gen Wm. Henry Harrison was elected to the Presidency as the Whig candidate having a wonderful electoral vote, 234 against 60 given Van Buren his opponent. Joy throughout

the country was unbounded but shortlived, as within a month of his inauguration Harrison died and left the helm of State in the hands of untrusty John Tyler a Virginian. Americans feeling keenly the loss of their loyal president, deemed it essential to gather their hosts and give battle again against the Free Trade Slave-holding Democracy. The Mexican War had closed victoriously for our armies, and in 1852 they sought a victory with Gen. Winfield Scott as the Whig standard bearer. He was a statesman and a soldier. His glorious military achievements were on every tongue. Everybody loved the true soldier except the members of the Free Trade Pro-slavery Democratic Party. There was nothing of the unprincipled in his makeup. He was distasteful to the slave oligarchy and was ingloriously defeated, having received only 42 electoral votes. Our chains were being drawn tighter. The fugitive slave act became a law in 1850, which made it the duty of every American free-born citizen to assist in catching slaves seeking freedom, or be traitors to the government. It was at this period that loyal freemen of this dear land of liberty sought how to throw off the yoke which held them in political bondage. The thoughtful citizen was keen to catch at anything giving promise of a relief from the free-trade pro-slavery Democratic power. It seemed providential how the liberty loving people were being drawn closer together. Discussions were heard in the family circle, pulpit, store, office, on the street, and seen in the newspapers. A united front seemed promising, as all factions of the various political parties, save one, seemed anxious to get together. American blood was as near boiling point as at Lexington against the British crown. On a cold Winter's night a coterie of deep thinking men of all shades of politics, met at Herbst's grocery store at the corner of Third and Cherry Alley, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to formulate if possible, a basis for a new political party upon which all political factions opposed to the free-trade pro-slavery Democracy, might unite for its overthrow. The first meetings, though not numerically large, were full of good organizers. By degrees the deliberations had increased attendance. It was a stormy Winter. The cold blasts and heavy snow outside that little grocery, did not chill the ardor of those inside. Besides our debates got warm, especially when we sought a name for our

new creation. The Washingtonian wanted something aqueous. We call it at present "On the Water Wagon," Free Soilers wanted no more slave States. Native Americans wanted no cross or Roman letters in the name. The old line Whigs, overwhelmed with defeat, were satisfied with any name a winner. One old line Jackson man wanted a "Benton Mint Drop" as his plank in the platform. That meant a "Gold Eagle" an impossibility. Our selection of a name was a thorn in the flesh and threatened several times to break up our gathering. One night it was necessary to lock all in and that night Captain Charles Naylor stood up on the counter of the grocery; with a wave of the hand said "Peace, be still." Struck by his attitude and remark we were amazed and hushed. He smilingly remarked: "That a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and after a few words, he said, Spartan like: "We have a great Republic as our Nation, why not call our new party, REPUBLICAN?" Not a voice was heard. The quiet was broken by one of our humorous ones saying "Recorded." And so it was, and the word REPUBLICAN went forth among all the people. Lafayette Hall was selected as an appropriate place for the public christening of the new political child. It was not necessary as of old to go out into the highways to get guests to the feast of christening. Old Lafayette Hall was not large enough to hold the outpouring of the masses. Improvised meetings were held on Wood Street in front of Lafayette Hall. The deed was done and the name REPUBLICAN was spread broadcast over our great Country. In the course of time a great host of Pittsburgers who had espoused the cause of the new party, hied themselves over the mountains to "The City of Brotherly Love," there to meet others of the Republican faith, and name a standard bearer for the campaign of 1856. The name of John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder, was selected to lead our new party, we hoped, to victory. Our strength as a party was an unknown quantity. However, we started the campaign against Free Trade Pro-slavery Democracy, with a hope and determination to conquer. Up to that time no such campaign had been had in America. We were the despised of the old school political adherents, more especially of those who boasted of their pure Democracy. We were called "Mud-Sills," Wooley horse followers,

Nigger Lovers, etc. Our political banners read Sound Money, High protective Tariff, Down with Slavery, Honest Money for Labor, etc. In fact we wanted a "square deal" for all America, be they laborers or bosses. Well, we came out of our first battle defeated, but not disheartened. Fremont and Dayton ticket, had 114 electoral votes, against 174 cast for Buchanan. The large vote secured for the new Republican Party, aroused the opposition for the prompt strangling of the young stripling who had so boldly defied their power. We did not get the Giant's head this time; our sling was too new. Their first movement to overawe the new Republican Party, was the issue by Judge Taney of his "Dred Scott Decision" which made every American in a Northern State, responsible for all slaves bought therein, virtually making every Free State, a protective Slave State. This was the boomerang of the Free Trade Pro-Slavery Democracy. Meetings were being held all over the Northern States, protesting against the Dred Scott abomination.

In the houses of Congress, debates were very bitter; blows were struck in the Senate chamber. Brooks of South Carolina assaulted Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. The impending conflict was maturing. Buchanan was in the Presidential Chair. Many members of his Cabinet were giving their attention to the strengthening of the Southern States. The treasury was looted. Even the supposed-to-be-sacred Indian funds were taken. The open acts of Floyd, Buchanans' Secretary of War, in moving munitions of War from Northern arsenals, set the people in action. In the good Republican City of Pittsburg, was the same spirit shown and felt, as when the cargo of tea in early days was dumped in Boston harbor. Teams were busy hauling from the Allegheny U. S. Arsenal located in Pittsburg, all cannon and munitions of war held there by the Government. The steamer at the Pittsburg wharf, well nigh loaded, was destined for New Orleans. Time for action was at hand, and we did act. All the cannons on the wharf and in transit were spiked with rat-tail files, given for the purpose by the different loyal hardware dealers. A pressure was brought on Buchanan, who was a Pennsylvanian, and orders were issued to return all taken from the Allegheny Arsenal, and it was done. Really this was the first

act of the Rebellion, and proud does Pittsburg feel of her loyal action against the slavery and free trade democracy, who now had full possession of the Government, and were making all free-men feel their power. In 1860 the four-year-old Republican Party gave a great set-back to the slave power in the election of honest Abraham Lincoln, to the Presidency. He received 180 electoral votes against 123 cast for Douglass, Breckenridge and Bell. Since the inception of the party in 1856 a Republican President has been elected for 11 terms, with some majorities of the popular and electoral vote unsurpassed in the country's political history. The query may be made "What has the Great Republican Party done for the Country's Welfare since the Fremont and Dayton campaign?" It gave freedom to four millions of slaves. It has given America an established banking system recognized the world over, for its solvency and security, United States bank notes are received at the face value all over the civilized world without any discount.

It has given the country a Protective Tariff, which assures work for all our shops and manufactories, and gives to the laborer or working man steady work at a higher scale of wages than ever before known, with less hours' work for a day's labor. In 1860, only 979,000 bales of cotton were consumed in American cotton factories. In 1903, American mills used 3,924,000 bales, an increase of 3,000,000 bales.

In 1860, this country produced 60,000,000 pounds of wool, and in 1903, 287,000,000 pounds were produced.

In 1860, not one pound of tin plate was produced in this country and in 1902 eight hundred and forty (840) million pounds were made.

In 1904, we imported only 126,000 pounds of tin plate, against 68,000,000 pounds imported in 1896.

In 1860 no good steel was made in this country, and in 1902 15,000,000 tons were made.

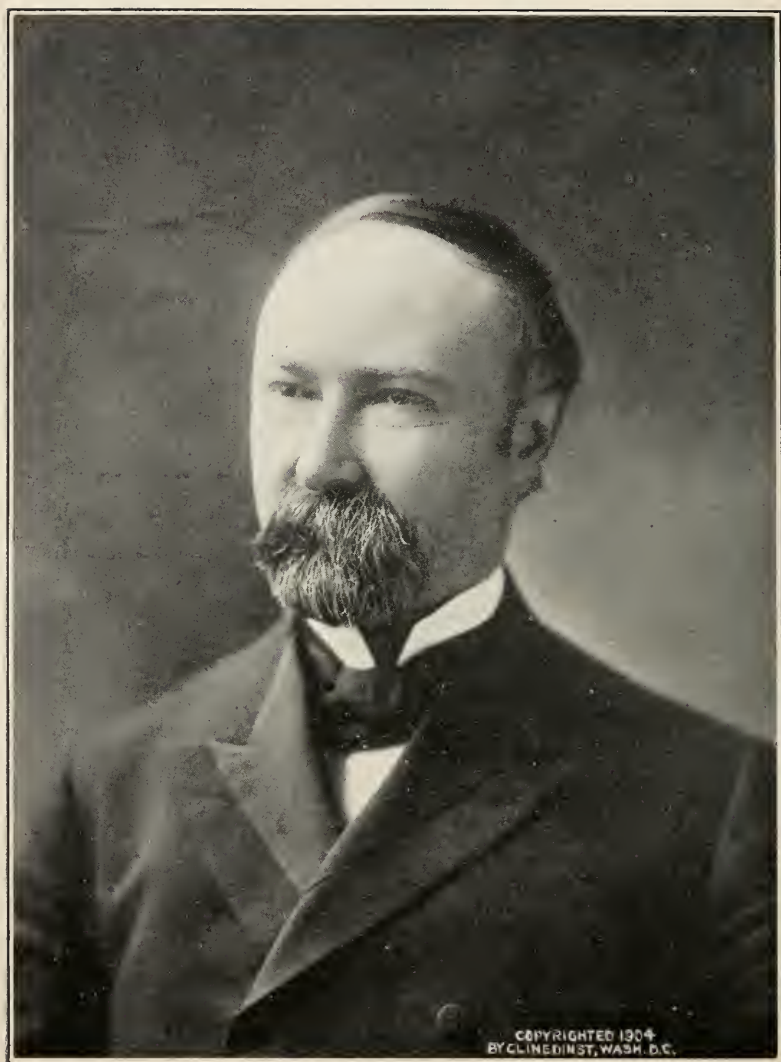
In 1860 no plate glass was made in America. To-day we supply the world with the best plate glass made.

This is simply a sample of the great things done for the country since the Fremont campaign, by the great Republican Party. You have only to look at the Pittsburg district. In 1860, we had

a few puddling furnaces and rolling mills. To-day there are fifty miles of large manufacturing plants on the banks of the three rivers, where 100,000 laborers have work at the highest wages. Finally we have a Republican nest ready at the Americus Club, at Pittsburg where all the leading manufacturers, bankers, and citizens can lay their plans for the advancement of Republican principles, and furnish the sinews for promoting the great cause. The Democratic rooster crows, but does not lay any eggs for the hungry office-holder in the State of Allegheny, as Lincoln christened our Republican stronghold.

President Edwards: I will now declare this Convention adjourned to meet at the call of the Executive Committee.





CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SECOND DAY—MASS MEETING.

The meeting at the Academy of Music was called to order at 8.30 P. M., by J. Hampton Moore, President, National Republican League, the audience rising and cheering as the Fremont voters marched to their seats in front of the stage.



CHARLES H. SAYRE,
VICE-PRESIDENT A. R. C

President Moore:—You will all remain standing while the Divine Blessing is invoked by the Rev. Dr. McMackin.

PRAYER BY REV. DR. MCMACKIN.

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, into thy presence we come to invoke thy blessing upon this great assembly. We realize that thou art our fathers' God, that our fathers worshipped thee, and the fruitage of that worship we are permitted to rejoice in to-night. And now we pray Thee that thou wouldst command thy blessing upon this assembly, upon these men who organized this party and upon those men who shall further its interests and purpose in the years that are to come. We ask thy blessing on those who shall take part in this meeting. We ask that thou wouldst crown with abundant success all that shall be done in this meeting to-night. We pray Thy presence and Thy blessings upon those who are at the head of the nation. We thank Thee that we are a nation who Love Thee and it is our purpose to serve and honor Thee, and now we pray Thee that whatever we attempt to do may be done in Thy name for the furtherance of men's interest, for the glorification of Thyself and for the purposes that thou hast in mind. And we ask Thee to be

with us while we wait on Thee and fulfill thy righteous law within us, and all this we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen

President Moore: We will now be favored with a chorus by the United German Singers of Philadelphia.

The United German Singers of Philadelphia, appeared at the back of the stage and sang with fine effect.

PRESIDENT MOORE: *Ladies and Gentlemen:* This is a Republican meeting. (Applause.) During the last two days of this Jubilee some firm friendships have been established between the aged men who fought the battle in 1856 and those who are carrying it on in 1906. (Applause.) When this patriarchal procession came down the aisle a moment ago your hearts were doubtless stirred as you thought of the progress that has been made since they helped to found the great Republican Party. (Applause.) A part of this celebration is to revive recollections of the basic principles of the party and the men who founded it, especially recollections of the first standard-bearer, John C. Fremont. While there are distinguished speakers on this platform whom you are anxious to hear the affection that has sprung up between the now and the then, between the young and the old, induces us to pause for a moment this evening before this splendid gathering, to say a word that has been sent to us from our stricken brothers of the golden State of California. (Applause.) John C. Fremont hailed from that State. There are Republicans in California who love the memory of John C. Fremont, and they were prepared to come in full force to attend this convention when the earthquake came upon them and destroyed not only lives but their property. The chattels of the Republican State League of California were burned in the fire in San Francisco, but they have saved one relic of which they were particularly proud. They have forwarded it to me as National President, and they have commissioned me to present it as a token of their esteem, to the National Republican League. Before doing so I propose to introduce one of the old Fremonters, one who has recently stood by the grave of the hero along the banks of the Hudson in the State of New York. He will address you for five minutes only and will give a full report to this splendid array of old men who have honored us with their presence. Permit me to introduce Dr. Samuel Wallien, of the State of New York.

ADDRESS BY DR. WALLIEN.

Comrades and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy to say that to the announcement of this same subject in Musical Fund Hall the response was all that any one could wish for, and with the fact of my report as a Committee of one to investigate the locality and report the condition of the grave of the Path-Finder there will ensue a movement which will effect a change. I will say briefly that I hunted nearly all day a week ago yesterday to find that grave in Rockland Cemetery on the banks of the Hudson, twenty-eight miles above New York.

The manager of the cemetery happened to be absent, but I found a little boy who might have been Lord Fauntleroy or his prototype. He said, "I know where that grave is." And he showed me how to find the cemetery, and then he left me to hunt for the grave without any further help. I learned, after I had found the grave, that a quarter of a mile from the entrance would have taken me right to the spot, but instead of that I walked five miles over hills and rocks and through trees and paths where I thought the white man had never trod, and when I found it there was no difficulty to identify it. The grave of the Path-Finder is unmarked. It has not so much as a stick with his initials on it. An ordinary cast iron star of the G. A. R. which is placed on every grave stands at the head of it, and some kind hearts on Decoration Day had stuck three little cotton flags to mark the spot. And yet the grave of the Path-Finder was the cradle of personal and political liberty in America. (Applause.) It seems to me incredulous that this Government to which he gave the best years of his life and that the Republican Party of which he was the father should have left him in an unmarked grave in an out of the way place all these years since his death. I also learned that the body of his illustrious wife, who was Jessie Benton, as you all know, was cremated in California, the ashes placed in an urn, and the urn is now in the vicinity of her husband's tomb, or grave, for it cannot be called a tomb. They are waiting until the nation or the Republican Party or private citizens do something to mark the grave where the hero lies. I am also happy to state that the active man in organizing the Leagues

and the Fremont movement in this city is Mr. T. B. M. Addis, who proposes immediately after this Jubilee Celebration is over, to commence organizing a National Society that shall take in hand this matter, and I hope that in a short time afterward we shall be able to report something more tangible with regard to the marking of this grave. (Applause.)

At this point the California portrait of Fremont was unveiled, evoking much applause.

President Moore:—Pennsylvania is regarded as the keystone of the Republican Arch. It slipped a cog slightly last year, but it will be redeemed at the close of this year. (Applause.) New Jersey was never regarded as a Republican State until very recently, but the influence of the League of Clubs had its effect a few years ago in New Jersey State, and the tide towards Democracy was turned, and a Republican Governor was elected. Since the election of John W. Griggs, New Jersey, has been favored with Republican control and she has grown mightily, but never more so than during the last three years when she has been under the government and direction of the gentleman whom I now introduce as the Permanent Chairman of this meeting, the Honorable E. C. Stokes, Governor of the State of New Jersey.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR STOKES.

Ancestral Republicans of 1856, Fellow Republicans of 1906 and Ladies and Gentlemen:—I deem it no little honor to preside on this patriotic occasion, and I regard the celebration of fifty years of service on the part of the Republican Party to this nation as a patriotic occasion worthy of national rejoicing. Why, even a Jerseyman (laughter) is permitted to share in the glories of this hour. (Laughter and applause.) I am not so sure that his right to preside over an audience composed so largely of Pennsylvanians will pass as readily on challenge. But I am consoled by the thought that there are at least two good reasons why my State should be represented here to-night. You know that General Gordon says in his lecture on the "Last Days of the Confederacy" that the Battle of Gettysburg was a matter largely of social reciprocity. (Laughter and applause.) The Union soldiers had so often visited and paid their respects to their Confed-

erate brethren on southern fields that the Confederate soldiers felt it a duty to return the compliment. (Laughter.) And so General Lee came up to Pennsylvania and made a social call at Gettysburg. (Applause.)

So many Pennsylvanians, worn out by business cares and harassed by the political problems of unselfish and disinterested politicians seek rest and inspiration in the pure and elevating atmosphere of New Jersey, (Applause) that as a representative of that State I felt it not only a privilege but a duty to return that call and pay my respects to our Keystone guests. I have no other justification for my presence. The successful pioneers of new movements, the Davy Crocketts who blazed the way through the wilderness and the Path-Finders who marched across the plains became the heroes of later generations. (Applause.) When the Republican Party was in its infancy and when it required almost a soldier's courage to assert allegiance to its principles, associated with John C. Fremont on the ticket was that scholarly statesman, publicist and patriot, William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, (Applause.) And so that State has furnished one of the standard-bearers at the hour when it required almost a martyr's spirit to be a standard-bearer, and has a right to rejoice at this hour when the cause has triumphed, and when even across the Delaware Democracy has become a mere shadow and a skeleton. (Applause.)

A would be patron called upon a celebrated artist and asked him to paint the portrait of his father. "Certainly," replied the artist, "but where is your father?" he said. The son said, "He has been dead these ten years." "Well," replied the astonished artist, "how can I paint his picture if he has been dead ten years." "Why," said the son, "I have just seen your picture of Moses, and he has been dead three thousand years," (Laughter,) "and if you can paint the picture of a man who has been dead three thousand years, why can't you paint the portrait of a man who has been dead only ten years?" The artist, despairing of further argument undertook the task. When the work was completed he called in the son for inspection. The boy looked over the portrait with some care and diligence and then turned surprisedly to the artist and said, "Is that my father?" "Certainly," re-

plied the Knight of the Brush. "Great Scott," said the boy, "how the old gentleman has improved." (Laughter and applause.) Those of you who know the political conditions in New Jersey twenty years ago and can contrast them with the political conditions of to-day, when Democracy has almost flown from Legislative halls, can appreciate the exact feelings of that young man for the improvement that has taken place. (Applause.) This is a jubilee occasion. We rejoice in the birth of the party of Fremont and of Dayton. If that party had done nothing more for this country than give to it such Presidents as Lincoln, and Grant, and Garfield, and McKinley and Roosevelt, it would have presented a galaxy of names unequalled by any other country in a like period of time. (Applause.)

The character of the men who first enlisted under the Republican banner was a guarantee of its future. Artists, clergymen, authors and publicists were volunteers in the ranks. They were determined, as Lincoln put it, to re-instate the birthday promise of the Republic, to reaffirm the Declaration of Independence, to make this a land of liberty in fact as well as in name. That promise has been more than kept and this golden wedding of this country and the Republican Party commemorates the grandest chapters of its history and marks the greatest progress socially, industrially and morally in the march of civilization. (Applause.) For fifty years that party has furnished this country with its greatest statesmen, its accepted policies, its greatest progress. At its touch the shackles of the slaves fell to the ground.

The war was beneficial, the country reunited, the national credit maintained, the dollar made good at home and abroad. The tariff policy inaugurated and developed for the sons of toil, the national domain extended to a continent expanse, with populous cities and mighty states springing up in the onward march and the Republic made wealthier and happier and better than ever before. (Applause.) Under its guiding genius every day is better than yesterday and every to-morrow shall be better than to-day. (Applause.) Since 1860 it has had control of the National Administration save now and then, ad interregnum, promptly regretted by the voters and as promptly remedied as repentance would permit, (Applause.) Keeping pace with the

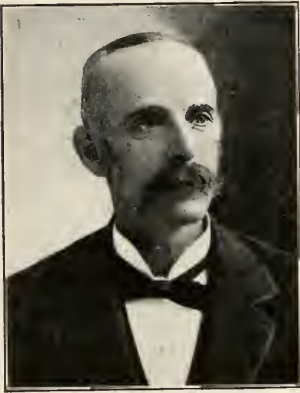
prosperity and the growth of this country until to-day under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt it has become the exponent of all that is safest in diplomacy and economy, of all that is wisest in statesmanship. Fifty years is a long span in human life. In its career, however, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party finds it in the full vigor of youthful manhood and we celebrate its achievements with an abiding faith that they will be multiplied with advancing years, and that under its patriotic policies this nation will go onwards and upwards to heights not yet won. There is one peculiar characteristic about the party to which we owe allegiance. It always turns its face, with but now and then an exception, towards the setting sun. We went West in 1856 for a candidate for President; we went West in 1860 for another candidate in Abraham Lincoln (Applause) and we are still going West for political oratory and political advice. (Applause.) That country seems to raise great men. We have one of them with us on this occasion. (Applause.) We heard his voice first when we poor capitalists of the East were frightened to death by Bryan (laughter) and this sagacious and eloquent sage of Iowa was pouring out argument and advice, which some of us less intelligent speakers in the east immediately appropriated to our own use. (Applause.) Since that hour he has been marching on, the Governor of Iowa, Secretary of the Treasury, and I take great pleasure not in introducing, for he needs no introduction in this country, in presenting to this audience the Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw. The audience arose and received Secretary Shaw with great enthusiasm:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY LESLIE M. SHAW.

The Republican Party, is and ever has been, progressive. It has gone on solving problem after problem, and while it has sometimes hesitated and occasionally tripped, it has neither fallen nor fled. It has met its every responsibility and fulfilled its every pledge.

It is impossible to appreciate the steadfast, onward course of the Republican Party without comparison with the record of our political opponents. The first complete victory achieved

by the Democratic Party in a third of a century was in 1892. That victory was won in a clean-cut, good-faith, and honorable issue between the cardinal doctrines of free trade and



LESLIE M. SHAW,
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

protection. The opposition platform of that year declared it to be "a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for purposes of revenue only." The Republican Party, on the contrary, referring to the universally recognized prosperity of the country, gave just credit to the cause thereof by the use of this language:

"We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the last Republican Congress."

Thus the issue was joined. Our opponents appealed to the American people as consumers, and commiserated them. We appealed to the American people as producers, and congratulated them.

They said, "The things you buy are excessively dear." We said, "The things you sell, both labor and the products of labor, are none too dear." They said, "You deserve a better market in which to buy." We said, "You deserve no poorer market in which to sell."

They iterated and reiterated the statement that "the tariff is a tax," and stoutly maintained from one side of the country to the other that the abolishment of the protective tariff would afford the people cheap articles of consumption without affecting the price of our products. They placarded America with posters, and sought to teach through the eye by primer pictures in which the family was followed from the time they arose in the morning from beds supplied with woolen blankets taxed at 60 per cent. to

their winding sheets taxed at 50 per cent. The breakfast table taxed at 25 per cent. occupied a prominent place in the array of pictures. The family were eating from dishes taxed at 55 per cent., with knives and forks taxed at 40 per cent.; they sprinkled salt taxed at 12 cents per hundred, upon potatoes taxed at 25 cents per bushel, while the wife and mother rocked the cradle taxed at 25 per cent.

After breakfast the father put on his hat taxed at 50 per cent and went to his daily task with his hoe, his shovel, his plow, or his pick each taxed at 25 per cent. The object of their pity was next seen eating from his dinner pail taxed at 55 per cent. The next picture, as I remember it, was the family at worship where they listened to the reading of the Scriptures from a Bible taxed at 25 per cent. The last two pictures were a coffin taxed at 35 per cent. and a tombstone taxed at 40 per cent. They told us through the eye and through the ear, and appealed to our prejudices through both, that from our cradles to our graves we were taxed! taxed! taxed! They told us not only that our living expenses but that our dying expenses were each excessive, and they promised that if they were put in power they would give us cheap things to buy by wiping protective tariffs from the statutes.

The American people are somewhat alike in their religion and in their politics. When on their deathbed physically they remember the teachings of their childhood; when on their deathbed financially they remember the Republican Party; but when in good health and prosperous they are prone to forget both. The year eighteen hundred and ninety-two was the most prosperous we had ever seen. Measured both by the demand for labor and by the price thereof, measured by the price of farm produce, measured by the output of our factories, measured by the earnings of our railroads, measured by our exports, measured by our imports, measured by the business done through the clearing-houses, measured by the money deposited in the banks, measured by anything and measured by everything, 1892 stands without a previous parallel. The Republican Party said, "Let well enough alone." The Republican Party said "Stand pat." President Harrison shouted to the people again and again, "Gentlemen, there is such

a thing as having goods too cheap. Gentlemen, there is such a thing as having goods too cheap."

But those of our people who bought bread and had no wheat to sell were dissatisfied with the price of flour, and those who purchased meat and had no cattle to sell believed themselves imposed upon, and those who bought butter and eggs and chickens and had none of these things to sell were displeased with their price, and those who bought lumber and nails and tools and barbed wire and clothes and woolen blankets and had nothing to sell but farm products were likewise dissatisfied, and each and all were made to believe that lower tariffs would relieve just where they were then pinched without pinching in a yet more tender place, and they registered both their dissatisfaction and their hopes at the polls.

The result was a landslide. The Democratic Party carried New York, Connecticut, Indiana (the home of the Republican candidate,) Illinois, Wisconsin, California, half of Michigan, and yielded only a plurality even in Iowa. We were defeated, horse, foot, and dragoon. We went out of control, but not in disgrace, for with lasting pride do we now turn to the record of that same year. We had little left except the principles of the Republican Party, but those principles, gentlemen, afford sufficient capital on which to begin business. We have never yet abandoned them for the sake of victory, and should we ever do such a disgraceful thing the Republican Party will cease to be, as it has been for fifty years, and is bound to be so long as we stand true, the abiding hope of the American people.

I have often criticised the opposition party for its inconsistencies. The personnel of the party is good, and the party would be a great blessing if it had any set of principles which it held sacred and to which it would adhere. I have said that it seems to me that the leaders of the Democratic Party have evidenced vastly more anxiety to discover an issue on which they may win a campaign than they have in formulating a wise policy for the administration of public affairs after they have won their campaign.

Their issue in 1892 was the abolishment of the protective tariff, and their argument was cheaper articles of consumption. But no sooner did the party secure control than they gave evidence of fa-

tal incoherency. Grover Cleveland believed in the platform on which he was elected, and his message rings true to free trade but the men who were elected with him upon that same free-trade platform passed the Wilson-Gorman law, built upon no principle and full of inconsistencies. Mr. Cleveland declared the bill to be full of "perfidy and dishonor" and refused to sign it. It protected iron and steel and a score of other articles, but put wool and coal and twenty other things on the free list and lowered the duty below the point of protection on twice as many more.

Free wool drove four million sheep to the slaughter-house in twelve months, and, this coupled with the closing of factories, forced the price of live stock so low that the average price of horses, steers, cows, calves, sheep, and pigs sold in Chicago fell off on the average over \$5 per head in four years. A million men forced out of employment reduced the average consumption of wheat from about 6 bushels per capita in 1892 to less than 3½ bushels in 1894. Those who bought bread and had not wheat to sell, and those who bought meat and had no cattle to sell, may have found relief where they had been pinched; but they were pinched in a yet more tender place. They were pinched in their capacity to buy these things at any price.

Factories extinguished their fires right and left. Lockouts enforced by bankruptcy were of daily occurrences, banks closed their doors by the dozen each day for months, and for four years no farmer in the whole Northwest built house or fence or dovecot, and repaired only from necessity.

I have no desire to disguise the fact that in a few localities there is now some restlessness on the tariff question. The American people are like every other people; they grow restless under prosperity and well-nigh desperate under adversity. A friend said in my office the other day that we were sure of victory this year and two years from now if prosperity continued, for, said he, the American people have never gone back on prosperity. How short his memory! Our first and greatest defeat was traceable solely to the universal prosperity existing in the early nineties. Whether we are sufficiently prosperous now to work our undoing I am not certain. We were never so prosperous before, and my hope is high that we can stand a few more years of it. If it con-

tinues, however, if the price of farm products shall advance yet higher, if wages shall advance correspondingly, if new factories are built, if business thrives, if deposits in banks increase, if men get rich, then so certain as history repeats itself the impression will prevail that the inequalities of life are occasioned by Republican policies, and the American people will again seek to bring all to the same standard by the indorsement of the principles of our political opponents.

I admit that there is nothing that will so equalize the income of men as the application of the principles of the Democratic Party to our economic and industrial affairs. Only amid disaster and universal ruin will the condition of the American people become even approximately identical.

In some localities the term "standpatter" is opprobrious. What is a "standpatter?" I have never witnessed even the playing of the game whence the term is derived, but I do not plead such innocency as not to understand what is meant by it. Dear old Senator Hanna first employed it in its political significance. It was in 1902 when he first uttered the words, "I say stand pat." What did he mean? Did he mean that the tariff should never be revised? Certainly not. Looking at our hand, if you please, noting what we held, with full comprehension of what the result of the game would be, he said, "In the face of what we now hold, stand pat," He did not even intimate that we were likely to hold the same cards each year and forever. He did not say that the tariff should never be revised, nor did he intimate that it might not be wise to revise it five years hence or even one year hence. Speaking in the present tense he said, "Stand pat."

Twelve months later he sounded the slogan, "Let well enough alone." Looking at conditions, seeing every factory running overtime, observing the farmer selling his produce higher than ever before, knowing that the American people were consuming 75 per cent. more wheat per capita than in 1894, knowing conditions he said, "Let well enough alone." He did not even intimate that these conditions would continue forever. He did not say that the tariff should not be revised at any time in the future, or that it might not be wise to revise it in the early future.

But why this criticism of standpatters? Let us avoid any

division in our own ranks. The Republican Party is now standing pat. Does any one seek to impeach the party as a party. Of course the opposition party does. They alway do. Does any one else? The last national convention did not promise revision. The President has not advised revision. The President has made no speech at any place or at any time which justifies the inference that he favors revision. The Ways and Means Committee of the Congress has reported no revision bill. The Republican Congressional caucus has not recommended revision. I repeat, the Republican Party is standing pat, and the Republican who has in the past sought to convict his party of neglecting the best interests of the people has to that extent embarrassed the coming election. I am not now discussing the merits of immediate revision. These local revisionists for the sake of local interests may be correct. They certainly should not be asked to apologize, for they mean well, but they are in no position to exact an apology from those who are and who have been in harmony with the last national platform, with the speeches and messages of the President, and with the action of Congress.

Let no man hug to his soul the delusion that any one State can revise the tariff in the interest of that State only. This is most fortunate. To safeguard our people at this very point the Constitution of the United States expressly clothes Congress with exclusive authority over all customs matters, and specifically provides that all bills pertaining to the subject shall originate in the House, where every Congressional district is represented.

When I was a little boy I quarreled with one of my fellows over the relative merits of our respective families. Our world was very small then. I well recall my surprise some years later when my father expressed the belief that there were other towns in Vermont quite as good as Stowe. A little later still I put 1,200 miles and the Big River between me and the roof that had protected my boyhood, and with this broadening of the horizon I learned to love the far-reaching prairies and the hopeful, prosperous people of my adopted State. Circumstances have since taken me to every State in the Union, and I have been more or less a student of the industries of all communities, and I declare to you that there are 45 States, with assurance of more soon to be admitted, where it is a

blessing to live, and whose people, whose industries, whose prosperity are as sacred and as much entitled to protection as are the people and the industries of any other given town, or county, or State.

In my State for five years some of my political brethren have strenuously contended for an immediate revision of the tariff. I have thought it unwise to teach the people that they are being imposed upon by my party. In the first place, I have not believed they are being imposed upon. I have recognized that there are some inequalities in the present tariff law. If I could do it in a night I would make a number of changes. But while I have recognized that the Dingley tariff law, like any other tariff law ever made, and like every other tariff law that ever will be made, is imperfect, I have recognized that its operation has brought employment to every man who is willing to work and has secured to every toiler unprecedented compensation. Wages will never be too high to suit me; but when they are higher than ever before, when there is no man out of employment who seeks to be busy, I am disposed to congratulate rather than to commiserate. Recognizing that the farmer has never sold his products so high, and also that the average laboring man has never been able to buy so many of the necessaries of life with a day's work as now, I have not sought to teach the American people that they are being imposed upon by the party to which I belong.

Neither would I teach discontent if I believed it important that the tariff be immediately revised. I can express myself no better than to quote the substance of a speech I made in my own State four years ago, when I said, "I have never urged tariff revision, and I have never opposed tariff revision. Why should I? Who am I? I am but a nurse in a great sanitarium, a majority of the physicians in charge of which practice the school of medicine of which I am a disciple. When these doctors meet in council next December (when Congress convenes if you please), if they invite me I will tell them the symptoms which I have observed, and if I deem it of sufficient importance I will knock at their door; but this thing I will not do, I will not call the inmates of this great institution together and tell them that their health is being undermined and their lives endangered by an overdose of the very med-

icine which I believe should be administered. I will not encourage insurrection within an institution in the administration of which I have been assigned an humble position."

No political party within the last fifty years has ever revised the tariff downward and carried the next election. The Republican party tried it in 1883, and Cleveland was elected in 1884. The Democratic House tried it in 1887, and the Republican party elected their President and their Congress in 1888. The Republican party attempted to lower the tariff on October 1, 1890, and a Congress Democratic by 142 majority was elected thirty days thereafter. The Democratic party succeeded in revising the tariff in August, 1894, and seventy days thereafter a Congress was elected Republican by 82 majority. I do not believe the Republican party will ever again undertake a revision of the tariff on the eve of an election. The only safe time to attempt a process of this kind is at an extraordinary session of Congress, called immediately upon the inauguration of a new administration. Business will then have time to adjust itself before the next Congressional election, and there will be time to justify the wisdom of the act before the next Presidential election.

We must adopt a principle and then logically apply it. If it is to be a tariff for revenue only, then let tariff for revenue only be applied to the producers of citrous fruits in Florida, to the producers of textiles and other articles of apparel in New England, and to the producers of wheat in Dakota; but if it is to be protection, then let it be protection to every industry in which our people are employed. Protection is not a local issue, and the application of protection must not be localized.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION—NATIONAL LEAGUE.

President J. Hampton Moore called the convention to order at 11 o'clock.

The President: We will listen to an invocation by the Rev. Dr. J. Gray Bolton, of Hope Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.

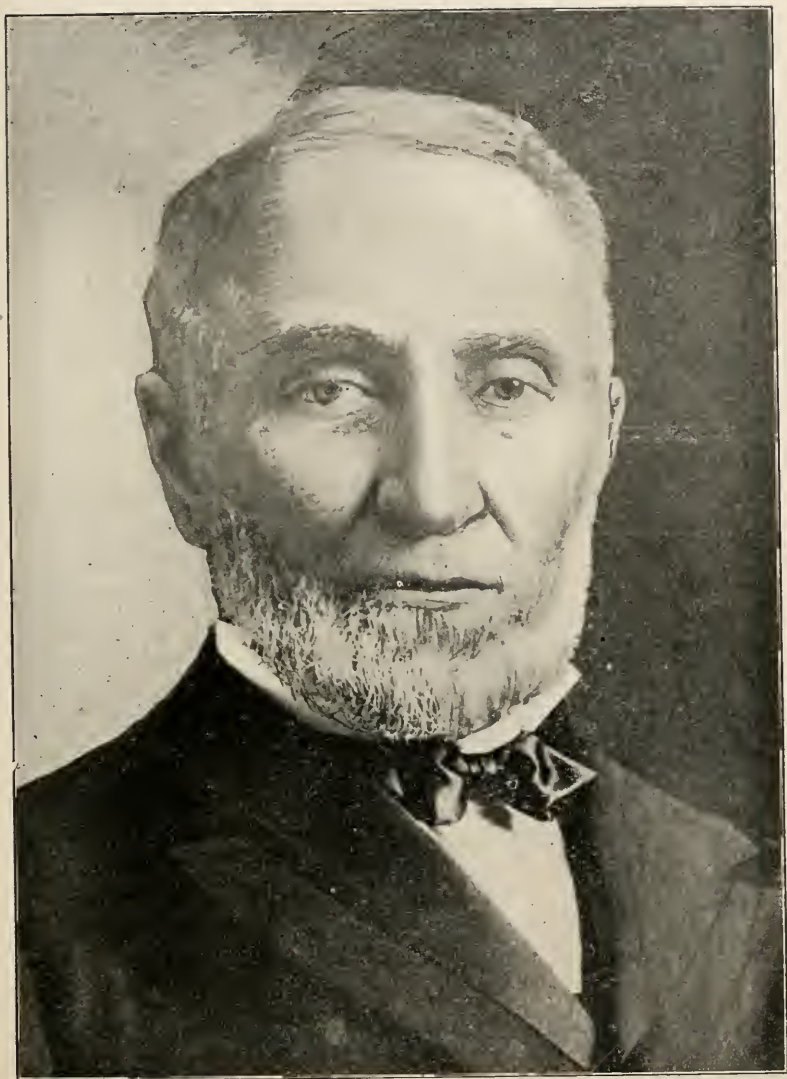


GLENN C. MEAD
CHAIRMAN COM. ON ACADEMY
OF MUSIC

PRAYER BY DR. BOLTON.

Most Gracious and Adorable Lord God Almighty: We come to thee with our hearts full of gratitude and our tongues do speak forth thy praise 'Thou hast been our fathers' God and thou art our God. We thank thee for the great heritage left to us by our fathers and by the venerable men who are here to-day, who in the past have sustained and maintained those principles left us by our fathers; and for the brave and courageous and faithful young men here now from all parts of our country who are wedded to

these principles to sustain and maintain the rights of a free, enlightened government "of the people, for the people and by the people." We thank thee for this land where all our wrongs may be righted by free access to the ballot box. We thank Thee that we can right a wrong in a peaceful way, without bloodshed and without quarrel. May we hold this great right of free access to right our wrongs at the ballot box, and we thank Thee, O God, that Thou wouldst enable us by Thy Grace to maintain and sustain the institutions of our country and the constitution, and the men in authority; the President of these United States and the Governors of our various States and all of those who are serving and laboring with Thee to maintain our government. We thank



JOSEPH G. CANNON,
SPEAKER OF U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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TILDEN FOUNDATION

Thee that we live under a flag representing those principles, honored at home and respected abroad, never knowing defeat on sea or land. May we love those principles represented by the stars and stripes, and may we live for Thee to the glory of Thy Name and the best interests of a free and an enlightened nation, and unto Thee, the Father and Son, and the Spirit, will we give all the praise and the glory, world without end, Amen.

The President: I have had forwarded to me by the President of the State League of Republican Clubs of California, Wm. Rule, who very much regrets his inability to come to this convention owing to the disaster that befell his state at San Francisco, a package of badges which I will ask Mr. Virdin and his assistants to hand around.

The President: The Secretary will read telegrams received: These are a few telegrams which have been received this morning from different organizations. What is the pleasure of the Convention—shall they be answered?

MR. SCOTT, of Illinois: I move that the telegrams be acknowledged by the officers of the National League.

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio: I would suggest as an amendment that they be incorporated and made a part of the Proceedings of this Convention. The motion and amendment were seconded and carried. (These telegrams are included among those printed in the report of the second day's session.)

The President: The Chair now recognizes the Vice-President of the National League, Mr. Sid B. Redding, of Little Rock, Arkansas, who will make a statement.

ADDRESS BY MR. SID B. REDDING.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: Last night during the exercises in the Academy of Music there was unveiled a portrait of General John C. Fremont, the first candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States and the Pathfinder of Republican principles in this country. (Applause.) During the late disaster which happened to the people of California, in the City of San Francisco, all of the records and property of the California State League of Republican Clubs was destroyed with the exception of this painting of General John C. Fremont. The

picture has been presented to the National League of Republican Clubs with the compliments of the California State League. (Applause.)

We have no permanent club house at the present time, and no headquarters where that portrait can be deposited. Those of us who have attended the sessions of this Convention greatly appreciate the hospitality of the citizens of Philadelphia and particularly of the Young Republicans of Philadelphia. (Applause.) I move Mr. President, that the painting of General John C. Fremont presented to this League be passed into the permanent possession of the National Republican League Executive Committee and that for the present, awaiting the further orders of that Committee, the Young Republican Club be made the temporary custodian thereof.

Mr. Winter, District of Columbia: Mr. President, I second Mr. Redding's motion. Carried.

The President: Mr. Charles H. Sayre, President of the Young Republicans and Chairman of the Committee on reception, who has been a very active worker for the last three days and who I presume is on street duty now would be the proper man to accept the custody of this painting: In his absence however, I will call upon an active member of the Young Republicans, the Chairman of our Local Press Committee, and one of our County Commissioners, to accept this painting on the part of the Young Republicans, Mr. Howard Chase.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the Young Republicans of Philadelphia, one of our oldest and most efficient Republican organizations of this great Commonwealth, I accept the custody of the portrait of the old Pathfinder General John C. Fremont, (Applause.)

The President: I am informed that Henry Gleason, of New York, one of the founders of the National Republican League is on the floor and if it is your pleasure we shall invite him to a place of distinction on the platform.

Mr. Gleason took the platform and was cordially received by the Convention.

The President: I will ask Senator Henry J. Coggeshall, of New York to come to the platform. I am informed that he is one of the most brilliant of the orators in the legislative hall at Albany. Tho' reluctant we shall ask him to speak for five minutes.

ADDRESS BY HENRY J. COGGESHALL.

Mr. President and Boys:—The boys who helped to organize the Republican party, who are here to-day expressing their allegiance to its principles, who fought the battle for the younger members of the party are an inspiration for the magnificent, splendid work that lies before us in the future. The Republican party has a history of which we may well be proud. It has a work to which we must turn our attention and give our most diligent, efficient, and united effort. The Republican League of Clubs, Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Convention, has a work to do, and it must be accomplished not from the rostrum so much, as in earnest, diligent, persistent effort as loyal Republicans believing in its principles and working in its interest and for its success. We need no men who are typified by that fellow in the Civil War, who drew his forces up before him and after a magnificent



CHARLES S. PERVES,
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON
BADGES.

speech on patriotism said to them, "Boys, stand to your guns, remain at your post of duty. Fire until the last round is discharged and then if you must, retreat in good order. I am a little lame and will start now." We don't want that sort of a soldier. We want men who from early morning until late at night, figuratively speaking, will do their share towards success in the different leagues of the State. Now, gentlemen, I didn't come here to make a speech. I came to see and hear and not to be seen or to be heard. We want to gather inspiration from this occasion that will

enable us after our deliberations shall have been concluded, to

work. I remember to have read years ago a speech made by a distinguished member of the United States Senate in which he repeated in paraphrase the old axiom that eloquence consisted in action, in action, in action, and in the crucial days of the Civil War Senator Sumner said, the State of Massachusetts needed just three things in her Commonwealth, among her citizenship, the first of which was, backbone, the second of which was backbone, and the third of which was backbone. I take this platform not with a view of attempting to demonstrate forensic ability but of leaving something with you men to take home with you to exemplify and carry into effect in work, and that is *action*; that is what we need to-day. "With malice towards none, with charity for all," without criticising or condemning the individual judgment of men who may differentiate from us, of men who are in the throes of hysteria, of blind staggers, (politically speaking), who have laid aside the faith of these men of 1856, and who are following after, if I may be permitted a figurative expression, after a false God. I do not mean to say anything to humiliate any individual or to find fault with his ideas but what we need to do is to declare our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party, and if there be any cleaning or any purification to be accomplished in the party, let us accomplish it in the party and not from outside of it. (Applause.)

There are just three things I would have you do, Boys of '56, and Boys of 1906: Go out from this hall, go to your homes, constitute yourself a Committee of One, and from now until the close of the polls next election day, having in view that greater contest which is to ensue two years from now, do three things, the first of which as loyal Republicans is to work, the second of which is to work, the third of which is to work, for the party and for its principles. I believe that when the clouds shall have rolled away the principles of the Republican party throughout the Union, shall be found triumphant. (Applause.)

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio: I move that we now proceed to the selection of the members of the National Executive Committee and Vice Presidents of the several states. The motion was seconded and carried.

The President: Each state delegation under this motion and under the Constitution is entitled to nominate one man to serve upon the National Executive Committee and to nominate one other man to be the National Vice President for that State. Will you kindly get together and write the names of your choice for these two offices upon a slip of paper and hand them up to the secretary.

MR. ARCHER, of Ohio: Mr. President, as most of the delegations have selected their member for Executive Committee and their Vice President, I move you, that the Secretary call the roll of States, and then have each state respond as the name is called, and send the names to the secretary of the Convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

The President: The Secretary will call the roll:

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll and the following were elected National Executive Committeemen and Vice Presidents for the ensuing term:

VICE PRESIDENTS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE.

STATE	VICE PRESIDENT	EX. COMMITTEE
Alabama	Oscar R. Hundley	J. C. Manning
Arkansas	J. C. Russell	H. L. Rimmel
California	J. Harry Russell	Fred K. Rule
	Stockton, Cal.	Los Angeles, Cal.
Colorado	Charles S. Witwer,	Thomas F. Leahy,
	Denver, Col.	Denver.
Connecticut	Gen. E. W. Whittacker	Clinton O. Buckingham
Delaware	William S. Hillis	Dr. C. R. Layton
Dist of Columbia	Henry M. Camp	William L. Symons
Georgia	Harry S. Edwards	George F. White
Idaho	William P. Hayburn	Geo. B. Roberts
Illinois	Clyde A. Morrison,	John S. Brown,
	Chicago	Monmouth
Iowa	H. W. Byers, Harlan,	E. W. Weeks,
	Ia.	Guthrie Center

STATE	VICE-PRESIDENT	EX. COMMITTEE
Kentucky.	William O. Bradley, Louisville	Wm. H. Cod
Maryland	Dr. James H. Jarrett Towson, Md.	Leander Foreman, Govanes, Md.
Michigan	C. A. Palmer	James F. McGregor
Missouri	Fayette P. Grayes, Doe Run, Mo.	Harvey D. Dow, Sedalia, Mo.
Nebraska	G. W. Wattles, Omaha	Geo. W. Neill, York, Neb.
New Jersey	Carl J. Halstedt, Newark	Ira M. Wood, Trenton
New York	Daniel M. Hall, Rome	James B. Reynolds, N. Y. City
Ohio	Foster Houston, South Charleston	Harley V. Spielman, Cin.
Pennsylvania	Saml. J. Wainright	John Sheatz, Phila.
South Carolina	T. U. Tolbert	E. H. Deas
South Dakota	Edward W. Munson, Hartford	Fred. A. Mix, Fort Pier
Tennessee.	H. Clay Evans	W. Morris Harrison
Texas	E. B. Barden, Victoria	O. H. Baum
Washington	Thos. Kavanaugh, Prosser	A. Nichols, Seattle.
West Virginia	Wilbur H. Thomas	Stuart F. Reed
Philippine Islands	L. A. Dorrington, Manila	T. L. Hartigan
Wisconsin	David O. Owen Milwaukee	

The President: You have completed the work of handing in names for Vice Presidents and Executive Committeemen from the various States. If there be any States that are not represented they can hand in their names to the Secretary during the day.

As the Committee on Credentials has not appeared we shall proceed by common consent to hear the report of the Committee on Resolutions. There being no objections the Committee on

Resolutions will report. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey of New York, will now read the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If the Chairman's voice fails, you will please understand that the Committee on Resolutions last night were consulting with the new constellations of the Philippines and Oklahoma. Those who have served upon Committees know that all platforms are compromises. If you don't find your particular resolutions in this platform you will understand that they have been harmonized and that the work of this Committee has been to mould together the broadest general thought embodying the fundamental principles of all resolutions. I present to you the names of the representatives of your Committee, signed by every member present, and I want now to state publicly that you and the Committee, and the Chairman particularly are under a great obligation to a gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Francis Curtis whose aid we were fortunate in securing. We are indebted to him for the most of this magnificent platform. I want you to know Mr. Curtis, and I wish to say that if any State or any other League or any County wants a Republican platform, call on Mr. Francis Curtis of Springfield, Mass. (Applause.) Resolutions read.

The following platform was unanimously concurred in by the Committee on Resolutions of the National Republican League Convention at Philadelphia, June 19, 1906.

PLATFORM.

On this the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party as a National organization, The National Republican League, in convention assembled in this historic Musical Fund Hall, where the pioneers of the party met in 1856 to nominate its first candidates and adopt its first platform, affirms and declares its continued allegiance to the basic principles of Republicanism—Liberty, Honor and Progress.

We stand for that Liberty foreshadowed in the first National Republican platform read from this stage by its framer, David

Wilmot, of Pennsylvania and which demanded free men, free soil, free speech, free press, and equal opportunity to all.

We stand for that Liberty which has been extended to 25,000,000 aliens who have sought our shores, and for the Liberty which has been carried to the oppressed of many isles by the out-pouring of blood and treasures.

We stand for that Honor which has granted in liberal pensions, over \$3,000,000,000 to the survivors of war and the dependents of those who fell in battle; for that Honor which brought resumption of specie payments, made every dollar the equal of gold and our credit and bonds the best in the world.

We stand for that Progress which has come through adequate, universal and equitable Protection to every section, every class and every industry.

The Protection that has developed and maintained a home market of such magnitude as to be no longer compared with that of any other single nation but measured only by those of the entire world combined.

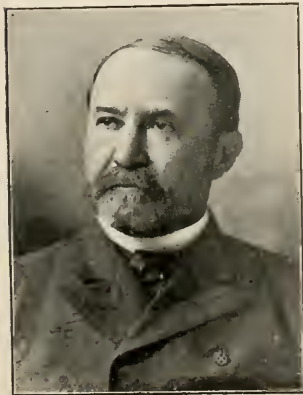
The Protection that also without sacrifice of any portion of this splendid home market has gained for us more of the world's markets than are possessed by any other nation on earth, no matter how cheap its labor or how free its so called raw material. A foreign trade gained in part through recourse to the methods of all other manufacturing nations in some times meeting competition by ruling world prices but without reducing in the least degree American wages which remain the same in manufactures for export and domestic sales.

The Protection that has raised our labor and standard of living to a higher plane by far than can be found elsewhere the world over.

We pay tribute to our great leaders from our first standard bearer, John C. Fremont and Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, to Theodore Roosevelt, our present leader, the world's first citizen, who through his rugged honesty, his persistent determination, his unflagging courage and his demand for a square deal for every person and every interest, has gained not only the respect of love of his fellow countrymen, but the esteem and admiration of all mankind.

With the memory of our great leaders and the record of our party's achievements and efforts we enter another half century filled with inspiration, determination and confidence that we shall march onward to still greater heights of advancement and prosperity.

We indorse the sentiment of William McKinley, that the principle of a Protective Tariff is sacred, but that schedules should be changed when conditions of industry, commerce and finance demand, and not till then should we change a Tariff which is giving us a surplus of revenue; unparalleled activity in our factories, forests and mines; profitable prices for the products of our farms; greater bank clearings and relatively less failures than ever before; a continually larger volume of employment at higher wages, resulting in unprecedented consumption of not only the necessaries but comforts, conveniences and luxuries in life, augmented withal by larger savings and investments than have previously been recorded in our history. We believe that these year-after-year record breaking results justify us in declaring that the Dingley Law is the most just, equitable and perfect tariff law ever enacted and a more perfect law than, under present conditions, we could get in its place with the inevitable disturbance to business which should be avoided as long as possible.



GEN. FRED. D. GRANT, U. S. A.
REVIEWING OFFICER JUBILEE
PARADE.

We approve of the action of the present Congress in carrying out the recommendations of President Roosevelt by more advanced legislation than has been given us in a single session since the days of Civil War.

We have a just pride in our party's record in its settlement of the currency question through the adoption of the gold standard; in the establishment and development of the rural free delivery system now extended to more than 30,000 routes and 3,000,000 homes; in the progress made in opening

our arid lands to cultivation through irrigation; in the well begun work of connecting ocean and ocean with an Isthmian canal; in the many laws looking to the welfare of labor and in the completed or pending legislation providing for equitable railroad regulation in interstate commerce; for better inspection of all food products; for free alcohol; for a new State; for an American Merchant Marine and the many other important measures which have been or are to be considered.

We are opposed to all illegal combinations in restraint of trade, whereby the interests of either producers or consumers are injured or whereby, through monopoly, rates and prices of products are controlled at the expense of the masses. We wage no war on capital or corporations as such, but we do ask for equity and justice *to all, by all and for all*.

We strongly favor legislation for the restoration of an American Merchant Marine, for the purposes of paying to our own people the hundreds of millions now paid to foreign interests, for the further promotion of foreign commerce, and an invaluable reserve power of ships and men in case of war.

We endorse the movement for the construction of deep waterways wherever needed and urge such legislation as will at the earliest possible day enable the country to take advantage of the facilities it is believed will be afforded by the construction of such waterways.

We are opposed to the inequality which permits one twelfth of the voters of the country to wield one-quarter of the National legislative power. The suppression and denial of suffrage demands the reduction of the power so usurped and the denial of suffrage should never be rewarded with political premiums. The Democracy of at least 11 states should be deprived of its unfair preponderance of power, and the full measure of political rights secured to every qualified citizen, white or black, who is capable and willing to assert his political manhood. The political party that profits by the suppression of the ballot is not to be trusted with the making or administration of the Nation's laws.

We reiterate the demand of our last National platform that our Republican majority in Congress should courageously carry out the principles and pledges of the party and enact such legis-

lation as will make all the Constitutional Amendments absolutely and finally effective.

In the promulgation of these principles we extend a welcome in equal and loyal membership to all American citizens of foreign birth who sympathize with our aims and pledge their devotion to the upbuilding of the Republicanism of Lincoln and Roosevelt in the continued development of the vast resources of our country and the exaltation of its citizenship.

SIGNED BY THE COMMITTEE.

A. B. HUMPHREY, New York Chairman.
 FRANCIS CURTIS, Chairman Sub-Committee.
 WILLIAM NOBLE, Oklahoma
 HENRY M. CAMP, District of Columbia
 GEO. F. WHITE, Georgia
 WILLIAM H. PARRY, New Jersey
 GEO. H. ROBERTS, Boise, Idaho
 E. P. BARDON, Texas
 W. H. COX, Kentucky
 JOHN F. GOLDENBOGEN, Ohio
 E. W. MUNSON, Hartford, South Dakota
 E. H. VANCE, Jr. Arkansas
 A. DONNELL, Marshal, Delaware
 JOHN S. BROWN, Illinois
 EDWIN W. LEE Missouri

CHAIRMAN HUMPHREY: MR. CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions I move the adoption of the resolutions. Seconded by Gen. Roberts of Idaho, and Mr. Goldenbogen, of Ohio, and Mr. Powers of Illinois.

MR. COGGESHALL, of New York: Mr. President, our Chairman and our Secretary displayed unusual ability in securing the services of such a distinguished writer as Mr. Francis Curtis, of Springfield, Mass., in preparing this platform. I feel that it is a platform upon which not only the League, but the Republican party of Pennsylvania and the nation will march on to victory later on. I second the motion made, that we adopt the platform

and as an evidence of our earnest appreciation of it, that we adopt it by a rising vote.

The platform was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The President: Gentlemen—Since special reference has been made to the gentlemen who had quite a hand in forming this document, our platform, I desire to say in addition to what has already been said, that Mr. Francis Curtis, of Springfield, Mass., is the author of the history of the Republican party, which brought it down through the period of the fifty years we are celebrating. I take great pleasure in requesting Mr. Curtis to rise in his place on the platform, and in presenting him to you

Mr. Curtis acknowledged the compliment, and, without comment, bowed to the Convention.

The Chairman: The Chair at this time takes the opportunity to announce the appointment of the Special Committee provided for to take into consideration the recommendation of Dr. Wallian's paper with regard to the restoration of the grave of John C. Fremont and the erection of some suitable monument thereon. The Chair now appoints upon that Committee:

GEN. H. E. TREMAIN, of New York
 HENRY GLEASON, of New York
 CHARLES R. BORZILLIERI, of Buffalo, N. Y.
 SAMUEL S. WALLIEN, of New York
 T. B. M. ADDIS, of Philadelphia, Pa.

MR. WHITE, of Georgia: Mr. President: Gentlemen of the Convention: I wish on behalf of the Executive Committee to inform the delegates of a Resolution that was passed this morning by the Executive Committee.

The President: As this Resolution contemplates a compliment to the retiring officers of the League, I leave it to the Convention to see this matter through.

Mr. White read:

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT HOTEL WALTON,
 PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 19TH, 1906, 9 A. M.

Minutes of special meeting at St. Louis read and approved.

Mr. Gus. A. Schult offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Be it resolved by the members of the National Republican League Executive Committee, that, under authority given us by the Constitution of the National Republican League, life memberships in the National League are this day conferred upon the following retiring general officers of the League

J. HAMPTON MOORE, President
 Sid B. REDDING, Vice President
 E. W. WEEKS, Secretary
 W. G. PORTER, Treasurer.

A vote of thanks was extended to the retiring officers.

On motion meeting adjourned.

MR. TRENOR, of New York: Mr. President. We beg leave to submit the following report of the Committee on the death of the late Thomas Marnell, of Syracuse, N. Y. Mr. Trenor read the resolution:

The National Republican League of Clubs, in Convention assembled, fully appreciating the great part taken by those of foreign birth, both in the upbuilding of this country and the maintenance of the highest standard of citizenship, hereby desires to express the sense of its loss by reason of the death of the late Thomas Marnell of Syracuse, N. Y., one whose career as a business man and citizen will always remain as an inspiration to his fellow countrymen.

It further begs to extend to his family its profound sympathy in their irreparable bereavement.

JOHN J. D. TRENOR, Chairman
 CHAS. R. BORZILLIERI
 MICHEAL DEL POVA
 ELLIOT LORD
 FRANK J. BECKER.

Mr. Chairman: I not only move the adoption of this report, but also that the Chairman of the Committee be empowered to transmit a copy of the Resolution to the family of the deceased.

On motion, carried.

Mr. Seabury, of New York: Mr. President: I move that the preamble and resolutions—the platform of this Convention—as submitted, and endorsed by this Convention, be printed and sent to the Administration, to Congress, and to every Club that is a member of this Organization in the United States. Seconded and carried.

The President: If there is no objection we will take up the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Mr. William S. Odell is Chairman of that Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business read the Report :

RULES OF ORDER.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business make the following report, to wit:

1. The Rules of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania shall govern the proceedings of this Convention, so far as applicable, otherwise Cushing's Manual of parliamentary practice shall govern.

2. The order of business for the guidance of this Convention shall be as follows:

First: Reports of Officers.

Second: Report of Committee on Credentials.

Third: Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Fourth: Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Fifth: Nomination and Election of Officers, in the following order:

First: President

Second: Vice President.

Third: Secretary.

Fourth: Treasurer.

Sixth: Nominating speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, and seconding speeches to five minutes.

Seventh: The Secretary shall call the Roll of States and Territories in alphabetical order for nominations, and after all names have been presented the President shall order a ballot, The Secretary shall call the roll of States and Territories in alphabetical order, and the Chairman of each Delegation shall announce the vote. In case the vote is challenged the Chairman shall poll the delegation and announce the result to the Convention. Delegates present shall be entitled to cast the full vote of the State or Territory of which they are bona fide representatives. In no case shall the vote of a state or territory be cast or counted unless such state or territory is represented on the floor of the Convention

by a duly and regularly elected delegation, all members of which must be residents thereof.

Eighth: A majority of all the votes cast in the Convention shall be necessary to a choice.

Ninth: A call of the Roll shall be had upon the demand of any two States or Territories.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM S. ODELL, Chairman

GUY GUERNSEY, Secretary

F. B. ARCHER

CHAS. F. BUSCHE

H. L. REMMEL

WM. NOBLE.

Mr. President: I move the adoption of this Report.

Mr. Guernsey, of Illinois, seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

The President: Gentlemen: I wish to bring before you a proposition which is quite lengthy, and earnest from the Hon. Ferd. K. Rule, President of the California State League, to bring the next National Convention to California, I bring it before you to discuss the question of time and place.

MR. EDWARDS, of Allegheny: I move you that the question of time and place for holding the next National Convention be referred to the incoming National Executive Committee.

MR. ALBUS, of Missouri, seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

The Prseident: Mr. Guido Gores, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, is now ready to report for that Committee.

Chairman Gores: Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention: I should like to be permitted to take up a few moments of your time, simply to explain the apparent slowness of the Committee in getting the work done. (Mr. Gores gave a number of reasons, which seemed satisfactory to the Convention, and then read his Report.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Gentlemen:--Your Committee on Credentials most respect-

fully submit to this Convention the following report of its proceedings, to wit:—

Committee organized June 18th, at 7 o'clock P. M. by electing for its temporary Chairman, Guido Gores, Ohio, and for temporary Secretary, Chauncey Dewey, Illinois, and on motion adjourned to 9 o'clock A. M., June 19th, when the meeting was called to order at the Hotel Walton by the temporary Chairman as aforesaid the committee then proceeded to effect permanent organization by electing aforesaid temporary officers, permanent Chairman and Secretary respectively.

By resolution unanimously carried the Committee determined that in passing upon credentials presented, it should be governed by two main considerations as follows:—

No delegate shall be recommended to be seated in this Convention unless he is a bona fide resident and voter of the State which he applies to be allowed to represent.

Only delegates, qualified as aforesaid, who present to this committee credentials properly executed and filed as required by the constitution of this League shall be recommended by this Committee as entitled to a seat in this Convention.

Your committee further begs to report, accordingly, that the following states have presented proper credentials and are represented by duly qualified delegates and recommends that they be seated as follows:

Arkansas, 38	Kentucky, 54	Pennsylvania, 138
California 42,	Maryland, 34	S. Carolina, 38
Connecticut, 30	Michigan, 58	S. Dakota, 18
District of Columbia 10	Missouri, 74	Texas, 74
Georgia, 54	Nebraska, 34	Virginia, 50
Illinois, 110	New Jersey, 50	West Virginia, 30
Indiana, 62	New York, 158	Wisconsin, 54
Iowa, 54	Ohio, 94	Philippine Islands, 1

The above list of qualified delegates your Committee unanimously recommends to be seated in this Convention.

The Committee further beg to report that in the following instances documents in various forms were presented to your Committee as credentials and that the Committee did not deem it proper to recommend the seating of delegations thereon, and in almost every instance for the further reason also that no person duly qualified as aforesaid to represent such States were known by the Committee or could be ascertained to be in attendance of this Convention, to wit the following:—

Alabama, Delaware, Idaho, Oregon, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, American College League, Kansas.

Your Committee further begs to report that its apportionment of votes as above to the duly qualified delegates is based upon the table of Congressional Representation prepared by the Secretary of the National Republican League, which figures your Committee adopted, allowing each duly qualified State as required by Constitution of the National Republican League a total consisting of 4 delegates for each Congressional District, 6 delegates at large, and 4 additional delegates respectively covering President, Secretary of each State League, and 2 United States Senators.

In submitting this report to this Convention your Committee begs to emphasize that on giving everything presented fullest consideration and exhaustively going over the material in hand, the above report was unanimously agreed upon.

Respectfully submitted,

GUIDO GORES, Chairman.

ATTEST:

CHAUNCY DEWEY, Secretary.

I move the adoption of the Report.

A long discussion followed the reading of the Report of the Committee on Credentials.

President Moore, and Vice President Redding explained all points that were not thoroughly understood, and Mr. McKay, of the State of Washington, Mr. Archer, of Ohio, Mr. Voorhis, of Ohio, Mr. Busche, of Delaware, Mr. Spielman, of Ohio, Mr. Rimmel, of Arkansas, spoke when finally, Mr. Spielman, of Ohio, after having heard the statements of President Moore, said—

Mr. President: I think we are all satisfied that the following States should be included in this Report, and I move that they

be added and included and made a part of the Report of the Committee on Credentials:

Alaska	Oklahoma	Washington
Delaware	Tennessee	Idaho
Michigan	Colorado	Minnesota

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Further discussion followed, on adding the names of the States of Vermont and Kansas.

Vice President Redding was in the Chair, and Mr. McKay of the State of Washington called for a ruling on the proposition to add the names of Vermont and Kansas to the other States that had been included.

The Chairman: Instead of insisting that the Chair rule on these points, on the question of admitting the State of Kansas, I will put the proposition before the Convention.

MR. MCKAY: I rise to a point of order, and it is that you have adopted a rule for this Convention in accepting and adopting the Report of the Committee on Rules, that a delegate must be credited to the State and elected by that State.

The Chairman: The Convention has rescinded that rule by admitting some States that are not properly credited under the rule, and the Chair declines to rule in the face of the will of the Convention. (Applause.)

MR. VIRDIN, of Philadelphia: Mr. Chairman, I want to say this to you, that if you are going to continue seating men here in this Convention without their credentials, that they will fail to come here to another League Convention, and nobody will come here with credentials.

The Chairman: All in favor of admitting the State of Kansas and adding the delegation from that State to the original report of the Committee on Credentials, please say Aye.

The motion was lost.

The President, J. Hampton Moore, took the Chair.

The President: Nominations for President are now in order, and the Secretary will call the roll.

Secretary Weeks called the roll.

MR. REMMELL, of Arkansas, nominated Harry H. Myers, of Little Rock, Arkansas, for President.

MR. JOHN A. STEWART, of New York, nominated Gen. E. A. McAlpin, of New York, for President.

MR. BUSCHE, of Delaware, seconded the nomination of Mr. H. H. Myers.

GEN. ROBERTS, of Idaho, seconded the nomination of Gen. E. A. McAlpin.

MR. WHITE, of Georgia, seconded the nomination of Gen. E. A. McAlpin.

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio, nominated Hon. Scott Bonham, of Ohio, for President.

MR. MCKAY, of Washington, seconded the nomination of Gen. McAlpin.

A delegate from New Jersey seconded the nomination of Scott Bonham, of Ohio.

Nominations closed, and the President appointed Mr. Harry W. Keeley and C. Philip Waters, tellers.

After the votes had been taken, Secretary Weeks announced that—Scott Bonham, of Ohio, had received $258\frac{1}{3}$ votes, H. H. Myers, of Arkansas, had received $395\frac{1}{3}$ votes, Gen. E. A. McAlpin, of New York, had received $852\frac{1}{3}$ votes, a total of 1,506 votes.

The President declared Gen. E. A. McAlpin elected President of the National League of Republican Clubs for the ensuing term.

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio, moved that the election of Gen. E. A. McAlpin, of New York, be made unanimous.

MR. REMMEL, of Arkansas, on behalf of the delegation from Arkansas, seconded the motion, Unanimously carried.

The President: Gen. McAlpin has been unanimously elected President of the National League, and I appoint Hon. Henry H. Myers and Hon. Scott Bonham, to escort Gen. McAlpin to the platform.

The President: Give me one last word. I have made no formal address to this assemblage and have given you no stereotyped report. The Republican National League was entrusted to my care and that of my official colleagues four years ago at Chicago. I undertook that work with the cordial co-operation and with the friendly assistance of men, who have since become stalwart friends of mine in every state and territory of this Union. Permit me to say, now that you have elected my successor, that I turn

over to him, this League free from debt, as I received it, so that he may go rejoicing on his way. (Applause.)

Let me express the hope that the Board of Officers, who will come in with him will give the same loyal, firm and friendly assistance that the Board, with whom I was associated, gave me, that he may find all over this country a renewed spirit amongst young Republicans, and amongst League workers, that will induce him to go on and on to a higher and grander plane in the work of Republicanism, than the League has ever gone before. Permit me to introduce to you your new President, General E. A. McAlpin, of New York, who will now take the Chair.

General McAlpin took the Chair and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS BY GEN. MC ALPIN.

Veterans of Fifty-Six, Members of the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

For the honor that has been conferred upon me I am deeply grateful.

The great work that is before us can only be accomplished by co-operation of the vast body of members in all parts of the country. The battle cry must be for officers and men, organization and work. I accept the office of President of the League of Republican Clubs with a deep sense of the seriousness of its duties, and I pledge myself to do all in my power to make our League the greatest force for good, honest, and successful politics in the United States.

Greater opportunities and greater duties than ever lie before us. If I can, during my term of office, seize those opportunities and perform those duties as the retiring President has performed his, then I shall indeed have merited the honor of your confidence.

The policy of the Republican party has from the beginning been one of construction. Fifty years ago these sturdy and sagacious men saw that political conditions were drifting into the quicksands of slavery and disunion. They did not aim to destroy yet boldly refusing to consider the present cost to them, they replaced the Government upon the broad and deep foundation of everlasting principles.

Opportunists shuddered, but time has vindicated the bold men who founded the Republican party. The reunited country has taken its place at the head of all nations. Not only do we lead in the promulgation of the principles of political and religious liberty, universal peace, and government not by men, but by equal and just laws, but devotion to great principles has brought us in fifty years an increase in general material prosperity through economic progress and industrial development never before equalled in any age or in any land. Only the pulse of true national life could bring about the respect of the world for American principles and only under national unity based upon those principles could be possible the tremendous increase in our domestic commerce and the march of our foreign commerce under the flag into American lands upon which the sun never sets, and the brightening of our galaxy of stars from the original thirteen into a constellation of forty-nine great American commonwealths. And this, you, Heroes of Fifty-Six, made possible by constructing a great party upon great principles.

These men built upon the foundation of 1856. They fought for human freedom, and the Republican party has established the great privileges of American citizenship from Maine to the Philippines, and from Alaska to Porto Rico, and that march was started under the Bear Flag of Fremont the Path-finder who first brought Republican freedom to the Pacific. And now, after fifty years, this great party is entering upon a new struggle for American liberty—the fight for industrial freedom. Who shall say that the nation will turn from the traditions and the party which by firm and persistent adherence to the great principles of justice and equality have made the American citizen the freest man on earth? Following in the path of the last fifty years, building upon the foundations of the present, and taking new heart and inspiration from the simple example of those stout hearted men of Fifty-Six, we pledge ourselves to set the Standard of Republicanism higher and higher, and to march on in the fight for industrial freedom under honest and efficient government from victory to victory.

President McAlpin: Gentlemen what is your pleasure?

MR. GOLDENBOGEN, of Ohio: Mr. President, I move you that the rules be suspended and that Mr. Henry H. Myers, of Arkansas, be elected Vice President of this organization by acclamation. The motion was seconded, and unanimously carried.

There were cries for Vice President elect, H. H. Myers of Little Rock, Arkansas.

The President:—Gentlemen of the Convention, I take pleasure in presenting to you your new Vice President, Mr. H. H. Myers, of Little Rock, Arkansas.

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT, H. H. MYERS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of this great Convention: I assure you from the depth of the most grateful heart that this is one of the greatest and most unexpected honors of my life. I am a Republican because I want to share and continue to share in the great heritage of our party. I want to continue to share in the great heritage of the names of Fremont and Lincoln and McKinley and Roosevelt and all the rest who have made our party great. (Applause.)

Arkansas is going to be a Republican state, gentlemen. You have heard of the Arkansas traveler down in my state. In one campaign I was riding over the mountains by the side of a precipice 300 feet high, as smooth as this desk and out of the middle of that rock burst forth the purest stream of water, I ever beheld. The guide, who was with me, said, "That, Governor, is the rock that Moses struck" and as the gushing stream of water rushed forth, I was reminded of the Republican votes that will come forth in our state during the coming campaign.

I also in that section, discovered the most magnificent red apple I ever saw in all the world and I concluded if this is the rock that Moses struck that the northwestern part of Arkansas was the Garden of Eden at one time.

I did not blame Eve for taking of that luscious fruit even if she did balk. I will predict that at the next national meeting of the Republican Clubs the delegation from Arkansas will come from a Republican state. (Applause.)

MR. SPIELMAN, of Ohio:—Mr. President, we have given recognition to the great state of New York and we have given recog-

dition to the coming great state of Arkansas and now it seems to me that it is fitting and proper that we give due recognition to that other great state, the central state, of Illinois. On behalf of the delegation from Ohio I move you that the rules be suspended and that the secretary of this convention be instructed to cast the vote of this convention for the Honorable Chauncey Dewey of the Hamilton Club of Chicago, for Secretary of this League.

MR. WINTER, of the District of Columbia: Mr. Pollett of New Jersey, Mr. Tremain, of New York and Mr. McCay of the state of Washington discussed the motion which was duly seconded and carried, and the secretary, Mr. E. W. Weeks, in accordance with the instruction of the convention, cast a ballot for Mr. Dewey, of Chicago, who was declared elected for the ensuing term. On motion, duly seconded and carried, Mr. W. D. Porter, of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, was re-elected Treasurer. On motion the convention adjourned.

ORGANIZING THE JUBILEE CELEBRATION.

The Jubilee celebration was held under the auspices of the National League of Republican Clubs,—the Pennsylvania State League and the allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia co-operating.



HARRY W. KEELY,
SECRETARY A. R. C.

The details were arranged largely by the Allied Republican Clubs. These three organizations have had a common origin and are closely related. The National Republican League is the outcome of a meeting of representatives of Republican Clubs of the United States held in Chickering Hall, New York City, December 15, 1887. At the time of its formation the spirit of James G. Blaine permeated the ranks of Republicans and the fighting blood of young Republicans was everywhere aroused. It was proposed to strengthen the Republican organization by interesting

young men in politics, especially first voters and independents. The constitution adopted by the first Convention thus defined the purposes of the new organization.

“The objects of the League are to encourage and to assist in the formation of permanent Republican Clubs and State Leagues, to unite such clubs and leagues for effective and organized work, and generally to advance the principles of the Republican party.”

Three words more than all others, described the necessity of the hour and have since continued to animate the work of the League—agitation, education, organization.

It was understood in the beginning, and has continued to be understood to this time, that the League was to advocate, promote and maintain Republican party principles and not to originate or promote candidates for office in advance of the action of the regular party convention. The plan met with instant approval on



J. HAMPTON MOORE
PRESIDENT NATIONAL LEAGUE DURING JUBILEE

the part of the national leaders and was generally accepted by the leaders of the States and Territories.

Since the Chickering Hall meeting the work of League organizations has been going on, the doors of the general offices being open upon every working day for the dissemination of information or the promotion of organization.

In national campaigns the League has been of great service and in Congressional elections it has been useful, vigilant and effective.

At first the National Conventions of the League were held annually, but inasmuch as those who represented the various clubs were volunteers engaged in party service at their own expense and for other reasons deemed sufficient, it was decided, in 1898, to substitute biennial for annual conventions.

Since the convention at Chickering Hall in 1887, national conventions of the League have been held as follows:

Feb. 28, 1889, Baltimore, Md.	June 19, 1895, Cleveland, Ohio
Mar. 4, 1890, Nashville, Tenn.	Aug. 12, 1896, Milwaukee, Wis.
Apl. 23, 1891, Cincinnati, Ohio	July 15, 1897, Detroit, Mich.
Sept. 16, 1892, Buffalo, N. Y.	July 13, 1898, Omaha, Neb.
May 10, 1893, Louisville, Ky.	July 16, 1900, St. Paul, Minn.
June 26, 1894, Denver, Colo.	October 23, 1902, Chicago, Ills.
	Oct. 5-6, 1904, Indianapolis, Ind.

At each of these conventions distinguished party men have been participants in the proceedings and have given expression to utterances that have provided important material for ensuing campaigns. Men who have risen to the Presidency, notably McKinley and Roosevelt, have been guests and active supporters of League work; in fact, it is claimed that the idea of amalgamating the clubs of the State for active party service originated in Ohio in the interest of Major McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, made his famous address at the St. Paul Convention of the League prior to the National Convention in Philadelphia which nominated McKinley for President and Roosevelt for Vice President.

So important has the work of the League been in its relation to the regular Republican organization that the Presidency

of the League attracted candidates of national celebrity. One of the leading men who has been the head of the League was Hon. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, afterwards United States Senator. James S. Clarkson, of Iowa, Assistant Postmaster-General and for many years one of the most conspicuous managers of national campaigns, also served in a similar capacity.

The first President was Hon. James P. Foster, of New York City, elected at the celebrated Chickering Hall meeting, December 1887.

Senator John M. Thurston, the second Vice President, was elected in Baltimore, 1889. Then came General Clarkson, and after him Hon. William W. Tracy, of Chicago, and Hon. L. J. Crawford, of Lexington, Kentucky. General Edwin A. McAlpin, a prominent New Yorker, next assumed office, and following him came D. D. Woodmansee, a distinguished lawyer of Cincinnati, Ohio, and warm friend of President McKinley.

Hon. George Stone of San Francisco, Chairman of the Republican State Committee and Adjutant-General of California, then assumed the office, and gave way at St. Paul, in 1900, to Senator Isaac Miller Hamilton, of Chicago, who remained in control until the biennial Convention, Chicago, 1902. which elected as President, J. Hampton Moore, City Treasurer of Philadelphia, who was re-elected at Indianapolis in 1904.



ALBERT J. EDWARDS,
PRESIDENT PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LEAGUE.

The Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs grew out of the meeting held in Chickering Hall, New York, when the National League was organized. In April of the following

year (1888) Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, Edwin S. Stuart, afterwards Mayor of Philadelphia; Charles F. Warwick, also elected Mayor; Charles Emory Smith, subsequently Postmaster General; State Senator Christopher L. Magee; Recorder of Deeds George Von Bonnhurst, of Pittsburg; L. A. Watres, afterwards Lieutenant Governor, and Major Everett Warren, issued a call for a

convention at Lancaster. A number of clubs responded by sending delegates, who organized the State League, with Edwin S. Stuart of Philadelphia, as President. The Vice Presidents were: Major Everett Warren, John B. Robinson and Burr W. McIntosh. The latter distinguished himself in various ways, first as reporter of the Press, then as an actor and later as a soldier during the Spanish-American War. H. T. Fairlamb was elected Secretary and William Thornton, Treasurer; headquarters were established in Philadelphia, and new clubs were organized throughout the State, the League taking an active part in the campaign, resulting in the election of Harrison and Morton.

At the second convention, held in Pittsburg, in 1889, Hon. Edwin S. Stuart was re-elected President, and he was again re-elected at the third convention, which met in Philadelphia, in 1890, and was addressed by United States Senator John M. Thurston, of Nebraska; Congressman Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, and Congressman John P. Dolliver of Iowa.

At the fourth convention, held in Scranton in 1891, there was a spirited contest for the Presidency between Congressman John B. Robinson, of Media, and John Dalzell of Pittsburg, Mr. Robinson being ultimately elected unanimously, on motion of Mr. Dalzell. Mr. Robinson was re-elected in 1892, the convention being held in Williamsport and a prize banner was awarded to the Young Men's Tariff Club of Pittsburg, for making the finest appearance at the National League Convention at Buffalo. Congressman Robinson was again re-elected in 1893, when the sixth convention was held at Reading. In the parade of clubs the Anti-Cobden Club, of Philadelphia, carried off the prize banner, the West Chester Pioneer Club winning second honors.

Major Everett Warren was elected President at the seventh convention, held at Harrisburg, in 1894, and the work of the League was shown in the tremendous majority given to Governor Hastings in the election of that year.

The eighth convention, held at New York, in 1895, re-elected Major Warren as President and put in line of promotion as Vice Presidents, J. Hampton Moore, of Philadelphia, and Isadore Sobel, of Erie.

The ninth convention met in Erie, in 1896, and elected Mr.

Sobel President. He was re-elected at the tenth convention, which met at Williamsport, in 1897. In 1898, the eleventh convention was held in Pittsburg, and a representative club worker of that city, Magistrate Archibald Mackrell, was chosen President. The twelfth convention met at Harrisburg, in 1899, and elected J. Hampton Moore, President.

At the Harrisburg convention so little interest was manifested in the affairs of the League that many predicted its early disappearance from the scene of political activity. Under the vigorous administration of the new President, however, the condition of the organization soon began to show marked improvement, both numerically and financially.

The thirteenth annual convention was held at the Walnut Street Theatre in the City of Philadelphia, and was followed by one of the most remarkable banquets at Belmont Mansion, ever given in this State. Mr. Moore was re-elected President.

At the fourteenth convention, held at Scranton, in 1900, he retired in favor of Mr. Frederick W. Fleitz, Deputy Attorney General of the Commonwealth, under the happiest auspices. Mr. Fleitz took active charge of the League and brought its business up to the fifteenth annual convention, held in the City of Erie, in October, 1901, where it opened the gubernatorial campaign. Mr. Fleitz was re-elected at Erie and retired at the sixteenth annual convention, held in the City of Wilkes-Barre, in favor of Mr. John R. Wiggins, of Philadelphia, who was re-elected in 1904. At Easton, in 1905, Hon. Albert J. Edwards, of Pittsburg was elected President, being re-elected at the Golden Jubilee Convention, in 1906.

The coming to Philadelphia of the National Convention of 1900, which nominated McKinley and Roosevelt, put new energy into the Republican organizations of the City and State. At that time the State League of Republican Clubs was presided over by J. Hampton Moore, who conceived the idea of organizing all of the Philadelphia clubs into a homogeneous body, which became famous throughout the country subsequently as "The Allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia and Vicinity," with headquarters located at the Union Republican Club House, Philadelphia.

The State League, in conjunction with the Allied Republican Clubs, entered vigorously into all the work incident to the reception and entertainment of delegates and visitors to the National Convention. Never before in the history of the city were so many Republicans enrolled in the various clubs, nor was more genuine party enthusiasm displayed. Committees were formed to assist visitors in every possible way to comfort and enjoyment. Club houses everywhere were thrown open and entertainments lasting for days were freely given. Large amounts of money were raised and spent to maintain the proverbial hospitality of the "City of Brotherly Love." The Union Republican Club House was a Mecca of all pilgrims and was visited by thousands. All kinds of courtesies were shown. Cards were issued entitling visitors to the freedom of many of the club houses and public institutions and also admitting them to the Convention Hall on certain days. Under the auspices of the Allied Republican Clubs, a great parade, marshaled by General Louis Wagner, was arranged for June 18th. and from the Union Club headquarters was reviewed by National Chairman Hanna, Senator Scott, General Dick, Mr. Manley, of Maine; Mr. Payne, afterwards Postmaster General, and many other distinguished men. Upwards of thirty thousand young men were in line on that night, with banners and devices indicating their loyalty to party and their devotion to country.

Under the same auspices, on the evening of June 19th, a reception and mass meeting was held in the Academy of Music, presided over by the President of the Allied Republican Clubs, and addressed by United States Senator John M. Thurston, former President of the National Republican League, and others.

The organization comprises the Philadelphia clubs in the Pennsylvania State League and is still maintained ready to respond to call for action. Its existence greatly simplified the work of preparing for the Jubilee celebration.

At the meeting of the Allied Republican Clubs held January 25, 1906, Charles H. Sayre, President of the Republican Clubs moved that the President be authorized to appoint a committee to take into consideration the proposed celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party. This motion was adopted and the movement excited so much

interest that at the next meeting, February, more than 700 delegates attended, nearly every ward in the city being represented. At this meeting Charles H. Sayres, Chairman of the Committee



W. N. STEVENSON,
ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE A. P. C.

on organization reported a plan for reorganization and a provisional programme for the Golden Jubilee celebration, and the report was adopted.

The plan of reorganization provided for the admission of three delegates from each Republican Club of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey and for government by the usual officers and an Executive committee appointed by the President. Contributions to a fund of \$10,000 to meet expenses of the celebration were invited and at this first meeting subscriptions amounting to \$1,630.00 were received.

The provisional programme adopted was substantially the same as that which was subsequently carried out.

Besides the Executive Committee, sub-committees were appointed on Finance, Press, Transportation, Badges, Publication of Official Programme, Organization of Citizen's Committee, organization of Fremont and Lincoln Voters, Headquarters and Visitors Quarters, Reception of Delegates, Entertainments, Musical Fund Hall arrangements, Academy of Music Arrangements, Street Demonstration, Atlantic City Excursion and banquet. All of these committees entered zealously into their work, the Executive Committee met weekly and meetings of the general organization were held monthly in various parts of the city. For the proposed trip to Atlantic City, an excursion to Willow Grove was substituted but otherwise the original programme was carried out.

The officers were as follows:

J. HAMPTON MOORE, President
CHARLES H. SAYRE, Vice President
JOHN VIRDIN, Vice President

JOHN O. SHEATZ, Treasurer
 GUSTAV BACHARACH, Secretary
 HARRY W. KEELY, Assistant Secretary
 J. WESLEY CONN, Financial Secretary
 MURDOCH KENDRICK, Solicitor
 GLENN C. MEAD, Solicitor
 JOHN McCLINTOCK, Solicitor.

The following Committees were appointed :

PRESS COMMITTEE.

HOWARD A. CHASE, Chairman	CHARLES R. DIETZ
C. JOSEPH DACEY	THOMAS M. MERRY
ISAAC M. PLOUCHER	JOSEPH KESTER
JOSEPH KELLEY	THOMAS H. MOORE
GEORGE FISCHER	EDMUND OLIVER
WILLIAM F. TOTTEN	JOHN RUTHERFORD
WILLIAM MAISENHELDER	THOMAS HUTCHINSON
JONATHAN KNIGHT	JOHN EMHART, SR.
PHILIP MCCOY	JACOB L. TYSON
JESSE PALLATT	ROBERT MOORE
WILLIAM PROUD	FRANK SWEET
JOSEPH M. HARRISON	THOMAS STANLEY
E. H. FAHEY	THOMAS GRIFFITHS

COMMITTEE ON ACADEMY OF MUSIC ARRANGEMENTS.

GLENN C. MEAD, Chairman	GEORGE GIDEON
S. G. LOCK	GEORGE S. DEAL
THEODORE SAEYLING	LEON STRAUSS
JAMES A. MACFARLAND	W. W. SUMMERS
BENJAMIN DONALDSON	SIMON WALTER
JAMES NIXON	ROBERT BIRCHALL
GEORGE RAHN	RICHARD L. BIRELY
HARVEY GILDAY	A. T. WADSWORTH
THOMAS KENNEDY	FRED. M. WAGNER
GEORGE W. PRACHTEL	JOHN SCANLIN
J. ELLWOOD MCKINLEY	CHARLES Z. WOLFF
HARRY RIEBEL	WILLIAM A. SWIFT
HARRY PFETZING	J. LORD RIGBY

WILLIAM WILKINSON	R. C. MONTELIUS
LEWIS GOODFRIEND	A. HEATON MINNICK
ANTHONY H. GEUTING	FRANK ROMA
CHARLES S. WARFIELD	OTTO R. HEILIGMAN
J. B. MYER	GEORGE F. UBER
JAMES KANE	E. WARING WILSON
WILLIAM R. WOOTERS	EDWIN M. ABBOTT
LEWIS H. VAN DUSEN	W. K. JOHNSON
HENRY B. SCHAFFER, JR.	ALFRED G. POTTS
HARRY W. MACE	JAS. H. HENDERSON
HORACE STOY	EDMUND B. COTTERELL
EDWARD P. DOYLE	WILLIAM CLEMENTS
JOHN MCCAUGHEY	SIMEON P. COLLINS
	NEAL C. BRIGGS

TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE.

GUSTAV BACHARACH, Chairman	HARRY HENDRICKSON
A. S. BUTTERWORTH	RICHARD CURRY
GEORGE W. DUNN	WILLIAM J. DONOHUE
THEODORE LEONHARDT	ELLIS B. MCCLENAGHAN
JAMES F. HERRON	CLINTON A. SOWERS
FREDERICK SMITH	JOSHUA P. HARRIS
JAMES R. CRAM	J. W. FITZPATRICK
R. L. LEDBETTER	JAMES T. DAVIS
WILLIAM H. BEIDEMAN	SAMUEL FOWLER
B. S. C. THOMAS	HARRY C. HUFF
FRANK SCHANTZ	GEORGE MOXON

COMMITTEE ON BADGES.

CHARLES S. PURVES, Chairman	WILLIAM BRAUN
GEORGE W. MORRISON	JOHN F. CODY
FRANK C. SPITZER	WILLIAM BLAIR
FRED. ECKERSBURG	ROBERT MILLER
ROBERT MCCAULEY	HOWARD C. SETH
GEORGE W. RUE	THOMAS ASHTON
WILLIAM W. FIELDS	LOUIS A. NAGLE
JERE H. SHAW	THOMAS G. MORRIS
JOHN H. RIEBEL	THOMAS MURGITROYDE

WILLIAM BENNETT
HARRY JOHNSON
GEORGE ARNOLD

ROY W. WILKINSON
WALTER PUGH
CHARLES A. WHARTON

JOHN HOWARD.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION OF FREMONT VOTERS.

ROBERT OSBORNE, JR., Chairman	WILLIAM A. PATTERSON
T. B. M. ADDIS	EDWARD O. FRIEL
CHARLES BROWN	JENE DE KYNE
ALEX. K. McCLURE	WILLIAM FUSSELBACH
JAMES DEMPSEY	GEORGE W. BOWYER
REV. EDGAR M. LEVY	CLINTON FOCHT
CHARLES W. NEELD	ADAM WAGNER
JOSEPH WILLIAMS	CHRIS WIELAND
GEORGE W. HILL	GEORGE TURNER
GEORGE DAVIS	CHARLES HUMPHREYS
EDWARD T. WALZ	DAVID ORAM YOUNG
SAMUEL J. FISHER	HENRY M. WEAVER
ARTHUR E. BUCHHOLZ	JOHN M. HALE
HARRY T. BAUERLE	JOHN H. JORDAN
FERD. BAUMGAERTEL	FRANK RICHARDS
WILLIAM F. TOTTEN	LEE BEUELL
JACOB M. DAVIS	THOMAS A. LEE
JOHN W. PECHIN	JAMES HAYNES

SAMUEL H. JAMISON

COMMITTEE ON HEADQUARTERS AND VISITORS QUARTERS.

JAMES H. ECKERSLEY, Chairman	WILLIAM G. RUTHERFORD
DANIEL WEISENBERGER	WILLIAM TASWELL
PRICE I. PATTON	FRANK REESE
ARTHUR D. BRENNER	ROBERT WASHINGTON
DR. JOHN WEIZGERBER	BERNHARD ERNST
H. M. LAWTON	AMOS SCOTT
FRED. SMITH	DR. A. B. JACKSON
WILLIAM McDOWELL	GEORGE L. WILLIAMS
JOHN J. CROUT	ALFRED S. JONES
CHRIS J. PERRY	JARED W. FORD
J. C. RANKIN	HARRY RICHARDSON

CHARLES HUNT
JOSEPH McCLAIN

WILLIAM H. JONES
EDWARD C. BAXTER

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

CHARLES H. SAYRE, Chairman
C. C. A. BALDI
JOHN MECLEARY
THOMAS T. DOLLARD
HARRY R. WILDEY
H. OSCAR ROBERTS
ROBERT GRIER
WILLIAM S. SHIPPS
JAMES B. SHEEHAN
JOHN W. DAVIDSON
JACOB WILDEMORÉ
THOMAS W. CUNNINGHAM
MARTIN ST. LEGER
EDWARD B. WEST
WILLIAM J. ST. CLAIR
THOMAS DUGAN
JOHN M. LUKENS
JACOB J. SEEDS
CHARLES W. DAVIS
JOSEPH J. de KINDER
BYRON E. WRIGLEY
SAMUEL LAMOND
JOHN D. POWERS

WILLIAM L. MATHUES
HARRY R. GRACE
CHARLES L. FLANAGAN
J. W. FITZPATRICK
JOHN B. PARKS
FRANK HARDART
JEREMIAH NEAL
FURMAN SHEPPARD PHILLIPS
WILLIAM B. CRAWFORD
JOSEPH W. FOX
GEORGE A. FURNIVAL
JOSEPH G. RICHMOND
IRA D. BERTOLET
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HOWARD A. CHASE
FRANK JAMES
O. B. JENKINS
O. D. JOHNSON
CHARLES B. JOY
WILLIAM McLEAN, JR.
M. J. PICKERING
FRED. ALTOPF
THOMAS W. STANLEY

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EDWARD BUCHHOLZ, Chairman
JOHN McCLOSKEY
JOHN D. MCCARTHY
WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM
GEORGE W. KUCKER
JAMES H. WILKES
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WILLIAM LAWSON, SR.
JOHN F. MURRAY

JOHN W. BROOKS
HARRY J. STONE
JOHN LEONARD
ALFRED HOWARD
DAVID B. McCLURE
WILLIAM SHANE
LOUIS DORBER
JOHN ENHART, SR.
DAVID C. CLEGG

A. L. OAT	FERD. BAUMGAERTEL
BENJAMIN BLAW	WILLIAM L. CLAYTON
T. W. GILLESPIE	CHARLES H. BREITHBARTH
WILLIAM HETRICK	FRANK L. RAU
WILLIAM H. WILSON	HARRY S. BISSEX
JAMES DONOVAN.	

MUSICAL FUND HALL COMMITTEE.

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BENJAMIN L. BERRY	CHARLES E. PRESTON
GEORGE W. B. HICKS	CHARLES R. DIETZ
WILLIAM H. SHORT	EDWARD A. DEVLIN
JAMES G. CALDWELL	GEORGE W. SUNDERLAND
JAMES B. CRAIGHEAD	HARRY MAKIVER
JOSEPH CALL	JAMES L. GOULD
EDWARD C. BAXTER	A. C. LOGAN
CHRIS FUHRMAN	FERD. KOENIG
JOHN H. FULMER	WILLIAM CORNELL
J. AUG. SHERN	JAMES A. HUMPHREYS
EDWARD SHELLENBERGER	B. D. MCCAUGHN
SAMUEL ATMORE	CHRIST SHILLOW
JOHN R. GORDON	WILLIAM H. OTT
FRANK W. WILLIAMS.	

COMMITTEE ON STREET DEMONSTRATION.

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GEN. THOS. J. STEWART,	JOHN McCLINTOCK, JR.
Grand Marshal	ROBERT J. MOORE
COL. LEWIS E. BEITLER,	JAMES L. MILES
Chief Aide	DAVID MARTIN
COL. SHELDON POTTER,	WILLIAM McCOACH
Chief-of-Staff	JOHN MECLEARY
DAVID C. HUMPHRYS	JOHN VIRDIN
J. H. HOOKEY	J. ELLWOOD MCKINLEY
GEORGE H. EINWECHTER	H. L. MONTGOMERY
WILLIAM H. BERKLEBACH	OSCAR E. NOLL
ELMER J. TITUS	CHARLES E. PRESTON

HARRY HOMILLER
 W. A. PATTERSON
 GEORGE S. DEAL
 GEORGE M. CROUSE
 C. OTTO ACKERMAN
 WILLIAM N. TOPHAN
 GEORGE H. HAZARD
 DR. WILLIAM C. T. BAUERLE
 HARRY L. MURRAY
 WILLIAM H. GLAZIER
 JOHN M. LARISH
 EDWARD WILSON
 THOMAS ARMSTRONG
 ELIAS ABRAMS
 CHARLES L. BROWN
 SETH BUCKLEY
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 DR. E. B. GLEASON
 A. H. GEUTING
 JOSEPH GILFILLAN
 JOHN HAMILTON
 HERMAN G. HUTT
 JOHN R. HUHN
 CHARLES B. HALL
 LOUIS HUTT

CHRIS J. PERRY
 WARD W. PEIRSON
 JOHN H. RIEBEL
 HARRY C. RANSLEY
 HUBERT J. RILEY
 HARRY RIEBEL
 THOMAS B. SMITH
 JESSE SHEPARD
 ROBERT H. SMITH
 ROBERT B. SCOTT
 CHARLES H. SAYRE
 WALTER N. STEVENSON
 MARTIN ST. LEGER
 C. ELLWOOD STRINGFIELD
 CAPT. FRANK SCHERMERHORN
 HARRY J. TRAINOR
 C. WESLEY THOMAS
 B. S. C. THOMAS
 WILLIAM S. VARE
 HARRY WITTIG
 GEORGE W. WEAVER
 BYRON E. WRIGLEY
 HARRY R. WILDEY
 C. W. WHITEHURST
 FRED. M. WAGNER
 LESLIE YATES
 CAPT. CHARLES J. HENDLER
 WILLIAM GRAY KNOWLES
 GEN'L JAMES W. LATTI
 COL. THEO. E. WIEDERSHEIM
 COL. WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR.
 COL. WENDELL P. BOWMAN
 COL. J. LEWIS GOOD
 B. R. STEVENS
 JOHN H. MAURER
 JAMES B. CRAIGHEAD
 R. S. DE HAVEN
 F. C. MCKISSICK

JACOB F. HENDERSON	FRANK SILBER
G. VON PHU JONES	NEIL C. BRIGGS
P. H. JOHNSON	JOHN KELM
WILLIAM H. KEYSER	WILLIAM McCOACH
MURDOCH KENDRICK	WILLIAM THOMAS KELSH
WILLIAM R. KNIGHT, JR.	PIERCE N. HULLY
JOHN J. KLANG	J. HARRY GEISSEL
GEORGE W. KUCKER	CHARLES H. BREITHBARTH
H. REEVES LUKENS	FERD. BAUMGAERTEL
JOHN B. LUKENS	CHARLES PRESTON
JOHN M. LUKENS	HARRY J. STONE
FRANK G. MUMMA	THOMAS G. MORRIS

SUB-COMMITTEES OF STREET DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.

Communications, Circulars and Printing Committee.

FRED. M. WAGNER, *Chairman*.

Bands and Music Committee.

DAVID C. HUMPHREYS, *Chairman*

Illuminations and Fireworks.

CHARLES E. BARTLETT, *Chairman*

Erection of Stands

GEORGE W. WEAVER, *Chairman*

Invitations and Reception of Reviewing Party

CHARLES H. SAYRE, *Chairman*

District Organization

JOHN MECLEARY, *Chairman*

Barracks, Horses and Carriages

WILLIAM H. BERKLEBACH, *Chairman*.

Colleges and Students

WILLIAM THOMAS KELSH, *Chairman*

Pioneer Corps

EDWARD WILSON, *Chairman*

Veterans and Grand Army

JAMES F. MORRISON. *Chairman*

COMMITTEE ON WILLOW GROVE.

ZIBA T. MOORE, Chairman	JOSEPH GILFILLAN
SAMUEL M. CLEMENT, JR.	JOHN J. CROUT
J. LEE PATTON	GLENN C. MEAD

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS COMMITTEE.

J. LEE PATTON, Chairman.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

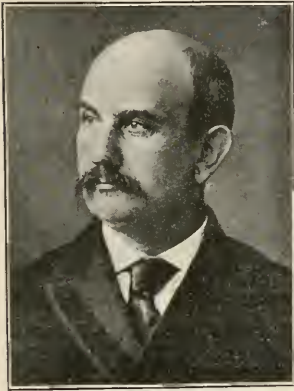
J. HAMPTON MOORE, Chairman	J. LEE PATTON
CHARLES H. SAYRE	JOHN R. WIGGINS
GLENN C. MEAD	CHARLES S. PURVES
ZIBA T. MOORE	GUSTAV BACHARACH
JOHN VIRDIN	JOHN MCCLINTOCK
JOSEPH M. HUSTON	J. WESLEY CONN
HOWARD A. CHASE	HARRY W. KEELY
JOHN O. SHEATZ	JAMES H. ECKERSLEY
MURDOCH KENDRICK	HARRY D. BEASTON
HORACE PETTIT	C. C. A. BALDI
JOHN KENT KANE	JOHN MECLEARY
GEORGE W. WEAVER	T. B. M. ADDIS
BYRON E. WRIGLEY	HUBERT J. RILEY
WALTER N. STEVENSON	EDWARD T. WALZ
EDWARD BUCHHOLZ	SAMUEL LAMOND
JAMES F. MORRISON	HON. CHARLES A. AMBLER
THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG	DAVID C. HUMPHREYS
ROBERT OSBORNE, JR.	MAYLIN J. PICKERING

At the meeting of the Citizens Committee Judge Dinner Beeber who was elected chairman spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. DIMNER BEEBER.

The fiftieth anniversary of the First National Republican Convention, held in Musical Fund Hall, fast approaches. The delegates of the National Republican League, whose members defend and promote the principles of that party, will convene in that same hall in that anniversary week to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Republican party. Philadelphia would be remiss, indeed, if she would not show her loyalty to that

party and its principles by greeting those delegates with prompt and generous welcome, and extending to them aid and assistance with lavish hand.



HON. DIMNER PEEBER,
CHAIRMAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE

The National Republican party, in its origin and career, is both honorable and distinguished. It was formed by men inspired by the moral conviction that slavery was a sin—an evil in itself. No more appropriate birth-place for its organization could be found than in Philadelphia—the birth place of the Declaration of Independence and of the National Constitution. We are justly proud of the fact that when any group of American citizens desire to celebrate important historical events or to renew their inspiration, they come to Philadelphia to do it.

Its atmosphere is congenial and inspiring. Equally fortunate and patriotic has been the career of the National Republican party. Its advent to power confronted it with the most gigantic war of modern times. To the arbitrament of arms had been referred the question whether the National Constitution had created a government which within its scope was supreme and absolute—whether the National Constitution was a compact or contract between the States acting in their sovereign capacity, or whether it was created by, and acted directly upon, the individual citizen without regard to his relation to particular state governments—in a word, whether the union should continue or be dissolved. The brilliant and triumphant success of the National Republican Administration in the accomplishment of the first great purpose, which called the National Republican Party into existence, is the brightest and greatest jewel in the crown of that party. Every other great public question that has arisen since has been met and solved by that party with infinite credit to itself and with lasting benefit to the country.

It is of peculiar interest to Philadelphia that that party has always been the sturdy advocate of the protective tariff system



PETER BOYD,
SECRETARY CITIZENS COMMITTEE

under which this great city has achieved and now maintains its supremacy as a manufacturing center. Equal credit is due to it for the success and courage with which it met the heresy of irredeemable currency and established the uniform and invariable basis of a gold standard.

Our national prosperity which now prevails so profusely and generously, that has prevailed ever since the inauguration of President McKinley, is the final and triumphant tribute to the wisdom and success with which our great party administers the national government.

With such an origin and such a career he who would not be inspired with a desire to give due recognition to the National Republican party would be a faithless Philadelphian indeed.

One of the opportunities to give such recognition is now here. This meeting is called for the purpose of enlisting the support and encouragement of patriotic Philadelphians to the proposed plan of celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the National Republican Party. Knowing the honest and patriotic purposes of the Republicans of this City, I can confidently expect that you will by the plans that will be outlined at this meeting again testify your unselfish and unrestrained devotion to the principles of that great party, and reflect credit upon yourselves for the promptness and alacrity with which you will undertake to render assistance to the proposed celebration.

The following sub-committees of the Citizens Committee were appointed:

FINANCE.

WILLIAM A. DICK, Chairman
WILLIAM W. ALLEN
JOSEPH BOSLER
ALEXANDER P. COLESBERRY
SAMUEL DISSTON

W. W. GIBBS
W. O. HEMPSTEAD
JOHN O. SHEATZ
HENRY F. WALTON
CLARENCE WOLF

RECEPTION.

JAMES F. HOPE	J. B. COLAHAN, JR.
DINNER BEEBER	EDWIN S. CRAMP
JAMES BUTTERWORTH	GEORGE P. MORGAN
SAMUEL BELL	MAX RIEBENACK
CLARESON CLOTHIER	HARLAN PAGE

ENTERTAINMENT.

WILLIAM T. TILDEN, Chairman	J. R. JONES
RICHARD CAMPION	ALFRED F. MOORE
J. S. W. HOLTON	HENRY J. SCOTT
GEORGE F. HOFFMAN	A. P. SWOYER

MEETING (MUSICAL FUND HALL.)

WILLIAM M. COATES, Chairman	CHARLES DINGEE
O. C. BOSBYSELL	HOWARD B. FRENCH
JOSEPH J. DEKINDER	ERNEST L. TUSTIN
WILLIAM H. STAAKE	JOHN C. WINSTON

SHAW MEETING (ACADEMY OF MUSIC)

JAMES POLLOCK, Chairman	RICHARD G. OELLERS
W. W. FOULKROD	WILLIAM W. PORTER
JOSEPH R. GRUNDY	WILLIAM C. SPROUL
ARNO LEONHARDT	RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG

HISTORICAL.

A. G. HETHERINGTON, Chairman	JOSEPH M. HUSTON
PETER BOYD	LEWIS W. MOORE

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

COMMITTEE TO VISIT MAYOR WEAVER IN REILLUMINATION OF CITY HALL.

RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG	RICHARD CAMPION
WILLIAM T. TILDEN	CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Subscription from individuals and clubs to pay the expense (including interest on deposit, \$6.70) amounted to \$7,948.10. The expenses of the celebration amounted to \$7,008.34 leaving a balance of cash on hand of \$939.76 besides unpaid subscriptions of \$153.00. This balance was turned over to the Committee on Publication with authority to raise additional sums to be used in

the publication of a creditable souvenir of the occasion and a committee of five was appointed to receive and disburse contributions to a fund to discharge the advances made by the President on behalf of the National League.

Additional subscriptions were obtained after the closing of the accounts as given above, the full list of subscribers with the amount subscribed by each, being as follows:

SUBSCRIBERS TO GOLDEN JUBILEE FUND.

J. Hampton Moore.....	\$100.00	Thomas T. Dollard.....	5.00
Young Republican Club.....	100.00	Byron E. Wrigley.....	25.00
Edward W. Buchholz.....	10.00	Murdoch Kendrick.....	100.00
Harry Riebel.....	5.00	15th Ward Union Rep. Club..	100.00
Harry Bauerle.....	5.00	D. C. Humphreys.....	25.00
William Lawson.....	5.00	Ziba T. Moore.....	100.00
Henry L. Sidebotham.....	5.00	John O. Sheatz.....	50.00
Edward Carlin.....	5.00	Anti-Cobden Club.....	100.00
Jere H. Shaw.....	25.00	Col. Lewis E. Beitler.....	25.00
William R. Wooters.....	25.00	Y'ng Mens Rep Club, 20 Ward..	25.00
J. Lee Patton.....	25.00	John Meclarey Club, 31 Ward..	25.00
Young Rep. Club, Frankford..	10.00	German Rep. Club, 19th Ward	25.00
Hon. W. H. Staake.....	100.00	Adam Wagner.....	5.00
Joseph J. DeKinder.....	100.00	Hon. Boies Penrose.....	100.00
John Kent Kane.....	100.00	11th Ward Republican Club..	25.00
Chas. W. Davis.....	25.00	37th Ward Republican League	15.00
John McClintock.....	25.00	Robert McAfee.....	50.00
Peter Boyd.....	25.00	Continental Club.....	15.00
Young Rep. Club, 15th Ward..	15.00	Joseph Coward.....	5.00
John R. Wiggins.....	100.00	Joseph M. Huston.....	100.00
19th Ward Republican Club..	25.00	Sen. John M. Scott.....	100.00
Walter N. Stevenson.....	25.00	24th Ward Rep. Club.....	50.00
West Phila. Republican Club..	100.00	26th Ward Rep. Club.....	50.00
Howard A. Chase.....	100.00	Hamilton Rep. Club, (member	27.00
Vesta Club.....	50.00	Ex-Magistrate Henderson....	10.00
Harry Wildey Club.....	25.00	J. G. Attridge.....	5.00
Morrow Club.....	100.00	John Burk.....	10.00
Dirigo Club.....	25.00	Lower End Club, Jenkintown..	25.00
Workingmen's Tariff League ..	25.00	John H. Jordon.....	10.00
Maylin J. Pickering.....	5.00	German-Amer. Rep. League...	15.00
L. A. Watres.....	100.00	36th Ward Young Rep. Club..	100.00
Tom Reed Club, 33rd Ward...	25.00	F. Hardart.....	25.00
Harmer Club.....	100.00	1st Ward Rep. Club.....	50.00
42nd Ward Republican Club..	25.00	39th Ward Rep. Club.....	50.00
Germantown Republican Club	50.00	Wm. S. Vare.....	100.00

Union Rep. Club, 18th Ward..	50.00	Wm. J. Milligan.....	10.00
German Amer. Rep. League...	15.00	Jas. B. Craighead.....	10.00
Union Rep. Club, 14th Ward..	50.00	Jere Shaw.....	10.00
Harry D. Beaston.....	50.00	Clarence Wolf.....	50.00
Young Men's Rep. C. of Chester	25.00	1st Rep. Club, 38th Ward.....	25.00
Chas. R. Hamilton.....	10.00	Alex. P. Colesberry.....	20.00
33rd Ward Republican Club...	25.00	Edwin S. Cramp Club.....	15.00
Samuel Lamond.....	10.00	Judge J. Willis Martin.....	25.00
Joshua Wildey.....	15.00	Charldler Bros. and Co.....	20.00
Albert Malkus.....	5.00	George C. Thomas.....	100.00
John Orr.....	1.00	Charles Chipman.....	25.00
James Wilson.....	.50	Rudolph Blankenburg.....	50.00
Vivian F. Gable.....	10.00	W. Atlee Burpce.....	25.00
L. A. Friend.....	1.00	W. T. Galey.....	5.00
R. J. Patton.....	5.00	Richard Campion.....	2.00
John Emhart.....	2.50	Richard G. Oellers.....	50.00
Charles H. Sayre.....	25.00	Thomas Devlin.....	25.00
Charles S. Purves.....	25.00	Erben-Harding Co.....	50.00
R. R. Bringham.....	10.00	Harry C. Ransley.....	25.00
S. R. Shipley.....	25.00	J. E. M. Keller.....	10.00
Dr. Wm. G. Ramsey, (26 Ward	50.00	Jos. G. Darlington.....	25.00
James F. Hope.....	25.00	Wm. W. Porter.....	25.00
Hibberd B. Worrell.....	5.00	E. E. Pennock.....	10.00
Henry C. Stewart.....	5.00	Richard I. Ashurst.....	10.00
John H. Converse.....	100.00	Alfred F. Moore.....	50.00
J. Warner Hutchins.....	5.00	Wilson H. Brown.....	25.00
R. Dale Benson.....	25.00	Henry W. Gray.....	25.00
C. A. Griscom.....	25.00	John B. Clement.....	5.00
Felix Eckerson.....	25.00	Geo. P. Morgan.....	25.00
Joseph M. Gazzam.....	10.00	J. G. Rosengarten.....	10.00
George D. Porter.....	10.00	George F. Hoffman.....	25.00
D. J. Murphy, Jr.....	25.00	Murrell Dobbins.....	20.00
Walter J. Bradley.....	10.00	C. C. A. Baldi.....	25.00
Samuel Disston.....	50.00	Wm. B. Hackenburg.....	10.00
Chas. Hart.....	25.00	Henry J. Scott.....	10.00
H. S. Grove.....	20.00	Fred. A. Sorbenheimer.....	5.00
9th Ward Rep. Club.....	25.00	G. A. Schwartz.....	10.00
Chas. G. Wetter.....	50.00	O. G. Hempstead and Son.....	50.00
Cyrus Borgner.....	25.00	Edw. W. Magill.....	25.00
Irving P. Wanger.....	10.00	William A. Patton.....	25.00
Chas. L. Flannagan.....	5.00	I. H. Silverman.....	10.00
Edward Stern Co.....	25.00	Jacob Lit.....	100.00
L. Bamberg and Co.....	100.00	Felix Isman.....	50.00
Jos. R. Grundy.....	100.00	Gimbel Bros.....	100.00
Geo. A. Furnival.....	25.00	Morse, Williams and Co.....	50.00

Wm. W. Miller.....	10.00	Snellenburg and Co.....	100.00
Wm. R. Tucker.....	10.00	J. Fred Zimmerman.....	50.00
Wm. J. Ostheimer.....	25.00	Geo. D. Widener.....	50.00
T. B. M. Addis.....	10.00	P. A. B. Widener.....	50.00
Wm. M. Coates.....	50.00	John B. Parsons.....	50.00
Howard B. French.....	50.00	Roskam, Gerstley and Co.....	100.00
Amos Scott.....	10.00	Sam'l N. Hyneman.....	10.00
A. S. Jones.....	10.00	Wm. A. Dick.....	100.00
Fred. Smith.....	5.00	Dinner Beeber.....	50.00
Wm. H. Short.....	5.00	John M. Walton.....	20.00
John McCloskey.....	5.00	Thomas E. Cornish.....	25.00
S. G. Lock.....	10.00	Harry McManus.....	10.00
Samuel Bell.....	25.00	M. Riebenack.....	25.00
Simon Walter.....	5.00	Alex. K. McClure.....	10.00
Morrison Rep. Club.....	100.00	Geo. H. Hill.....	10.00
Louis Teller.....	10.00	Jos. S. Comly.....	25.00
John Story Jenks.....	25.00	Frank Leake.....	20.00
Ernest L. Tustin.....	10.00	Logan M. Bullitt.....	10.00
J. F. B. Atkin.....	10.00	Joseph P. McCall.....	100.00
L. W. Klahr.....	10.00	Wolf and Co.....	50.00
Edw. Morrell.....	100.00	S. M. & M. S. Fridenberg.....	100.00
Emanuel V. H. Nardi.....	5.00	John C. Bell.....	25.00
M. L. Finckel.....	5.00	Samuel P. Town.....	10.00
Horace Petit.....	25.00	A. A. Zane.....	10.00
Jacob S. Disston.....	25.00	Joseph M. Huston.....	50.00
John H. Michener.....	25.00	George P. Morgan.....	20.00
Henry R. Shoch.....	25.00	Joseph F. Lamorelle.....	50.00
A. P. Swoyer.....	50.00	Richard Camipon.....	75.00
William G. Huey.....	25.00	Charles Chipman.....	10.00
Anthony M. Zane.....	25.00	James Butterworth.....	25.00
George W. & Judson M. Zane..	25.00	Samuel Disston.....	50.00
Wm. McCleary.....	10.00	Wm. T. Tilden.....	50.00
Charles Dingee.....	10.00	W. C. Sproul.....	50.00
Eugene Harvey.....	15.00	E. E. Smith.....	25.00
J. N. Pew.....	25.00	Joseph H. Taulane.....	25.00
R. Y. Filbert.....	50.00	J. S. W. Holton.....	50.00
J. S. W. Holton.....	25.00	George DeB. Meyers.....	15.00
Hunter Brooks.....	15.00	G. S. Russell.....	5.00
James Pollock.....	25.00	Charles A. Porter.....	50.00

THE FREMONT VOTERS.

Of all the sub-committees, the Committee on Fremont voters had the most arduous task, for their guests were men necessarily 71 years of age or more.



T. B. M. ADDIS,
CHAIRMAN OF FREMONT VOTERS

The problem of caring for these men during the days of the Jubilee was itself difficult but the chief trouble was to find them. For this purpose advertisements were inserted in the papers inviting correspondence on the part of Fremont voters or their relatives and inquiries were sent to Grand Army posts and to homes for aged men. A great amount of correspondence resulted and the Committee's persistent efforts resulted in a list comprising several hundred Fremont voters of whom about 200 attended the convention in person and were shown special honors.

T. B. M. Addis was made chairman of the Fremont voters and took an active part in all the meetings. Many of the veterans brought with them relics of the early campaigns in the form of banners, badges, torches, capes, etc. Interesting letters brought out by the correspondence were as follows:

FROM JOHN A. KASSON

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 14, 1906.

J. HAMPTON MOORE, ESQ.,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 6th inst. is received, and has awakened many recollections which have almost passed out of the public memory.

The Buffalo Convention of 1848, established the fundamental and vital principles of the later Republican organization. They did not assume the name, to be sure; but they did, as a Presidential convention of a newly founded party, adopt a platform of principles which was the basis on which the subsequent Republi-

can platforms were built up. It is this fact which has been ignored by party historians who have assumed that a party name alone, and not its characteristic principles, constitute its life and history.

It is well known that the informing spirit and vitality of the Republican party was its invariable hostility to slavery everywhere, except within the limit of the states in which it was secured under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. As the party formed itself for national action in 1848 it clearly defined itself on this issue, and added some other declarations of policy which were later carried into effect. The convention of 1856 made a less statesman-like and more violent declaration of policy, but not opposed to that of 1848. They assumed the name of "Republican" in accordance with the preliminary convention at Pittsburg, which had already adopted it.

Observe how clearly the Buffalo Convention defined the fundamental lines of the coming Republican party. At the opening of the Convention PRESTON KING's three preliminary resolutions (which were adopted by acclamation) declared it the duty of the general government first to abolish slavery wherever it had the constitutional power; second, that the institution in the states was solely under State authority; third, that slavery in the territories should be prevented by Congressional action. There were representatives from sixteen states there gathered, from all existing parties, some bearing the names of Democratic, Whig, Liberty Party, and others, Barnburner, Native American, etc. The crowd assembled in connection with the Convention was estimated at 50,000. Among the delegates were some of the brightest spirits and ablest intellects of the whole nation. Charles Francis Adams presided, and the sessions continued two days.

The result of the deliberations and intense feeling of that Convention was found in fifteen resolutions. The first ten dealt with slavery, and its extension, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Their purport can be summed up in the declaration "no more slave states—no more slave territories." The remaining five resolutions declared for cheap postage, retrenchment in government expenditures, river and harbor improvements, free land to settlers on the public domain, and a higher tariff suf-

ficient to cover all the necessary expenses of government, and for the early payment of the public debt. Lastly, they enthusiastically declared "We inscribe on our banners Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory."

Greeley, who was not in the Convention, afterward declared in the Tribune "that the Buffalo platform marks an era in our politics, and a beneficent one." The Republican party has ever since been carrying out the policies which that Convention declared.

I was a delegate to that Convention at Buffalo from the State of Massachusetts, perhaps the youngest member, certainly too young to then exercise any influence over its deliberations; and on my return to Massachusetts was nominated for Congress against the regular Whig candidate, a position which I had the practical sense to decline. But I advocated the new party and its principles. A day or two after the Buffalo Convention, the lower house of Congress by 39 majority defeated the Senate proposition to extend the slavery line to the Pacific Ocean. And from that time the popular favor continued to turn towards the principles of the new organization. It was strong enough, as a third party, by the support of Van Buren and Adams to defeat the Democrat in the election of 1848, when Taylor was elected. The same political elements re-enforced met at Pittsburg for organization in 1856, and called for a national convention of delegates which met at Philadelphia, under the name of the Republican party.

The success of the Whigs with Taylor in 1848, and the nomination in 1852 of a New England Democrat, seemed to have lulled the fears of the combined representatives of parties who formed the Convention of Buffalo. At all events they did not take the aggressive in that campaign, except the Liberty party which cast their votes for John P. Hale. But during Pierce's term his subserviency to the dictation of the Proslavery section again alarmed the liberty-loving North. At Pittsburg in February, 1856, they assembled in large numbers for consultation, and resolved to call a regular nominating convention at Philadelphia of members of all parties who were attached to certain defined principles, to nominate a presidential ticket

And they first applied the name "Republican" to their national organization.

From 1856, the records of the Republican party have been well kept and the whole country is well advised of its growth and triumphs. But the prior and incipient stage of its history are found only in the pages of a few newspapers, and in the memories of the few survivors of that period.



JOHN O. SHEATZ,
TREASURER A. R. C.

The Republican party was not sufficiently welded together in principles, policies, experience and association to constitute a grand national party until the critical period of 1860. Even then there were many clinging remnants of the various old political faiths of members of the Chicago Convention which cropped out in

personal and antagonistic projects of platforms and resolutions, and which were submitted in great numbers to the Committee on Resolutions, of whom I was one. So numerous were they that I became hopeless of a harmonious platform if they were discussed in general committee. I therefore moved at our first meeting that all the resolutions be referred to a sub-committee to consider and to report to the general committee the next morning at nine o'clock. This motion was adopted. The sub-committee was composed of Jessup of Pennsylvania, Blair of Michigan, Korner of Illinois, Schurz of Wisconsin, Greeley of Oregon and Kasson of Iowa. It was a formidable undertaking to reconcile, or select from, the numerous propositions, and the work was tedious. The older members of the sub-committee, weary of their labors, retired soon after midnight. At day-light Greeley and I alone were left. He went to telegraph to his paper, and I was left alone to do the finishing conciliatory work, and reduce the resolutions to the proper form for reporting. At nine o'clock a report was made to the general committee, and accepted with hardly a change, and with congratulations on the happy medium

we had adopted on disputed questions. It is a curious emotion one experiences on reading the tariff plank in that platform, and contrasting it with that of to-day.

But I will not further prolong this answer to your request of the 6th inst. It involves too long a recital of the unwritten history of the Republican party. In conclusion let me say, that in my opinion the National Republican party was born in 1848, and the statesman-like presentation of the fundamental principles of the Republican party dates from the Buffalo National Convention of 1848; and its completed national organization, with a statesman-like declaration of principles, was in the memorable year of 1860, at Chicago. Thenceforth its record is a brilliant story of great sacrifices for patriotism, and great victories for Liberty, for civilization, and for the national progress of the Nation.

I am, with high respect, Your observant servant,

JOHN A. KASSON.

OTHER LETTERS FROM FREMONT VOTERS.

HAZLETON, PA., May 23, 1906.

MR. H. W. KEELY,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

My Dear Sir:—I had the pleasure of receiving your favor yesterday,—thank you very much for kindness.

I had the great pleasure of voting for Messrs. Fremont and Dayton. I boast of that to-day, although I have reached the age of 84 years and nearly 4 months,—it was a grand and exciting election,—we were employed then at Glendon Iron Works under that patriot and good man Mr. William Firnstone. Mrs. F. and her two sons are living,—excellent citizens,—his name reminds me of the Election day when he ordered his best horses and carriage and personally drove us to the polling place,—they have all departed this life that occupied that conveyance. My desire is to attend the Golden Jubilee,—my wife who is 81 years old says to me "I am going too" if we can stand it. Please excuse this

talk but I am thinking of the parades and the shouting of 50 years ago.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) WILLIAM LEWELLYN,

PHILADELPHIA, May 6, 1906.

Gentlemen: In compliance with your published request, I most respectfully inform you that I am one of the Pioneers of the Republican party, having voted in 1856, for John C. Fremont for President while residing in Shelbyville, Indiana, next door neighbor to the democratic God in that State, Thomas A. Hendricks.

I came to Philadelphia in June of that year accompanying the late Hon. Henry S. Lane, who was made the Presiding Officer of the Convention which placed General Fremont in nomination, and was present with other Hoosiers as spectator at that Convention.

I was at that time in my prime, and edited the Shelby county Republican.

I am originally a Pennsylvanian, being born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, on August 28, 1828,—am nearly 78 years of age.

I take the liberty of giving you the names of George Black and Charles Forster, Comptroller of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, both of Lebanon, who I know to be veteran voters for Fremont.

By reference to Smull's Legislative Hand Book for 1897-98, you will find my name as a representative from Lebanon county, in the House of Representatives.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) PHILIP H. REINHARD.

LAST SCENE OF ALL.

The final meeting of the Executive Committee was held June 28th, 1906, and after its adjournment the Committee was entertained by President Moore at a dinner in the Union League. All the members were present and engaged in mutual felicitations on the great success of their labors. The President was subsequently entertained by the Executive Committee at dinner at "The Orchard" on which occasion the members resolved themselves into "Minute Men" for service in the course of Republicanism.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

Prior to 1804 each elector voted for two candidates for President. The one receiving the greater number of votes was declared President and the one receiving the next highest vote was declared Vice President. For a time there was only one party, the Federalist, finally the Republican party. The first opponents of the Federalists were known as "Republicans" but the name of this party, that of Jefferson was afterwards changed to Democratic. The results of the several Presidential elections have been as follows:

WASHINGTON, FIRST TERM, 1788. Ten states voted, Washington being elected President by 69 electoral votes out of 73 and John Adams Vice President by 34 votes.

WASHINGTON, SECOND TERM., 1796. Fifteen states casting 135 electoral votes gave 132 for Washington and 77 for John Adams.

JOHN ADAMS, 1796. Sixteen states elected John Adams, Federalist, President by 71 votes and Thomas Jefferson, Republican (Democrat) by 68 votes.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, FIRST TERM, 1800. The vote was a tie between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Jefferson was elected President by the House of Representatives and Burr became Vice President.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECOND TERM, 1804. The first contest between parties. Jefferson elected by 162 electoral votes to 14 for C. C. Pinckney. George Clinton of New York, Vice President.

JAMES MADISON, FIRST TERM, 1808. Madison elected by 122 votes to 47 for Pinckney. George Clinton of New York, re-elected Vice President,

JAMES MADISON, SECOND TERM, 1812. Madison re-elected by 128 votes to 89 for De Witt Clinton of New York.. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Vice President.

JAMES MONROE, FIRST TERM, 1816. Monroe elected by 183 votes to 34 for Rufus King of New York. Daniel D. Tompkins of New York, Vice President.

JAMES MONROE, SECOND TERM, 1820. Monroe re-elected by 231 electoral votes to 1 for John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. Tompkins re-elected Vice President.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1824. The electoral college cast 99 votes for Andrew Jackson and 84 for Adams, but having failed to elect, the House of Representatives chose Adams. John C. Calhoun, Democrat was elected Vice President.

ANDREW JACKSON, FIRST TERM, 1828. Jackson had 174 votes, against 83 for Adams and was elected President, John C. Calhoun re-elected Vice President. Jackson at this election ran for the first time as a Democrat. The party of Adams was called the National Republican.

ANDREW JACKSON, SECOND TERM, 1832. Jackson elected President by 219 votes against 49 for Henry Clay. Popular vote Jackson 687,502; Clay 530,189. Martin Van Buren of New York, Vice President.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1836. Van Buren of New York, elected by 170 votes to 73 for W. H. Harrison, Whig. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, Vice President.

W. H. HARRISON, JAMES TYLER, 1840. Harrison elected by 234 votes to 60 for Martin Van Buren. Popular vote Harrison 1,275,016; Van Buren 1,129,102. James Tyler of Virginia, elected Vice President and succeeded to the Presidency.

JAMES K. POLK, 1844. Polk elected by 170 votes to 105 for Henry Clay. Popular vote Polk 1,337,243; Clay 1,299,068. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, Vice President.

ZACHARY TAYLOR—MILLARD FILLMORE, 1848. Taylor of Louisiana elected by 163 votes to 127 for Cass. Popular vote Taylor 1,360,099; Cass 1,220,544; Van Buren 291,263. Millard Fillmore of New York, elected Vice President, succeeded Taylor upon the death of the latter July 9th, 1850.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1852. Pierce elected by 254 votes to 12 for Scott and popular vote of Pierce 1,601,274; Scott 1,386,580; William R. King of Alabama, Vice President.

JAMES BUCHANAN, 1856. Buchanan elected by 174 votes, to Fremont 114; Fillmore 8. Popular vote Buchanan 1,838,119; Fremont 1,341,264; Fillmore 874,534. J. C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, was elected Vice President. This was the first appearance of the Republican party.

The first Republican platform protested against the extension of slavery to the territories; against polygamy and against the outrages committed in Kansas, besides demanding the admission of Kansas as a free state. It approved the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the aid of the Federal government and recommended the improvement of rivers and harbors of a National character. All of its original policies were in time carried out.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, FIRST TERM, 1860. The Democratic party split on the slavery issue and Lincoln was elected by 180 votes, against 12 for Douglass; 72 for Breckenridge and 39 for Bell. The popular vote was Lincoln 1,966,452; Douglass 1,375,157; Breckenridge 847,953; Bell 590,631. Hannibal Hamlin was elected Vice President.

The Republican platform dealt in much the same way as in 1856 with the slavery question, but added a declaration in favor of protection to American industries. This has been adhered to and is a fixed policy of the party.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECOND TERM,—ANDREW JOHNSON, 1864. Lincoln elected by 212 votes against 21 for McClellan, the southern states not voting. Popular vote Lincoln 2,213,665; McClellan 1,802,237. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, elected Vice President and succeeded Lincoln in April, 1865.

Slavery was still the main issue in 1864, but conditions had changed and the Republican party in its platform of that year instead of merely resisting the extension of slavery to the Territories demanded the adoption of an amendment to the constitution to terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or under the jurisdiction of the United States.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, FIRST TERM, 1868. Grant elected by 214 votes to 80 for Horatio Seymour. Popular majority 300,000. Schuyler Colfax elected Vice President.

The new subjects discussed in the Republican platform of 1868 related to negro suffrage and to the greenback heresy as a form of repudiation.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, SECOND TERM, 1872. Grant re-elected by 286 votes, Horace Greeley the opposition candidate died before the meeting of the Electoral college. Grant's popular vote 3,597,070; Greeley's 2,834,079. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Vice President.

In 1872 Civil Service reform was introduced as a part of Republican policy and further endorsement given to the policy of protection.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, 1876. Election very close and determined by Electoral Commission. Hayes 185; Tilden 184; popular vote Hayes 4,033,970; Tilden 4,284,873. William H. Wheeler of New York, Vice President.

The Republican platform of 1876 emphasized the principles of Civil Service reform, but its most important paragraph on new issues demanded a resumption of specie payments, which was accomplished under Republican rule.

JAMES A. GARFIELD—CHESTER A. ARTHUR, 1880. Garfield elected by 214 votes to 155 for Hancock. Popular vote Garfield 4,454,416; Hancock 4,444,492. Chester A. Arthur of New York, elected Vice President, succeeded to the Presidency.

The declarations in the Republican platform in favor of protection to American industry and of Civil Service reform, and against Chinese immigration were made more emphatic.

GROVER CLEVELAND, FIRST TERM, 1884. The Republicans were defeated for the first time since 1856, Cleveland being elected by 219 votes to 182 for Blaine. The popular vote was Cleveland 4,874,986; Blaine 4,851,981. Thomas H. Hendricks of Indiana, Vice President.

The Republican platform was made particularly strong on the subject of protection to American industries, and opened up in a tentative way the subject of the money standard which subsequently became the main issue.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1888 Harrison elected by 233 votes to 168 for Cleveland. Popular vote Harrison 5,439,853; Cleveland 5,540,329; Fish 249,506, Streeter 146,935. Vice President Levi P. Morton of New York.

Again in the Republican platform of 1888 emphatic declaration was made in favor of protection to American industries, and again the money question was made secondary.

GROVER CLEVELAND, SECOND TERM, 1892. Cleveland was re-elected by 277 votes to 145 for Harrison, 22 for Weaver and the field. The popular vote was Cleveland 5,556,543; Harrison 5,175,582; Weaver 1,040,886; Bidwell 255,841. Vice President, Adlai E. Stevenson.

The principle of protection was again made prominent in the Republican platform. The money plank favored international bi-metalism.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, FIRST TERM, 1896. McKinley won by 271 votes to 176 for Bryan. Popular vote McKinley 7,111,607 Bryan 6,731,635; Palmer (gold Democrat) 134,645.

Protection to American industries was the key-note of the Republican platform of 1896, but the campaign made the money issue one of chief importance. On that subject the Republicans declared unreservedly for sound money, and for the gold standard, until an international agreement should be reached providing for the free coinage of silver.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, SECOND TERM.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1900. McKinley was re-elected by 292 votes to 155 for Bryan. Popular vote McKinley 7,219,524; Bryan 6,358,007. Theodore Roosevelt, elected Vice President, succeeded to the Presidency September 6, 1901.

The Republican platform was a very elaborate presentation of Republican doctrines and policies, emphatically supporting

the gold standard without qualification and also the protective tariff.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1904. Roosevelt elected by 336 votes to 140 for Alton B. Parker of New York. Popular vote Roosevelt 7,620,335; Parker 5,079,041. Charles B. Fairchilds of Indiana, Vice President.

The Republican platform of 1904 was mainly a review of the achievements of the party under McKinley and an affirmation of its principles. It advocated publicity as to the operations of great corporations that the illegal encroachments of vast aggregations of capital might be stopped; declared that the tariff should be revised only by its friends; and advocated the up-building of the merchant marine. The Democrats in this campaign tried to ignore the money question, but their candidate for the Presidency declared unequivocally for the gold standard and the convention accepted his declaration without demur.

